

Aulus Gellius, the *Noctes Atticae*, and the Literary Logic of Miscellany Under the High
Roman Empire

By

Scott Jared DiGiulio

A.B. Harvard University, 2009

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
in the Department of Classics at Brown University

PROVIDENCE, RHODE ISLAND

MAY 2015

© Copyright 2015 by Scott J. DiGiulio

This dissertation by Scott J. DiGiulio is accepted in its present form
by the Department of Classics as satisfying the dissertation requirement
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Date _____

John Bodel, Director

Recommended to the Graduate Council

Date _____

Stratis Papaioannou, Reader

Date _____

Felipe Rojas Silva, Reader

Approved by the Graduate Council

Date _____

Peter M. Weber, Dean of the Graduate School

CURRICULUM VITAE

Scott J. DiGiulio was born on July 2, 1987 in New York City, New York. In 2009, he received an A.B. in Classics from Harvard University, graduating *magna cum laude* with highest departmental honors; his senior thesis, “The Mask of the Alien: Attitudes Towards Foreigners in Satiric Literature Under the Roman Empire,” received the Pease Prize for Excellence in a Thesis on a Latin topic. He entered Brown University in the fall of 2009; during his graduate work, he presented several papers at the annual meetings of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South (2013), the American Philological Association (2014), and the Society for Classical Studies (2015). He participated in the summer session of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (2011), the Lincoln College Summer School in Greek Palaeography (2012), and was selected as a fellow of the Advanced Seminar in the Humanities at Venice International University in 2013-2014.

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This project has developed over the course of several years and has benefited from the insights and support of many individuals from its inception. The greatest debt is owed to John Bodel, with whom I first embarked on the project of reading Gellius as a special topic in the spring of 2011; he has dedicated innumerable hours to the development of this dissertation, which has benefited greatly from his guidance over the last several years. Likewise, this project has been strengthened greatly by the perceptive commentary of my readers, Stratis Papaioannou and Felipe Rojas. I am additionally grateful to the remainder of the faculty and staff of the Classics Department at Brown University for being a source of constant encouragement and intellectual stimulation.

Additional debts are owed to many others who read various parts of this thesis while it was in development. At an early stage, David Konstan read and offered valuable feedback upon several chapter drafts, as did William Fitzgerald, who also provided me with the manuscript of a talk he delivered at Brown University in September 2012 that helped to direct some of my own thinking about parts and wholes in Gellius. Alessandro Barchiesi and Kathleen Coleman also read chapters and offered invaluable input. Audiences at the 2012 meeting of CAMWS, the 2014 meeting of the APA, and the 2015 meeting of the SCS provided helpful commentary on various sections. I am especially grateful to Joseph Howley, who shared several unpublished manuscripts, as well as reading and offering keen commentary upon much of this dissertation—the project would be much the poorer if not for his valuable insights and generosity.

Within Brown University, I have benefitted from the support of many others. I could not have asked for a better group of graduate colleagues and friends in my cohort,

who have supported not only my scholarly work, but also my personal well-being over the last six years. The members of the Mellon workshop “Cultures of Performance in the Post-Classical Mediterranean” (and the previous iterations of this working group) provided several opportunities to test out ideas in a collegial and always thought-provoking setting. Jeri DeBrohun invited me to test several arguments at her seminar “Allusion and its Discontents,” and I received valuable feedback from her as well as the students of the seminar. I am deeply grateful to Lauren Ginsberg, Timothy Haase, Leo Landrey, Mitchell Parks, Byron MacDougall, and Dominic Machado in particular, all of whom have been constant sources of encouragement that has proven invaluable time and again. Additionally, I thank my parents, Lori-Jo and George, and my sister, Gabrielle: their love, concern, constant support has helped me keep everything in perspective throughout this process.

Last, I wish to express my deepest gratitude to Courtney Thompson. She has been a pillar of support throughout the composition of this dissertation (and, indeed, my entire time at Brown). Her love, encouragement, and especially her patience have made all the difference in the completion of this project. Her insightful questions have always pushed me to think about the bigger picture; her editing has contributed to the lucidity of my writing; and her intellectual enthusiasm and curiosity has served as a source of inspiration. She has steered me around many dangerous rocks as my copilot, and I dedicate this thesis to her.

Throughout I follow the abbreviations of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* for ancient sources and those of *L’Année Philologique* for modern periodicals. Unless otherwise noted, all translations (and mistakes) are my own.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION: READING MISCELLANY AND THE <i>NOCTES ATTICAE</i>	1
Previous Approaches to the <i>NA</i>	9
Overview of the Present Study	19
Reading, Materiality, and the Transmission of the <i>NA</i> : Some Preliminary Remarks on Approaching the Text	23
 CHAPTER 1: FRAMING THE TEXT, FRAMING THE READER: ACCESSING THE <i>NA</i> THROUGH ITS PARATEXTS	 31
Genette's Paratextuality and the Reader of the <i>NA</i>	35
Reading from the Outside-In: The Title	39
Crossing the Threshold: The Preface	50
Reading from the Top Down: The Table of Contents	72
The Table of Contents in Latin Reference Literature	74
Alternative Tables of Contents and Reading in the High Roman Empire	83
Reading Lemmata with their Chapters	89
Conclusion	104
 CHAPTER 2: <i>ORDINE RERUM FORTUITO</i> : STRUCTURE, MEANING, AND INTRATEXTUAL CONNECTIONS IN THE <i>NA</i>	 106
Gellius' Strategies of Reading (Gellius): A Second Reading of the Preface	111
A Model of Critical Reading: Plutarch's <i>De Audiendis Poetis</i> and <i>De Recta Ratione Audiendi</i>	118
Navigating the Maze: Gellius' Deictic Markers and Fashioning Connections Between Chapters	129
The Effect of Paired Chapters	141
Structures Writ Large: Intratextual Links in Book 2	153
The Poetic Patterning of Book 1	161
Bridging the Gap: Cross-Book Connections	175
Conclusion	181
 CHAPTER 3: HOW TO READ A BOOK: INTRATEXTUAL PROSAICS AT WORK IN <i>NA</i> BOOK 3	 185
Through the Looking Glass: The Intersection of Philology and Antiquarianism	190
Shifting Definitions of <i>Virtus</i> and Roman Identity	215
A Horse of a Different Color: The <i>equus Seianus</i> and Chromatic Recall	220
Varro's Voice: 3.14, 3.2, 3.16 and time	230
A Question of Character: Favorinus' Return in 3.19	246
Conclusion	256

CHAPTER 4: GELLIUS AND MODELS OF GENTLEMAN SCHOLARSHIP: PLINY, TACITUS, AND SENECA	258
Gellius and the Reception of Seneca—A Case Study of Imperial Literary Criticism	263
Gellius and Tacitus: The Sounds of Silence	284
At home with Pliny: Gellius', Pliny the Younger's, and Seneca's Villas	311
Conclusion	337
CONCLUSION	341
BIBLIOGRAPHY	352

INTRODUCTION: READING MISCELLANY AND THE *NOCTES ATTICAE*

In the midst of a discussion on Stoic *apatheia* in the ninth book of his *De Civitate Dei*, Augustine paraphrases what he believes to be an excellent illustration of his point:

in libris quibus titulus est Noctium Atticarum, scribit A. Gellius, vir elegantissimi eloquii et multae undecumque scientiae, se navigasse aliquando cum quodam philosopho nobili Stoico. Is philosophus—sicut latius et uberius, quod ego breviter adtingam, narrat A. Gellius—cum illud navigium horribili caelo et mari periculosissime iactaretur, vi timoris expalluit.

In the books that are titled *Noctes Atticae*, Aulus Gellius, a man of most elegant style and much learning of every sort, writes that one day he sailed with a certain well-known Stoic philosopher. This philosopher—Gellius tells more fully and more richly what I will sketch out briefly—when that ship was tossed about most perilously when the sky and sea were turning stormy, the philosopher turned pale with fear. (August. *De civ. D.* 9.4)

This anecdote, which is related by Gellius at *Noctes Atticae* 19.1, serves to enliven Augustine's otherwise direct exposition of Stoic doctrine; in fact, he has selected to quote it here precisely because Gellius had written it so stylishly. At *Quaes. in Hept.* 1.30, he likewise paraphrases the passage, concluding by instructing his secretary to look up the relevant passage after abridging it from memory (*sed considerandum est quemadmodum hoc dicat A. Gellius, et diligenter inserendum*). In the latter instance, Augustine approaches this passage of Gellius differently. No longer commenting on the style or Gellius' learning, instead he uses this discussion to augment his discussion, ripe to be plucked and then reintegrated into his own work.¹ His Gellius, then, appears to be a mine

¹ Grafton 2004, 320. On Augustine's paraphrase of Gellius, see Brachtendorf 1997, 297-300, detailing Augustine's development of the terminology for the passions and his use of Gellius to move beyond Ciceronian models; Sorabji 2000, 375-382, arguing that Gellius' paraphrase of Epictetus ultimately leads Augustine to misunderstand the Stoic psychology of the emotions; and Nisula 2012, 283-239, which draws on Sorabji and compares Gellius' and Augustine's terminology in their respective treatments. O'Donnell

of sources to improve his own work rather than an author to be read in his own right, despite his high praise for Gellius' treatment of the Stoic philosopher on the sea voyage.

Excerpting a passage that was of clear interest, as Augustine has done, is but one of the many ways to approach the *Noctes Atticae* (*NA*), the sole known work of Aulus Gellius. Composed at some point in the second half of the second century CE, the *NA* collects what purport to be the author's own notes (*adnotationes*, pr.3) of his extensive reading and interactions with prominent intellectuals, located during his formative period of study in Attica and his later life at Rome.² Ostensibly written for the education of his children, the *NA* is conventionally classified with the modern anachronistic term "miscellany": a collection of approximately four hundred articles (*commentarii*) scattered across twenty books and presented in a chance ordering (*ordine rerum fortuito*, pr.2).³ Indeed, compiled within the work is a dizzying array of grammatical investigations cheek by jowl with fragments of now lost Greek and Latin texts, and colorful dialogues between leading intellectuals of the Antonine period such as Favorinus and Fronto (2.26, e.g.) alongside more intimate depictions of Gellius interacting with other books. His work reflects a preference for Republican literature and archaism typical of the second century in both Greek and Latin (to the near-total exclusion of literary authors after Horace), as well as many of the preoccupations of the Antonine period: intellectual authority and the

1980, 158 contends that Augustine only knew Gellius through an intermediary or *florilegium*, rather than being acquainted with the entirety of the *NA*, on the grounds that Augustine only cites this one anecdote out of the nearly 400 entries that make up the work.

² Holford-Strevens 2003, 11-21 surveys the evidence for Gellius' life and his possible dates, as well as those of publication. He proposes a birth date between 125 and 128, and locates the probable publication of the work between 178 and 192 CE.

³ On the problems of the term "miscellany" and its modern connotations, see Rust 2009, 28-32; on the nature of *commentarii*, see Riggsby 2006, 133-150.

social role of the orator, the power of the literary tradition (and of proper Latinity and Atticism), and negotiation through the enormity of this tradition.⁴

If we term the text a miscellany, this is in part because Gellius goes out of his way to identify his work with a tradition of miscellaneous literature in his Preface by directly naming numerous texts with which his own is in dialogue, including Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis*, Seneca's *Epistulae Morales*, and a wide range of other compilatory texts (pr.5-9). But Gellius cites some thirty titles apparently spanning a wide range of genres and forms. This range leaves us with some doubt as to what we are reading, especially since "miscellany" locates the reader with the later tradition of "commonplace-books" and Renaissance compilations intended to be plundered for their contents, to be memorized, digested, and then reproduced. To read the text thusly locates it within the culture of the ostentatious performance of knowledge prevalent in the Antonine period, but simultaneously strips the *NA* and its author of any literary agency.⁵ We are left with nothing more than a collection of material assembled for Gellius' audience to redeploy.

Such is Augustine's treatment of Gellius discussed above. Moreover, this approach is reminiscent of the author's treatment by the majority of modern classical scholars—he is to be mined for his content and relegated to footnotes rather than read and appreciated. This fate is in part owed to the conventional narratives of the decline of Latin letters in the Antonine period, as well as the miscellaneous form that Gellius

⁴ These preoccupations are especially marked in studies of the so-called "Second Sophistic" and have been traced out in Greek literature especially; see Bowie 1970, Schmitz 1997, Whitmarsh 2001. Cf. Howley 2011, 7, identifying many of these intellectual currents within the text, and with whom I concur on the relationship of the *NA* with its time.

⁵ Lucian, Philostratus, Dio, and Aristides all provide good examples of this competitive performance of culture; in Latin, excerpts from Apuleius' *Florida*, as well as many of the scenes throughout the *NA* itself illustrate this competitive performance in action in the Latin-speaking world.

selected for his work.⁶ Indeed, as a result of the heterogeneity of the text, the process of reading the *NA* is simultaneously delightful and frustrating. The vast array of antiquarian information, literary discussion, and diverse anecdotes of imperial life charm the reader by presenting a dizzying array of material, revealing the breadth of Gellius' reading, and offering a tantalizing glimpse of the interactions of learned Greeks and Romans. Yet, content to use Gellius as a mine for other now-lost classical literature and historical detail, scholars have rarely been interested in treating the *NA* with regard to its literary merits. This neglect can be closely tied to the miscellaneous form of the work. The explicit heterogeneity of the text presents the most obvious challenge to the modern reader of the *NA*, and, critics are often uncomfortable with the jarring lack of unity—indeed, the text defies what we perceive to be literary.⁷ This is not to say that Gellius is without his sympathizers: in fact, much of the impetus for several recent critical evaluations of Gellius and his work are the parallels that emerge between modern philologists and Gellius' own intimate relationship with texts, learning, and the intellectual culture of his day.⁸

Although this is the dominant model of approaching Gellius and the *NA*, at least in the Anglophone world, scholarship has been slow to reevaluate Gellius' literary

⁶ Vessey 1994, 1867-1868 surveys several scholarly reactions to Gellius, as well as reasons for his critical neglect. Compare the condescending evaluation of Baldwin 1975, 70: "No one would advance Aulus Gellius as a model of anything, save earnestness."

⁷ A point emphasized several times by Fitzgerald's unpublished essay on Gellian aesthetics; cf. Morgan 2007b, 273, who notes that ancient readers were more tolerant than most modern audiences of the form of miscellany and the set of aesthetics that it entails. Cf. Howley 2011, 1.

⁸ Most prominently Holford-Strevens 2003 and Gunderson 2009; while both clearly feel an intellectual kinship with Gellius despite acknowledging the differences in time and approach, Yoder 1938 terms Gellius a "classical scholar."

qualities, or even to attempt to reintegrate Gellius into the tradition of Latin literature.⁹ As a result, we are left with several large questions when it comes to reading the *NA*. How can we make sense of something that does not appear to have any logical organization underpinning its construction? Is there a way in which to interpret the diversity of the work as intrinsically coherent? What forms of Latin literature is Gellius working with as models, and in what ways can his attempts be interpreted as literary innovation?

These are the main question which this dissertation addresses. In this thesis, I argue that there is a sophisticated “literary logic” underlying the entirety of Gellius’ work that intersects with his intellectual project. Recent work has illustrated that there is a strong internal consistency to Gellius’ thought: the *NA* is unified by its expression of experience of reading, and the critical practice that it encourages.¹⁰ Building upon this interpretation, this thesis suggests an interpretation of the *NA* that emphasizes a set of textual mechanics intended to bring the disparate array of material into dialogue, but only when approached in light of Gellius’ own lessons on reading. I elucidate the techniques which the author employs to fashion a coherent literary collection out of the fragmentation of the *NA*; in particular I argue that Gellius forges relationships among the discrete *commentarii* of the collection, fashioning a prose poetics dependent upon the interplay of key words, sources, and characters among these *commentarii*. These connections often present unexpected tensions between various sources with several effects: to problematize the authority of previous scholars, to reinterpret archaic material in a way that resonates within his Antonine context, and to prompt literary reflection

⁹ One attempt to do so is by Steinmetz 1982, 275-291. Keulen 2009 is another recent exception to this trend, attempting to situate Gellius within the broader context of Second Sophistic literature with mixed success.

¹⁰ Howley 2011, on which see further below, p. 16.

upon the work by drawing on the compositional strategies of other miscellaneous collections, such as epigram and epistolography. This study understands the *NA* neither as documentary evidence of the intellectual culture of its time nor as a subliterate work intended as grist for young orator's mills, but as a literary innovation, situated within a broader tradition of miscellaneous collections in Greek and Roman literature.

In this regard, the interpretation of the *NA* which I propose in this thesis can be situated within an ongoing interest in the composition of other miscellaneous collections such as Plutarch, Athenaeus, and ethical compilations.¹¹ These authors' approaches to miscellaneous organization are useful bellwethers against which to measure Gellius, given the similarities in form and intent. Indeed, miscellaneity is often an important aspect of the program of these works, prompting the reader to assess apparently disconnected material to arrive at a more thorough interpretation of the lessons contained therein, but such heterogeneity is only manifest when read in sequence.¹² In this regard, Gellius' readers must resist the urge to select material out of the fractured whole of the text, but instead approach each item consecutively (even if the work is composed with an *ordo fortuitus*) and come to terms with each *commentarius* in its context. While these works may provide the most proximate parallels for the *NA*, nevertheless I contend that Gellius takes cues from a wider range of literary forms than might be otherwise expected. Poetic collections and epistolography represent two additional strands of influence on

¹¹ Plutarch: Duff 1999 (101-240 in particular address the need to read the *Parallel Lives* in conjunction with one another in order to realize their ethical purpose); König 2007a, 51-62 on fragmentation in the *Quaestiones Conviviales*; Xenophontos 2012, testing the limits of interpreting clusters in Plutarch's thought. Athenaeus: Paulas 2012, esp. 410-428 on intertextual and intratextual approaches to making sense of Athenaeus; Jacob 2013, 33-40, 95-108. Ethical works: Morgan 2007b, 160-190, 257-273; Langlands 2008.

¹² Morgan 2007b, 263-272 lays out arguments related to several miscellaneous texts including the *NA* that suggest that all of these works were originally intended to be read sequentially, with the lessons building upon one another or else emerging from the interaction.

Gellius' composition. The concept of a book with structural resonances among its constituent parts is generally foreign to prose, though commonly accepted in poetry collections in which the *variatio* of the individual poems is unproblematic; this is particularly true of the poets of the Augustan period.¹³

At the beginning of the second century CE, elements of the composition of poetry books begin to encroach into prose genres: Pliny the Younger's *Epistles* invite such reflection upon the parallels between different letters, as do the sophistic works of Alciphron and Philostratus. Gellius' aesthetic innovation expands upon the artistry evident in precursors such as Pliny the Younger's *Epistles*, as he grafts aspects of poetic technique onto his collection. The *NA*'s *commentarii* are designed to be read against one another by an audience trained in critical reading, as Gellius himself suggests in the Preface and attempts to reinforce through his scenes of textual interaction. When approached with a cultured reading framework, as opposed to a reference framework that disregards the literary elements of the text, Gellius' miscellaneous aesthetics and their ties to poetry become increasingly clear. These connections emerge from a reading of the text that is best termed "intratextual," centered on the correspondences between different parts of the *NA* and the meaning produced by reading these passages together. Though such a reading may seem to disregard the nature of the text and impose an anachronistic poststructuralist framework upon it, nevertheless I argue that Gellius in fact welcomes, and to a certain extent requires, such a reading.

¹³ That Gellius does not cite poets after Horace does not mean that he is unacquainted with post-Augustan literature, only that his preferences skew earlier; this fact in and of itself emphasizes the importance of an emerging Republican canon of Latin literature capable of standing against the significantly older Attic literature that formed the cultural backbone of the Greek Second Sophistic. See Vessey 1994, 1866-1867, Howley 2011, 7.

The Gellius proposed in this thesis is thus a literary author keenly aware of his place within the Latin literary tradition, rather than an amateur scholar or antiquarian. He combines his intellectual endeavor with an approach to miscellaneity that is derived from higher literary genres; the admixture of both provides a novel medium for Gellius to explore shifting evaluations of cultural and literary authority in his own time. Though the conceit of the work is its randomness, structures and correspondences can be detected: shared citations across different chapters, for instance, bring the reader into the experience of reconsidering the value of these passages for each question. These parallels abound throughout the *NA*, and Gellius stages these textual interactions for his reader to reflect upon. His work requires an active reader in order to appreciate his artistic intentions. He therefore attempts to inculcate such behavior in his audience by constructing a text in which randomness produces striking juxtapositions in need of resolution. Gellius designed his text with an eye towards aesthetics, with its evocation of *variatio* or ποικιλία, but it is also didactic—Gellius teaches his audience to read his text even in the process of leafing through its pages.

This portrait of Gellius as an artist is predicated upon problems of the work's generic affiliation and its corresponding influences; in particular, the author's declaration that the work is intended to bring delight in addition to learning to its reader (pr.11) is dissonant with, for example, Pliny the Elder's claims about the purpose of his text (pr.13).¹⁴ One of the greatest challenges in approaching the work is articulating its place within Latin literature and literary culture. In order to illustrate the contribution of this thesis in this respect, in the next section I will briefly survey the main currents of Gellian

¹⁴ For a discussion of the expectations of each author with respect to the delight of the audience, see Chapter 1, pp. 60-64.

scholarship, including recent developments in the appreciation of the *NA* as a literary work.

Previous Approaches to the NA

Scholars have traditionally held Aulus Gellius to be an unimaginative compiler of information and passages, and his work in its own right received limited critical attention as a result. A handful of sustained critical treatments appeared throughout the late nineteenth and twentieth century, generally interested in approaching the *NA* from the perspective of *Quellenforschung* and dismissive of Gellius and his work as a result.¹⁵ Invariably, the literary qualities of the *NA* are written off, with the work relegated to being a repository of sources more interesting than their frame.

More recently, the process of rehabilitating the *NA* and its author is now well underway, and Gellius is increasingly considered to be a rich source of information for the thriving Roman intellectual culture under the Antonine emperors. The landmark work of Leofranc Holford-Strevens, originally published in 1988 and later revised in 2003, ushered in a modest resurgence of interest in the *NA* and its author on their own terms, rather than as a mere mine of useful quotations and information about Republican

¹⁵ Studies emphasizing *Quellenforschung*: Mercklin 1860 (though note his arguments against the *ordo fortuitus*, 705-708, noting the variation of settings and citations and preferring to see the text as possessing “eine absichtliche Auflösung der Ordnung” (705) intended to educate and entertain the reader simultaneously), Kretzschmer 1860 (and his polemical exchanges with Mercklin over the following years), Vogel 1888; Holford-Strevens 2003, 72-80 summarizes the main issues of these *Quellenforscher*. Anglophone studies were particularly dismissive of the *NA* as a work of literature; so Nettleship 1883, 415 (“Such is the impression of the age in which he lived, presented by a man of cool head, sober judgment, and moral heart, but devoid of imaginative power. Had Gellius been a man of genius, he would, it may easily be supposed, have painted a more vivid and interesting, but not so sober and realistic a picture.”); Yoder 1938, 293-294 is more charitable in his assessment though falls into the trap of recognizing in Gellius a classicist *avant la lettre* (“As we see him the author of the *Noctes Atticae* was a man of moderate ability, a conscientious and indefatigable student of the literature regarded as classical in his day”). Marache 1952, 183-338 is particularly interested in Gellius’ archaism, while also arguing that Gellius demonstrates a philosophical outlook that is at its core a kind of humanism (249-257).

authors. In his work, Holford-Strevens argues that the *NA* are a work of scholarship primarily intended as a shortcut to culture for the elite, and Gellius is presented as an authoritative scholar intent on distilling a vast amount of information into a concise manual for like-minded individuals.¹⁶ Holford-Strevens' *NA* amalgamates knowledge and collects it for the participant of the competitive sophistic culture of the second century to use. Gellius praises his preferred authors and teachers, chastises frauds, and excerpts texts for his reader to reuse. The *NA* is a monument to the industrious Gellius' scholarly pursuits, crystallizing the extensive learning and literature of the Antonine period into a single handbook, which then offers the fruits of this research to its readers.

In the time since its original publication, numerous scholars have responded to Holford-Strevens' depiction of Gellius, arguing either that he was a dilettante instead of a serious scholar akin to the modern classicist, or simply an enthusiastic, reasonably well-educated figure but not a true scholar. Either understanding of the author and his work, though, suggests that the *NA* lacks literary status, and views the text as a subliterate collection of scholarly information that has been compiled either systematically or casually.¹⁷ Several lengthy articles appearing in *ANRW* in 1994 attempted to complicate the depiction of both author and work. D. W. T. Vessey investigated in detail the precise nature of "Roman archaism" as manifested within the *NA*. He argues that Gellius and Fronto's narrow focus on diction and the individual word manifests itself in both authors' own verbal styles, and that their common interests in topic and approach illustrate a second century approach to the past, as well as to previous literature. Despite his interest

¹⁶ Holford-Strevens 2003, 8, and *passim*.

¹⁷ Howley 2011, 8-10 offers more insight into the level of the medium, and pushes the question of what the register of the work is as instrumental to correctly situating the text in its cultural context.

in mapping a coherent image of archaism in Gellius, and his interest in vindicating the *NA* against its detractors, Vessey nevertheless denies artistic unity to the work.¹⁸ Madeleine Henry's article attempts to make some sense of the work's disorder by exploring the "propinquities, adjacencies, and proximities he creates" in order to assess whether there is art underlying the random compilation.¹⁹ Her attempt to locate continuities in the Gellian *farrago*, as she terms the work, lies in tracing his thematic preoccupations across individual books;²⁰ her reading can only go so far in positing a deft hand in the work's assemblage, however, but instead identifies recurrent thematic motifs over the course of the work. Nevertheless, this article can serve as a starting point for an investigation of the ways in which Gellius produces coherence out of fragmentation. Finally, Graham Anderson in particular reacts directly to Holford-Strevens, challenging the image of the industrious and cultured scholar; in addressing the "miscellanist and his world," Anderson reverts to the conventional portrait of a dilettante overly fond of archaism. Anderson is similarly dismissive of the miscellaneous aesthetic of the text, disdaining it in terms that would likely not have been problematic in the *NA*'s contemporary setting.²¹ In fact, perhaps the biggest failing of his assessment is his condemnation of Gellius' ability to appreciate his work as a literary whole instead of

¹⁸ Vessey 1994, 1858.

¹⁹ Henry 1994, 1919.

²⁰ Henry 1994, 1920-1921.

²¹ Anderson 1994, 1851-1852, and especially 1858: "At his lowest level Gellius has an almost indiscriminate appetite for facts... He has a not unrelated preoccupation with information to do with ranking... Not unrelated either is a persistent interest in almost anything remotely connected with time or time-reckoning... In light of all of these it is almost embarrassing to complete the list of factual investigations which Gellius himself should have seen fit to condemn...."

privileging its discrete *commentarii*.²² Around the same time, Maria Laura Astarita's monograph addressed the genre of the *NA*, as well as the role of culture in social life; indeed, she finds social relevance underlying many of the *commentarii*, in some ways anticipating more recent treatments.²³

The collection edited by Holford-Strevens and Amiel Vardi has provided several useful perspectives for the approach to the *NA* taken in this thesis. In particular, Vardi's own contribution analyzes the generic debts of the *NA* from a formalist perspective, noting the ways in which Gellius conforms to, and on occasion actively subverts, the expectations of the audience.²⁴ Andrew Stevenson locates Gellius within the spectrum of Roman "antiquarianism," problematizing the frequent identification of Gellius as such and exploring his points of contact with this tradition.²⁵ Both of these essays open up the possibility of a more creative Gellius operating within the intellectual tradition to which he is usually confined, and throughout this thesis I build on this conception of Gellius as literary author rather than scholar. Teresa Morgan stresses that, even if the text does not explicitly direct the reader towards obtaining an education in the same protreptic manner

²² The objection at Anderson 1994, 1860 reads rather much like the author's own inability to make sense of the text as a whole, rather than a condemnation of Gellius' methods of composition. If Holford-Strevens sets up a competent amateur scholar against the conventional image of the ineffective and stylistically deficient dilettante and prefers the former image, Anderson argues that the evidence of the *NA* supports both depictions. However, he criticizes Gellius for failing to recognize his work as a whole, rather instead suggesting that "to him the pleasures of searching out more *tesserae* and mixing them up together is greater than the business of beholding the whole, for which his bibliophile culture has neither the tools, the time, nor the inclination." Nevertheless, he grudgingly concedes readability to Gellius, while also commenting on the construction of a literary person that he identifies as almost Horatian despite Gellius' "lack of imagination"—the latter claim appearing particularly at odds with his general dismissiveness of the work and its author.

²³ Astarita 1993.

²⁴ Vardi 2004; this builds on several of his earlier studies on the title (Vardi 1993), literary criticism in the *NA* (1996), and attitudes towards educational authority figures (Vardi 2001).

²⁵ Stevenson 2004 (itself a compression and distillation of the author's 1994 doctoral thesis on the antiquarian tradition at Rome more broadly).

as Quintilian, it nevertheless is intended to provide an ethical education in addition to the facts laid out within. Additionally, she identifies the miscellaneous form as contributing to this didactic program.²⁶ This protreptic aspect of the *NA* is useful to keep in mind, since the synthesis of a literary aesthetic and inculcation of good reading habits are a core feature of the *NA* as I read them throughout this study.

More recent examinations of the text, namely those of Wytse Keulen and Erik Gunderson, have advanced our understanding of the *NA*'s more explicitly literary elements and enabled a deeper appreciation of its literary sophistication. Keulen reads Gellius as adopting the posture of the satirist and utilizes his miscellany as the field in which a focused struggle for cultural authority is played out.²⁷ This Gellius deploys his knowledge in a more sophisticated manner than a mere scholar, and his *NA* presents a clear program of knowledge and skills that are then employed for the cultivation of authority around the literary and cultural past (and present). Keulen also reads the *NA* as participating in the broader literary culture of its time in the process of negotiating the cultural status of the text. The intertextual relations with contemporary literature he has identified and the particular nexus of debates they access offer useful starting points for reintegrating Gellius into the trajectory of literature in his time; yet he often politicizes these points too strongly, reading direct interaction with the Antonines into several of

²⁶ Morgan 2004, 191; she returns to the interrelation of miscellany and moral education in Morgan 2007b, 257-273. This approach is a clear (and acknowledged) inspiration for Howley 2011 (12).

²⁷ Keulen 2009.

Gellius' intellectual endeavors, rather than a more general attempt to articulate the place of the public intellectual under the principate.²⁸

Gunderson's *Nox Philologiae* appeared almost concurrently, treating the *NA* as a production of "antiquarian literature" and reading the text as a sequence of interactions with the world of knowledge and the particular issues bound up in reading and writing a work composed of so many fragments of other different texts.²⁹ In reading Gellius, he attempts to extrapolate out the author's compositional technique, and to situate the work within a broader system of Roman intellectual and literary activity. He sees the antiquarian miscellaneous project as one that is fundamentally self-conscious, in part because of Gunderson's own theoretical biases and approach, and positions his work as a book about how to read—not just the miscellany, but in broader terms—in the ancient world. If Gunderson's study has one fault, it is that it can on occasion veer too far into the realm of deconstructing the *NA* in an attempt to make larger claims about the nature of reading and the concept of antiquarianism at Rome. In this thesis I attempt to build on the notion that Gellius composes self-consciously, and suggest that he is actively cultivating the persona of a litterateur as he compiles an archive of (and for) his reading.

In the same year, Eleanor Rust's doctoral thesis advanced the understanding of the composition and order of the *NA*, and the role of these elements in the broader social scene.³⁰ She conceives of the *disparilitas* of the text as not only an aesthetic feature but also an enactment of the performance of knowledge, as frequently illustrated throughout

²⁸ He is also perhaps too eager to see subversive and ironic portraits of all the characters within the text, particularly Favorinus, who on his reading often appears closer to the hostile portraits painted by his enemies than a character that has an important narrative and intellectual role within the text.

²⁹ Gunderson 2009.

³⁰ Rust 2009.

the vignettes of the text. Rust further understands Gellius' project as diametrically opposed to the other principal miscellaneous models of his time, namely Pliny the Elder's *Historia naturalis* and Seneca's *Epistulae Morales* (both mentioned in Gellius' programmatic statements), and suggests that the presentation of the *NA* paints them as a better representation of the variety of contemporary intellectual activity than Gellius' antecedents' works. The distinct *disparilitas* and disorder makes manifest the juxtaposition between the miscellaneous project of the *NA* and the other works, and implies that it is a better model for intellectual activity in the High Empire. While I agree that such *disparilitas* is important to the project of the *NA*, Rust's conception of "radical disorder" defining the work is too strong; rather, juxtaposing moments of order with this disorder is one of Gellius' literary strategies to craft a miscellaneous work utilizing the kind of *varietas* seen in more elevated forms of collected literature such as epigram and epistolography.

Additionally, Christine Heusch's monograph *Die Macht der memoria* approached the *NA* through the lens of cultural memory (including the theories of Assmann and Halbwachs, among others).³¹ In her extensive and erudite work, Heusch details the operation of collective memory at Rome in the Antonine period, using the *NA* as her main case study; she focuses in depth upon the references to *memoria* throughout the text, including the development and fostering of individuals' powers of memory, and the implications of such training and attitudes to *memoria* for Gellius' citation practices, as well as situating Gellius' own depiction within the broader tradition of collective memory within the Antonine period. Additionally, Heusch addresses the cultivation within the *NA*

³¹ Heusch 2011.

of *otium* as an essential time of intellectual training, and calls attention to various parallels with Pliny the Younger and Cicero, among others, in large part thanks to similar attitudes towards the instruction of the young. Although her stated focus is *memoria*, her observations are all important elements of understanding the mental framework within which the *NA* ought to be read; by locating the work within its contemporary intellectual moment and examining the operation of memory within the text, Heusch provides one avenue to examine ideas of ordering and structure within the *NA*, as well as its relationship to other literary texts, even if this is strictly speaking beyond the scope of her monograph.

The most recent full-length treatment of Gellius is the doctoral dissertation of Joseph Howley, which focuses primarily on the scenes of learning and mental activity that abound in the *NA*, and argues that there is in fact a consistent program of intellectual values throughout the text that is resonant with its sociopolitical context.³² He recognizes a typology of three main forms of scene, each with a particular function in representing the performance of knowledge, and argues that these scenes work together as a coherent and consistent evaluative program throughout the work, in spite of the *varietas* and *disparilitas* manifest throughout the text; indeed, such diversity resonates all the more because of the strong sense of unity throughout the text. Howley argues, rightly, that there is a narrative of the various stages of learning and deploying knowledge underlying much of the *NA*, and this consistency of thought is strong evidence of a literary bent to the text, on the level of other genres that make use of such variety.

³² Howley 2011.

Despite the resurgence of interest in Gellius, however, relatively limited scholarship attempts to engage with the aesthetic elements underlying the text. As I have noted, the heterogeneous nature of the text is challenging for the classicist. As a result features such as the ordering of Gellius' chapters have been largely overlooked, among other structural aspects recognized in other ancient collections, with scholars accepting Gellius' statement in the Preface (pr.2), that the chapters are organized haphazardly, as an unproblematic fact.³³ More recently, scholars have suggested that Gellius has intervened in the chance order of the *commentarii*, and while several interpretations have suggested small-scale programmatic arcs at the beginning of a book or slightly more developed schemes for individual books,³⁴ few interpretations of structures within the text have been proposed.³⁵ Until recently relatively few scholars have attempted to approach the points of contact between the *NA* and other miscellaneous genres such as letter collections or epigrams, which would shed light on this question.

³³ See Holford-Strevens 2003, 34, on this claim in Gellius as well as several other miscellanists, including Pamphile (as attested in Photios); see also Pliny *Ep.* 1.1.1 (whose claim is demonstrably false and was suspect already in the commentary of Sherwin-White 1966), Plut. *Quaest. Conv.* 629d, Solinus pr.4, Clem. Al. *Strom.* 6.2.1.

³⁴ Such studies have been predominantly German and focused on integrated programmatic structures, several of which are compelling. Beginnings of books: Steinmetz 1982, 281-287, arguing that the first six chapters, 1.1-1.6, introduce the generic forms of all the chapters that will appear throughout the work, on which see further below. Full book patterning: Lindermann 2006, 30-33, argues that all of the chapters fall into one of six categories, with several pairs interacting productively.

³⁵ Marache 1967, xvi-xvii; Henry 1994, *passim*; Holford-Strevens 2003, 34-36 (noting "deliberate disruption," but not pushing much beyond the claim). Of these, Marache makes mention of his suspicion that Gellius does not adhere strictly to an *ordo fortuitus* in the introduction and throughout the notes to his edition, though he stops short of the proposal of Mercklin 1860, 705-708 (in turn followed by Faider 1927, 200-201) that the *ordo fortuitus* is a willful fiction manufactured by Gellius' distribution of his material. Henry attempts to advance a sort of system for the particular uses of the chapters to create a program, though she focuses more generally on themes than an attempt at creating meaning through the ordering itself. With regard to the first book, she claims that "because we cannot know the order of composition it is improper to speak of the first book of the 'Noctes' as programmatic in the ordinary sense. Yet it is possible to detect and identify certain Gellian habits of mind which surface here. Book One illustrates Gellius' concerns with order" (1921); her observation of the importance of *ordo* seems to suggest that we are clued to look in for programmatic ordering here.

In approaching Gellius as the fashioner of a literary collection rather than a jumble of notes, the recent scholarship on the *Epistles* of Pliny the Younger, especially that of Ilaria Marchesi, Roy Gibson, and Ruth Morello, have offered important parallel models for such investigations.³⁶ Following recent tendencies to consider Pliny the Younger's techniques of composition, Marchesi applies the lens of intertextuality to the collection, showing that, while eschewing a single correspondent or a chronological order to produce a varied text, the fragmentation of the collection can be seen against the cohesive intertextual relations that abound in the letters, ranging from Cicero and Tacitus to the poetry of Catullus. Gibson and Morello read the collection as a mosaic composed of many *tesserae*, and the connections between these units vary greatly depending on any given reading. In suggesting the wide range of potential connections, they suggest that this careful approach to reading the text more fully enriches each of the individual letters, as well as the design of the collection. Both strategies inform the manner in which I approach Gellius, examining the interconnections within books and beyond that provide a sense of artistic unity, as well invite its audience to read the *NA* as a sophisticated and highly self-conscious literary creation.

Beyond the comparative model offered by studies of epistolography, an important theoretical framework for this thesis is offered by Alison Sharrock and Helen Morales' co-edited volume dedicated to "intratextuality," which collects a series of essays that investigate the ways in which ancient and modern readers understand the relationships

³⁶ Most importantly Marchesi 2008, Gibson and Morello 2012; see also Barchiesi 2005, esp. 330-333, Gibson 2011, Gibson 2014, and Bodel 2015. The forthcoming collection edited by Marchesi, *Pliny the Bookmaker: Betting on Posterity in the Epistles* (Oxford), will similarly develop our appreciation of Pliny's craft as an author of an artistic prose collection.

between parts and wholes in ancient literature.³⁷ For Sharrock, the cognitive process of reading inherently deconstructs texts into individual components and then makes sense out of the relationships between these units; such an approach is naturally applied to, and invited by, the miscellaneous form of the *NA* that has already segmented the text for the reader. By focusing on the relationships of parts to the whole, a new Gellius can come into focus—the literary author keenly aware of the composition of his work, and the instructor modeling a reading practice that enables his audience to make sense of his work, and by extension the profusion of literary material in the Antonine era.

Overview of the Present Study

The principal subject of this thesis is the “literary logic” of the *NA* and its implications for the genre of the miscellany more broadly; that is to say, I examine what strategies Aulus Gellius employs to condition the reception of the text, and to what extent these compositional techniques of the text reflect its aspirations to the status of high literature. To that end, in the first chapter I consider the effects of the paratextual elements Gellius has included, namely the Preface, the title, and the table of contents. Drawing on the work of Gerard Genette, this chapter addresses the manner in which Gellius’ authorially-included paratextual material (the title, the preface, and the table of contents) conditions the reader’s interaction with the *NA*.³⁸ Each of these devices

³⁷ Sharrock and Morales 2000.

³⁸ Following Gérard Genette, by “paratext” I mean any element of the text that is ancillary to the text itself, yet is a component of the presentation of the text, and thus conditions the manner in which the text is received, such as the external appearance of the book, the title, or any editorial additions or apparatuses such as prefatory material or notes that contribute to the interpretation of the text. The material elements of the text, including but not limited to the medium, whether codex or bookroll, are additional paratextual

suggests a particular method of reading the text, and through a close reading of each I tease out how each of these approaches interacts with, and ultimately enriches, the experience of reading the *NA*. In particular, the Preface and table of contents both propose two distinct manners in which to approach reading the content of the text itself that at times are discordant with each other; this is clearest on the question of the ordering of the chapters themselves, which the Preface disavows and the mere existence of a table of contents should imply.

In the second chapter, “*Ordine rerum fortuito*: Structure, Meaning, and Intratextual Connections in the *NA*,” I offer an interpretation of the internal structures of *NA*, examining the effect of the order of the chapters and the relationships established between them. These relationships inscribe a prose (or, I suggest, a “miscellaneous”) poetics into the work, which echoes the structure of Augustan poetry books. Starting from Gellius’ own theory of reading, predicated upon intimate acquaintance with texts and a probing inquisitiveness into apparent contradictions, I proceed to catalogue several forms of textual relationships developed in the work and the effects these relationships produce. These include mimicking a memory exercise through which the reader is instructed and ensures correct understanding of the content before moving on; juxtaposing different usages of the same source in order to problematize their authority; and presenting paired investigations of similar topics, with the reader left to negotiate between the subtle differences in each. Additionally, I briefly examine the manner in which Gellius treats repeated appearances of texts and characters throughout the *NA*; these echoes serve to bind different *commentarii* into units that, when read together, act

elements of the work. For a more detailed elaboration of the definition, see Genette 1997, 1-15 and below, Chapter. 1, pp. 35-39.

in concert to explore their intellectual authority. This chapter thus highlights a range of Gellius' compositional strategies and their effects and establishes a typology of the prosaic relationships in the work. The readings in this chapter establish a methodology for approaching the rest of the *NA*, which will then be applied throughout the remainder of this thesis.

The third chapter puts that interpretive framework into practice to investigate the meaningful interrelations between the *commentarii* contained in the *NA* Book 3. This chapter has a twofold purpose: on the one hand, I trace several important themes over the course of the third book, including Gellius' conception of Roman identity and masculinity, which is introduced and immediately problematized by use of the character of Favorinus (3.1), and the authority of Republican Roman scholarship, represented by the revered figure of Varro. By interweaving references to these learned figures throughout, Gellius creates a "cognitive narrative" (if not a true narrative of events presented in a chronological order) that the reader may follow over the course of Book 3, recognizing the cycles of chapters dealing with Varro, Roman identity, and Favorinus, all of which explore facets of Gellius' intellectual program. Articulating this form of composition is the second aim of this chapter: in acknowledging Gellius' invitation to read the different constituent *commentarii* of Book 3 against one another, I demonstrate Gellius' active role in artistically configuring his miscellaneous books. The complex structures of Book 3 illustrate the manner in which Gellius can produce meaningful tensions and resonances between different units of text, with the interplay of these units serving as testing grounds for the application of Gellius' own reading theory as well as encouraging the exploration of the deeper themes of his work. Out of the apparently

miscellaneous chaos of Book 3, the reader is greeted with a glimpse of the sophisticated literary qualities present in the *NA*.

With an understanding of how Gellius constructs his books, a clearer picture of how he situates his own work within the broader tradition of Latin literature emerges. The fourth chapter reintegrates Gellius into the tradition of Latin imperial prose by examining several cycles of chapters that develop idea(l)s of Trajanic prose authors into a state resonant with his Antonine context. By acknowledging Gellius' debts to his immediate predecessors, I elaborate elements of the author's self-presentation as a writer of a miscellaneous collection and an elite Roman male using this methodology by examining several hitherto underappreciated intertexts, especially Pliny's *Epistles*, and Tacitus' *Dialogus*; I stress the earlier authors' roles as cultural ideals to which Gellius aspires, as well as, in the case of Pliny, a predecessor for a miscellaneous prose collection. With regard to the latter, recent work analyzing the composition of the books of the *Epistles* with a methodology similar to my own has shed new light on the artfulness of Pliny's collection. I conclude this chapter by exploring the echoes of Seneca the Younger in the *NA*, whose *Epistulae Morales* offer a negative example for Gellius of the idealized scholar-gentleman, as well as a model of miscellaneous composition and reader. By comparing these authors and exploring their connections with the *NA*, I attempt to reinsert Gellius into the literary tradition of elite meditations on the balance between personal literary activity and a broader engagement in Roman society.

Reading, Materiality, and the Transmission of the NA: Some Preliminary Remarks on Approaching the Text

Before embarking upon this reading of the *NA*, it is necessary to reflect upon the original publication of the work and the textual medium in which ancient readers would have interacted with the text, as the nature of this medium will raise several questions for the interpretation advanced in this thesis. Our first instinct in approaching texts is to read them from beginning to end, understanding literary works to possess a unity, as well as a beginning, middle, and end that are to be encountered in sequence as we leaf through the pages of the book. Moreover, we have an instinctive understanding of the location of various paratextual devices that is conditioned by our use of the codex form and the modern conventions which have arisen around this form—in Anglophone books, individual chapters are cataloged in the table of contents at the front of the book; words and topics are in indices at the end of the book, and the like. However, the very nature of the bookroll medium presents the reader with a set of challenges and considerations distinctive to the format and the practicalities of its use.³⁹ Of particular interest for the methods of reading Gellius that I will advance in this thesis is the problem of how easy it would have been to read bi-directionally (that is to say, flipping back and forth to investigate cross-references) in addition to reading linearly in a bookroll. This problem is equally as applicable to the Preface and the Table of Contents as it is to identifying cross-references between items across, or even within, books.

³⁹ On the *scriptio continua* and the other challenges which the bookroll presents to the reader, see in particular Johnson 2010, 17-22; the remainder of his chapter (22-31) discusses the pragmatics of how a Roman reader actually learned to enunciate the words on the page, especially precipitated by the lack of paralinguistic, or paratextual, material (primarily word and paragraph divisions).

In Gellius' time, the predominant textual format was still the bookroll; codices existed, but represent singular examples rather than the norm.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, the advantages of codices were apparent, namely their ability to contain the entirety of a collection of an individual author's oeuvre. It is this feature of the medium that Martial highlights in the earliest attestation of literary works appearing in a codex, 1.2, as the poet suggests the reader who wishes to carry his *libelli* with them everywhere purchase the codex edition.⁴¹ Martial establishes the reader of the codex edition as an explicitly learned reader (*lector studiosus*, 1.1.4) who has launched Martial to fame through his appreciation of the poems, and is set off from the broader Roman audience through a distinctive, readerly relationship with the text.⁴² Already in Martial there is a sense that the codex form affects the manner in which one approaches the text, and it is notable that this supposition first appears with respect to a collection of poetry. Indeed, roughly half of the *lemmata* for various codices provided in Martial's *Apophoreta* (14.183-192) are for poetry collections, with several others collecting prose authors; all of the works mentioned by Martial are well-established in the canon.⁴³ These editions appear to be part

⁴⁰ Harris 1991, 71, 78-85; Johnson 2010, 17, 22 suggests that despite, or perhaps because of, the challenges of functionality inherent in a bookroll, this format persisted as the dominant model of textual production. In contrast to more practical texts, he suggests that the function of the bookroll is primarily to be an *objet d'art* rather than to serve as a purely textual medium. On the mechanics of interacting with a bookroll, see Small 1997, 141-158 (esp. 154-158).

⁴¹ Mart. 1.2.1-4: *Qui tecum cupis esse meos ubicumque libellos / et comites longae quaeris habere viae, / hos eme, quos artat brevibus membrana tabellis: / scrinia da magnis, me manus una capit*. The phrasing suggests that this format was collecting a series of poems that had already been in circulation in *volumina*, rather than representing the first appearance of the epigrams; see Citroni 1975, xvii-xix, 17-18.

⁴² While more strictly intended to reflect the appeal of Martial's work to a sophisticated literary audience and thus elevate the standing of his collection of epigrams, bound up in this claim is an assumption that readers might approach the poems as they are conducive to readings that would be more naturally applied to the explicitly literary genres; see Fitzgerald 2007, 74-77.

⁴³ Martial names Homer (183-184), Vergil (184-186), Menander's *Thais* (187), collected works of Cicero (188), Propertius Book 1 (189), Livy (190), Sallust (191), and Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (192); Martial does not state whether the editions of Tibullus (193), Lucan (194), Catullus (195), and Calvus (196) are in

of trend towards codex editions starting in the latter part of the first century and the beginning of the second; moreover, as noted by William Harris, a list of the earliest pagan codices all appear to be either school texts of classic works such as Homer, or otherwise grammatical reference works, precisely the kind of book in which one would need to be able to locate specific passages rapidly.⁴⁴

If modern users of the codex format are secure in our understanding of how to read a text, interacting with a bookroll is a separate endeavor altogether. The presentation of *scriptio continua* with its lack of word division or punctuation, the general absence of other markers of structure or paragraphing in texts prepared for literary consumption, including chapter divisions, and the proportionally narrow columns of prose texts meant posed significant challenges for a reader attempting to approach the text without first receiving significant training.⁴⁵ As a result, this presentation is not amenable to the rapid location of individual elements within the text, and in fact greatly diminishes the reader's ability to look backwards and forwards to different parts of the text, given the manner in which a *volumen* is rolled and unrolled.⁴⁶ Indeed, the actual physical circumstances of

codices explicitly, though it is possible that these works are also in codices given the proximity of these poems to the other codex collections.

⁴⁴ Harris 1991, 81; he notes that the list of MSS totals only 17 and that is thus hard to make any absolute determinations. In general, Harris ties the increasing prominence of the codex format to the Christian population, which utilized the medium for its ability to contain the entirety of the Bible as opposed to numerous bookrolls; cf. Roberts and Skeat 1983, 49-63, Too 2010, 71-72. The reading of Christian scripture necessitated frequent cross-referencing, and given the increased ease of finding specific passages thanks to the rise of pagination in codices, the new medium lends itself to works that need such constant referencing; König and Whitmarsh 2007, 34 emphasizes the importance of such "hypertextual" reading that was enabled by the advent of the codex. However, the desire to collect the total of a work together into a single volume for ease of reference clearly echoes the concerns of the authors of literary texts, such as the example of Martial just mentioned.

⁴⁵ Johnson 2010, 19-20.

⁴⁶ Skeat 1990, 297 offers unconvincing suggestions that the bookroll would have actually been more conducive than the codex to bidirectional reading in an attempt to demonstrate that rolls have psychological and cognitive advantages over codices.

interacting with the medium, with the cumbersome process of manipulation needed, prevent easy reference or comparison between two bookrolls, either for the reader who wanted to compare different books of the same work or the texts of different authors. This is not to say that there were not strategies for rapidly finding material in the bookroll format (and surely such techniques must have been developed), but texts in which readers would want to locate discrete pieces of information for reference or citation appear to have been among the earliest texts in codices, and this is at least in part due to the particular convenience of the latter format.⁴⁷ Reading out of a bookroll thus becomes an almost epideictic display of learning itself, with readerly accessibility and the ability to compare different parts of the text secondary considerations.

What can we say about the text of Gellius and its initial appearance? Based on Gellius' claims in the Preface, the work was circulating as twenty books complete with Preface and table of contents during the lifetime of the author (NA pr.22-25), and he appears to assume the circulation of the work in bookrolls (*volumina commentariorum ad hunc diem viginti facta sunt*, pr.22), which would be in line with the prevailing trends of his time.⁴⁸ Gellius also envisages being able to add new books to the work, provided that he is able to complete them within his lifetime, which would be most easily accomplished by introducing a new bookroll into circulation.⁴⁹ In this regard, the NA likely first

⁴⁷ Johnson 2010, 22-25, whose focus is on the practice of reading texts generally, stresses that there is a very limited amount of paratextual information present in the writing system of ancient books; this dearth of assistance means that the literary aspects of the text and the reader's knowledgeable understanding of these elements are necessary guides to its correct interpretation.

⁴⁸ The use of *volumen* need not necessitate this: Gellius appears to use *volumen* as a metonymy for books more generally at NA pr.12. By the time of Ulpian, who was born in the last quarter of the second century near the end of Gellius' life, *volumen* seems to have fully generalized its meaning (*librorum appellatione continentur omnia volumina, sive in charta sive in membrana sint sive quavis alia materia*, Dig. 32.52).

⁴⁹ NA pr.24: *Progredietur ergo numerus librorum diis bene iuvantibus cum ipsius vitae, quantuli quomque fuerint, progressibus, neque longiora mihi dari spatia vivendi volo, quam dum ero ad hanc quoque*

appeared in bookrolls, and there is a lack of explicit evidence in the text to the contrary.⁵⁰ The choice of bookrolls also aligns with an attempt to present the work as literature such as books of poetry, rather than something that is somehow technical or otherwise subliterate.⁵¹ If the text was initially published in *volumina*, nevertheless a codex edition appeared at a relatively early stage: the earliest of the extant manuscripts of the *NA* is a palimpsest codex of the early fourth century CE, Vat. Pal. Lat. 24, which contains fragments of Books 1-4 as well as the lemmata of Books 17-18 presented continuously.⁵² In the following years the complete Gellius began to circulate in codex; at some point after Macrobius, Book 8 was lost (either because of the loss of a bookroll or pages from the end of a manuscript), and the *NA* thereafter circulated as two codices containing Books 1-7 and 9-20 respectively.⁵³ The Preface was originally located at the beginning of the work with the table of contents immediately following the Preface; however, the table of contents was later divided, with the relevant portions affixed to the beginning of each

facultatem scribendi commentandique idoneus. This does not preclude later circulation of the work in codex form, much in the way that Martial appears to have collected, revised, and reissued his own poetry that circulated in individual *volumina* as codex editions, as suggested by *Ep.* 1.2, 10.2, and others; see Bodel 2015, 37-40, with bibliography.

⁵⁰ Roberts and Skeat 1983, 24, 28.

⁵¹ König and Whitmarsh 2007, 34. Habinek 1998, 117-121 argues that the codex was linked to sub-elite identity and texts, in contrast to the prestige form of the *volumen*; Johnson 2010, 21 supports the idea that the bookroll is “an egregiously elite product intended in its stark beauty and difficulty of access to instantiate what it is to be educated,” but he makes no comment on the status of the codex.

⁵² On the manuscript history of Gellius, see Marshall in Reynolds 1983, 176-180; Holford-Strevens 2003, 333-337 accounts for several manuscripts either unknown or not yet published at the time of Marshall’s work. For a detailed description of Vat. Pal. Lat. 24 (*CLA* I.74 = *A*), which was damaged by Hertz’s application of numerous chemical reagents, see Fohlen 1979 (on the Gellian portions, see 201-210). Gellius stands out as a curiosity when considered against the other texts that survive in codex form from this period, which are primarily canonical works, though some novels are extant as well; see above, p. 25 n. 44.

⁵³ Holford-Strevens 2003, 333-334 suggests that sometime between Macrobius and the Carolingians, the text was divided into two separate codices intended to accompany one another; P. K. Marshall, writing in Reynolds 1983, 176-177, notes that our evidence suggests that this division happened in the north of France no later than the 9th c. CE.

book sometime between the time of *A* and the other witnesses to the work.⁵⁴ The text circulated in this form until Gellius' rediscovery in the Renaissance, when humanist manuscripts moved the Preface to the end of the whole work; it was ultimately restored to its proper place by humanists following Nicholas of Cusa, who located a text with the Preface the beginning of the work rather than the end, and the extensive editorial work undertaken by Guarino.⁵⁵

As I have mentioned, there do not seem to be any indications within the text to suggest any form of publication other than in bookrolls; however, does the nature of the text imply that it was more likely to have been published originally in a codex form, and does that necessitate a different approach to reading the text? As I have suggested, the evidence provided by Gellius points to an original circulation in bookrolls, while not precluding Gellius' own awareness of codices and their potential for introducing alternate methods of reading. In fact, the transition by fourth century CE suggests that the codex appealed to readers who recognized the invitations to explore the resonances produced between the different cross-references; if nothing else, this early transition demonstrates the utility of having the full text accessible, including the table of contents, in one volume. Indeed, collecting all of the *commentarii* together and providing the table of contents signals that readers could pick and choose discrete units of text to read, and to an extent Gellius welcomes this approach. Equally possible is a reader who will read in an

⁵⁴ The table of contents is preserved at the beginning of the work in *A*; despite this example and the declaration in the Preface, the medieval manuscripts separated the lemmata and affixed them to the beginning of the corresponding books. See Marshall in Reynolds 1983, 176-177.

⁵⁵ Holford-Strevens 2003, 335-337, 341; as noted by Grafton 2004, 321, Poggio found this placement odd, remarking that the text found by Cusanus was mutilated (*Agellium scilicet truncum et mancum et cui finis sit pro principio*). On the general qualities of the humanist manuscripts of Gellius in the fifteenth century, in particular the location of the table of contents and the Preface, see Scipioni 2003, 19-32.

intensive, linear fashion, encountering each item in the sequence preserved in the text; this is particularly true if we imagine a reader making use of the bookroll as described above.⁵⁶ That is not to say that it was impossible for a reader to locate specific material in the *NA* and read only those passages. Both approaches are embraced thanks to the inclusion of the table of contents, though Gellius' own claims about reading Greek miscellanies suggests that he envisions a reader moving through the whole of a miscellaneous text—if nothing else, he represents himself as reading the rival Greek texts in this way and recognizing their inadequacies as a result.⁵⁷ Gellius' request for the reader's indulgence should he encounter material he already knows (pr.16) is thus striking: while it may imply the kind of linear reading required by a bookroll,⁵⁸ nevertheless by suggesting the need to reflect on the duplication Gellius invites the reader to make the kind of cross-referenced connections traditionally thought to be precluded by the physical medium of the bookroll.

⁵⁶ Morgan 2007b, 257-273 surveys a range of approaches to reading the ethical miscellanies; she argues (265) that for most of these works, especially those that lacked a table of contents or some sort of thematic arrangement, the most likely method of interaction would have been sequential reading. While the advent of the codex opens up the possibilities, nevertheless for much of the Roman period this seems to be the case, and the texts are constructed accordingly. Rust 2009, 23-24 argues that the only way for readers to reorder the text and to recognize the different elements of the text in the imperial period would be to have made excerpts from Gellius' work in the same way that he models excerpting from other texts.

⁵⁷ *NA* pr.11: *Namque illi omnes et eorum maxime Graeci multa et varia lectitantes, in quas res cumque inciderant, 'alba' ut dicitur 'linea' sine cura discriminis solam copiam sectati converrebant, quibus in legendis ante animus senio ac taedio languebit, quam unum alterumve reppererit, quod sit aut voluptati legere aut cultui legisse aut usui meminisse.* Gellius' description of the tedium of leafing through the whole of these works in order to locate the few articles possessing any value suggests his own intensive reading of the Greek miscellanies from beginning to end, in contrast to reading only bits and pieces. Even if Gellius has in mind reading around the text, rather than reading each item in linear fashion, he implies that these rival works ought to be read only selectively given their composition. In setting up his project as distinct from these comparanda he suggests that his own work may be read either selectively or sequentially, with the same degree of benefit derived from each reading methodology.

⁵⁸ Morgan 2007b, 267-268.

Where does this leave us? While it is attractive to suggest that the *NA* appeared in a codex form initially, given our relatively early evidence of the work in codices and the assumption that Romans would have interacted with the text by selecting specific passages for consultation as modern readers do, the evidence appears to suggest otherwise. Indeed, original publication of the text in codex would make several of the readings proposed throughout this thesis more compelling, given the need for reading backwards and forwards to fill out meaning, though such methods of reading are not precluded by the bookroll medium (at least within individual books). Although some of the readings in this thesis may appear less convincing given the original appearance of the work in *volumina* rather than codices and the degree to which the kind of cross-referencing and intratextual connections seems dependent upon the codex medium. Nevertheless, even in bookrolls it remains possible to recognize the coherence of Gellius' artistic project. He has constructed a broader network of evocations and interrelations throughout the work that invite multiple ways of reading the *NA*, designed to bind together *commentarii* on disparate topics and prompt reflection in the reader. .

CHAPTER 1
**FRAMING THE TEXT, FRAMING THE READER: ACCESSING THE *NA* THROUGH ITS
PARATEXTS**

While the bulk of this thesis focuses on approaching the text of the *NA* as a literary endeavor rather than the collection of an amateur scholar, the text itself contains several elements which present itself as a reference work to be consulted. Indeed, to understand the text as a shortcut to the overload of literature and cultural information of the Roman Empire, a kind of handbook intended to digest material and provide a ready stock of material for dinner or symposium conversation to the reading public, has remained a dominant interpretation of the work until only recently.¹ The *NA* is a product of a culture invested in the performance of knowledge, and represents an attempt to cope with the difficulties of an ever-increasing volume of information. Thus, in representing itself as a kind of encyclopedic handbook focused on managing an array of literary and cultural material for its audience, the text seemingly privileges quick reference ahead of systematic reading. In this chapter, I argue that resisting this impulse and reading the elements of the text that suggest that the *NA* is a reference work, or that is otherwise sub-literary, as part of its intellectual project raises interesting questions for our interpretation of the text. Moreover, such a reading reveals Gellius presenting the conventions of the genre to which the work ostensibly belongs while simultaneously deconstructing and reconfiguring those very same conventions; by recognizing the interplay between these

¹ So Holford-Strevens 2003, 8. Cf. Johnson 2010, 100. Gunderson 2009, 32 reads the shortcut to culture as instead an invitation to a life of persistent engagement with antiquarian matters.

elements in the *NA*, Gellius' own innovation within miscellaneous literature becomes evident.

In particular, the Preface and the table of contents are included explicitly in order to depict the *NA* as a work in the tradition of encyclopedic and other reference works, much like Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis* among others.² However, are these elements included because Gellius is writing a reference work, or are the presence of these elements the reason readers elect to see the *NA* as part of the tradition of encyclopedic literature despite its stronger literary sensibility?³ To what extent do the table of contents and the commentary of the Preface influence the hermeneutic process of interacting with the *NA*, to the extent that they imply a method of reading for the text's audience? Upon closer inspection, some of these markers of the status of the *NA* as a reference work do not adequately perform their purported function; several of the lemmata in the table of contents, for instance, appear to misrepresent the contents of the chapters in question, or else suggest a different balance to the treatment of the material than is evident in the chapter itself.⁴ In composing a table of contents misrepresents the

² Blair 2010, 18 reads Gellius as explicitly in the tradition of ancient reference works, and suggests (21) that Gellius "directly inspired a new genre of reference tool in the Renaissance, the miscellaneously arranged commentary, which included in its early modern form one or more indexes as finding devices."

³ On some level, of course, this is a chicken-or-the-egg question and runs a risk of circularity. Nevertheless, as will emerge from this chapter, I suggest that Gellius' innovative approach to these elements most often associated with reference works reflects his interest in moving beyond writing his own handbook of literary culture. To an extent, a similar discussion can be had about how readers from the Enlightenment forward have approached Pliny the Elder's *HN* as an encyclopedia (with all the baggage that that entails in the light of modern encyclopedic projects) as opposed to an encyclopedic text; on this question, see Doody 2010, esp. 1-10, 40-91.

⁴ Gunderson 2009, 46-47 raises, but does not sufficiently answer, the question what to do when the table of contents entries do not coincide with what is to be found in the body of the text; he notes that each entry represents a possible reading of the text and suggests that interpretation of the *commentarius* to the reader, even as these proposals jar with the intellectual culture depicted in the various scenes of the *NA*. Cf. Holford-Strevens 2003, 65 (quoted at Gunderson 2009, 46 n. 4 in this connection); he notes that "the variety of subject-matter between and within chapters, which defeats attempts to classify them under simple headings, is matched by that of presentation, which juxtaposes direct exposition (with or without

contents, Gellius plays with what the device is meant to do for the reader, and how one should interact with it. Simultaneously, these elements of the *NA* declare and disavow allegiance to the genre and form of reference material; it is left to the reader to negotiate between these tensions in approaching the text.

In this chapter, I will engage with the three chief paratextual elements included in the *NA*—the title, the authorial preface, and the table of contents—and articulate the manner in which Gellius employs these components to condition the reception of the text. In terming each of these discrete elements a paratext, I borrow the framework and terminology laid out by the French critic Gérard Genette, whose work offers a useful interpretive lens for understanding the function of these devices within their context. Thus, I begin with a brief discussion of his definition of paratextuality and its potential uses for helping to make sense of the Gellian paratexts and their significance for the reader. With this framework established, I begin examining the paratexts of the *NA* with its Preface. While several passages of the Preface situate the *NA* against other examples of miscellaneous literature, I argue that Gellius reacts against these models in the Preface by portraying his own work as more judiciously selected, as well as more literary, than earlier compilations. In order to illustrate these claims, I briefly compare Gellius' Preface to those of several other prominent miscellaneous collections, including Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis* and Aelian's *De natura animalium*. In the Preface, Gellius also spends a significant amount of time discussing his own title, as well as those of other miscellaneous works. This fixation on naming provides a segue into an exploration of the

acknowledgment of a source), anecdotes of Gellius' own activities, reports of others' speech or writing, and dialogue in which Gellius plays a major part, a minor part, or none. A single chapter may illustrate several modes.... This interplay of the third and first person lends the *Nights* much charm; it may also mislead the reader." Howley forthcoming is a step in the right direction. See further below, pp. 89-104.

title: given the importance which Gellius places on titles in his Preface, as well as the novelty of his own, I examine the implications for the *NA* as a whole of prominently advertising its Greek and nocturnal character.

In the final section of this chapter, I examine perhaps the most puzzling of the paratexts included in the *NA*, its table of contents. After a brief survey of the main extant indices in Classical literature and their operation I perform a close reading of the table of contents and the relevant lemmata (intertitles, in Genette's systematization), which have received relatively limited consideration in terms of their impact on the text, in order to reveal Gellius' unique manipulation of the device.⁵ I propose that the table of contents in Gellius often fails at its stated purpose of helping the reader to locate material in the *NA* deliberately, and I suggest that Gellius freely toys with its functionality, which codifies order even as the rest of the text attempts to defy it. The table of contents enters into dialogue with the declared randomness of the Preface and invites an additional strategy of reading the *NA*; I argue that both of these methods of reading (that is, reading through the *NA* as a collection and searching for only those articles of interest) are complementary. The entries in the table of contents can be used to find material in the *NA*, but only by reading that material, and the entries around it, can the reader fully appreciate the literary *disparilitas* which underlies the text.

⁵ Principally, the focus on this paratextual feature has been on how the table of contents compares to that of Pliny the Elder in the *HN*, and the manner in which Gellius subverts his predecessor; see Rust 2009, 121-128.

Genette's Paratextuality and the Reader of the NA

Paratextuality, as defined by the French critic Gérard Genette, provides an interpretive avenue for approaching Gellius' Preface, title, and table of contents. While Genette's work focuses on the genre of the modern novel, his formulations of what a paratext is and how it conditions the reader's engagement with the text shed light on the inclusion of such paratexts and their function in the *NA*. In his 1987 work *Seuils*, translated into English in 1997 as *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*, Genette discusses the idea of paratexts, which he defines as elements of the presentation of a book that simultaneously color the reader's interpretation of the text itself; that is to say, the external appearance of a book, its title, tables of contents, prefaces (whether the author's or the editor's), and intertitles all constitute paratexts. Although paratext may be interpreted as mere elements of the public presentation of the text of a book, nevertheless Genette sees something fundamental in these devices for the reader's interpretation:

More than a boundary or a sealed border, the paratext is, rather, a *threshold*, or—a word Borges used apropos of a preface—a “vestibule” that offers the world at large the possibility of either stepping inside or turning back. It is an “undefined zone” between the inside and the outside, a zone without any hard and fast boundary on either the inward side (turned toward the text) or the outward side (turned toward the world's discourse about the text), an edge, or, as Philippe Lejeune put it, “a fringe of the printed text which in reality controls one's whole reading of the text.” Indeed, this fringe, always the conveyor of a commentary that is authorial or more or less legitimated by the author, constitutes a zone between the text and off-text, a zone not only of transition but also of *transaction*: a privileged place of a pragmatics and a strategy, of an influence on the public, an influence that—whether well or poorly understood and achieved—is at the service of a better reception for the text and a more pertinent reading of it (more pertinent, of course, in the eyes of the author and his allies).⁶

Genette's formulation suggests that a paratext offers one space of mediation between the reader and the text, and in this regard a paratextual reading provides an avenue of analysis of the potential ways in which audiences, both ancient and modern, would

⁶ Genette 1997, 1-2. For a useful discussion of this framework as applied to Classics, as well as discussion of Genette's definitions and its fruitful cross-pollination with other theoretical frameworks, see Jansen 2014, 1-18.

engage with a text.⁷ Genette stresses the liminal nature of the paratext and sees in such devices as intermediaries that serve as a kind of looking-glass that frame the manner in which the audience sees the text. To continue this metaphor, a paratext may quite literally frame the text, as elements of the visual layout of the words on the page affect the reader's reception of the words printed or written on the page. Regardless of the form, these paratextual phenomena suggest hermeneutic approaches to the written text, influencing the audience of the text by conditioning their expectations, generic or otherwise. Indeed, Genette sees in the paratext the ability to communicate strictly factual information to the reader, like the name of the author, but more importantly an intended interpretation of the text itself. To use Genette's own example, a title page which claims a work is a novel does not mean that the work is in fact a novel, but instead asks the reader to look upon the work as a novel, with all that that designation entails.⁸ All of these ancillary features suggest levels of meaning for the text, allowing for different modes of reading and interpretation.

An important element of Genette's definition is that paratexts represent a "commentary that is authorial or more or less legitimated by the author;" this reading suggests that the reader must in any paratext recognize the possibility of authorial

⁷ While titles have often been a particular focus for classicists (e.g. Horsfall 1981, Schröder 1999), Genette's paratextuality has only recently begun to be applied in a systematic fashion to the study of ancient literature. Alexander, Lange, and Pillinger 2010 collects several essays on paratextual literature in the Ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean contexts, as well as their reception in the Medieval period; Jansen 2014 integrates paratextuality into the study of various genres of Roman literature, as well as the intersection of text and image, the materiality of the book, and modern paratexts of Classical literature.

⁸ Genette 1997, 10-11. In this interpretation of paratext, Genette borrows the idea of illocutionary force, which he then applies to the various forms of paratext he enunciates the various forms of communication characteristic of such phenomena, including the transmission of information, the provision of an (intended) interpretation, a commitment to fact (as in an encyclopedia), and the like.

intervention.⁹ Although this approach runs the risk of privileging too much the intentionality of the author, nevertheless the inclusion of paratextual material does signify at least one potential reading of the text which the author suggests or endorses. As a result, a reader must at least consider how the text is intended to be read, in light of the inclusion of paratextual material.¹⁰ The presentational function of the paratext is especially marked in this regard: a paratext represents an attempt to influence a text's reception, whether by asserting a genre by virtue of a shared set of conventions, or else by illustrating the ways in which a text can be structured, partitioned, and interacted with by the reader.

Furthermore, Genette recognizes in paratexts the potential for introducing contradictions and paradoxes into the text, which the reader is then left to resolve.¹¹ Genette indicates that the function of such paratexts is specific to the individual work to which they are affixed, and that the works themselves often provide the key for the reader to understand its function in the text. He calls particular attention to the interaction

⁹ As Jansen 2014, 8 observes, Latin literary scholarship has moved beyond the idea of any sort of "biographical authoriality;" instead, "scholars are devising new methodologies to rediscover various facets of the author through the text which s/he writes, and which the reader then mediates." My interest in the author rests not so much in how the authorial persona employs paratext as part of a process of self-representation, as several of the essays in her collection discuss, but rather in examining how Gellius subverts the expectations produced as a result of the inclusion of these paratexts.

¹⁰ Cf. the approach of Baraz 2012, 7 to Cicero's philosophical works; taking cues from Genette (as well as from the existence of Cicero's *volumen prohoemiorum*, mentioned at *Ad Att.* 16.6.4, which contained a set of interchangeable prefaces for his philosophical works and which all stress the importance of philosophical writing), she attempts to read the prefaces to his philosophical works as attempts to enhance the reception of his work, as well as an interpretive guide for his elevation of philosophy its historical context in the waning days of the Republic.

¹¹ See Genette 1997, 13. In particular, while noting that the various effects of different paratexts "can depend only on an individual, work-by-work analysis (and synthesis)," Genette stresses that elements such as titles can create apparent oxymorons, with his preferred example being Aragon's *Henri Matisse, Roman*, which he suggests presents itself simultaneously as both factual biography and fictionalized novel, especially because of the generic tag that serves as its subtitle. He proposes that "the reader is invited to resolve" this dissonance if possible, the successful negotiation of which will then provide a cipher for the interpretation of the remainder of the work.

between titles and intertitles and the material which they purport to represent; indeed, as he notes, a title can appear to contradict the apparent genre or form of the work, and likewise a table of contents may not accurately represent the intertitles or chapter headings which are contained therein.¹² In each of these situations, Genette emphasizes the need for the reader to negotiate between these dissonances, which may then cause the reader to reposition and redirect radically their own interpretations of the work. The inclusion of these devices stands as a challenge to the reader, inviting them to engage with text and resolve these paradoxes in order to arrive at a deeper understanding of the text and its artistry.

In that regard, Genette's model of paratextuality can serve as a productive framework for considering the various paratextual elements included in the *NA*. Before the work proper begins, Gellius has already begun the process of conditioning the reception of his text by means the title, the Preface, and the table of contents. Of these, the title and the Preface have received the most critical attention.¹³ The title, authorial preface, and table of contents each offer different ways of approaching the text, a paratextual reading of these elements enlightens the manner in which Gellius manipulates and subverts generic expectations and conventions. This is especially true of the *NA*'s

¹² Genette 1997, 317 suggests the intertitles can be misrepresented either out of the carelessness or cheapness of the editorial production, but is particularly vexed by the insertion or other alterations introduced by the authors themselves. He calls attention to instances in which the table of contents includes chapter headings that do not actually appear in the text itself (citing Proust's *Les Jeunes Filles*), or are otherwise altered by the author (Stendhal). Additionally, incipits can work in a similar fashion to titles in collections that include them in tables of contents, though in this circumstance there is less risk of outright misrepresentation of the corresponding material (Genette is, however, concerned with "the illusion of a set of titles" such listings represent); this latter point is perhaps less important for reading the *NA*, in which the entries of the table of contents are distinct from the text themselves, even if they often overlap to an extent with the incipits of the *commentarii*.

¹³ On the title: Vardi 1993; Holford-Strevens 2003, 27-29, 33; Gunderson 2009, 27-30. On the preface: Vessey 1994, 1890-1904 (including a survey of previous scholarship on the preface); Gunderson 2009, 18-44; Howley 2011, 15-16.

table of contents. While this index ostensibly provides a functional tool for locating material within the whole and presents the *NA* as a reference work akin to Pliny the Elder's *HN*, Gellius appears to undermine the role of the table as a reading aid by integrating it into the reading process. The presence of such a device challenges the reader's notion of order in the *NA*, and illustrates one manner of reorienting the reader's engagement with the text.¹⁴ Indeed, the inclusion of an original index for the work suggests a specific mode of reading—predicated on scanning and quickly locating a selection of interest—that is at odds with the representation of reading throughout the work, to the extent that it conflicts with the reader's own experience of the *NA* itself.

Reading from the Outside-In: The Title

Although the Preface represents an attempt to articulate a set of rules for approaching and reading the *NA*, almost invariably a first encounter with the text would be with its title, either on the *syllabos* which would have been attached to the bookrolls or else at the head of the first column.¹⁵ The reading public would thus first decide whether or not to read the *NA* on the basis of its title. As I have mentioned, a central preoccupation in the Preface of the *NA* is the title of the text and the extensive list of rejected titles which derive from other comparable works, many of which are

¹⁴ Compare the approach of Gibson 2014 to the index to the letters of Pliny the Younger, which possibly derives from Pliny's own hand. In particular, he highlights a tension between the disavowal of order in the prefatory letter and the existence of an index which explicitly raises the question of structure: "In letter 1.1... Pliny assures us that there is no order in the *Letters*, whether chronological or of any other kind. rather, they are arranged 'just as each came to hand.' But the table of contents sets up an interesting dialogue with that claim. Or—more precisely—it presents the reader with a paradox to solve: why catalogue something that has no order?" (49)

¹⁵ The possible locations of an ancient work's title are summarized briefly by Horsfall 1981, 103 (with bibliography).

recognizable, either as miscellaneous works akin to the *NA*, or else as texts that themselves appear as sources for Gellius' own miscellany.¹⁶

Given Gellius' preoccupation with titles in the Preface, and the title's own importance as a first readerly interaction with the text, it is worth considering the title's role as a paratext of the *NA*. Genette, following Charles Grivel, argues that the title of a work has several functions: to identify the work in question, to offer some insight into the subject matter of the text, and to advertise the work to the public.¹⁷ Indeed, Gellius' title fulfills several of these functions (particularly the first and third), even if title *Noctes Atticae* leaves the genre of the work somewhat ambiguous. Beyond arousing a reader's interest with its unique form, I suggest in this section that the title flags several critical elements of the *NA*. Gellius expresses his mastery of the miscellaneous genre by including an extensive catalogue of other titles (pr.6-9), and the novelty of his own title, which locates his own work in a particular time and place and suggests the importance of each of these for the text as a whole. If Gellius evokes in his title the learning intrinsic in Greek culture as well as the long nights of labor that went into collecting his material (pr.4, 10), in calling attention to these elements, the title marks these elements as significant within the project of the *NA*, and in so doing offers a way to approach the text.

Near the beginning of the Preface, Gellius enumerates a list of thirty alternative titles of rival miscellanies:

Namque alii *Musarum* inscripserunt, alii *silvarum*, ille πέπλον, hic Ἀμαλθείας κέρας, alius κηρία, partim λειμῶνας, quidam *lectionis suae*, alius *antiquarum lectionum* atque alius ἀνθηρῶν et item alius εὐρημάτων. Sunt etiam, qui λύχνους inscripserint, sunt item qui στρωματεῖς, sunt adeo, qui πανδέκτας et Ἐλικῶνα et προβλήματα et ἐγχειρίδια et παραξίφιδας. Est qui *memoriales* titulum

¹⁶ On the title list and which works are cited by Gellius himself in the body of the *NA*, see Rust 2009, 232-237. For the attributions of these works, see Faider 1927, 203-209.

¹⁷ Genette 1997, 76.

fecerit, est qui πραγματικά et πάρεργα et διδασκαλικά, est item qui *historiae naturalis*, est <qui> παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας, est praeterea qui *pratum*, est itidem qui πάγκαρπον, est qui τόπων scripserit; sunt item multi, *qui coniectanea*, neque item non sunt, qui indices libris suis fecerint aut *epistularum moralium* aut *epistolicarum quaestionum* aut *confusarum* et quaedam alia inscripta nimis lepida multasque prorsum concinnitates redolentia ; nos vero, ut captus noster est, incuriose et inmediate ac prope etiam subrustice ex ipso loco ac tempore hibernarum vigiliarum Atticas noctes inscripsimus.

Thus some have titled their books *Musae*, others *Silvae*, that one called it Πέπλος, this one Ἀμαλθείας κέρας, another Κηρία, others Λειμῶνες, a certain person gave the title *Lectio sua*, another *Antiquae lectiones* and another Ἀνθηροί, and likewise another called his book Εὐρήματα. There are those who used the title Λύχνοι, others who used στρωματεῖς, there are others who used Πανδέκται and Ἑλικῶν and Προβλήματα and Ἐγχειρίδια and Παραξιώδες. There is someone who made his title *Memoriales*, another who used Πραγματικά and Πάρεργα and Διδασκαλικά, one used *Historia Naturalis*, another used Παντοδαπὴ Ἱστορία, and moreover one used *Pratum*, and likewise another used Πάγκαρπον, and another who wrote Τόποι; there are likewise many who used *Coniectanea*, and likewise there are those gave to their books the titles *Epistulae Morales* or *Epistolicae Quaestiones* or *Confusae*, and certain other titles that are too clever and redolent of much ingenuity; but I, in accordance with my capacity, carelessly, without much forethought, and in almost boorishly rustic fashion titled my book the *Attic Nights* after the very place and time of my winter's vigils. (NA pr.6-10)

The title list introduces a range of miscellaneous or other compiled works, while explicitly distancing the *NA* from such cleverness; in so doing, Gellius highlights the uniqueness of his title amidst the mass of miscellaneous literature. The title, though, is not only a lure to attract a curious reader as a result.¹⁸ In fact, in naming so many titles, Gellius appears to be creating his own form of the Alexandrian footnote, making a show of his acquaintance with other antiquarians.¹⁹ Rather than separating himself from this list, Gellius reveals himself to be have mastered this loose genre, and these allusions suggest that his reader should be prepared for a compositional methodology that incorporates these sorts of references within the remainder of the work. Indeed, as Erik Gunderson has observed, while Gellius deprecates titles such as *Confusae*, he describes his own work as “mingled together” (*confusaneam*, NA pr.5), and his own title seems

¹⁸ Vardi 1993, 298.

¹⁹ Gunderson 2009, 27. On the Alexandrian footnote, which was coined by Ross 1975, 78, see Hinds 1998, 1-3. Stevenson 2004, 125-126 sees the lists of titles presented by Gellius and Pliny the Elder as designed to set off their own projects, though he suggests that Gellius does not have the same polemical intentions as Pliny in his title list; he does suggest that Gellius title fits better than Pliny's among the list of *festivitates incriptionum* (126 n. 15), but does not push back against Gellius' claims about the nature of his title.

perilously close to Λύχνοι (“Lamps”) and Ἑλικῶν (“Helicon”), despite his purported attempt at distancing himself from these other works.

Gellius devotes a significant amount of space to justifying and explicating the nature of his title *Noctes Atticae*, despite his claims of carelessness in titling his own work. In the preface, Gellius explains the circumstances of composition which led to the title of the *NA*, namely the long winter nights he spent reading and compiling the material in Attica (pr.4): *sed quoniam longinquis per hiemem noctibus in agro, sicuti dixi, terrae Atticae commentationes hasce ludere ac facere exorsi sumus, idcirco eas inscripsimus noctium esse Atticarum nihil imitati festivitates inscriptionum, quas plerique alii utriusque linguae scriptores in id genus libris fecerunt*. Gellius heavily emphasizes that his title lacks the sophistication of similar works, and instead he has taken the relatively unique step in naming his work after its place and time of composition.²⁰ Even though Gellius’ title does not indicate either the genre or the content of the *NA* at first glance, each word in the title conveys something to the reader about the nature of the work. The emphasis on Athens, whether or not all the material was composed there, imbues the *NA* with the tradition of Hellenic learning by connecting the text to the center of scholarship and philosophy in the Greek world.²¹ Additionally, the emphasis on nocturnal activity calls to mind the pervasive trope of lucubration, of the intense scholarly activity which

²⁰ While it was not entirely unusual for a work to be named after its dramatic setting (e.g. Cic. *Tusculan Disputations*, Dio Chrys. *Euboicus*), such titles are nevertheless rare and Gellius’ professed choice in naming his work after the location of composition is apparently rather unique; see Hirzel 1895, I 311 n. 2, I 319 n. 1, Vardi 1993, 300, Schröder 1999, 57-60. Ovid’s *Epistulae ex Ponto* is among the only other titles that actually refer to the circumstances of composition; see Schröder 1999, 88-89.

²¹ Vardi 1993, 300-301; Holford-Strevens 2003, 27.

reflects the toil and care expended in composing each part of the *NA*.²² Gellius reinforces the nocturnal aspect of his work several times throughout the Preface, as well as the extensive amount of time and work which were devoted to the text: he produced his notes through his long nights in Attica (*quoniam longinquis per hiemem noctibus in agro... terrae Atticae*, pr.4), and especially calls attention to the length of the nights in during the winter (*ex ipso loco ac tempore hibernarum vigiliarum*, pr.10). The nocturnal nature of Gellius' work is also transferred to the text and its readers: Gellius refers to his *commentarii* as *lucubrationculas istas* (pr.14), and he bans from his work those who are unaccustomed to their own late night reading (*nullas hoc genus vigilias vigilarunt*, pr.19).²³ Gellius' reader must be initiated into the text through a similar process of nocturnal study, at which point he will have full access to the learning of the *NA*.

Gellius goes to some length to stress the importance of reading and writing by night, as well as the location of this activity, and while both components of the title serve to aggrandize the intellectual qualities of the text, both the location and nights are marked as especially significant. Athens, the location of Gellius' study and the frequent setting of many scenes of learning and intellectual pursuit.²⁴ This component of the title is intended to evoke the learning of the philosophical center of Athens, but perhaps more importantly

²² On the conceit, see Janson 1964, 97-98, 147-148; Ker 2004, esp. 236-239 on Gellius; cf. Vardi 1993, 300. Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 122.2; Pin. *HN* pr.18; Fronto *Ep.* 1.4.1 (pp. 5.22-6.2); Apul. *Apol.* 5. Marache 1967, xii sees *Noctes* as a synonym for "élucubrations" designed to signal the intellectual work underlying the project ("désigne tout simplement le travail intellectuel, qui se pratiquait à la lampe"), though he does not pursue the interaction of title and Preface (an objection raised by Gunderson 2009, 28 n. 21).

²³ For the diminutive form *lucubrationculae*, which is possibly a coinage of Gellius' (and if not, at least derives from this period), cf. Fronto *Ep.* 1.4.1: *sed cupio hac sua accusatione offensus paulisper a me abscedat et lucubrationculae aliquam tandem facultatem tribuat*. On the form, see Minarini 2000, 550-551. The use of such diminutives is a typical strategy of false modesty in prose prefaces: see Janson 1964, 145-146.

²⁴ On Gellius' academic travel to Athens, see Ameling 1984 (which focuses on establishing the dating of Gellius' stay in Athens), Sandy 1993, esp. 63-66; Howley 2014, 163-173.

draws the reader's attention to one of the fundamental challenges of the text from the outset: by inscribing Athens so prominently in his Latin miscellany, Gellius implicitly raises the question of how the Greek and the Roman interact throughout the text as part of Gellius' intellectual agenda.

The tension between Greece and Rome implicit in the title manifests in the relative authority of Gellius himself, most apparent in the juxtaposition of two episodes involving Epictetus' teachings at the beginning and end of the *NA*; both 1.2 and 19.1 feature prominent citations of Epictetus, and the prominent location of each chapter (second position of the first book, first position of the second-to-last book) invites comparison.²⁵ Gellius (and his reader) first encounter the writings of Epictetus at *NA* 1.2, in which Herodes Atticus exposes an arrogant youth and his faulty knowledge of Stoic teachings. In this episode, set at his estate in Cephisia, Herodes Atticus reads from Epictetus' own writings a pointed passage, which introduces the image of a shipwreck, and has been selected in order to highlight the *adulescens*' intellectual shortcomings (1.2.6). Herodes Atticus appears as an authoritative figure well-versed in Stoic philosophy from this early point in the text, even though the passage quoted at length in Greek is a kind of *mise-en-abyme*, portraying Epictetus performing precisely the same kind of exposure of ignorance that constitutes the action of 1.2.

This anecdote has a pair in Gellius' account of a return voyage from Athens to Brundisium at 19.1, in which it is Gellius' turn to assume the role of an authoritative figure knowledgeable about Stoic doctrine. A storm arises while the ship is at sea, and Gellius notes that a Stoic philosopher was terrified by the experience (19.1.6), while a

²⁵ On reading the two episodes together, see Gunderson 2009, 230-235; Rust 2009, 40-51; Howley forthcoming.

certain rich Greek who was also making the voyage and was not frightened of the storm, challenged him and his philosophical credentials. The philosopher dismisses the rich man by citing Aristippus; after this encounter, Gellius reports that after the voyage he spoke to the philosopher, who was able to cite and produce a copy of Epictetus in order to justify his fear. What has changed between the two scenes is the role which Gellius plays here: instead of using the figure of Herodes Atticus to rebuke a *poseur*, Gellius casts himself as the active inquirer who challenges the Stoic and his apparent lack of Stoicism. Gellius, on his return trip from Athens to Rome, is now able to refute those he encounters and no longer needs to rely on the authority of others. Even the language in which Epictetus is presented has been inverted on the return trip—after his sojourn, Gellius is now proficient enough to provide an accurate Latin translation of a detailed philosophical point (19.1.15-20)²⁶—reflecting the intellectual transformation which has occurred. This assertion of Gellius authority does not end there: shortly after this chapter, Gellius reintroduces Herodes Atticus, who makes a series of attacks against Stoic ἀπάθεια (19.12). In lambasting one of the core Stoic virtues, Herodes problematizes his own credentials as a Stoic thinker.²⁷ As a result of following so closely on the heels of the account of Gellius' experience with the Stoic philosopher on the return crossing to Brundisium, Gellius pushes back against Herodes' philosophical authority even further, as the petrified philosopher serves as a proxy for Gellius to interrogate the value of ἀπάθεια. Herodes'

²⁶ In contrast to episodes of translation set earlier during his stay, especially 17.20, in which Gellius fails to capture Plato's style and content successfully; compare Gellius' challenges in translating the title of Plutarch's *περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης* at 11.16. On translation in Gellius generally, see Gamberale 1969 and Beall 1997. Howley forthcoming also observes that the passage of Epictetus which Gellius translates comments upon ostensibly more serious philosophical matters while in the earlier episode the passage cited by Herodes Atticus is little more than the kind of exposure scene that abounds in the *NA*.

²⁷ Keulen 2009, 282-287.

authority, so prominent in scenes set in Greece, is diminished as Gellius' increases proportionally as he returns home. The transition from Greece to Rome provides a narrative frame in which to depict Gellius' intellectual growth, as well as to model an appropriate application of Greek learning by a Roman.

Beyond the physical location of Attica that Gellius evokes with his title, he lays particular emphasis on the winter nights during which he composed the work; in fact, Gellius depicts himself reading and working throughout the night several times in both Greece and Italy, including *NA* 9.4, in which he voraciously reads several Greek books bought in bulk at Brundisium, and 15.7, in which he reports reading a collection of Augustus' letters. Given that a complex interplay of Greek and Roman is activated as early as the title which then permeates the *NA*, a similar effect can be observed with respect to the time of composition. In particular, although Gellius rarely discusses the winter, it appears to trigger a shift in meaning that requires deeper investigation in the *NA*. At 9.7, one of the only extended discussions of winter in the whole of the *NA*, Gellius explores a paradoxical phenomenon that he himself observed at the winter and summer solstices: olive trees turn their leaves upside down, exposing their bottom to the sun (9.7.1-2).²⁸ However, this is not the only strange thing to happen at the winter solstice, when the strings of the lyre sound different notes than expected when they are plucked (9.7.3).²⁹ Nothing is as it sounds in the depths of winter, and this claim implicates that the *commentarii*, explicitly flagged as having been written throughout the long winter in Attica, may have more meaning than they initially appear to have. Gellius

²⁸ Winter (*hiems* or *brumalis*) appears only at 2.22.6-7 (a discussion of winds), 3.1.1 (as part of the *mise-en-scène*), 3.10.5 (again describing winds), and 9.7.

²⁹ On this passage and its connection to the intratextual mechanics of the *NA*, see pp. 179-181.

invites his readers to follow him into a house of mirrors in which his own notes can have multiple meanings that need to be negotiated.

If winter carries with it in the *NA* an expectation that different readings are possible for the *commentarii*, Gellius' accounts of his nocturnal activity in Athens and its surroundings offer a potential key to unlock the knotty questions different chapters may raise. Gellius depicts events from his Attic nights themselves several times throughout the *NA*, including an evening boat-crossing from the Piraeus to Aegina at 2.21 (*Ab Aegina in Piraeum complusculi earundem disciplinarum sectatores Graeci Romanique homines eadem in navi tramittebamus. Nox fuit et clemens mare et anni aestas caelumque liquide serenum*, 2.21.1-2). The crossing becomes the setting for a debate of the Latin and Greek names of the *septentriones*, the Big Dipper. From the outset the scene is marked as a debate between Greek and Roman thanks to the mixed company on the boat (even if the bulk of the discussion is conducted between Romans who are more or less versed in the Greek language), and constellations offer an opportunity to stage an interaction between cultures which would have no prior authoritative claim to naming the feature.³⁰ In order to arrive at a correct etymology, one of the travelers recalls his Varro and is thus able to offer several Latin options (2.21.6-10). Through reading, conversation, and displays of this learning, Gellius depicts the small group of Roman students at Athens successfully exploring the intersection between their Roman identity and the Greek education which they have been imbibing while on their sojourn. The nocturnal setting, with its implication of learning derived from burning the midnight oil, emphasizes the intellectual nature of the conversation, while situating the activity in Athens locates this discussion as

³⁰ Howley 2014, 176-177. On calendars presenting a similar set of challenges and opportunities for cultural *synkrisis*, see below, pp. 194-197.

part of Gellius' time as a student. In this regard, Gellius models a process of intellectual pursuit for his audience, emphasizing a comparative perspective and the importance of broad reading, which in turn allows the students on the boat to answer the question which was posed. Even in Athens, though, for Gellius and his fellow students staying in touch with their identities as Latin-speakers is paramount, rather than being seduced by the allures of *Graecia capta*.³¹

Gellius' status as a student who can serve as a model for the reader is often activated by the particular set of intellectual activities he engages in while in Greece. Along with his fellow students, he engages in a series of sophistic games during the Saturnalia designed to foster their ability to extricate themselves from the snares of captious rhetoric (18.2, 18.13); these activities share a close connection with the sympotic questions posed at the table of Taurus, Gellius' teacher (7.13). Taurus, a respected philosophical authority throughout the *NA*, models this Greek activity initially for his Roman students, and they in turn appropriate Taurus' Hellenic model for their Saturnalian play. Yet Romans cannot fully give themselves over to such *otium*, even at Saturnalia, as the focus on honing their mental acuity through games reveals. These *captiones* are likened to *tesserulae*, markers which represent something other than themselves.³² Just as midwinter nights transform the pitch of the lyre, so too does the

³¹ Howley 2014, 177. Compare the potential effect of the final stanza of Cat. 51, if the poem is read as a meditation on the process of reading and translating Sappho (on which see Fantuzzi and Hunter 2004, 472-474): the final stanza's ruminations on the perilous effects of *otium* and, implicitly, reading Sappho's poetry suggest the necessity for a Roman reader to resist the enticements of Greek literature and avoid losing himself in such poetry. Roman authors frequently concede the allure of Greek poetry and its superiority to Latin; see Williams 1978, 145-152.

³² *NA* 18.13.2: *ubi conveneramus conplusculi eiusdem studii homines ad lavandi tempus, captiones, quae sophismata appellantur, mente agitabamus easque quasi talos aut tesserulas in medium vice sua quisque iaciebamus*. For the connection between intellectual activity and play, as well as further exploration of the *captiones* as *tesserulae*, see Howley 2014, 185; on 10.27, cf. below, pp. 147-149.

quintessentially Greek practice of playing at sophisms suggest that the unraveling of thorny textual and other intellectual problems, so closely connected to the project of the *NA*, have multiple meanings that require careful negotiation. Gellius and his compatriots in Athens offer a paradigm for critical thought, precisely balanced between the intellectual exuberance of Athens and the grounded pragmatism expected of Romans.

Far from being intended solely to intrigue the reader because of their unusual nature, the temporal and spatial elements flagged by the title of the *NA* are both essential elements of helping the reader to make sense of the text. Each half of the title carries resonances of learning and sophistication by evoking late-night toil and the center of philosophy in the Roman Empire respectively, and together they imbue Gellius' work with the intellectual authority Athens and the ideal of *lucubratio* represent. As I have suggested, scenes set at night and in Attica model a series of intellectual behaviors for his readership. Moreover, if Gellius is a student with limited authority during his time in Greece, by the time he returns to Rome he has attained sufficient mastery of Greek learning to apply it himself. The nocturnal boat crossing of 19.1 is a pointed metaphor for the whole of the *NA*, with its literal transference of Gellius across the Adriatic mirroring his own importation of the Greek learning he has acquired. Gellius has imbibed enough Greek wisdom to rebuke the Stoic in a test of his powers of inquiry on his voyage home, and he is prepared to return to Rome capable of applying his new philosophical learning.

The title thus offers a narratological frame for the reader to situate the disordered text and to intuit how the different intellectual activities modeled throughout the *NA* are intended to interrelated. As Gellius himself notes, not everything is as it initially sounds throughout the winter's nights, and the title provides another suggestion to the reader of

how to navigate the *NA*, especially when paired with the methodology of reading that is espoused in the Preface. If these two paratextual elements work together to help develop the intellectual faculties of the reader and enable him to read the *NA* successfully, the third and final device, which is explicitly labeled to help guide the reader throughout the text, but its function is enlightened by the reading strategies cultivated by the Preface and the title.

Crossing the Threshold: The Preface

The Preface represents the first sustained textual interaction between the reader and the *NA*, and it performs an essential role in mediating the reader's experience of the text.³³ In this Preface Gellius aims to achieve several goals, all of which serve the purpose of attracting readers of the right sort to his work, and then coaching those readers to engage with the *NA* in a manner intended by Gellius.³⁴ He alerts the reader to the ostensible genre of his work, as well as his own extensive reading, by listing at length the titles of other works which belong to the same intellectual sphere as his own; and he establishes his own literary authority, and reinforces his own learning, by describing the sleepless nights he spent in composing the *NA* during his winters in Attica. Importantly, the Preface also lays out Gellius artistic and intellectual program: Gellius invokes the aesthetic qualities of his work by indicating the *varietas* of the *NA* (*usi... sumus ordine*

³³ Though not necessarily the first element encountered, which would likely be the title; on the importance of reading the title as an integrated part of Gellius' project, see the previous section.

³⁴ Derrida 1981, 8 raises the deceptively simple yet immensely challenging question "but what do prefaces actually do?" Genette 1997, 197 attempts to answer this question by proposing that a preface included by a text's author "has as its chief function to ensure that the text is read properly," in addition to attracting a reader in the first place in a kind of *captatio benevolentiae*; all this is contingent upon the reader actually engaging with the preface before moving into the text itself.

rerum fortuito, *NA* pr.2, and at the same time he elucidates a theory of critical reading with which the text should be approached.

However, despite these prescriptive elements of the Preface, there is no guarantee a given reader would follow Gellius' lead in reading the *NA*; indeed, the reader may not even read the Preface. This latter possibility is especially true if, as is likely, the Preface and the table of contents were contained in their own bookroll, much like the individual books of the *NA*. Even if Gellius is attempting to dictate meaning and the manner in which the content of his work ought to be read in the Preface, this is only one manner of approaching the text. Derrida expresses this anxiety when discussing prefatory material, which in his reading is an attempt to limit the number of readings of what is to follow.³⁵ If Gellius is constraining the number of correct interpretations of the *NA* in the Preface, it does not preclude different kinds of readers from approaching the text with their own intentions or frames of reference. Yet, Gellius appears to be acutely aware of the multiple ways of reading the *NA* throughout the Preface: as much as the critical reading strategies which are embedded within the Preface suggest an ideal method of approaching the *NA* designed to enable the reader to internalize its lessons most thoroughly, Gellius recognizes the multiplicity of ways which the *NA* could be approached. In describing his work, he crosses several generic boundaries and incorporates the conventions of these different genres in representing his work as one that eludes easy classification.³⁶ These

³⁵ Derrida 1981, 7-9. Derrida is particularly interested in role of the preface vis-à-vis philosophical literature, and he is principally concerned with the function of the preface, articulated by Hegel, in trying to prevent unintended readings from emerging in a text. Both Hegel and Derrida have reservations with the efficacy of this endeavor; Derrida goes so far as to call it "an essential and ludicrous operation... because, in pointing out a single thematic nucleus or a single guiding thesis, it would cancel out the textual displacement that is at work" (7).

³⁶ On the challenges of assigning the *NA* to a particular genre, see Astarita 1993, 19-23, Vardi 2004, 159-165, who aims to depict a broader genre of compilatory literature which would be familiar to an Antonine

sorts of contradictions act as a primer in advance of the house of mirrors that constitute the *commentarii* of the *NA*; the ability to tease apart and reconcile these different strands is paramount to understanding the miscellaneity of the whole. Although Gellius recognizes that there are different sorts of readers who will approach and make use of the *NA*, in the Preface Gellius expresses a theory of reading which acts as a guide to the rest of the text by offering a strategy to disentangle the contradictory elements of the *NA*, and to make sense of the texts, anecdotes, and other material contained within. With these preliminaries in mind, in this section I will argue that the Preface is a cipher for the rest of the Gellius' work: it prescribes a method of reading that enables its audience to recognize coherence out of the text's fragmentation, while at the same time first presenting the particular aesthetic innovation which Gellius sees himself bringing to the miscellaneous form.

As I have suggested thus far, the Preface is a prescriptive text, outlining not only what Gellius believes his project to be, but also the manner in which one is to read it.³⁷ At the point which the Preface picks up, Gellius explicitly tells his audience that he conceives of his work as an *aide-mémoire* designed for his children to be able to consult during their leisure time to better themselves. As a result of this didactic function, Gellius is highly prescriptive in his preface, attempting to establish a particular educational

audience. Holford-Strevens 2003, 27-29 touches on this issue but does not problematize the question; Keulen 2009, 1-12 identifies the satiric elements of the *NA* and attempts to situate its discourse on cultural authority within an Antonine context but defers to pass judgment on the genre of the text itself. Gunderson 2009, 25-32 addresses some of the questions surrounding assigning the *NA* to a particular genre in his discussion of the Preface.

³⁷ A feature of the *NA*'s Preface developed by Vardi 2004, esp. 159-165, 169-179 and Howley 2011, 15-16, 68-70.

paradigm that then permeates the rest of the text.³⁸ Additionally, Gellius comments on his methods of composing the text and compiling his material. Gellius explicitly notes that he employed a chance ordering in his *commentarii*, recording them as he found each of his notes:

usi autem sumus ordine rerum fortuito, quem antea in excerpendo feceramus. Nam proinde **ut librum quemque in manus ceperam** seu Graecum seu Latinum vel quid memoratu dignum audieram, ita quae libitum erat, cuius generis cumque erant, **indistincte atque promisce** annotabam eaque mihi ad **subsidium memoriae** quasi quoddam litterarum penus recondebam...

However, **I used the same chance order of things**, which I used earlier in making my excerpts. For **as I had taken any book into my hands**, whether Greek or Latin, or I had heard that was worth remembering, I used to make not of whatever was pleasing, of whatever sort they were, **without any definite plan and mixed together**, and I was settings these things up for the purpose of supporting my memory as if it were a kind of storehouse of letters. (*NA* pr.2)

He declares that the project is a collection of items to support his memory, presenting anecdotes or passages that are somehow instructive. The nature of such a project seems to necessitate some form of organizing principle to ensure that such an aid is effective rather than a jumble of unrelated notes; several other examples of imperial and late antique miscellanies illustrate some form of organization, whether thematic or otherwise.³⁹ Moreover, the inclusion of a table of contents canonizes a set order for the work as it provides a rubric with which to approach the rest of the work.⁴⁰ Gellius explicitly

³⁸ As has been shown to great effect by Keulen 2009, 17-23.

³⁹ Athenaeus appears to structure his work thematically, or else by clustering his citations thematically; see Wilkins 2000, 27-35, Jacob 2000, 103-105, Jacob 2013, 33-40. Plutarch's *Quaestiones conviviales* also occasionally shows thematic or other organization; see Vardi 2004, 169, König 2007a, 56-62. Others, including Solinus, Clement of Alexandria, and Aelian, all contain some implicit organizing rubric despite open claims to the contrary. Macrobius reacts most strongly against the random nature of miscellaneous composition and imposes a schema upon it, as he suggests at *Sat.* pr.2-3 (which itself refashions *NA* pr.2 in order to serve the opposite purpose); see Petrovicová 2007, 105-109, Gunderson 2009, 255-259, Rust 2009, 200-202. On randomness in the *NA* and its place in the tradition of imperial literature generally, see Vardi 2004, 169-179 (on works with thematic grouping, see esp. 169-170).

⁴⁰ Riggsby 2007 on the table of contents; it seems particularly odd, given the nature of the table of contents as a technology and its inclusion in the *NA*, to lack some form of unifying principle. Furthermore, while it is helpful to have a table of contents, if there is no sense of organization, and the table of contents is structured in such a way that one is required to read it *in toto* in order to find a given topic, and indeed if the topics that are discussed throughout the *NA* are not necessarily to be found in the table of contents, then we

disavows such organization for his *NA*; this conceit is disingenuous, however, as the reader soon finds out after embarking on a course of reading the text. Indeed, such claims of carelessness are *loci communes* in the prefaces of much prose literature of the imperial period.⁴¹ The very dismissal of any semblance of ordering should be approached with caution; the Preface of the *NA* acts as a sort of *recusatio*, with Gellius' attempts to distance himself from artfulness implying that such care has been taken with the composition of the *NA*, as the remainder of the Preface, as well as the experience of reading the text itself, reveal.⁴²

Gellius' motives in openly declaring the *NA*'s lack of order become clearer when compared to another imperial prose collection which takes a similar posture. In the first of Pliny the Younger's *Epistles*, he tells his addressee that he has collected his letters in a non-systematic fashion:

Frequenter hortatus es ut epistulas, si quas paulo curatius scripsissem, colligerem publicaremque. Collegi **non servato temporis ordine** (neque enim historiam componebam), sed **ut quaeque in manus venerat**. Superest ut nec te consilii sed me paeniteat obsequii. Ita enim fiet, ut eas quae adhuc neglectae iacent requiram et si quas addidero non supprimam.

You have often urged me to collect and publish my letters, if I had written any of them more carefully. I have collected them **with the chronological order not preserved** (for I was not composing a history), but **as each came into my hands**. It remains for you not to regret the request and for me to regret following through on the request. Then it will be thus, that I should seek out any that have been forgotten to this time and that I not suppress any I may write later. (Plin. *Epist.* 1.1)

However, that Pliny's letters are not in fact haphazardly collected, but rather deliberately and artistically structured, is increasingly well-established. A. N. Sherwin-White

must come to terms with the table of contents and its apparent dissonance with the project. On this, see also Gunderson 2009, 46-47.

⁴¹ Janson 1964, 127-130.

⁴² If modern scholarly readers are uncomfortable with the randomness of the text, Renaissance readers of the *NA* praised the variegated nature of the text and saw in Gellius a model of scholarly notetaking; see Grafton 2004, 326-327 (citing Sicco Polenton's discussion of Gellius in the *Scriptorum illustrium latinae linguae libri xviii*, 8. pp. 221-222), and Blair 2010, 127-128.

challenged Pliny's assertion in his commentary on the *Epistles*, and recent scholarship on the letters of Pliny, in particular the work of Ilaria Marchesi, Roy Gibson, Ruth Morello, and John Bodel, among others, has convincingly demonstrated Pliny's deftness in arranging his letters, incorporating a wide range of inter- and intratextual relationships between adjacent letters, and in other cases across entire books.⁴³ As early as his Preface, then, Gellius suggests that he has Pliny in mind as a model of a Latin prose collection, an idea to which I will return later; for now, it is enough to recognize that, much as the case with Pliny's letters, looking beyond Gellius' explicit claims reveals more subtlety of thought in the arrangement of his chapters.

As the Preface proceeds, Gellius disparages a wide array of titles of other miscellanies, while at the same time justifying his own choice of *NA* for his work (pr.3-10). He names thirty titles in addition to his own, inserting his own work into the broader base of miscellaneous literature and demonstrating his own learning and awareness of his genre.⁴⁴ Though Gellius lists the titles condescendingly and they complicate his own description of his work, the particular qualities that he singles out for his text are noteworthy.⁴⁵ The *NA* is characterized by a careless assemblage of knowledge lacking in sophistication in contrast to the works of other writers. He moves on to attack the Greeks in the following sentence for heaping passages together without discernment, implying that his work is free from this vice (pr.11). He stresses, rather, his active role as a reader in preparing his text—in contrast to his claims about the carelessness of his own

⁴³ Sherwin-White 1966, 20-23, 42-51, with bibliography; Marchesi 2008; Gibson and Morello 2012; Bodel 2015.

⁴⁴ On the title, see Vardi 1993, Vardi 2004, 159-162, and see further above, pp. 39-50.

⁴⁵ Gunderson 2009, 27-28.

composition, Gellius presents himself as a discerning reader writing for his sophisticated peers. Though he has examined many texts at every possible break from his business,

Gellius claims that

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 vitae negotiis occupatos a turpi certe agrestique rerum atque verborum imperitia vindicarent.

but I excerpted only moderately from these books and those things alone which either would lead sharp and active minds to a desire of honorable learning and the contemplation of useful skills by means of a quick and easy shortcut, or would save men already occupied in other business of life from a certainly shameful and rustic ignorance of things and words. (NA pr.12)

The *commentarii* of the NA have in fact been carefully selected and written in such a way as to be beneficial for those seeking knowledge, and Genette presents the text as something that may be mined for knowledge more than a literary endeavor in its own right. Yet, everything that is included must stimulate the inquiring mind in others like him, and he proceeds to outline an ideal manner of reading.

He notes that his readers will need to devote time and energy to his work, since they require a careful and active reader. He urges the reader to consider knowledge broadly if they should stumble upon something they already know, and to pause and reflect how novelties may help them grow. Should the reader stumble upon a mistake that Gellius has made, he should consider the mistake and see how to learn from Gellius' example; a critical aspect of this is seeking the original text itself and interpreting how Gellius erred (pr.18). Indeed, if his readers do not have time to think actively and reflect—if they are too preoccupied with *negotium*, for instance—Gellius suggests they look elsewhere (pr.19). He implies that the NA reward careful reading and contemplation, and necessitate such close and active reading to derive the most enjoyment and use out of the text. Quoting Aristophanes' *Frogs*, Gellius then banishes such men who are not

inclined towards careful reading, though he defers from identifying the context of his lines other than offering the author: the reader is put to the test to see if they understand the precept given in pr.18.⁴⁶ The disinterested are dismissed from the work, and those that have correctly internalized the lessons of the Preface are free to proceed. The quotation from Aristophanes' *Frogs*, which likens the *NA* to the παννυχίδες of the Muses (pr.21), expands the connection between the text's craft and its connection with Athens, stressing Gellius' kinship with Aristophanes while also reinforcing the nocturnal nature of the work.⁴⁷ It is these same readers that will notice the incongruities regarding the titles, noted above, as well as the invocations of the Muses twice in pr.19-21, in Gellius' voice as well as Aristophanes, that jar with the mocked title *Musae*. The reader is left to look backwards and forwards and to attempt to understand what Gellius' choice implies, and to see the semantic differences between the different usages.

In what remains of the Preface, Gellius claims that he will add to the twenty completed books of the *NA* in whatever free time he can find between his official duties and the education of his children; for as long as he survives, he will endeavor to continue producing notes (pr.23-24). He concludes by mentioning the inclusion of the table of contents, with the purpose of making clear at a glance what material may be found in what place throughout the *NA* (pr.25). Gellius concludes the Preface by returning to the theme with which the surviving portion began, the education of his children; he steps away from broader judgments about the aesthetic properties of the work and reasserts the *NA*'s place in the Roman educative tradition. Indeed, in the same move Gellius

⁴⁶ Howley 2011, 16 notes this element of testing the reader, much as engaging with the table of contents provides a different sort of mental challenge.

⁴⁷ Ker 2004, 238-239. Cf. above, pp. 42-44.

repositions himself as a Roman cultural authority, balancing his literary endeavors and his personal affairs, recalling his earlier mention of when he was able to make time for his writing—the *NA* is a work that he has composed during his *otium*, and he will continue to develop the project should more leisure time be afforded to him.⁴⁸ These closing remarks act as a *sphragis* which reinforces the Roman nature of the *NA* and its author, as well as recalling one of the important recalibrations of the miscellaneous enterprise that Gellius noted: if Greek writers are concerned with producing volume, Gellius is instead interested in collecting material which will spark learning and critical thought, valuable qualities for a *vir civiliter eruditus*. This critical practice is keyed to the aesthetic judgments encouraged by Gellius in the Preface, and appreciating the artistic qualities of the *NA* in turn engenders the sort of critical mindset which is vital for an elite Roman male in the Antonine age.

Although he attempts to distinguish his project in his Preface, Gellius is nevertheless working within a tradition of similar prefatory texts; in particular, the preface to Pliny the Elder’s *HN* offers another model of framing such an intellectual project, which is itself a target of the polemic contained in the *NA*’s Preface.⁴⁹ Many of the elements of Pliny’s prefatory epistle are conventional; nevertheless, certain features repay comparison with those of the *NA*.⁵⁰ While both Pliny and Gellius situate their

⁴⁸ Keulen 2009, 18.

⁴⁹ On the relationship between the two, see, e.g., Marache 1967, xxiv; Astarita 1993, 20-23, which focuses on the different titles mentioned and the generic relation between Gellius and Pliny; Minarini 2000, 537-543, which stresses the differences in the expressed purposes of the two works; Stevenson 2004, 125-126, which comments upon the efforts of each to distinguish their works from their immediate predecessors; Rust 2009, 73-75, 111-121, which compares the programs of each in their respective Prefaces, while noting the polemical stance Gellius takes vis-à-vis Pliny. Cf. Howley 2011, 73-76, which contrasts each author’s approach to reading.

⁵⁰ For a general survey of Pliny’s engagement with the conventions of prose prefaces, see Janson 1964, 75-76, 97-99, 125, 127.

works within a broader tradition of elite Roman education with some practical application for public life,⁵¹ throughout the prefatory epistle of the *HN* Pliny focuses much more on the practical nature of composing his encyclopedic work. He casts his project in the light of the intense labor necessary for its production, criticizing Livy's apparent lack of love for the work inherent in composing his history (*HN* pr.16), before stressing the volume of material he has condensed into his encyclopedic work and its utility (*HN* pr.17).⁵² He labels his bookrolls *thesauri* for the valuable material he has found (as opposed to Gellius' *penus*, *NA* pr.2), and emphasizes both the sheer number of volumes he consulted and his selectivity in choosing them.⁵³ He then attacks the authors of several of his sources, claiming that he has caught them out lifting material from one another without attribution (*HN* pr.22). In contrast, even though his *modus operandi* is the collection of material in which he recognizes utility, Pliny explicitly tells his audience the sources of this material, and he frames his process of excerption precisely in terms of acquisition and monetary value—textual borrowings, like loans, must be repaid with interest (*sors fiat ex usura*, *HN* pr.23).⁵⁴ The value of the *HN* thus derives from its author's extensive

⁵¹ Cf. Doody 2009, 14-17; Howley 2011, 73 n. 36.

⁵² Part of the objection to Livy centers on his project's utility for the state, rather than working for his own benefit (*profecto enim populi gentium victoris et Romani nominis gloriae, non suae, composuisse illa decuit. maius meritum esset operis amore, non animi causa, perseverasse et hoc populo Romano praestitisse, non sibi*, *HN* pr.16); see Howe 1985, 563-564.

⁵³ Plin. *HN* pr.17: *viginti milia rerum dignarum cura—quoniam, ut ait Domitius Piso, thesaurus oportet esse, non libros—lectione voluminum circiter duorum milium, quorum pauca admodum studiosi attingunt propter secretum materiae, ex exquisitis auctoribus centum inclusimus triginta sex voluminibus, adiectis rebus plurimis, quas aut ignoraverant priores aut postea invenerat vita.*

⁵⁴ In likening his work to a *thesaurus*, Pliny suggests that one of the aims of the *HN* is the collection of a hoard of valuables; Pliny further states that the dedicatee of his work serves as a vouchsafe for its quality in the same way that dedicating items in temples increases their worth (*multa valde pretiosa ideo videntur, quia sunt templis dicata*, *HN* pr.19). Carey 2003, 75-76 proposes that this imagery assimilates the *HN* to the installation of *spolia* from foreign wars into temples back at Rome. The metaphor of money-lending likewise equates Pliny's excerption with the acquisition of wealth, and creates a mindset in which the acquisition of knowledge effectively becomes the acquisition of a commodity. However, acquisition is not

reading and accumulation of material directly quoted or accurately transcribed into a medium in which it will have the greatest practical application for his audience; the identification of such material, however, does not emphasize reflection or discernment.

Pliny also includes a list of sixteen other titles for collected works; he marvels at the Greek enthusiasm for clever titles (*inscriptionis apud Graecos mira felicitas*, *HN* pr.24) despite the lack of substance hiding behind such wittiness (*at cum intraveris, di deaeque, quam nihil in medio invenies*).⁵⁵ The *HN* lacks a title to delight the audience because that is not the text's purpose, just as the content of the work, characterized as *sterilis materia* (*HN* pr.13), is intended to be practical instead of entertaining. These claims are paralleled by Gellius' own more extensive list of titles included in the Preface of the *NA*, although Gellius does include pleasure alongside the didactic purpose of his text (*NA* pr.11).⁵⁶ Indeed, Gellius' own title list includes Pliny as he expands the list given in the *HN*, nearly doubling the number of titles with satirical effect. If Pliny includes several choice titles and authors, as well as a description of some of the faults of individual works, Gellius eschews such detail while providing a litany of anonymous titles.⁵⁷ Pliny's decision to name rival titles subsumes these competing works within his own project in much the same way that Gellius does: if the *HN*'s value is generated from

a means unto itself and the accumulation of knowledge should have a purpose in service to the state, much like his attack on Livy and his motive for composing the *Ab urbe condita* (on the knowledge *qua* commodity, see generally Murphy 2004, 49-73); on anxieties about the collection of wealth and not reinvesting it for the state's benefit see Murphy 2003, 310-313, Murphy 2004, 64-65. Cf. Howley 2011, 74-76, who focuses on the intersection of these metaphors with Pliny's attitudes towards reading and its contrast with Gellius'.

⁵⁵ On Pliny's title list vis-à-vis Gellius', see Rust 2009, 115-121.

⁵⁶ But Gellius' title lacks precedent within the sphere of miscellaneous and encyclopedic texts, and thus fits the creative mold which both he and Pliny reject for their works.

⁵⁷ Rust 2009, 118-119.

Pliny's judicious collection of material, by including and critiquing these fellow works Pliny demonstrates his mastery of the form.

Despite this attempt, Pliny has explicitly remarked earlier in his preface that with the *HN* he has embarked upon a project which has never been attempted successfully in either Greek or Latin; instead, he suggests that he has forged ahead along an untrodden path in writing the *HN* (*iter est non trita auctoribus via nec qua peregrinari animus expetat. nemo apud nos qui idem temptaverit, nemo apud Graecos qui unus omnia ea tractaverit*, pr.14). Even more than the title list, Pliny's engagement with Cato, Varro, and Cicero throughout the preface suggests that there are works with similar intentions to offer practical benefit to the Roman elite, if not execution, in Latin.⁵⁸ Pliny envisions his project as redefining the genre of encyclopedic literature as a result of the labor that he has invested in its collection, as well as the perceived utility of the *HN*. He claims that such utility will be at the expense of the aesthetic quality of the text. However, there is a wrinkle: in framing his work, Pliny evokes several paragons of Roman poetry and implicates himself into their literary tradition. In his opening sentences, he casts himself as Catullus in his dedication to the emperor Titus by citing Catullus 1.3-4.⁵⁹ On the surface level, by aligning himself with Catullus' self-deprecating remarks Pliny urges his reader not to expect much in the way of artistry. The only other direct poetic quotation in the preface is of the same spirit, as Lucilius similarly declares that his works were not designed for the learned (pr.7). However, Pliny manipulates the original Catullan lines in

⁵⁸ Naas 2002, 39-40.

⁵⁹ *HN* pr.1: *namque tu solebas nugas esse aliquid meas putare, ut obiter emolliam Catullum conterraneum meum*. Compare Cat. 1.3-4: *Corneli, tibi: namque tu solebas / meas esse aliquid putare nugas*.

an apparent attempt to distance himself and his work from Catullus' poetic enterprise;⁶⁰ but by rewriting the Catullan hendecasyllables to accommodate a Flavian taste for initial spondees, Pliny betrays his own stylistic awareness despite claims to distance himself from such literariness.⁶¹ In fact, the Catullan allusion represents an attempt to construct both author and addressee as learned men with strong poetic interests who are capable of appreciating the stylistic finesse applied to Pliny's source in the preface.⁶²

Further, although Pliny is quick to deprecate his work's capacity to entertain at the outset, in lauding his project as following unknown paths he places his work firmly within a poetic tradition of literary innovation; his words evoke Horace's mention of the untrodden path in the *Ars poetica*, which itself looks back to Callimachus' programmatic formulation of forging into novel poetic forms and topics in his discussion of aesthetics in the *Aetia* prologue.⁶³ Such allusions to poetic luminaries are an authorizing strategy at the outset of the *HN* predicated upon Pliny's breadth of learning and experience with the *enkuklios paideia*, and while he attempts to write off poetry as valuable for his project, by alluding to these innovators Pliny inserts himself among their company. Although his work contains *sterilis materia*, it has offered an avenue for him to develop a new Roman

⁶⁰ Howe 1985, 567-568 stresses that, by misquoting the Catullus (from *namque tu solebas meas esse aliquid putare nugas*), Pliny deflates Catullus' marked use of *nugas* while sarcastically implying that he has corrected the frivolity of the lyric mode. His argument in favor of an ironical reading of the correction of Catullus is overly strongly formulated, though is certainly in line with the arguments in favor of practicality that permeate the preface of the *HN*.

⁶¹ Morgan 2007a, 126-127. Cf. Gibson 2011, 191-192, Morello 2011, 148-153.

⁶² Morello 2011, 152-153.

⁶³ Hor. *Ars p.* 285-288: *nil intemptatum nostril liquere poetae; / nec minimum meruere decus vestigia Graeca / ausi deserere et celebrare domestica facta, / vel qui praetextas vel qui docuere togatas*. Cf. Callim. *Aet. fr.* 1.25-28 Pf.: πρὸς δέ σε] καὶ τόδ' ἄνωγα, τὰ μὴ πατέουσιν ἄμαξαι / τὰ στεῖβε μιν, ἐτέρων ἔχνια μὴ καθ' ὁμά / δίφρον ἐλῆν μῆδ' οἶμον ἀνὰ πλατύν, ἁλλὰ κελεύθους / ἀτρίπτοιο, εἰ καὶ στεῖβν ὀτέρην ἐλάσεις.'

literary form, and it ought to be read within this matrix of other literary innovators. Pliny does not draw aesthetic cues from the poetic tradition throughout the *HN*, but by alluding to Catullus and Callimachus he implies that the text has a closer kinship with these authors than his claims to the contrary indicate. In fact, he recognizes, and to a degree embraces, the aesthetic challenges inherent in composing a work that treats authoritatively and comprehensively a set of arcane and specialist branches of knowledge. While Pliny may not be up to the task of matching Callimachus' style, by alluding to the Alexandrian tradition he attempts to activate this connection in his readers' minds and condition a favorable aesthetic reception for his work.

In the Preface of the *NA* Gellius thus responds to several elements of that of the *HN*, in particular those focused on the nature of the text. If Pliny sees the accumulation of material as the source of his text's value, Gellius suggests that it is the process of reading which itself confers benefit to the reader. Moreover, his exaggeration of Pliny's title list, with the ironic inclusion of the *HN* within his own expanded list, not only allows Gellius to express his mastery over the genres represented, but also to best Pliny at his own game: if for Pliny the volume of texts cited confers weight, Gellius names double the number of books included in the *HN*. Additionally, in contrast to Pliny's disavowal of entertainment as an appropriate function for his text, Gellius includes the delight of the reader as one of his aims alongside his didactic purpose (pr.14). Perhaps the biggest divide between the two prefaces derives from their authors' use of poetry. Pliny is apprehensive about the medium and its utility, although he embraces the work of Catullus as a means to portray himself as a cultured and authoritative writer. Gellius, in contrast, he embraces a poeticizing identity which Pliny shows reservations about by portraying

himself as part of the *literati* and a devotee of the Muses; the *NA* represents for Gellius an opportunity to transpose poetic aesthetics into his collection of learning. In so doing, Gellius introduces *variatio*, as reflected by the *ordo fortuitus* of his collection; Pliny, in contrast, focuses on the utility of his work instead of any aestheticizing considerations. While this choice may derive from the slightly different generic spheres to which each of these works belongs, Gellius nevertheless reacts against the sterile nature of the *HN* and blends the collection of knowledge with a refinement more typical of poetic rather than reference works. Indeed, Gellius' wholehearted embrace of a miscellaneous aesthetic based on *variatio* and with attention to techniques of poetic composition thus distinguishes his work from other similar works that preceded his own, even if they attempted to affiliate themselves with those forms as Pliny the Elder had.

This choice on Gellius' part to operate within a more openly poeticizing frame may be recognized in the miscellaneous writers of the generation after Gellius. Throughout the latter parts of the second and beginning of the third centuries CE, the miscellany remained a prominent form thanks to the flourishing sophistic culture that is depicted in the *NA*, though primarily in Greek and more frequently utilizing the sympotic frame, such as Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae*. Roughly contemporary to Athenaeus are Aelian's *De natura animalium* and *Varia historia*; both are often overlooked in discussions of this tradition, and the *VH* in particular has been neglected by scholars except as a source of historical curiosities.⁶⁴ However, as a native Latin speaker writing

⁶⁴ On Aelian generally, see Kindstrand 1998. Only in recent years have the literary elements of the *De nat. an.* begun to receive substantial critical attention: see for instance Fögen 2009. The *VH* has attracted more attention, focusing on broader issues of history and identity: see Stamm 2003, Prandi 2005. Campanile 2006 investigates several sophistic tropes and themes throughout the work and suggests some implications for the target audience and the sophistic context of the work. Johnson 1997 treats the *VH* as part of the miscellany tradition, and sees the text as serving the needs of an audience who required a wide array of recondite information ready at hand; cf. Goldhill 2009.

in Greek some fifty years after the publication of the *NA*, Aelian provides an interesting test case for the evolution of the miscellany's preface, especially in relation to Gellius' own discussions. The preface to the *De nat. an.* is closer in form to Gellius's Preface than the other extant Greek authors, and certain affinities in composition are natural. Additionally, given that Aelian is also the author of a collection of brief fictional letters carefully constructed with variation and responsion between letters in mind, it seems likely that his preface may reveal a similar aesthetic concern in his explicitly miscellaneous works.⁶⁵ A brief look at the paratextual material of the *De Natura Animalium* in particular offers insight into his compositional approach, as well as his interpretation of the miscellaneous aesthetic more generally.⁶⁶

Aelian opens the *De Natura Animalium* with a prologue describing his motivations for composing the work, as well as his wish that his work be found profitable, though earlier writers have treated the same topic. He calls attention to his eagerness in compiling the material, as well as his care in composition:

ὥς μὲν οὖν καὶ ἑτέροις ὑπὲρ τούτων ἐσπούδασται, καλῶς οἶδα· ἐγὼ δὲ ἑαυτῷ ταῦτα ὅσα οἶόν τε ἦν ἀθροίσας καὶ περιβαλὼν αὐτοῖς τὴν συνήθη λέξιν, κειμήλιον οὐκ ἄσπουδάστον ἐκπονήσαι πεπίστευκα. [...] εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ πολλοῖς τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ σοφοῖς γεγόναμεν, μὴ ἔστω ζημίωμα ἔσπαινον ἢ τοῦ χρόνου λήξις, εἴ τι καὶ αὐτοὶ σπουδῆς ἄξιον μάθημα παρεχοίμεθα καὶ τῇ εὐρέσει τῇ περιττοτέρᾳ καὶ τῇ φωνῇ.

I know well that others have labored on the same topics; but I, gathering together as many things as I was able and adorning them in a plain style, and I have confidence that I have wrought a treasure deserving of praise. [...]. Although I have come after many wise men, let the circumstance of my time not be a detriment to praise, if I should create a learned work deserving of attention because of its rather ample research and its style. (*De nat. an.* Prol.)

⁶⁵ Throughout the Second Sophistic, such letter collections were a prominent field of literary enterprise, and the ordering and patterning of these collections has been shown to possess a deliberate artistry, much in the manner of Pliny's letters and others. On this technique in Alciphron, see König 2007b; on Aelian and Alciphron, Hodkinson 2007, esp. 295-300. Such techniques of patterning and ordering extended beyond the fictional letter collections into other realms of short prose collections: for a similar technique being employed in the *Eikones* of Philostratus, see Baumann 2011.

⁶⁶ On the preface and the epilogue of the *de nat. an.*, especially his claims about the merits of ποικιλία, see Smith 2014, 47-66.

The value of the work derives not only from the information contained within, which Aelian went to some labor to obtain, but also in the manner in which he presents it, which he claims he approached with diligence, despite his plain language. Additionally he alludes to his predecessors, though mentions none by name; rather, he calls attention to his belatedness while arguing that his rhetorical achievement cannot be diminished thanks to his labor and artful composition.

The strands are picked up again in the epilogue to the work, in which Aelian elaborates on the manner in which he organized the chapters:

οἷδα δὲ ὅτι καὶ ἐκεῖνα οὐκ ἐπαινέσονται τινες, εἰ μὴ καθ' ἕκαστον τῶν ζώων ἀπέκριναι μου τὸν λόγον, μηδὲ ἰδίᾳ τὰ ἑκάστου εἶπον ἄθροα, **ἀνέμιξα δὲ καὶ τὰ ποικίλα ποικίλως**, καὶ ὑπὲρ πολλῶν διεξῆλθον, καὶ πῇ μὲν ἀπέλιπον τὸν περὶ τῶνδε λόγον τῶν ζώων, πῇ δὲ ὑπέστρεψα ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν φύσεως ἕτερα εἴρων. ἐγὼ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν τὸ ἑμὸν ἴδιον οὐκ εἰμι τῆς ἄλλου κρίσεως τε καὶ βουλήσεως δοῦλος, οὐδέ φημι δεῖν ἔπεσθαι ἑτέρῳ, **ὅποι μ' ἂν ἀπάγῃ · δεύτερον δὲ τῷ ποικίλῳ τῆς ἀναγνώσεως τὸ ἐφορκὸν θηρῶν καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῶν ὁμοίων βδελυγμίαν ἀποδιδράσκων, οἷον εἰ λειμῶνά τινα ἢ στέφανον ὠρεῶν ἐκ τῆς πολυχροίας, ὥς ἀνθροφόρων τῶν ζώων τῶν πολλῶν, ὥρῃθην δεῖν τήνδε ὑφᾶναι τε καὶ διαπλέξαι τὴν συγγραφὴν**.

I know that some will disapprove, since I have not kept the discussion of the animals separated by each animal, and I have not said all that there is to say about each in its own place, **but I mixed the various elements in miscellaneous fashion**, and I went through many of them, at one point inserting a discussion of some animals, at another returning and stringing together other details about their nature. First, speaking for myself, I am not a slave to the judgment and will of another, nor do I profess that it is necessary to follow the lead of another, wherever it leads me. **Second, since by means of variety I was hunting for some enticement for reading and I was staving off the nausea that derives from monotonous repetition, I thought it best to weave and interweave thoroughly this work like a meadow or a garland resplendent with many colors, as if it were a flowering of many animals.** (*De nat. an. Epil.*)

Though his audience may object, he holds up ποικιλία as a defining virtue of his text, and one of his guiding principles in composing. Much as Gellius does throughout the *NA*, Aelian employs a varied order both to reflect the various natures of the animals he is discussing, in contrast to the all too human sympotic frame offered by Plutarch and Athenaeus, as well as to maintain the interest of his readership. That is not to say that Aelian's embrace of ποικιλία is not ambivalent; he describes his compositional technique as a kind of hunting (θηρῶν), with the variegated nature of his work the bait, and one can

easily fall victim to such stylistic enticement.⁶⁷ Yet, if there is anxiety expressed in the defensive posture which Aelian assumes, he nevertheless asserts the importance of the miscellaneous form for his project—which serves as a demonstration of Aelian’s artistic skill and a complement to his scholarly engagement.

In describing the miscellaneous nature of the *De nat. an.*, Aelian claims that he attempted to weave his text together as if a meadow or garland, both potential alternate titles for miscellanies (and likewise sneered at by Gellius).⁶⁸ While he and Gellius agree on the principle of random ordering, Aelian distances himself from Gellius in positively evaluating the interweaving of λειμῶνες and στέφανοι. In naming both, Aelian may himself be playing with ideas of ποικιλία by offering both metaphors pleonastically as comparanda for his compositional technique: Aelian and his work can morph between meadow and garland as needed. Additionally, the duplicated floral imagery reinforces the generic connection between the *De nat. an.* and works with these titles. Deliberate patterning and planning is implied in those works, such as the *Garland* of Meleager, and a poetic bent to this structure may be suggested in the previous paragraph.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Smith 2014, 52.

⁶⁸ NA pr.6-8: *Namque alii Musarum inscripserunt, alii silvarum, ille πέπλον, hic Ἀμαλθείας κέρασ, alius κηρία, partim λειμῶνας, quidam lectionis suae, alius antiquarum lectionum atque alius ἀνθηρῶν et item alius εὐρημάτων. Sunt etiam, qui λύχνους inscripserint, sunt item qui στρωματεῖς, sunt adeo, qui πανδέκτας et Ἐλικῶνα et προβλήματα et ἔγχειρίδια et παραξιφίδας. Est qui memoriales titulum fecerit, est qui πραγματικά et πάρεργα et διδασκαλικά, est item qui historiae naturalis, est <qui> παντοδαπῆς ἱστορίας, est praeterea qui pratum, est itidem qui πάγκαρπον, est qui τόπων scripserit.* On the trope of the garland see Janson 1964, 80-83; Vardi 2004, 171.

⁶⁹ Smith 2014, 52-54 calls attention to poetic diction in Aelian’s claimed emulation of flower-bearers, ἀνθεσφόροι, a word otherwise attested only in Euripides prior to Aelian; the use of λειμῶνες reinforces the allusion to Eur. *IA* 1544. On poetic garlands and that of Meleager, see Gutzwiller 1998, 276-322.

Before defending the ποικιλία of his work, Aelian preempts accusations of seeking fame or fortune by claiming that he wrote his work solely out of his love for learning and a desire to be counted among the poets:

ἀλλὰ οὐ μοι φίλον σὺν τοῖσδε τοῖς πλουσίοις ἀριθμεῖσθαι καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνους ἐξετάζεσθαι, εἰ δὲ ὦν καὶ ποιηταὶ σοφοὶ καὶ ἄνδρες φύσεως ἀπόρρητα ἰδεῖν τε ἅμα καὶ κατασκέψασθαι δεινοὶ καὶ συγγραφεῖς τῆς πείρας ἐς τὸ μήκιστον προελθόντες ἑαυτοὺς ἡξίωσαν, τούτων τοι καὶ ἑμαυτὸν ἀμωσγέπως ἕνα πειρῶμαι ἀριθμεῖν καὶ ἐθέλω, δῆλον ὡς ἀμείνων ἑμαυτῷ σύμβολός εἰμι τῆς ἐξ ἐκείνων κρίσεως.

But it is not dear to me to be counted among the rich men and to be compared to them; but if I strive and endeavor to count myself in some way amongst those whom the wise poets, and the men skilled at detecting the exploring the ineffable secrets of nature, and writers who have reached the pinnacle of their experience claim to belong, it is clear that I am a better councilor for myself than the judgment of those men [who accuse Aelian of writing solely for profit]. (*De nat. an. Epil.*)

Aelian has lofty aspirations, and expectations, for what would at first blush seem to be a mere collection of knowledge. Indeed, to number amongst the poets and natural philosophers is to belong to a company of literary fellows, and Aelian believes that the literary virtues of his work justify this honor. While ποικιλία is the only virtue he explicitly defends here (he has already praised his λέξις at the outset), the invocation of poets in this context implies a connection between the two works. In fact, he reinforces this connection by alluding to Euripides' *Orestes* and his claims about judgment in his closing statements (Eur. *El.* 367-385), in which he reasserts the skill and labor evident in his work.⁷⁰ This declaration in the epilogue prompts the reader to look back over the text, to reconsider its merits in poetic terms that are only now explicitly suggested, and on a second reading may come to the surface.

It is difficult to make a similar argument for the *VH*, which lacks prefatory material; indeed, the beginning of the text may be damaged, given that the first fifteen chapters are not historical at all, but rather chapters about fish that would not be out of

⁷⁰ Smith 2014, 62-64.

place in the *De natura animalium*.⁷¹ However, it is possible to see a similar stylistic evaluation being suggested in the first chapter on the octopus. Aelian claims that the octopus is capable of eating anything, even what is indigestible to others; it is able to ensnare even others of its own kind, in addition to fish; it can set traps through changing its color; and it can use its tentacles as a net to ensnare the passing fish (*VH* 1.1). Aelian chiefly considers the cleverness of the octopus in obtaining its food, though he stresses the ability of the octopus to adapt and change to suit its needs. Given the placement of this anecdote, it should be read programmatically, suggesting a connection between the project, its author, and the octopus.⁷² The composer of miscellany must be able to consume a wide array of seemingly indigestible texts to their benefit, including material from other miscellanies, and to be able to change the appearance of the text to entice passing readers close. The variety of the text, in the form of the arms, keeps the reader in the thrall of the text once they have been lured in, and the description of these tentacles as a net, ἄρκυες πλεκτάναι, is suggestive of the interwoven nature of the *De nat. an.* praised in Aelian's epilogue, as well as Aelian's description of the miscellaneous author: he is a hunter attempting to ensnare readers within the web of his work. The octopus is a fitting analogue for Aelian, given its traditional connections with mental acuity of the sort idealized in lyric, and reflective of poetic, as well as sophistic, activity.⁷³ On this reading, then, from the outset the text invites the reader to consider the text as something

⁷¹ For an overview of the state of the text, see Wilson 1997, 1-23.

⁷² A possibility first raised, rightly, by Campanile 2006, 430.

⁷³ The foundational work on the octopus in Greek society is Détienne and Vernant 1978 (see esp. 37-43; cf. 159-162, on the cuttlefish). For the mental versatility of the octopus, see *Theb. PEG* 1 fr. 4 (=Ath. 7.317a); Thgn. 215-218; Pind. fr. 43 S-M (=Ath. 12.513c); cf. LeVen 2013, esp. 34-35.

ambivalent, on the one hand a collection of facts, while on the other a text that offers enough literary delight to be entirely captured by it.

Aelian, writing in a similar genre and with a similar literary intent to Gellius, offers another way of conceptualizing the miscellaneous project. Though Gellius indicates the miscellaneous nature of his text in his Preface with an apparently limited ulterior purpose, Aelian's own meditations on the variety of his works are suggestive of an underlying aesthetic purpose. Aelian explicitly declares that he has composed the *De nat. an.* with miscellaneity in mind (τὰ ποικίλα ποικίλως), and that such a choice elevates his work into the ranks of poets and other practiced and refined authors, in contrast to other works in his genre. By comparison, Aelian's later example reveals that Gellius' similar professed randomness is a conceit and an intentional choice founded upon literary artifice. Just as Aelian attempts to distinguish his own intellectual project by virtue of its artistry, so too does Gellius attempt to provide a different path to the works of Pliny the Elder, among others. Aelian makes explicit what Gellius leaves implicit, and his later example potentially draws on the aesthetic example of Gellius' earlier miscellany in this regard. For both, almost as important as the information their works contain is the artistic intent underlying both the *NA* and the *De nat. an.*

The Preface of the *NA*, as well as the other examples discussed here, thus situates the text within a broader tradition of miscellaneous or encyclopedic literature; at the same time, Gellius attempts to distinguish his own miscellany from the tradition of such texts by emphasizing the singular artistic ability with which he has crafted the collection. Gellius utilizes his Preface to achieve a variety of effects: he portrays himself in an authoritative light, emphasizing his own intellectual credentials and enhancing those of

his work, while articulating the generic space which the *NA* occupies. Although his Preface mirrors several elements of Pliny's *HN*, including its list of titles, Gellius nevertheless positions himself against Pliny, in part by subsuming the *HN* into his own list of titles which he considers precious. However, like Pliny and Aelian, Gellius introduces poetry as an important parallel for approaching his work. In contrast to previous miscellaneous works, the *NA* represent an artistic peak for miscellaneous literature, suggesting that the author's rejection of the *profestum et profanum vulgus*, in much the same way as the *Odes* are Horace's attempt at fashioning a distinct Roman lyric collection for the appreciation of a learned audience.

More important than these aspects, though, Gellius attempts to prescribe a manner in which the *NA* ought to be read in order to derive the most benefit from the work. Throughout the Preface, Gellius toys with the divide between practicality and aesthetics in the *NA*; his work is intended to delight as well as to educate. This attempt at balance between the two functions of the work parallels the conventional dichotomy between *otium* and *negotium*, evident in the self-portraits of Pliny the Younger among others, that Gellius in turn adopts in his own authorial persona.⁷⁴ Balancing these elements is a central occupation of the idealized intellectual mind which Gellius promotes, and Gellius prescribes an ideal method of approaching the *NA*, which can disentangle these elements by expounding a theory of reading intended to be applied to his own work. The self-portrait which Gellius cultivates throughout the Preface enables him to model this methodology for his reader, while at the same time depicting himself as

⁷⁴ On *otium* and *negotium* in the *NA* and Gellius' self-representation, see below, pp. 310-349.

an authoritative Roman intellectual.⁷⁵ The Preface to the *NA* demonstrates to the audience that Gellius is a paradigm of Roman education, while simultaneously illustrating a manner in which the reader should approach the text in order to develop the skills necessary to emulate this model.

Reading from the Top Down: The Table of Contents

As he concludes the Preface to the *NA*, Gellius claims that he will write more commentaries after the education of his sons, should the gods grant him more life (pr.22-24). He then alerts the reader to the existence of a table of contents in which he has included the *capita rerum* in order that his reader may be able to quickly locate any material of interest in the text: *capita rerum, quae cuique commentario insunt, exposuimus hic universa, ut iam statim declaretur, quid quo in libro quaeri inveniri que possit* (pr.25).⁷⁶ While some scholars originally doubted its Gellian authorship, that the table of contents attached to the *NA* is authentic is today beyond dispute.⁷⁷ Gellius prominently advertises his inclusion of this paratextual apparatus preceding the twenty books of *commentarii*, and the table of contents survives in the correct place in the earliest manuscripts, between the Preface and the main text.⁷⁸ The table of contents is less frequently considered in terms of its paratextual function than either the title or the

⁷⁵ Keulen 2009, 17-19, 22-23.

⁷⁶ There is no single Latin word which means “table of contents” (e.g. Pliny uses *summarius*, Gellius *capita rerum*), which is itself an anachronism. On this issue, see Doody 2001, 2, Riggsby 2007, 89; cf. Blair 2010, who uses table of contents for ancient examples and indices for early modern works. For the sake of convenience, I use throughout the term “table of contents.”

⁷⁷ Prior to the discovery of the fourth-century Vat. Pal. Lat. 24 (*CLA* I.74 = *A*), several objections were raised to their authenticity, including those of Stephanus; however, the survival of the table of contents in *A* has settled the debate. See Holford-Strevens 2003, 31 with n. 25, and Introduction, pp. 26-27.

⁷⁸ See Introduction, p. 27.

Preface, yet is an equally prominent feature that at one and same time both agrees with and challenges the statements found in the Preface about the random order of the work (pr.2). After all, were the work organized in a more systematic way such a table of contents might not be necessary to locate bits and pieces of information contained within the *NA*.⁷⁹ Nevertheless, by including a list which provides a set order for the work, Gellius codifies the order of his *commentarii*, which implies at least one order to read the whole. The table of contents is perhaps the least appreciated of Gellius' paratexts critically, and yet it is as integrated into the literary project of the *NA* as the Preface and the title.

This represents a stark contrast with the ways in which tables of contents were traditionally used in Latin literature, and to that end I sketch out the history of the extant tables of contents. These earlier examples, all included by the authors of technical literature, are designed with utility in mind, and act as guides to the texts which they abstract. However, authors of the second century CE began to push the limits of what the table of contents could do vis-à-vis the literature it accompanied, especially with regard to the manner in which these devices represent techniques of readerly engagement with the text. Gellius' own table of contents participates in this reaction, and I argue that it acknowledges multiple ways of reading the miscellaneous project. Moreover, Gellius includes the table of contents not as something to be referred to but as something to be read by virtue of its relationship to the text it purports to represent. Reading it alongside

⁷⁹ Cf. the intriguing possibilities raised by Wibier 2014, who suggests (58-59) that a common "topography" shared between legal texts facilitates the use of the book as a reference in the absence of any kind of table of contents. His reading attempts to engage with this expectation of structure as a paratext itself, akin to the role of a paratext in activating the audience's expectation of a set generic conventions, as well as providing an avenue for accessing readerly engagement in the selection and reorganizing of legal information in later compilations (in contrast to a more author-focused approach implied in Genette's definition of paratext).

the body text of the *NA* exposes dissonances of the sort which arise between the chapters themselves, and negotiating between these tensions becomes part of Gellius' project of cultivating critical, engaged readers.

The Tradition of Tables of Contents in Latin Reference Literature

Gellius' table of contents is among the latest of the extant tables from antiquity which derive from the authors of the works themselves.⁸⁰ Such indices are typically attached to technical literature or other reference works, and as such appear designed in order to increase the ease of use of the texts.⁸¹ The inclusion of table of contents is seemingly rare enough, however, for each of the extant examples to be accompanied by an explanation by the author of how the paratext is intended to be used or read in conjunction with the main text, which allows a glimpse of their intended purpose.⁸² In essence, these paratexts for other paratexts suggest an ancient reader's potential engagement with a table of contents, and as Andrew Riggsby has noted, there are several verbal and conceptual parallels between the four extant tables of contents that are accompanied by explanations of the devices' operation, and the ways in which the prefatory material frames their respective tables as tools intended to expedite non-linear reading.⁸³ In particular, stresses that the descriptions of the tables frequently include

⁸⁰ On the history of the table of contents in Classical literature, see generally Schröder 1999, 106-115; Riggsby 2007 *passim*; Bodel 2015, 28-35.

⁸¹ Riggsby 2007, 89-90 suggests "reference" and "segmentation" as two of functions of the table of contents; Howley forthcoming.

⁸² Riggsby 2007, 90 believes that the descriptions of the tables are solely owed to the rarity with which these paratexts occurs. However, as Howley forthcoming suggests, such an inclusion is part of the generic features expected to accompany the table of contents, given that Gellius' own description appears to respond directly to Pliny the Elder's table.

⁸³ Riggsby 2007, 90-92.

verbs of seeking and finding (*quaerere* and *invenire*, respectively), which appear to codify the authors' prescribed methods for approaching their texts. Nevertheless, there are subtle differences between these different prefaces, and a brief survey of the introductions to the four extant tables of contents can shed light on how Gellius, the latest of the surviving original tables of contents in Latin literature, manipulated the device as part of his literary project.

While notices of tables of contents suggest that such tools were included in technical literature as early as the first century BCE, no such index survives in Latin literature until the imperial period.⁸⁴ The earliest surviving table is attached to Scribonius Largus' *Compositiones*, which can be dated to between 44 and 48 CE.⁸⁵ The work, which contains a list of antidotes and remedies addressed to a certain C. Iulius Callistus, includes an extensive listing of the contents of the work near the end of its epistolary preface. Scribonius indicates to his addressee the cut-and-dry purpose of the index, namely to rapidly and easily locate a required recipe: *primo ergo ad quae vitia compositiones exquisitae et aptae sint, subiecimus et numeris notavimus, quo facilius quod quaeretur inveniatur* (pr.15). The table itself is direct and does appear to have ease of use in mind, given the inclusion of item numbers in most manuscripts (in fact, the preface directs the reader to make use of them, *subiecimus et numeris notavimus*) and the direct syntax of the entries themselves.⁸⁶ Columella, writing some twenty years after

⁸⁴ Pliny the Elder reports (pr.33) that he has modeled his own table of contents upon that included by Valerius Soranus in his *Ἐποπτίδιον*, active in the first half of the first century BCE; see Schröder 1999, 107-108, and Riggsby 2007, 90 (though he reports the date of Soranus' tribuneship erroneously as 82 CE).

⁸⁵ Scribonius was in Britain with Claudius during his campaign there in 43 CE, while the *terminus ante quem* is provided by the mention at 60 of Messalina (*Messalina dei nostri Caesaris*), who was executed in 48 CE. On the dating of the text, see Sconocchia 1983, vi-vii.

⁸⁶ Sconocchia 1983, xvii-xviii; Riggsby 2007, 92-93.

Scribonius Largus (ca. 65 CE), likewise includes an index to the eleven books of his *Res Rustica*, though his is appended to the end of Book 11.⁸⁷ In his brief explanation of the index there, Columella notes that he has included a listing of the contents of the previous books in order to remind the reader while acknowledging the frailty of human memory: *quoniam tamen plerumque evenit ut eorum quae didicerimus memoria nos deficiat eaque saepius ex commentariis renovanda sint, omnium librorum meorum argumenta subieci, ut cum res exegisset, facile reperiri possit quid in quoque quaerendum et qualiter quidque faciendum sit* (Columella *Rust.* 11.3.65).

Both sets of directions advertise their ability to facilitate the reader's locating material within the text. Scribonius Largus is perhaps more direct in explaining the function of the table, but Columella envisions a slightly different circumstance for referring to the index. For Scribonius, one consults the table of contents at the outset, with the purpose of locating (quickly and easily) an affliction and the corresponding remedy. Columella's manual, which is more literary in intention than Scribonius' medical handbook,⁸⁸ instead suggests that the inclusion of the table of contents exists as an aid for a reader who has already read the *Res Rustica*, or at the very least is acquainted with the material contained within the ten books contained in the table of contexts. The index to the *Res Rustica* is flagged as a tool for the reader from whose mind material previously taught by Columella has lapsed and who needs a refresher (*eorum quae didicerimus*

⁸⁷ The index from the end of Book 11 is the ostensible source for the lemmata that appear in the manuscripts at the heads of each book. Book 12 (on *Vilica καθόλικά*), as well as the spurious *Liber de Arboribus*, are not included in the index. On the editorial history of the index, see Henderson 2002c, 111-113; cf. Rodgers 2010, xv-xvi. On Columella's index generally, see also Schröder 1999, 131-142.

⁸⁸ If nothing else, the debts of Columella's hexameters in Book 10 to Vergil, Lucretius, and Horace among others (as well as the very fact that the book is written in hexameters) reflect this intention. On the verses on gardening and their sources, see Boldrer 1996, esp. 22-26.

memoria nos deficiat eaque saepius ex commentariis renovanda sint), rather than a reference tool prefaced to the whole. Indeed, its inclusion at the very end of the work suggests a fundamental difference in the intended user: if a table prefacing a work and prominently advertised, like that of Scribonius, implies quick reference as the intended method of use for a work, then delaying the table of contents to a kind of epilogue, which requires having read through the book to be aware of its existence, suggests a different intended reader who is already aware of the tool's existence. If nothing else, Columella and his more detailed description of the underlying mechanics of the table of contents may suggest that his more literary readership would be unfamiliar with the inclusion of such a paratextual device.⁸⁹

With Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis* (*HN*), dated to between 69 and 79 CE, the ancient table of contents is expanded to the monumental scale of Pliny's encyclopedic text, both in terms of complexity as well as scope. In his preface, addressed to the emperor Titus, Pliny explains the practical ability of his table of contents to allow the reader to locate material of interest and thus bypass the bulk of the *HN*, as well as detailing the historical precedent for including such a table. He calls particular attention to the time-saving ability of the table of contents for the emperor or any other imagined reader: *tu per hoc et aliis praestabis ne perlegant, sed, ut quisque desiderabit aliquid, id tantum quaerat et sciat quo loco inveniatur* (Plin. *HN* pr.33). In so doing, Pliny suggests that his table of contents is an instrumental component of a methodology of reading the text predicated on locating discrete bits of information rather than continuous reading of

⁸⁹ Howley forthcoming.

the text.⁹⁰ Its location at the outset of the work, the prominent advertisement of its inclusion at the end of the preface, and the hierarchical ordering of many of the lemmata (to say nothing of its scale, an entire book of the *HN*) allow for easy access to all parts of the text at a moment's notice. The table of contents thus obviates for the reader the need to wade through the dense *HN* in order to locate particular material, with the anticipated reader approaching the text as a reference tool rather than a work to be read. In this regard, his table of contents appears to follow in the footsteps of that of Scribonius Largus, though it is not possible to make any firm claims about the connection between the two.

Pliny alters the apparently formulaic articulation of the table of contents' mechanics when he calls attention to the knowledge which using the table of contents will provide as part of the reference process (*quaerat et sciat*); this inclusion represents an innovation on Pliny's part.⁹¹ To be sure, Pliny is aware of a much larger tradition of tables of contents than has come down to us, given his explicit citation of Valerius Soranus' Ἐποπτίδες as a predecessor for this device.⁹² While Pliny does explicitly note that the table of contents exists to allow consultation and location of material of interest,

⁹⁰ Doody 2001, 2; Doody 2010, 93.

⁹¹ For the innovation of knowledge being bestowed by the table of contents, see Howley forthcoming. It is possible, though unlikely, that Columella knew the preface and table of contents to Pliny the Elder and thus belatedly modeled his own upon that of the *HN*, which would make him aware of this innovation; on this possibility, see Schröder 1999, 131-137.

⁹² *HN* pr.25: *Hoc ante me fecit in litteris nostris Valerius Soranus in libris quos ἐποπτίδων inscripsit*. With its title perhaps referring to the Eleusinian Mysteries, or at least the "mysteries" of *paideia*, Valerius Soranus' Ἐποπτίδες suggests that learning ought to be considered properly as a kind of cult. Pliny's activation of this imagery by including the title of the work and little else in terms of discussion suggests that he is depicting himself as a fellow initiate into these mysteries thanks to his inclusion of a table of contents within which to encapsulate his work. Gellius has the same imagery in mind, if not necessarily Soranus' work or the specific connection made by Pliny with the table of contents, in citing Aristophanes' chorus of initiates from the *Frogs* in his own Preface and representing his work as a set of mysteries into which the reader must be initiated (*NA* pr.20-21).

the suggestion that one can gain some kind of knowledge from the table of contents implies that the table of contents itself ought to be read seriously. With the inclusion of that one additional word, *sciat*, Pliny opens up new possibilities for the reader approaching the table of contents.

Further, Pliny makes light of a potential reader who would not read the entirety of the work (indeed, he implies that there would be limited reward in reading the whole of the *HN*), and his jest highlights the tension between reading and using the text; in so doing, Pliny opens the door for both methods of reading the text by recognizing the existence of both.⁹³ Early on, he gestures toward an affiliation with the poetic collection of Catullus by framing his own project as the sort of *nugae* which Catullus facetiously claims his own works to be.⁹⁴ Pliny's quotation of and reference to Catullus in his preface on the one hand establishes his and Titus' critical bona fides, while on the other draws a parallel between their respective projects. Both demonstrate a range of expertise, and their collections can similarly be appreciated in terms of individual units; but Catullus' poems respond to one another in a way which the reader appreciates when reading a cycle of poems (either linearly or selected), and by juxtaposing his own work to

⁹³ Doody 2010 calls particular attention to the (playful) paradox highlighted by Pliny the Elder (95-96): "Pliny's joke that he has provided a summarium with the best interests of the state at heart only to realise that now no one will read his text is a facetious way of pointing to the novelty of the system he is advocating—a system he goes to the trouble of explaining: look for the particular thing you want and find out where to find it.... Making a joke about using rather than reading the *Natural History* reflects a central ambivalence in the text, an uncertainty about how information should be stored that results from the uncertainty about how it should best be read. The certainty that finding facts rather than following narrative will be the dominant model for reading the *Natural History* rests on a removal of the irony of Pliny's prefatory rhetoric, but the possibility is authoritatively introduced by Pliny himself."

⁹⁴ Plin. *HN* pr.1: *namque tu solebas nugas esse aliquid meas putare, ut obiter emolliam Catullum conterraneum meum (agnoscis et hoc castrense verbum): ille enim, ut scis, permutatis prioribus syllabis duriusculum se fecit quam volebat existimari a Veraniolis suis et Fabullis.*

Catullus', Pliny suggests a similar possibility for his own work despite the emphasis on seeking and finding inherent in his description of the table of contents' function.

The anxieties about how the *HN* is to be read are already present from the beginning of the preface thanks to Pliny's invocation of Catullus; in alluding to epigram and similar poetic collections at the outset of the *HN*, Pliny activates an implicit comparison throughout the remainder of the preface to a genre which itself promotes many parallel reading methodologies.⁹⁵ The table of contents to the *HN* thus participates in a learned game which Pliny attempts to establish in his preface: though its presence implies an approach to the text predicated upon searching and reference, the preface in which he frames the device is evocative of a parallel method of reading drawn from more explicitly literary texts.

In the light of these other interpretations of the table of contents, several features of its framing in the Preface of the *NA* stand out. In a statement that offers less of a meditation on the the table of contents' function than Pliny's comments, Gellius very directly tells his reader that he has included the topics of all his *commentarii* so that the reader can know where things can be sought and found: *capita rerum, quae cuique commentario insunt, exposuimus hic universa, ut iam statim declaretur, quid quo in libro quaeri inveniriue possit* (*NA* pr.25).⁹⁶ Like the other tables of contents, Gellius declares that he has indexed his entries for ease of reference and uses the verbiage employed by

⁹⁵ Janan 1994, 77-100 examines in detail the multiple reading approaches invited by the Lesbia cycle of poems, which recall one another in terms of both structure and content, prompting readerly reflection on the stability of Catullus' authorial persona. For the effect of Pliny's invocation of Catullus, see above, Chapter 1, pp. 61-63.

⁹⁶ On Gellius' *capita* and the similar such division in other works of Latin prose, see Petitmengin 1997, 492-495; cf. Schmidt 1997, 227-228 (who also touches on the forms of the lemmata). On the authenticity of Gellius' *capita*, see above, Introduction, pp. 25-28.

his predecessors. He emphasizes that his table of contents should immediately make clear to his reader (*ut iam statim declaretur*) what exactly is in which *commentarius*. However, unlike earlier authors, who distinguish the acts of seeking and finding, Gellius pairs them more closely than in any of the previous examples; in fact, as Howley has suggested, by uniting the acts of searching and finding in this way, Gellius produces a new dynamic which mirrors his approach to critical reading.⁹⁷ There is no indication, as in Pliny the Elder, that the reader of the *NA*'s table of contents will gain any particular knowledge; rather Gellius lays out only the *capita rerum*, a label which denotes the general topic of the *commentarii* in question.⁹⁸ Of the works surveyed briefly here, *NA* is the first, and only, work to refer to the entries in the work themselves as *capita* in the description of the table of contents, and thus the use here deserves note. By calling his lemmata *capita rerum*, which emphasizes their status as abridgements of the works that they represent,⁹⁹ Gellius suggests that these entries only begin to scratch the surface of the depth contained in each of article—the entries in the table of contents are the *beginnings* of things rather than a *summary*—and thus represent an invitation to read further.

⁹⁷ Howley forthcoming.

⁹⁸ While *caput* possesses the extended meaning normally understood here, namely a summary of the main point (used also in this way by Gellius at *NA* 14.1.2 and Favorinus at 14.2.14; cf. Quint. *Inst.* 6.1.2, 10.7.32, Suet. *Claud.* 3, Fronto 47, 9); *ThLL* s.v. *caput* 423.79-424.80. Gellius appears to be playing on the meaning of *caput* as a literary beginning as well (cf. *NA* 17.9.14); see *ThLL* s.v. *caput*, 415.16-416.28. While *caput* appears as an indication of particular subdivisions of books as early as Cicero (*Leg.* 1.21, *Ad fam.* 7.22), it is only used as a substitute for the title of poems and books in the time of Augustine (Aus. 298, 36; Aug. *De civ. D.* 6.3). See also Howley forthcoming, who suggests that the use of *capita* implies that the lemmata are only a part of the contents of each *commentarius*. Gellius also uses *caput* as a substitute for *capitula* on occasion (*NA* 11.10.1, 11.18.21), which could see the *capita rerum* represent metonymically the entire entries themselves, though such an interpretation is less obvious than either of the others mentioned here.

⁹⁹ Scribonius Largus and Pliny the Elder both use indirect questions to refer to their table of contents entries focusing on their function, while Columella notes that he has laid out *omnium librorum meorum argumenta* (that is, he has sketched out an overview of each book, but with no specific label for the entries in the table of contents—in none of their prefatory remarks do any of these predecessors distinguish the individual items in their tables of contents in the same way that Gellius marks them by calling them *capita rerum*).

This double meaning (beginning-summary) provides two methods of approaching the entries in the tables of contents and their interaction with the written material of the *NA*, while calling into question the value of the table of contents itself. How can such a list of lemmata accurately represent the *commentarii* to follow if they only contain their *capita*? Indeed, how can the reader learn from the *capita* alone? Gellius differs from his predecessors by not representing his table of contents as a reference tool. To refer to the paratextual device and its entries as a listing of the *capita rerum* indicates that there are multiple ways of approaching them, rather than a simple index included for easy reference. Instead, they open up new ways for the reader to engage with the material, implicitly inviting the audience to look past the *capita* as beginnings and delve more deeply into the core of the *NA*. The tradition of including tables of contents prior to Gellius appears to have focused on the utility of such a paratextual apparatus; Pliny himself appeared to be aware of a fuller range of potential uses for such tables of contents, and in his own framing remarks hints at the multiple ways of reading therein implied.

While the tables of contents just surveyed reflect one approach to composing such paratextual devices and represent the four extant Latin examples which address their own inclusion of such a table of contents, they are far from the only examples known from antiquity.¹⁰⁰ Although there is limited evidence for the development of tables of contents between Pliny the Elder and Gellius, nevertheless there are several examples which appear attached to texts of early imperial authors which Gellius may have known (if they

¹⁰⁰ For a fuller exploration of the various tables of contents attached to texts both Greek and Latin in the imperial period including Valerius Maximus, Quintilian, Diodorus Siculus, and others, see Bodel 2015, 28-35.

are in fact authentic), and in any event demonstrate a reader's paratextual engagement with the text. Evidently, someone thought the inclusion of such tables of contents and indices was a desideratum for interacting with this literature and provided it as a result.

Alternative Tables of Contents and Reading in the High Roman Empire

Suetonius' *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* (*DGR*) contains a comprehensive table of contents of the grammarians and rhetoricians whom Suetonius treats throughout his work; this table of contents likely does not derive from Suetonius' own hand, though it is almost certainly ancient.¹⁰¹ The inclusion of such an index to the *DGR* appears curious at first glance, given that it is a significantly shorter work than the other examples that include such a tool. Moreover, the organization of Suetonius' work is more obvious than that of Gellius', for instance, proceeding roughly chronologically as is suggested by the narrative progression of Suetonius' prefatory remarks, in which he outlines a history of rhetoric at Rome (1-4). In fact, the structure of each chapter of the biographies proper, which declares the name of the subject at the very beginning, itself forms a kind of index which may eliminate some of the necessity of producing a separate list of the contents.¹⁰² The earliest publication of the *DGR* may have also included some form of capitulation in

¹⁰¹ The table of contents was not mentioned in Pier Candido Decembrio's description of the ninth century codex Hersfeldensis, upon which all other manuscripts depend (as well as the survival of Tacitus' minor works; see Kaster 1992, 1-4 with bibliography), but is otherwise preserved in the surviving manuscripts. Kaster 1995, 41-42 (with bibliography) rightly argues against the authenticity of the index, founded upon the transmission of several errors which would have originated from a scribe mechanically copying the names given at the beginning of each chapter; however, see *contra* Della Corte 1968, 71, who suggests authenticity on the somewhat weak parallel of Pliny's *HN*. Nevertheless, the table of contents does appear to preserve several onomastic details that are elsewhere corrupt or otherwise not contained in the biographies themselves; see Kaster 1992, 70-71, 120-124. Jerome's edition of the *DGR* appears to postdate the creation of the index, since he reports a corrupted name that had begun to be corrected in one branch of the manuscript tradition based on the index; see Kaster 1992, 124 with n. 158 and Kaster 1995, 42.

¹⁰² Gunderson 2009, 45 n. 1.

the form of a hanging indentation, which would have made the subject of each chapter immediately apparent and enacted the self-indexing function of the text, though this cannot be said for certain.¹⁰³ In any event, that the indices are attached to the *DGR* by an ancient reader suggests an interest in having the tool there to facilitate locating an individual biography, rather than reading through the text and its narrative of grammarians and rhetors in order to reach the biographical sketch of interest. An ancient reader sought to read the text selectively, and thus attached the index as a tool for other readers to approach the *DGR* in a similar fashion, even though the text itself does not seem to invite such a manner of reading.

A table of contents is likewise attached to the texts of Pliny the Younger's *Epistles*, which is preserved in the surviving leaves of a fifth-century manuscript (Pierpont Morgan M.462 = *II*), as well as this manuscript's descendants.¹⁰⁴ Like the table of contents to Suetonius' *DGR*, those attached to Pliny's *Epistles* have been traditionally assigned to later editors (in the case of Pliny, a posthumous editor, possibly the person who originally created the ten-book collection of the *Epistles*).¹⁰⁵ This table of contents preserves the *nomina* and *cognomina* of the addressees, as well as the first few words of

¹⁰³ Compare this with the existence of such capitulation in early MSS of Cicero, in which the hanging indent is used to indicate the beginning of chapters; see Butler 2014, esp. 81-97 (including the unprovable hypothesis that Cicero himself may be the origin of the capitulation evident throughout his manuscript tradition, 96-97).

¹⁰⁴ Bodel 2015, 23-28; Gibson 2014, 40-45 with fig. 2.1-2.2 discuss the history and contents of the surviving leaves, as well as briefly sketching out the transmission of the index through the manuscript tradition. *II* is the parent of the so-called ten-book tradition of Pliny's *Epistles*, which includes the book of letters to Trajan as well as the nine books of private letters; on the history of Pliny the Younger's transmission, see Reynolds 1983, 316-322.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. Stout 1954, 53-54. Stout, following Barwick 1936, suggests that the index postdates Pliny, either the product of a later grammarian or commentator (1958, 172) or possibly originating with a close friend of Pliny's from Comum (1967, 482, where Stout suggests Pliny's friend Caelius Clemens, a relative of Pliny's stepmother Pompeia Celerina who was mentioned in *Ep.* 10.51 as joining Pliny in Bithynia, as a candidate for compiling the index as well as originally publishing the *Epistles*). See also Gibson 2014, 41-45; Bodel 2015, 24-25.

each letter; the names of the correspondents are written in red ink, with the beginning of each letter transcribed in black ink indented on the following line.¹⁰⁶ The inclusion of both *nomina* and *cognomina* appears to be an effort to distinguish the identities of the various addressees, who are named only by *cognomina* in the salutation line of each letter in the MSS, as well as to provide a comprehensive table of contents to each book of the *Epistles*.¹⁰⁷ John Bodel suggests that the index to Pliny's *Epistles* are deeply connected to Pliny's project, in contrast to the tables of contents included in the tradition of technical literature discussed above: "whereas the latter serve essentially to facilitate access to the material and to provide structural overviews of contents, Pliny's lists, in supplying information not registered elsewhere (personal names), constitute a series of indispensable keys to understanding the text."¹⁰⁸

In addition to this illustrative function which is central to understanding the *Epistles*, the table of contents opens up a range of interpretations of the ordering of the letters. The table of contents preserves and canonizes an order for the *Epistles*, which directly contradicts Pliny's claim in his prefatory first letter (*Ep.* 1.1) that he collected each as it came to his hand, with no attention to chronological or other form of ordering.

¹⁰⁶ Reported by Robbins 1910, 476-477 in his discussion of the tables of contents in the extant MSS of the *Epistles* and his transcription of the indices to Books 1-5 in *B* (Laur. Ashburnham 98), and noted by Gibson and Morello 2012, 45-47; Gibson 2014, 41; Bodel 2015, 23 n. 28.

¹⁰⁷ Bodel 2015, 23-28. Gibson 2014 uses the *nomina/cognomina* pairing as evidence to suggest original Plinian authorship for the table of contents, based on the assumption that the only person who would have known both *nomen* and *cognomen* for each addressee could only have been Pliny himself (45); cf. Bodel 2015, 25-26.

¹⁰⁸ Bodel 2015, 34. He considers the prefatory epistles attached to Statius' *Silvae* to be the most apt *comparandum* for Pliny's table of contents, as he goes on to discuss (35-36). Gibson 2014, 47 rightly observes that positing a connection between the two perhaps too strong, given the integration of the *summarius* into Pliny the Elder's project and Pliny the Younger's knowledge of the *HN*; I would further add that Gellius' own table of contents is more integrated into the intellectual project of the *NA*, as I will illustrate further below.

This disjunction introduces a conflict: how is the reader to approach the collection? The table of contents by nature of its existence establishes a set order for the letters if it comes from Pliny's hand; if it instead derives from a later editor, its inclusion implies that forms of ordering were detected by a later reader, with the table of contents an attempt to come to terms with the experience of reading the collected letters.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the table of contents highlights structural balances and arrangement within the *Epistles* that may allow for the correspondences between different letters to become more apparent to the reader. However, the color-coding and the hanging indent of the addressees enable easy access to particular letters, allowing to the reader to locate only those *Epistles* in which he was interested. The table of contents to the letter collection then is a central element of interacting with Pliny's text, and it opens up a range of possibilities for the reader, including the contradictory urges to single out individual letters and to appreciate the collection as a whole. In this regard, the table of contents to Pliny the Younger's *Epistles* represents a reading tradition distinct from that of the more reference-oriented works; the index embraces the potential for multiple ways of reading the text, in large part thanks to the tension with the statements concerning order in *Ep.* 1.1. If nothing else, the reader of the *Epistles* is left to negotiate between these different voices in the text, to explore the intersections between them, and to articulate for himself the relationship between the different letters of the collection.

If the Latin tradition of tables of contents is relatively sparse, Greek texts include tables of contents which may suggest an additional set of models which should be kept in mind in approaching Gellius' own table of contents. Joseph Howley especially

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Gibson 2014, 49, who notes Genette's discussion (1997, 13) of contradictions and paradoxes between paratext and text which the reader is then left to resolve.

emphasizes Epictetus' *Discourses*, which were assembled by his pupil Arrian and affixed with a table of contents and preface addressed to a certain Lucius Gellius, as a potential model for Gellius given the latter's knowledge of the text (as evidenced at 1.2 and 19.1, among other loci in the *NA*).¹¹⁰ In particular, he stresses that the lemmata possess a formal diversity more akin to those of Gellius than any of the earlier Latin examples, ranging from full descriptions of the topic to terse comments indicating addressees. There is also an occasional disconnect between the stated topics of the lemmata and the contents of the entries themselves. Howley also calls attention to the variation in form of the chapters themselves, which the author of the table of contents elects to ignore, instead focusing on the thematic material which each entry treats. The reader is left to question the lemmata in the table of contents, staging a teaching encounter of the sort which are often dramatized within the *Discourses* themselves, in which a question or topic is posed and the audience is left to explore the manner in which the answers received actually apply to the question at hand.¹¹¹ The *Discourses* are part of a dialogic tradition of critical reading and response, which incorporated this mindset into the table of contents.

At the same time, we must not overlook the potential influence of other, catalogic texts such as Callimachus' *Pinakes*, or even his *Aetia*, which attempts to string together numerous discrete narratives; indeed, in converting the library catalogue into an extended literary work, Callimachus provides another potential model for Gellius to follow in crafting his table of contents. Indeed, a Callimachean approach to the text of the *NA* is apparently embraced in his remarks in the Preface by spurning the crowd (pr.19) and his

¹¹⁰ Howley forthcoming.

¹¹¹ Howley forthcoming. See also the discussion of Dobbin 1998, 65 (among other discussions), which questions the appropriateness of several of the chapter titles and their relation to the content.

emphasis upon having a learned readership. While it is difficult to posit a direct connection between Gellius' use of his table of contents and the tradition of texts represented by Callimachus, there are intriguing parallels between Gellius' deployment of the device and the intellectual tradition represented by Callimachus' expansion of the form in the *Pinakes*.

These alternative models of composing a table of contents suggest that ancient authors (and readers) recognized in the inclusion of a table of contents several degrees of engagement beyond the simple seek-and-find of the texts that were presumably designed with a view towards ease of reference. Although the table of contents to Suetonius' *DGR* does appear to be designed with practical use in mind, the fact that it was attached to the text indicates a readerly desire for such an apparatus. The examples in the manuscripts of Pliny the Younger and Epictetus further illustrate the numerous ways in which authors and readers envisioned their tables of contents interacting with the material that they synoptically represent. Indeed, each of these examples reveals multiple avenues for a reader's engagement with the text, whether by calling attention to the various ways a reader could approach reading individual entries or units, as well as enacting a dialogue between the signifier and signified within a table of contents. In examining the *NA*'s table of contents and the theory underlying its operation, I propose that Gellius has been informed by all these approaches; and moreover, that Gellius' *capita rerum*, which may appear to be secondary in importance to the text itself, are in fact an integral part of the project of the *NA*.

Reading Lemmata with their Chapters

As I mentioned above, the *NA*'s table of contents appeared almost a full century after the next most recent extant example which included an authorial comment (Pliny the Elder's *HN*), and is undoubtedly a paratext which Gellius himself composed. The lemmata in the *NA*'s table of contents range greatly in form and differ greatly from its precedents in this regard; in his examination of the nature of the table of contents and its entries, Giorgio Maselli has provided a useful overview of the different constructions with which Gellius describes the contents of his different chapters.¹¹² The individual entries are typically formulated with indirect questions and a variety of other more complex syntactic constructions than many of Gellius' predecessors. Additionally, several of these lemmata are composed of multiple parts, indicating the different the different elements of the discussion within the individual essays.¹¹³ For this reason, along with the miscellaneous nature of the text, the table of contents to the *NA* can be challenging to use as a reference tool, defying many of our expectations and requiring close reading to locate any material within the work. This stands in contrast to previous tables of contents affixed to technical or other reference-oriented works, which were organized more hierarchically and had ease of use in mind when they were designed.

Despite these developments in form, the table of contents is located in a similar location to Pliny the Elder's, after the prefatory material and before the main text. However, its location in many modern editions is not accurate to its original presentation; as I have noted, the lemmata initially appeared in a single continuous listing at the

¹¹² Maselli 1993, 20-26; cf. Riggsby 2007, 100-102.

¹¹³ Riggsby 2007, 100.

beginning of the entire work, and while modern editors do include the full table of contents after the Preface, they further place the individual lemmata at the head of each chapter. Indeed, the evidence of the earliest MSS (Pal. Lat. 24 = A), as well as Gellius' own suggestion at *NA* pr.25, shows that the headings were in a separate book, and the text of the individual chapters was continuous.¹¹⁴ In treating the lemmata in this way, modern editorial convention has converted the lemmata into intertitles, which segment the text visibly in a way that would not have originally.¹¹⁵ Even in its original state, the table of contents does appear to be designed to have functioned in tandem with the material of the *commentarii* themselves, as suggested by the description of its function and, to a lesser extent, the modern impulse to present the two together. But what precisely is the relationship between paratext and text in the case of the *NA*, and does the inclusion of the table of contents engender readerly engagement with the text of the essays themselves?

Drawing on the ideas developed above, in this section I argue that Gellius' table of contents invites multiple modes of reading. On the one hand, by describing the device and its function in a manner closely parallel to the notices in Scribonius Largus, Columella, and especially Pliny the Elder, Gellius evokes certain formal expectations including a reference-oriented method of reading, despite the differing genres of all of these works. However, Gellius' articulation of an idealized reading practice in the

¹¹⁴ Fohlen 1979, 201-210; Riggsby 2007, 100; Rust 2009, 126-127. Given this fact, it seems likely that a reader would read numerous chapters linearly together, possibly without recognizing where the limits of each chapter were. This produces an interesting effect in chapters where similar topics are treated consecutively, but two different interpretations of a similar feature are juxtaposed: examples of this are 2.8-9 (Plutarch criticizing the language of Epicurus) and 5.10-11 (discussions of the figure of speech, the ἀντιστέφον).

¹¹⁵ In fact, even after dividing the table of contents and placing each book's lemmata at the head of the respective book, medieval scribes resisted the urge to place the titles with the individual chapters. Instead, the chapter break was indicated with capitalization of the first letter of the new chapter, as well as the possible inclusion of the chapter's number (a good example of this latter practice can be seen in the tenth-century manuscript Leid.Voss.F112). On the segmenting function of intertitles, see Genette 1997, 294-296.

Preface, which is then rehearsed throughout the work as a whole, stands at odds with this method of reading. Moreover, the table of contents invites the reader to select only those passages which appear most interesting, despite the theory of reading developed in the Preface which heavily emphasizes reading the whole of a work to fully understand its meaning. Moreover, while several of the lemmata accurately depict the contents of the chapters and attempt to entice the reader, there are numerous instances of lemmata that omit details of the discussion or otherwise misrepresent a chapter's contents. The paradoxes which are created, similar to the tensions evident in the tables of contents attached to Pliny the Younger and Epictetus, remain for the reader to consider; negotiating between the table of contents and the text of the *commentarii* allows the reader to explore the intersection between the two descriptions of the same topic. In so doing, the reader must reevaluate the content of the chapters in much the same way that the juxtaposition of *commentarii*, or material within the *commentarii* themselves, can trigger similar reflection.

Gellius appears to have such a reading process in mind for both text and intertitle, as an extended discussion on how to interpret pleonasm indicates. At NA 13.25 Gellius presents Favorinus expounding at length on pleonasm and its operation as he attempts to explain why some people erroneously conflate *manubiae* and *praeda*; as Howley has noted, the conclusion of this discourse is to take care when encountering cases of pleonasm, since there are often subtle differences between the two words in question.¹¹⁶ He further notes that the lemma includes a clever pleonasm itself: *Quaesitum*

¹¹⁶ Howley 2011, 54-55; Howley forthcoming. The choice to have Favorinus discuss pleonasm is to an extent a metacommentary on Favorinus' own archaizing style, in which doublets and triplets are common: see Beall 2001, 98-100.

tractatumque, quid sint 'manubiae'; atque inibi dicta quaedam de ratione utendi verbis pluribus idem significantibus (13.25.lem). Gellius shows playful awareness of the thesis of his chapter, as the second half of the entry calls attention to the use of two words to indicate one point. But this joke in the lemma only tells half of the story, as much of the actual content of the chapter consists of Favorinus' exploration of how such pleonastic synonyms are used in Homer, Cicero, and others. Indeed, much of the context is left out, with the reader unaware that Favorinus is cast in the starring role as exegete, and ignorant of the dialogic frame within which Favorinus to explore the differences between *manubiae* and *praeda*; in fact, the reader of the table of contents would not even know that there would be a discussion of *praeda* in the chapter. Favorinus' explanation of why pleonasm is used is grounded in his reading of texts, though none of these are included in the lemma for the chapter. Perhaps more interestingly, though, a lemma can be thought of as precisely the kind of pleonastic synonym for the chapter it describes as the words which Favorinus discusses, *praeda* and *manubiae*. In Favorinus' articulation, two synonyms are not paired together without reason (*verba idem duo significantia non frustra posita esse ἐκ παραλλήλων*, 13.25.21), and in fact there are subtle differences between them which are ignored by the careless at their peril (13.25.31).¹¹⁷ Such juxtapositions require the reader to explore the interstices between the two in order to access the meaning of each, and this is true of the table of contents entries as much, if not more, than the *commentarii* themselves. NA 13.25 offers an excellent case study in exploring many of the issues which the lemmata raise for the text, be it omission,

¹¹⁷ Gellius tackles a similar topic *in propria persona* earlier in the same book at 13.3 (distinguishing between the meaning of *necessitas* and *necessitudo*) as he attempts to explain their differing semantic fields. However, Gellius does not provide a similar theorizing conclusion as Favorinus does at 13.25, though the discussion there anticipates several of Favorinus' methodological choices.

contradiction, or simply attempting to express the same concept in different ways. With this groundwork in mind, I explore several different ways in which the *NA* stages interactions between the table of contents entries and the chapters they represent.

The *NA*'s table of contents often operates in tandem with the chapter to enrich its contents, as I have suggested. In the case of the short *NA* 11.14, in which Gellius reports a remark attributed to Romulus about drinking, Gellius introduces humor into the essay which only emerges when the lemma is read together with the chapter. The pithiness of Romulus' remarks on why he is teetotal are deserving of note (*simplicissima suavitate*, 11.14.1), and Gellius reports the words themselves to demonstrate their straightforward style. But the lemma takes this a step further by calling Romulus' words positively dry: *sobria et pulcherrima Romuli regis responsio circa vini usum* (11.14.lem).

A similar example of this sort of playful interaction between table of contents and text, unique in its concision, is the lemma for the short discussion at *NA* 12.6: *de aenigmate*. This title encapsulates the topic of the chapter, which briefly discusses the meaning of the Greek word *aenigma* before presenting an actual riddle for the reader (12.6.2), yet somehow manages to elide nearly all of the actual content of this brief chapter. But if the reader's interest was piqued, and he eagerly read the chapter in order to discover something about how riddles function, to find a riddle and its solution so that he might impress his friends, or an etymological exploration of the word, all these expectations are disappointed. Gellius does not even provide the solution to the riddle which he quotes in the chapter; instead, he directs his reader to another book where they might find the answer, if they are unable to solve the puzzle themselves (*hoc qui nolet diutius aput sese quaerere, inveniet quid si in M. Varronis de sermone Latino ad*

Marcellum *libro secundo*). In so doing, Gellius illustrates that riddles have no easy solution, requiring hard work and extensive reading. But in directing his readers to Varro's book for the answer, the chapter has itself become a kind of lemma for the information there; indeed, in offering Varro as a source for the solution Gellius uses the same words with which he describes the process of using his own table of contents (*quid quo in libro quaeri inveniri*que possit, NA pr.25). One can seek and find a solution in Varro, just as one could seek and find the riddle itself. Ultimately, given the brevity of the lemma, it is unclear what a reader should expect to find at 12.6—perhaps a discussion of riddles in general, or the explication of one in particular, based on the syntactic form of the lemma. Instead, the essay itself becomes a kind of riddle itself, providing a puzzle with no solution and directing the reader in search of an answer elsewhere.

In other cases, Gellius' lemmata indicate the contents of the chapter without attempting to provide any particular value judgment; only upon reading the chapter itself does Gellius' actual opinion on the topic become apparent. For instance, the well-known comparison of Menander and Caecilius Statius' versions of the *Plocion* is introduced matter-of-factly at NA 2.23.lem: *Consultatio diiudicatioque locorum facta ex comoedia Menandri et Caecilii, quae Plocium inscripta est.*¹¹⁸ Gellius holds his cards close to the chest in the lemma, but upon reading the content of the chapter itself he reports from the outset his preference for the Greek originals, which he believes contain more charm and eloquence than the Latin translations based upon them (2.23.3). There are numerous

¹¹⁸ NA 17.10.lem uses similar neutral language for such comparison: *Quid de versibus Vergilii Favorinus existumarit, quibus in describenda flagrantia montis Aetnae Pindarum poetam secutus est; conlataque ab eo super eadem re utriusque carmina et diiudicata*; cf. NA 10.3.lem (*conlatio contentioque*), 11.4.lem, 13.27.lem. On synkrisis in Gellius generally, see Vardi 1996, 502- 509 (on the apparently formulaic language for such comparisons, see esp. 502-503).

instances of such value judgments being suppressed in the lemmata, all with the effect of inviting the reader to explore these *commentarii* on their own terms.¹¹⁹

On the other hand, the manner in which Gellius summarizes the material of the chapter may suggest his displeasure with its accuracy, even if the chapter itself does not bear out this assessment.¹²⁰ At NA 6.8.lem, Gellius declares that a story about a boy and the dolphin who fell in love with him is beyond belief (*res ultra fidem tradita super amatore delphino et puero amato*); but the chapter itself betrays none of this skepticism.¹²¹ Indeed, Gellius relates that Apion and Theophrastus both report instances of this occurring (even going so far as to quote Apion and give a reference the book in question, 6.8.4-5). Though he appends another paraphrase of Apion related to the passage and refers to it as something to be no less marveled at than the previous details (*rem <non> minus mirandam*, 6.8.6), Gellius shows no concern for the accuracy of the information and is decidedly neutral in his treatment of it. Only in the lemma does Gellius outspokenly challenge the veracity of the material he presents; it is up to his reader to recognize the citation of Apion for what it is in the main text, and to reconsider Apion's merits in light of the material he is presenting.

Often, Gellius advertises the qualities of the texts he discusses in the main chapter in the lemma as an enticement to read further, even if he then subverts some of these expectations. An example of such enticement appears early in the work, as Gellius advertises a deft explication of Cicero at NA 1.4.lem: *quam tenuiter curioseque exploraverit Antonius Iulianus in oratione M. Tulli verbi ab eo mutati argutiam*. The

¹¹⁹ NA 1.22, 13.3, 15.30; see Maselli 1993, 28.

¹²⁰ Cf. NA 1.18, 1.22, 10.5, 12.3, 13.3, 15.30, 17.3, 18.9, on which see Maselli 1993, 27-31.

¹²¹ Maselli 1993, 31-32; Schröder 1999, 112.

lemma promises an exploration of Antonius' cleverness, as well as Cicero's own deftness as a wordsmith; but Gellius delays Antonius' judgment on Cicero until after a praise of the former's cleverness, including how he fashioned himself into a critic able to explicate Cicero successfully.¹²² Cicero's actual wordplay is minimized, as Gellius elevates Antonius Iulianus' critical faculties as a model: he devoted much time to reading the authors of old, and as a result was able to explicate the nuances of Cicero's stylistic choices, of which the discussion is delayed nearly an entire page, until 1.4.6-8.¹²³ The chapter and the lemma ultimately agree in their praise of Iulianus and his intellectual fortitude, in each case holding up Antonius Iulianus as an object of emulation for his readers. If the lemma's tone is encomiastic of Antonius Iulianus' faculties (*quam tenuiter curioseque*), the chapter doubles down on this praise and shows a master at work. This adverbial construction is designed to excite the reader's interest, and Gellius uses it several other times, confined to the first half of the work, and in each of these instances Gellius invites the reader in, only to retreat from the promised treatment.¹²⁴

A similar bait-and-switch can occur as early as the incipit: according to NA 17.19.lem, the chapter details a saying of Epictetus targeting individuals of base character that practice philosophy, before continuing to discuss words that he found particularly salubrious. However, the chapter itself begins with Gellius relating that he had heard this

¹²² Howley forthcoming, who calls attention in particular to the layering effect of the different elements (Cicero's style, Iulianus' exegesis, the origins of Iulianus' learning to be able to perform such exegesis), which in turn offers an avenue for readers to see the critical intellectual process at work rather than merely providing the Ciceronian words.

¹²³ Santini 2006, 87-89 sees Antonius Iulianus as a mere mouthpiece through whom Gellius praises the construction of the Ciceronian period. Interestingly, he links the rhetorical technique here to the citation of Cicero at 13.25.6, which offers another example of a similar authorizing strategy for Gellius' linguistic opinions.

¹²⁴ The lemmata to 1.4, 1.15, 2.5, 6.15, 8.11.

maxim from Favorinus (*Favorinum ego audiui dicere Epictetum philosophum dixisse plerosque istos...*, 17.19.1). He expands upon this opening statement by citing Arrian's own fuller account of this saying, before finally arriving at the *ipsissima verba* of Epictetus himself (17.19.3-4). Despite the lemma alerting the reader that they would find Epictetus, the structure of the chapter undercuts this expectation by presenting Favorinus as the speaker—even though a Greek saying of Epictetus is quoted, it is still reported at a remove by Favorinus, who had written the polemical *Against Epictetus*, and in this way Gellius distances the saying from the philosopher and already undercuts its weight.¹²⁵ Even when Epictetus himself is ultimately cited, it borders on the bathetic: when those of base character engage in philosophy, it spoils them as if urine or vinegar.¹²⁶ Gellius even translates the passage into Latin and highlighting its Cynic quality, as if to make sure his reader gets the point (17.19.4). By putting the words of Epictetus into the mouth of one of his chief rivals, Gellius weakens some of their philosophical authority; and by stressing the banality of those words, Gellius turns the attack back on Epictetus himself. As a former slave, a fact of which Gellius reminds his readers (2.18), his character can be perceived as questionable, and thus the authority of his philosophical opinions becomes challenged. Although this attack may refract back upon Favorinus because of the heavy emphasis on him as the ultimate source, the lemma calls the reader's attention to

¹²⁵ On the hostile relationship between Favorinus and Epictetus, see Hankinson 1995, 145-146; Keulen 2009, 106 n. 25 (citing Barigazzi 1991, 92, who identifies Onesimus, whom Favorinus casts as the interlocutor in his *Against Epictetus*, with the slave being tortured by Plutarch at NA 1.26). The invective is known through Galen's own attack on Favorinus and his teachings, *De optima doctrina* (1.2): λέγει δὲ τὰν τὸν ἐν τῷ 'Πρὸς Ἐπίκτητον', ἐν ᾧ δὴθέν ἐστιν Ὀνή σιμος ὁ Πλουτάρχου δοῦλος Ἐπικτήτῳ διαλεγόμενος. In addition to defending Epictetus against Favorinus, Galen himself attacked the latter within the context of philosophical debates between the Academics and the Stoics; on this, see further Hankinson 1991, 275-281; Opsomer 1997, 15-18.

¹²⁶ NA 17.19.3: Ἄνθρωπε, ποῦ βάλλεις; σκέψαι, εἰ κεκάθαρται τὸ ἀγγεῖον· ἂν γὰρ εἰς τὴν οἴησιν αὐτὰ βάλλῃς, ἀπώλετο· ἦν σαπῆ, οὔρον ἢ ὄξος γένοιτο ἢ εἴ τι τούτων χεῖρον.

Epictetus, who is marginalized throughout.¹²⁷ A reader seeking Epictetus words here is left disappointed, and instead of learning from the philosopher, he is left reading one part of a hostile diatribe.

These two approaches complement one another, as in the second book, when Gellius expresses his appreciation for Favorinus' pithy remark comparing the styles of Plato and Lysias at NA 2.5.1em: *quam lepide signateque dixerit Favorinus philosophus, quid intersit inter Platonis et Lysiae orationem*. Gellius introduces the chapter with the same structure as the 1.4.1em, but his treatment of Favorinus is radically different; instead of offering a praise of the mental process underlying the inquiry or demonstrating Favorinus' experience which would qualify him to pass judgment on Lysias and Plato, Gellius provides little contexts and launches directly into Favorinus' opinion: *Favorinus de Lysia et Platone solitus dicere est: 'Si ex Platonis' inquit 'oratione verbum aliquod demas mutesve atque id commodatissime facias, de elegantia tamen detraxeris; si ex Lysiae, de sententia* (NA 2.5.1). Again, at first glance the table of contents clearly represents what appears in the chapter, perhaps even more accurately than 1.4.1em represents the contents of 1.4. In this regard, the reader is not disappointed, nor are his expectations for the content otherwise subverted. Is there an explanation for the close similarity between the lemma and the chapter, with its omission of a praise of Favorinus' judgment? This is not Favorinus' first appearance in the NA (previously appearing at

¹²⁷ Keulen 2009, 107-108 sees this passage as representative of a pattern of episodes in which Favorinus unwittingly exposes himself as a fraud, or otherwise impugns himself accidentally by implicating his own questionable character in the attacks he levies against others. The final portion of the chapter, which address cardinal character flaws according to Epictetus, seem more damning of Favorinus (*intolerantia* and *incontinentia*, 17.19.5), though Keulen passes over these vices. Although this reading is possible, especially given Favorinus' reputation and the manner in which he is ironically treated throughout the NA, the interaction of lemma and text appears to indicate that (at least in this situation) Gellius' fun comes at the expense of the reader seeking an interesting morsel of Epictetus, but only to be disappointed by the heavy emphasis on Favorinus.

1.10), so perhaps he needs less of an introduction than that given to Antonius Iulianus, even though Favorinus' credentials as a stylistic critic of Greek have yet to be established. However, there is a slight disconnect between the lemma's description of Favorinus as *philosophus* and his comments in the chapter. He is explicitly *not* performing philosophy here despite the lemma's declaration that he is a philosopher, but instead he is offering rhetorical commentary.¹²⁸ The lemma gestures at an affinity between Plato and Favorinus—who objects that removing words weakens Plato's style but destroys Lysias' meaning, as Plato himself claims—and implicitly authorizes Favorinus' statement thanks to their connection as philosophers, from which Favorinus' stylistic judgments appear to derive. A reader may still expect a more lengthy explanation of Favorinus' grounds for his critical statement, on analogy to the description of Antonius Iulianus in 1.4, but 2.5.lem gestures towards one possible source of Favorinus' claims. On the other hand, the reader who is reading solely for a pithy evaluation of Plato and Lysias gets precisely what they are looking for in 2.5.

In composing many of the entries of his table of contents, Gellius gestures at his material accurately, though with some material left out in order to entice the reader to explore the chapter further. The lemma to NA 1.8 invites the reader interested in an anecdote about Demosthenes and the courtesan Laïs to read further: *historia in libris Sotionis philosophi reperta super Laide meretrice et Demosthene rhetore*. This title plays off of a desire to learn a detail about the private life of the orator Demosthenes from the anecdote referred to in the title. Gellius makes sure not to provide any detail as to what

¹²⁸ Holford-Strevens 2003, 109-110. Plato himself raised stylistic comparison between his own work and that of Lysias in the *Phaedrus* (235e), and Fronto repeats Plato's complaint that Lysias' sentences possess no logical structure or order (*Plato Lysiam culpam in Phaedro* [262c-264e], *sententiarum ordinem ab eo ita temere permixtum, laud. fum.* 4).

the story will be beyond its characters and its source, Sotion, and this vagueness piques the interest of the reader to continue. The bulk of the chapter lives up to its billing: Gellius declares its source and comments on its title (1.8.1-2), before describing Demosthenes and Lais' interaction and the orator's proverbial remark (1.8.3-5). The last sentence, however, goes beyond what is indicated in the title: Gellius remarks that the Greek version of the anecdote is better than the Latin. A reader judging the chapter only by the table of contents would miss out on this tidbit by skipping the chapter, and even the reader who was enticed to read the chapter would be pleasantly surprised to encounter the Greek adage and the meditation on whether the Latin or Greek version was better. In fact, this juxtaposition is central to the purpose of the chapter, while the anecdote itself appears secondary. The observation that the Greek original of the passage was more charming than the Latin translation Gellius provides problematizes the authority of Greek and Latin, especially when read against the inclusion of Sotion's miscellany (Κέρως Ἀμάλθειας) in the list in the preface. Can the Greek version really be better, if Gellius has already lampooned the work from which it derives?

In some cases, the omission can be more notable than the material that is summarized, which prompts the reader to reconceptualize the focus of the chapter. The title of NA 2.26 establishes the topic of the debate on color vocabulary between Favorinus and Fronto: *Sermones M. Frontonis et Favorini philosophi de generibus colorum vocabulisque eorum Graecis et Latinis; atque inibi color 'spadix' cuiusmodi sit*. True to this description, much of the chapter (2.26.1-10) is given over to a debate over the relative merits of each language and its color vocabulary. But the discussion then continues, finding applications for the investigation into color vocabulary in Roman

poetry. Although the first half of the chapter centers on teasing out which language is best suited to describing color, as the lemma describes, the real focus of the chapter comes in the second half, as Fronto and Favorinus apply their newfound learning to the study of literature. While a reader may approach the chapter looking only for information about the nature of color vocabulary, what he finds instead are two luminaries of Antonine intellectual culture meditating upon linguistic issues (which are themselves bound up in deep-seated anxieties over the supremacy of Greek and Roman), as well as demonstrating how best to make use of the learning which derives from these more esoteric points.

How, then, should we interpret the table of contents and its inclusion in the *NA*? Its presence is a nod to the earlier encyclopedic works of Pliny the Elder and others, and integrates Gellius into a broader tradition of texts that incorporate such devices. The radical departure from the hierarchical and orderly format of the table in the *HN* agrees with the Preface's attitudes towards Pliny the Elder while maintaining the generic marker and conditioning his readers' expectation of what is to follow; yet the presence of a list of chapters in a particular order may be seen to conflict with Gellius' statements about a confused order he happened upon by chance. Indeed, the presence of a table of contents suggests that there is an order to the text that is expressed and bears the imprimatur of the author, and which the reader may then follow. Yet, the existence of such an index also allows readers to skim the list, to select what particular chapter they would like to read, and in this way read Gellius as a collection of *disiecta membra*. A similar effect may be seen in the ancient indices to the *Epistles* of Pliny the Younger, the format of which makes it easy for the reader to scan the index and pick out letters, while the order is canonized for future readers. It implies that both methods of reading exist, and both

occurred to the ancient reader. Given the comparable miscellaneous nature of the *Epistles* and the *NA*, and I suggest that a similar methodology is at play in both texts, and Gellius' table of contents is an invitation to the reader to indulge in the text as he chooses, while maintaining an order to be read linearly.

Moreover, the chapter headings listed in the table of contents often leave out key elements of the text, failing in their presumed function of identifying for the reader what might be found in each of the sections. This dissonance adds another voice to the polyphonic effect created by the nature of the *NA*, and examining these disconnects reveals another manner in which Gellius intends his readers to interact with the text. Often, it turns out to be the case that while a chapter heading may suggest one topic for a chapter, the true lesson is to be found in the philological engagements that occur within the chapter as a result of the broader thematic consideration. The distance of the chapter headings from the chapters themselves enhances this effect—while the entry in the table of contents can have a life of its own, it is nevertheless divorced from the core of the text, and the plurality of voices requires Gellius' reader to evaluate what he finds in the chapter itself.¹²⁹

That is not to say that these readings are invalidated in the absence of the table of contents; indeed, as Genette notes, although paratexts are intended by an author to guide the reading experience, readers are not obligated to read a preface or interact with other paratexts, just as an author is not bound to include them.¹³⁰ However, as I have suggested,

¹²⁹ As Genette 1997, 317-318 notes, “[i]n the table of contents and then in the designative use that derives from it, this first line, as incipit, breaks away and takes on an unduly emblematic value, as if it were always, according to Valéry's statement, god-given. Hence the large number of poems of which we know only the first lines, and sometimes less...”

¹³⁰ Genette 1997, 4.

these lemmata are not simple descriptions of the content of the chapters they abridge; and by reading the lemmata in conjunction with the chapters they purport to represent, it becomes clear that participate in many of the same intellectual processes which are described throughout the *NA*. While the various extant tables of contents surveyed above place a premium on utility, Gellius reacts against this tendency in devising his own table. Rather than serving as a mere reference tool intended to facilitate quick consultation of the text (a function which it performs somewhat poorly, given the frequent syntactical complexity of the entries), its inclusion opens up different ways of reading and engaging with the text while simultaneously problematizing the device's purpose. While its presence invites searching for items of interest (*quaeri inveniri*que), by omitting these lemmata from the actual books themselves Gellius can draw a reader into engaging with the various chapters of *NA* in a linear fashion, and without any abstracted claims about their content. One can look for something in particular, but encounter material that is entirely new or in need of reconciliation with the lemma. Just as he demonstrates the necessity of resolving the contradictions between two conflicting texts, or between two parts of a pleonasm (*NA* 13.25), in order to arrive at a more complete understanding of the topic in question, the disjunctions between lemma and text require comparative reading. The table of contents, like the Preface and the title, presents to the reader another method of reading the text, and of reading the table of contents itself. Gellius' *capita rerum* diverge from the conventions of the majority of previous examples and instead integrate the table of contents into his miscellaneous project. If Pliny the Elder's *summarium* exists to be referred to, for instance, Gellius' exists to be read as an integral component of the *NA*, in dialogue with the material it represents and engaging the reader

by focusing attention upon the interstices between lemma and text. With the table of contents, Gellius offers a snapshot of his essential points, but he also guides the reader to important questions which arise from his treatment.

Conclusion

As I have argued throughout this chapter, the presence of the three core paratextual elements of the *NA* represent a concerted effort by Gellius to guide the reader through his labyrinthine text. While the inclusion of certain of these devices, such as the table of contents, appear to trivialize the *NA* by associating the work with texts that could be read in what may be considered a sub-literary fashion, each focuses the reader's attention on a different manner of engaging with the text, all of which are ultimately part of Gellius' literary project. The Preface, which includes meditations on both the title and the table of contents, establishes not only a generic tradition within which to interpret the *NA*, but also lays out an idealized approach to the work predicated upon close and critical reading. In contradistinction to earlier miscellaneous and technical literature such as Pliny the Elder's *HN*, in which poetry is invoked only to stress its lack of utility, by situating himself among the initiates of the Muses Gellius fully embraces the aestheticizing aspects of poetry and poetic collections as part of his miscellany. By aligning his project with such endeavors, Gellius invites engaging with the *NA* in a way that echoes reading collections of poetry for similarities of theme, recurring characters, and the like. The title of the work directs the reader to a particular set of these themes central to the world in which Gellius sets his work: the scenes of nighttime scholarly activity, especially those set in Greece, present a vision of the student's progress which models through Gellius'

appearances the cultivation of a Roman intellectual, and of safe appropriation of Greek learning. If the title directs the reader to focus on one particular set of scenes, the table of contents provides an approach to each of the chapters within the *NA* by encapsulating their essential points. But, when scrutinized with the critical reading approach advocated throughout the preface, these summations are revealed to tease the contents of their chapters, rather than represent them with complete accuracy. Through the tensions created between the abridgement of the lemmata and the body text, Gellius reconceptualizes the table of contents' function by integrating it into the *NA*'s project of critical reading—by examining the intersections and omissions of lemma and chapter, Gellius directs his reader to reflect upon essential questions within the text. Although these paratextual elements are typically interpreted as situating the *NA* within the realm of technical writing, Gellius has redeployed them as tools to help make his own work explicitly literary. Instead of underestimating Gellius' craft because of these elements, by taking seriously these paratextual elements as guides to the text we as readers can begin to appreciate the artistry inherent in Gellius' miscellaneous composition.

CHAPTER 2

ORDINE RERUM FORTUITO*: STRUCTURE, MEANING, AND INTRATEXTUAL CONNECTIONS IN THE *NA

In framing his composition of the *NA*, Gellius demonstrates awareness of the numerous ways one can read collected of the sort that his work represents. His own discussions about the nature of the text suggest on their surface its resistance to being read in an intensive, linear fashion rather than being utilized as a reference tool. Nevertheless, Gellius invites the reader to approach the *NA* as something more literary than such a technical manual or shortcut to passing as one of the *eruditi*; indeed, throughout the Preface Gellius idealizes the reader who will interact with his work critically, and bring to bear upon the text a reading approach akin to that normally applied to poetry and other elevated genres.

While the previous chapter has dealt with paratexts of the *NA* and the manner in which these devices invite the audience to bring different reading approaches to bear upon the text, the present chapter offers an integrated reading of the myriad ways that discrete chapters interact to create coherent meaning, especially when the chapters are read in sequence. In this chapter, I argue for a method of reading, invited by Gellius, that understands the *NA* within the tradition of collected literature, fashioning connections between the different chapters and producing meaning through this allusive practice. To that end, I will explore several of the techniques which Gellius utilizes to forge

relationships between his *commentarii*, and the variety of effects and meanings that such patterning produces. The heterogeneous composition of the *NA* brings different, and disparate, ideas, authors, and passages together in unique and interesting ways that provoke the reader to reconsider the meanings of what has appeared previously. In spite of Gellius claiming that there is no rhyme or reason underlying the structure of the work and professing that he preferred it to be organized according to chance (*ordine rerum fortuito*, pr.2), the experience of reading the *NA* frequently provides glimpses, however fleeting, of structures and patterns that necessitate rereading and reflection.

Of particular note is the work of Eleanor Rust, who advances the thesis that the text is in fact deliberately ordered so as to be radically *disordered*, and that such an aggressive lack of order is in effect a mirror of the life of learning embodied by the social contexts and activities envisioned in the *NA*.¹ A *pepaideumenos* during the Antonine period might be faced with an intellectual challenge requiring the successful deployment of a range of learning; thus, to be prepared adequately for the miscellaneous circumstances in which one might be called upon to deploy their knowledge, the text itself must reflect the random chance that one might in fact happen upon or make use of miscellaneous learning. In this regard, the (seemingly random nature of the) medium is the message. On the other hand, Joseph Howley has proposed a *NA* that is much more unified in terms of thought and program; importantly, he suggests a consistency across the scenes of intellectual activity, which lead readers to learn and practice the principles

¹ Rust 2009, 27-28 and *passim*.

of the text through the process of reading.² Both of these approaches have their merits, and are in line with the experience of reading the *NA* in a linear fashion.

Building upon these ideas, in this chapter I propose a methodology of reading the *NA* that articulates the effect of ordering by examining the relationships that Gellius establishes between chapters, either in short sequences or broader networks that spanning several books. This methodology is indebted to the idea of intratextuality, which examines the manner in which discrete parts of a whole interact (or do not interact) with one another, and the meanings that are produced by reading these parts of a single text against one another.³ These relationships reveal several functions at play in the text, ranging from the fashioning of a kind of prose (or “miscellaneous”) poetics focused on interaction between chapters, to crafting a form of memory exercise through which Gellius instructs his reader and ensures that they correctly understand the content before

² Howley 2011; cf. König 2012, 37-38, drawing on ideas from Howley: “It has been increasingly recognised that miscellanism in general is often very far from being a passive genre; it does not necessarily aim simply at entertainment or backward-looking antiquarianism; it can function instead—or as well—as a vehicle for authors and readers to act out educational and moral principles and argumentative skills which have striking relevance to their own cultures, actively appropriating and reflecting on the writing of the past rather than simply cutting and pasting.”

³ I follow Sharrock 2000 in using this terminology and approach, focused primarily on reading the various interrelations between different discrete segments of the text. Sharrock’s approach, as it is expressed in the introduction to her co-edited volume, is less interested in the potential unities and instead aims to elicit creative readings through this intratextual approach. The *NA* would seem naturally to lend themselves to this particular methodology, given their already fragmented nature, and the ease of reading both forwards and backwards between different chapters, even those separated by some distance. A (rather compelling) example of reading miscellaneous texts intratextually is Paulas 2012, which illustrates the extent to which Athenaeus fashions his narrative into an interconnected whole in which elements force the reader to reconsider meanings in other contexts within the work. In his analysis of Athenaeus, Paulas centers on several recurrent thematic elements within the *Deipnosophistae* and examines the ways in which such themes profitably interact to generate meaning. Also useful is Xenophontos 2012, which interrogates the clusters identified in Plutarch by the Leuven school and examines the implications of “the appropriation of similar material in different essays” and the implication of such patterns on our understanding of Plutarchan composition and thought. Cf. Teodorsson 1996, which argues for interconnectedness between sequential chapters in attempt to create an effect of verism intended to represent his works as the real transcripts of learned conversations. My own methodology incorporates these intratextual approaches, integrating repeated themes and vocabulary, among other elements, into a reading that illustrates, on the one hand, Gellius’ habits of mind and composition and, on the other, the manner in which the *NA* operate within the textual world of the miscellany.

moving on. Frequently his discussion draws on the previous chapters, and later chapters challenge readers to recognize and apply the numerous facts and techniques that Gellius has introduced previously.

In this chapter then, I first return the Preface of the *NA* and the theories of reading which Gellius espouses there, in order to access the manner in which he believes his readership will most profitably, and most enjoyably, approach his miscellany. There, Gellius advocates a strategy predicated upon critical reading that has close parallels in the Greek tradition, especially in the works of Plutarch. I compare these two authors' thoughts on reading, and especially reading miscellaneous texts, which are revelatory of their attitudes towards their own projects. After examining the role of the critical reader in the Preface, I turn to the text of the *NA* and examine several ways in which Gellius has encoded within his work several indicators for his ideal reader which are intended to produce interactions between the discrete units of text. Starting with his explicit directional references in his text, I argue that while each of the *commentarii* of the *NA* can stand on its own, Gellius intends for the reader to approach these linked chapters as a unit. I then demonstrate several of the effects of these interactions, beginning with pairs of chapters such as 2.8-9, in which slight differences between paired chapters with similar topic are resolved productively by the reader, allowing deeper insight into the material contained in those chapters. I examine several other aesthetic effects in the *NA*, illustrating how sequences of chapters related by repeated citations, to either the same text or to the same passages, can inform one another and deploy differing treatments of similar material to educative purpose.

With the literary function of these smaller textual units established, I propose one final relationship cultivated by Gellius and reflect upon the parallels between the miscellaneous form of the *NA* and the variegated, though meaningfully structured, Augustan poetry book. The impact of the poetry book on later prose collections has been understated, though the line of influence (from Horace to Pliny, for instance) is clear. In the *NA*, these aesthetics are adopted in part to add literary sophistication to the miscellaneous knowledge of the work, but also as part of an intertextual program in which Gellius positions himself as a literary peer of his predecessors beyond the miscellany. Last, I move from the micro-level to the macro-level and investigate how these structures can operate across books, rather than only within them, focusing on the end of the first half and beginning of the second half of the whole (10.25-11.2). By examining the various forms of textual interaction and structuring, I demonstrate that Gellius has written his text with a methodology of critical reading in mind; should the reader approach the text in the manner implied in the Preface and then modeled throughout the *NA*, the reader can recognize the manner in which the chapters are mutually enriching. The intratextual construction represents a kind of literary sophistication characteristic of prose collections in the imperial literary environment, which is also recognizable in other collections as diverse as the letters of Pliny, Athenaeus, and the epigrams of Martial. Moreover, the composition of the *NA* allows the audience to apply the reading practice which Gellius advocates throughout the text. Reading the *NA* is an educative experience, not only because of the material which he has carefully assembled; by illustrating the manner in which this material is to be read and reconciled, Gellius cultivates a readership able to apply abstract learning in their lives.

Gellius' Strategies of Reading (Gellius): A Second Reading of the Preface

Before turning to a reading of the structural and other intratextual devices present in the *NA*, it is instructive to return to the Preface once again. As discussed in the previous chapter, Gellius makes use of the Preface to condition his reader's reception of the *NA*: it sets out the ostensible genre of the work, situating the Roman miscellany partway in between the Greek miscellanistic and the Roman didactic and encyclopedic traditions. The Preface serves an additional function, however: it outlines a technique for reading the work, a strategy which reflects Gellius' own interest in how and why people choose to read and interact with texts.⁴ This paratextual element is decidedly prescriptive, offering a method of engaging with the discrete elements of the *NA* and understanding them as a unified whole, composed as it was on a plan (*consilium*, pr.11) rather than haphazardly (*indistincte atque promisce*, pr.2) as claimed. He creates a dichotomy between the *NA* and other miscellaneous works, with their composition, which he faults for its indiscriminate collection of material, on the one side and his own on the other, with an emphasis on reading critically, treating texts as literature first and a mine of sources and facts second. In this section, I argue that Gellius, drawing on other figures such as Plutarch and in contradistinction to the other writers of miscellaneous texts to which he refers, expounds a theory of reading in his Preface that, when applied to his own project, enables the reader to observe the network of interrelations that have been established between the constituent parts of the whole. The theory of reading emphasizes several facets: a habitual practice focused on the whole; the necessity of reading and rereading passages in their contexts in order to derive a comprehensive understanding of

⁴ On Gellius as interested in reading practices: Howley 2011, 65-68, and *passim*.

the material; and the blurred distinctions between engaging with poetry as opposed to prose, and the necessity of using these techniques for both forms of writing.⁵

The Preface, as it is preserved, begins by highlighting the nature of Gellius' interaction with the texts that he has assembled into the *NA*; for him, reading was a pleasurable habit rather than a labor of collecting material, and he made careful note of texts that struck him as useful or that produced a personal reaction (pr.2).⁶ Gellius humbly deprecates his own project as the disorganized work of the long Attic winter nights (pr.3-5), though he then disparages a wide array of other miscellanies, as well as their titles. After justifying his own choice of title, Gellius names thirty other titles, inserting his own work into the broader base of miscellaneous literature and demonstrating his own learning and awareness of his genre.⁷ Though Gellius lists the titles condescendingly and complicates his own description of his work,⁸ the qualities that he singles out for his text are noteworthy. In contrast to the works of other writers, the *NA* is characterized by a careless assemblage of knowledge lacking in sophistication (pr.9-10). He inveighs against other miscellaneous writers' hunt for bits of learning in the texts they dissect (*nam quia variam et miscellam et quasi confusaneam doctrinam conquisiverant*, pr.5), focusing on the bulk of material rather than quality.

⁵ This argument is heavily indebted to that put forward by Howley 2011, 68-70, as part of his interpretation of Gellius' theory of reading and its place within the broader context of its time, including Quintilian and Plutarch.

⁶ See Howley 2011, 68: "Gellius begins by emphasizing the casual and intimate nature of his reading, describing habitual encounters with texts during which he was always observing his personal reaction to what he read or heard, and imagining whether he might wish to recall it in the future."

⁷ Vardi 1993; Vardi 2004, 159-162.

⁸ Gunderson 2009, 27-8.

He moves on to attack the Greeks for heaping passages together without discernment, while implying that his work is free from this vice (pr.11). He stresses, rather, his active reading in preparing his text—in contrast to his claims about composition, Gellius presents himself as a discerning reader writing for his sophisticated peers. Though he has examined many texts at every possible break from his business, Gellius claims that

ego vero, cum illud Ephesii viri summe nobilis verbum cordi haberem, quod profecto ita est: πολυμαθὴν νόον οὐ διδάσκει, ipse quidem volvendis transeundisque multis admodum voluminibus per omnia semper negotiorum intervalla, 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 vitae negotiis occupatos a turpi certe agrestique rerum atque verborum imperitia vindicarent.

But I, since I kept that saying of that most noble Ephesian man close to heart, which runs thus: “much learning does not teach the mind.” Indeed I worked and tired myself by unrolling and reading many bookrolls through all my breaks from business in which I could steal some leisure, but I excerpted only moderately from these books and those things alone which either would lead sharp and active minds to a desire of honorable learning and the contemplation of useful skills my means of a quick and easy shortcut, or would save men already occupied in other business of life from a certainly shameful and rustic ignorance of things and words. (NA pr.12)

The components of the *NA* have been carefully selected and written in such a way as to be beneficial for those seeking knowledge, though the text resembles a subliterate form that may be mined for details rather than existing as a literary endeavor in its own right. Yet, everything that is included must stimulate the inquiring mind in others like him. He notes that his readers will need to devote time and energy to his work, and the *NA* requires a careful and active reader in the mold of its author. He urges the reader to consider knowledge broadly if they should encounter something he already knows, and to pause and reflect upon how novelties may help him develop his own intellectual faculties. Should the reader stumble upon a mistake within the text, he should interrogate the mistake and learn from Gellius’ example; a critical aspect is tracking down the original

text itself and interpreting how Gellius erred (pr.18). Indeed, if his readers do not have time to think actively and reflect—if they are too preoccupied with *negotium*, for instance—Gellius suggests they leave the *NA* behind (pr.19).

He implies that the *NA* rewards a contemplative approach and necessitates close, active reading in order to derive the most enjoyment and benefit out of the text. Quoting Aristophanes' *Frogs*, Gellius banishes such men who are not inclined towards careful reading:

atque etiam, quo sit quorundam male doctorum hominum scaevitas et invidentia irritatior, mutuabor ex Aristophanae choro anapesta pauca et quam ille homo festivissimus fabulae suae spectandae legem dedit, eandem ego commentariis his legendis dabo, **ut ea ne attingat neve adeat profestum et profanum volgus a ludo musico diversum**. Versus legis datae hi sunt:

εὐφημεῖν χρή καλίστασθαι τοῖς ἡμετέροισι χοροῖσιν,
ὅστις ἄπειρος τοιῶνδε λόγων ἢ γνώμη μὴ καθαρεύει
ἢ γενναίων ὄργια Μουσῶν μήτ' εἶδεν μήτ' ἐχόρευσεν,
τούτοις αὐδῶ, καὶθις ἀπαυδῶ, καὶθις τὸ τρίτον μάλ' ἀπαυδῶ
ἐξίστασθαι μύσταισι χοροῖς· ὑμεῖς δ' ἀνεγείρετε μολπὴν
καὶ παννυχίδας τὰς ἡμετέρας, αἱ τῇδε πρέπουσιν ἑορτῇ.

Moreover, in order that the perversity and envy of certain poorly-educated men more enflamed, I will share a few anapests from a chorus of Aristophanes and I will give down the same rule which that most witty man pronounced for watching his play for reading these *commentarii*, **that the profane and vulgar crowd that is indisposed to the play of the muses neither touch nor approach them**. These are the verses of the rule that is given:

Speak well and let him stand apart from our dances,
whoever is unfamiliar with such utterances or does not purify his thought,
or has neither seen nor danced the rites of the noble Muses;
to these I declare, I declare again, indeed I declare a third time
to stand apart from the initiates' dances: but you raise up the dance
and our nighttime vigils, which are suited to this festival. (*NA* pr.20-21 [Ar. *Ran.* 354-6, 369-371])

In no uncertain terms, Gellius announces that his work is intended for a readership of *peepaideumenoι*, and goes so far as to mock those that are not properly educated by presenting the lines of Aristophanes as a challenge: the reader is put to the test to see if they understand the precept given in pr.18 and identify its context.⁹ Gellius evokes the

⁹ Howley 2011, 16 notes this element of testing the reader, much as engaging with the table of contents provides a different sort of mental challenge.

language of initiation throughout this passage, alluding to this element of the passage in his own framing language to warn off the *profestum et profanum volgus a ludo musico diversum*.¹⁰

The disinterested are banished from the work, whereas those who have correctly internalized the lessons of the Preface are free to proceed; it is these same readers who will notice the incongruities regarding the titles, noted above, as well as the invocations of the Muses twice in pr.19-20 that jar with the mocked title *Musae*. The reader is left to look backwards and forwards and to attempt to understand what Gellius' choice implies, and to recognize the semantic differences between the different usages. Further, Gellius aligns his project with the Muses, but refers to it as a *ludus* rather than a *sacrum*, despite the heavy emphasis of the Aristophanic passage on initiation and religious rites. This choice is marked: while the proper initiate in the *Frogs* has a mind that is pure and, as the chorus leader's speech makes clear, appreciates comedy's role in bettering the *polis*, Gellius' initiate has the ability not only to understand his citations and to utilize them for his own development, but also appreciate the literary game that he plays in the *NA*.¹¹

¹⁰ Aristophanes' main chorus in the *Frogs* makes clear use of the motif of initiation into the Eleusinian mysteries, partly for comic effect, throughout the *parodos*, starting from its frame as a hymn to Demeter; the framing of the particular lines quoted by Gellius quite clearly adopts the model of excluding the impure, however conceived, from the religious ritual; on the passage's mystic elements as well as the ways in which they are put to comic use, see Dover 1993, 55-69 and *ad loc.* See also Korenjak 1998, who reads this citation with the title in order to argue that the title itself draws on the mystical elements of παιδεία and should be seen to contribute to this aura throughout the work. Perhaps notable too is the prevalence of meadows (λειμῶνες) and flowers (ἄνθερά) throughout the chorus, as well as the nighttime setting of the rites, though not in Gellius' excerpt; while these are stock features of the paradise awaiting the virtuous in the underworld at the time of Aristophanes (cf. Dover 1993, 60 with citations), they are also alternate titles offered that are rejected by Gellius. Given the emphasis on ludic elements that are evoked both by Gellius in introducing the passage as well as the prevalence of forms of παίζειν in the *parodos*, Gellius may similarly be having some fun by means of the omission.

¹¹ Keulen 2009, 17-18 with notes 6 and 7. In addition to here, forms of *ludere* and *ludus* appear in the Preface at pr.4 (*sed quoniam longinquis per hiemem noctibus in agro, sicuti dixi, terrae Atticae commentationes hasce ludere ac facere exorsi sumus...*) and pr.16 (*quae porro nova sibi ignotaque offenderit, aequum esse puto, ut sine vano obtrectatu considerent, an minutae istae admonitiones et pauxillulae nequaquam tamen sint vel ad aldendum studium vescae vel ad oblectandum fovendumque*

Gellius' initiated readers are primed to engage with the miscellany as a text performing a sophisticated literary play that Gellius announces as part of the very composition of his work (pr.4).

In framing the passage of the *Frogs*, Gellius further establishes the generic affiliation between the *NA* and poetry. The introduction of the Aristophanic quote, in which Gellius proclaims that it is the *profestum et profanum vulgus* who have no place reading the *NA*, alludes to Horace's famous description of the crowd he banishes at *Odes* 3.1, *odi profanum vulgus et arceo*, and places the Preface into dialogue with Roman poetry books.¹² For Horace, the declaration, while is influenced by Callimachus' similar claims, is focused on the Epicurean content of the remainder of the ode;¹³ however, the ties with his Alexandrian predecessor suggest Horace's aspirations that his novel form of Roman poetry will be well-received.¹⁴ This pronouncement aligns Gellius with Horace and his particular program—the work is not intended for careless readers not already versed in the literary tradition—and it marks this program as poetic. By means of this allusion as well as the citation of Aristophanes, Gellius has inserted his work into the realm of poetry, and through Horace the *NA* comes into contact with poetry books and collections, the structures of which inform his own miscellany. Horace is often held up as

animum fridigae, sed eius seminis generisque sint, ex quo facile adolescent aut ingenia hominum vegetiora aut memoria adminiculatio aut ratio sollertior aut sermo incorruptior aut delectatio in otio atque in ludo liberalior), both of which passages are concerned with the literary genesis and purpose of the work.

¹² An allusion to Horace makes sense here given the relative prevalence of the Muses throughout this passage and the opening of Hor. *Carm.* 3.1, in which the *vulgus* is described as *profanum* on the grounds that they are not initiates into the cult of the Muses; cf. Porph. *ad loc.*, Nisbet and Rudd 2004, 6-7. The parallels with Aristophanes are similarly clear, given that they are spoken by a chorus of initiates debarring those who are uninitiated from participating in their Eleusinian mysteries that eventually lead into the literary-critical set piece of the *Frogs*.

¹³ Cf. Callim. *Ep.* 28.4, *Aet.* fr. 1.17.

¹⁴ Nisbet and Rudd 2004, *ad loc.*

a paradigm of the carefully Roman poetry structured book, and in drawing a connection between his own work and that of Horace, Gellius introduces the idea that his own innovation may parallel that of Horace in his own genre.¹⁵ Much as Horace attempts to emulate and rival the Greek lyric poets he bases his own work on, in the process crafting a novel Latin literary form, Gellius too reinvents the miscellaneous text by setting himself against poetic predecessors, rather than the other works cited earlier in the Preface, and in so doing he challenges his audience to read the *NA* in a similar fashion to those poetry books.

On this reading, the Preface offers a strategy for approaching the remainder of the *NA*. Gellius conceives of a particular breed of attentive reader, coming to the text armed with a range of reading strategies and willing to appreciate the literary play that assimilates his miscellaneous project to earlier poetic works. The *NA* introduces several reading practices throughout the text itself that instruct the audience how to evaluate

¹⁵ The strongest modern proponents of the careful structuring of Horace's *Odes* are Santirocco 1986 and Porter 1987; however, see *contra* Nisbet 1995, esp. 423-424, which attempts to provide a strong corrective to the modern tendency of developing webs of cross-references between poems and suggesting that "this is certainly true of a limited number of cases, and there are others where some difference of opinion is possible; but interrelationships of the complexity that [are] being posited would be quite impossible to organize, especially when we consider that the order is affected by mechanical metrical principles, such as the alternation of Alcaics and Sapphics at the beginning of Book 2." His anxiety about the intensive cross-referencing also has parallel in Alessandro Barchiesi's warning that searching out these parallels in search of the so-called perfect book can lead to skewed interpretations of how we interpret the compositional mechanics of works such as the *Odes* and other Augustan poetry books; see Barchiesi 2005, 320-321. However, approaching the *NA* through the lens of intratextuality alleviates some of the concerns raised by Nisbet: if our critical impulse is to impose a unity upon the texts we study and to schematize their structures, by approaching collections intratextually and exploring the resonances between the produced between the constituent parts, we can arrive at new, and ultimately deeper, understandings of the literary function of the individual pieces. Moreover, even if structures are detectable, intratextuality embraces the possibility that fragmentation in itself can be meaningful, or that apparent structures can interact with this fragmentation in significant ways; see Sharrock 2000, 5-8, 20-21. Comparison between Gellius' prose text and a poetic collection is not problematic, given that their ultimate audiences would have engaged with the texts in the same manner—that is to say, in a written form in which cross-referencing and examining for such structures would have been convenient. Although multiple venues existed for readers to engage with books of poetry, either in recitations or reading texts, audiences engaged with the vast majority of literature, both poetry and prose, in the imperial period as books; see generally Parker 2009, 218-225.

properly and to critique literature, and inculcate an appreciation of Roman literature and Gellius' novel place within this tradition. Readers are expected to approach the *NA* with a critical eye able to discern the quality with which Gellius has imbued his text with in relation to the other works in his genre.

An important predecessor and comparandum for the necessity of such careful reading in Gellius is Plutarch, whose name is given pride of place as the first word of the work after the Preface, and whose own thoughts on reading appear to inform Gellius' own. The Greek philosopher is a significant presence in the *NA*, with Gellius citing him on topics ranging from the philosophical to the moral to the paradoxical; further, Gellius is clearly familiar with Plutarch's miscellaneous works, quoting from the *Quaestiones Conviviales* among others, and he incorporates these texts via citation into his own miscellaneous project.¹⁶ Given the probable, and generally accepted, influence of Plutarch on Gellius' own thought, and Gellius' frequent attempts at crafting an intellectual descent from Plutarch,¹⁷ it is necessary to examine the strategies offered by Plutarch for reading literature, as well as his own attitudes towards reading miscellany.

A Model of Critical Reading: Plutarch's De Audiendis Poetis and De Recta Ratione Audiendi

The two central Plutarchan texts detailing a theory of reading are the *De Audiendis Poetis (De audiendis)* and the *De Recta Ratione Audiendi (De recta)* when

¹⁶ Citations of the *Quaestiones Conviviales* in the *NA*: 3.5, 3.6, 4.11, 17.11. Citations of other works of Plutarch: 1.1, 1.3, 1.26, 2.8, 2.9, 4.11, 11.16, 15.10, 20.8

¹⁷ Howley 2011, 51. Cf. the general remarks on Plutarch in the *NA* at Holford-Strevens 2003, 110-115, 283-285. Despite the acknowledgment of Plutarch as a major source for Gellius and his project, there has been relatively little work comparing the compositional methodologies of each author, and what, if any, debts Gellius owes to Plutarch in that regard.

read together, as argued by Jason König, they offer a coherent system of engaging with and interpreting poetry.¹⁸ For Plutarch, the ultimate goal of his reading program is philosophical enrichment. Poetry frequently provides the first introduction to the philosophical mode of thought, and thus great care must be taken when introducing these texts to young readers for the first time. Such care is necessitated by the link between poetry and the development of character, and the dangers of poetry, given its mimetic elements, require special training to interact with and not become tainted by the morally bad elements.¹⁹ Reading constitutes a central pillar of Plutarch's program of ethical progress, and as such he is greatly concerned with how a young reader should approach texts, keeping in mind the possible hazards of reading when not prepared. As such, he proposes a detailed system in which the young are trained to interact with texts in an appropriate fashion, ensuring their correct interpretation as well as the ethical development of the reader.

The *De audiendis* offers a program of reading intended for young men who have progressed past the basic levels of instruction that seek to engage with poetry in a philosophically minded fashion, with an ultimate goal of attaining *paideia*.²⁰ He cautions those responsible for teaching youths at the outset that young men's minds are impressionable, and that, while they will be drawn to poetry because of its entertaining

¹⁸ These are the second and third texts in the MSS of the *Moralia*, preceded only by the *De liberis educandis*, which is generally held to be spurious. Nevertheless, whoever collected the various treatises recognized a coherent system of reading to the texts, though the authenticity of the *De liberis educandis* raises some concerns about reading the texts as a unit, as noted by König 2007a, 47. On the authenticity, see Whitmarsh 2001, 98-100.

¹⁹ Hunter and Russell 2011, 2, 6. Cf. Duff 2008, 1-2, who also emphasizes the manner in which these elements are carried through into the depictions of education in the *Parallel Lives*. On the purpose of these works generally in Plutarch's ethical system, see Whitmarsh 2001, 49-56.

²⁰ Hunter 2009, 169-175; König 2007a, 47-48.

fictions and stories, they will be easily corrupted by it if their reading has not been tempered by proper education. Though poetry contains vicious aspects, an important part of instructing students to read properly is to discern what is useful (χρήσιμον) and salubrious (σωτήριον, 14f), since it offers a useful tool to introduce philosophical material to young pupils. As a hermeneutic technique, Plutarch separates the content from the manner in which it has been presented, allowing the student to distinguish between what the poet says and what the text means (17f-18a). He acknowledges the danger of poetry as a mimetic art, and offers a possible avenue for students to engage safely with the form,²¹ suggesting that poets offer clues as to their own thoughts to the readers, which illustrate what they believe to be objectionable action even though they have portrayed it; as a result, should a reader encounter something troubling in a poem, he should look to find a contradictory passage elsewhere in the same work that resolves the tension the reader has stumbled upon and frees the author of fault (20d-21d).²² Other objectionable statements may be resolved if the reader looks further into the context, as careful attention to the meanings and references of words may change the sense (22a-b); further help may be offered by a thorough understanding of the verbal habits of particular poets, which is itself more beneficial than careful study of glosses and other rare words (22c-25b).²³ Maintaining awareness of the mimetic nature of poetry will allow the reader to

²¹ Whitmarsh 2001, 49-54; Hunter 2009, 179-188. Indeed, much of the *De audiendis* consists as an answer to Plato's challenge regarding the poets in the *Republic*.

²² αἱ δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν ὑπεναντιώσεις πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀναναφέρουσαι τὴν πίστιν οὐκ ἔωσιν ἰσχυρὰν ῥοπήν γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸ βλάπτον. (*De audiendis* 20c)

²³ ἄλλος τοίνυν τρόπος ἐστὶ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ποιήμασιν ὑποψίας πρὸς τὸ βέλτιον ἐκ τοῦ χείρονος μεθιστάς ὁ διὰ ὀνομάτων τῆς συνηθείας, περὶ ὃν δεῖ τὸν νέον γεγυμνάσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ τὰς λεγομένας γλώττας. ἐκεῖνο μὲν γὰρ φιλόλογον καὶ οὐκ ἀηδὲς ὅτι “ρίγεδανός” κακοθάνατός ἐστιν εἶδέναι... τοῦτί δ’ ἀναγκαῖον καὶ χρήσιμον, εἰ μέλλοιμεν ἐκ τῶν ποιημάτων ὠφελήσεσθαι καὶ μὴ βλαβήσεσθαι, τὸ γινώσκειν πῶς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασιν οἱ ποιηταὶ χρῶνται καὶ πάλιν τοῖς τῶν κακῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν (*De audiendis* 22c-d). Cf. Seneca *Ep.* 108.35, and see Hunter and Russell 2011 ad loc.

examine the text critically, avoiding the unconscious internalization of vice. Plutarch also emphasizes the importance of questioning the inclusion of material rather than following it slavishly as part of his theory of philosophical reading;²⁴ indeed, according to the proposed theory one may find good even in passages that depict bad people or acts (32e-34a). A final element of critical interpretation according Plutarch is careful attention not only to what a passage in question means, but rather to the manner in which it may be applied in other contexts (34b-c). On balance, Plutarch offers a system of interpreting texts philosophically that stresses careful, holistic reading in order to access a text's meaning and use its message for self-improvement.

If the *De audiendis* offers direction for the preceptor of a young man and his first introduction to poetry, the *De recta* provides strategies directly to the young reader for further developing his critical faculties. The emphasis of the *De recta* builds upon the separation of content from style that Plutarch stresses in the *De audiendis*, reiterating that the careful reader ought to engage with each of these facets on its own terms.²⁵ Keeping in mind the literary care evident in the genesis of speeches and literature, the successes and mistakes of the author are educational opportunities for the reader to develop through

²⁴ ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοίνυν καὶ τὸ τὴν αἰτίαν ἑκάστου τῶν λεγομένων ἐπιζητεῖν χρήσιμόν ἐστιν.... ὁ γὰρ οὕτως ἀπαντῶν καὶ ἀντερείδων καὶ μὴ παντὶ λόγῳ πλάγιον ὥσπερ πνεύματι παραδιδούς ἑαυτὸν ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς ἔχειν νομίζων τὸ “βλάξ ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ παντὶ λόγῳ φιλεῖ ἐπτοῆσθαι,” πολλὰ διακρούσεται τῶν οὐκ ἀληθῶς οὐδ' ὠφελίμως λεγομένων (*De audiendis* 28a-d).

²⁵ Substance is championed over style (λέξις) esp. at 41b-42b. Plutarch suggests that the rational, philosophical element of the reader should deal with matters of content while the hearing is especially susceptible to emotional disturbance (38a-d); learning to separate these two elements is easy for those who have been brought up in close proximity to philosophical approaches to literature and thought, though there is still a danger as a result of hearing corrupting literature.

recognizing successful or failed elements of composition and adopting or avoiding them.²⁶

ὥς γὰρ ὁ Ξενοφῶν φησι τοὺς οἰκονομικοὺς καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φίλων ὀνίνασθαι καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν, οὕτω τοὺς ἐγρηγορότας καὶ προσέχοντας οὐ μόνον κατορθοῦντες ἀλλὰ καὶ διαμαρτάνοντες ὠφελοῦσιν οἱ λέγοντες· καὶ γὰρ διανοήματος εὐτέλεια καὶ ῥήματος κενότης καὶ σχῆμα φορητικὸν καὶ πτόησις μετὰ χαρᾶς ἀπειροκάλου πρὸς ἔπαινον καὶ ὅσα τοιαῦτα μᾶλλον ἀκροωμένοις ἐφ' ἐτέρων ἢ λέγουσιν ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν καταφαίνεται. διὸ δὲ μεταφέρειν τὴν εὐθυαν ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγοντος, ἀνασκοποῦντας εἴ τι τοιοῦτο λανθάνομεν ἀμαρτάνοντες.

For as Xenophon asserts that good householders derive benefit both from their friends and from their enemies, so in the same way do speakers, not only when they succeed, but also when they fail, render a service to hearers who are alert and attentive. For poverty of thought, emptiness of phrase, an offensive bearing, fluttering excitement combined with a vulgar delight as commendation, and he like, are more apparent to us in others when we are listening than in ourselves when we are speakers. Wherefore we ought to transfer our scrutiny from the speaker to ourselves, and examine whether we unconsciously commit such mistakes. (*De recta* 40c, trans. Babbitt)

Plutarch urges his reader to keep an eye on what benefit may be drawn from others as well as the potential faults as part of the process of self-edification. After suggesting that the reader look past the ornament of text in order to reach its substance (at which point it is acceptable to appreciate the style), Plutarch introduces the imagery of the bee for his idealized reader:

διὸ δὲ τὸ πολὺ καὶ κενὸν ἀφαιροῦντα τῆς λέξεως αὐτὸν διώκειν τὸν καρπὸν καὶ μιμεῖσθαι μὴ τὰς στεφανηπλόκους ἀλλὰ τὰ μελίττας· αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐπιούσαι τὰ ἀνθηρὰ καὶ εὐώδη τῶν φύλλων συνείρουσι καὶ διαπλέκουσιν ἡδὺ μὲν ἐφήμερον δὲ καὶ ἄκαρπον ἔργον· αἱ δὲ πολλαῖς ἰσὺν καὶ ῥόδων καὶ ὑακίνθων διαπετόμεναι λειμῶνας ἐπὶ τὸν τραχύτατον καὶ δριμύτατον θύμον καταίρουσι καὶ τούτῳ προσκάθηται
ξανθὸν μέλι μηδόμεναι,
καὶ λαβοῦσαι τι τῶν χρησίμων ἀποπέτονται πρὸς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον.

One ought therefore to strip off the superfluity and inanity from the style, and seek after the fruit itself, imitating not women that make garlands, but the bees. For those women, culling flower-clusters and sweet-scented leaves, intertwine and plait them, and produce something which is pleasant enough, but short-lived and fruitless; whereas the bees in their flight frequently pass through meadows of violets, roses, and hyacinths, and come to rest upon exceeding rough and pungent thyme, and on this they settle close, “making the yellow honey their care,” and when they have something of use, they fly away home to their own special work. (*De recta* 41f, trans. Babbitt)

²⁶ Cf. NA pr.18. Plutarch clarifies that this is the lesson to be drawn from other texts shortly thereafter at 40d: ὥς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὁμμασι τῶν πλησίων ἐλλάμποντα τὰ ἑαυτῶν ὀρώμεν, οὕτως ἐπὶ τῶν λόγων δὲ τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἐννεικονίζεσθαι τοῖς ἐτέρων, ἵνα μήτ' ἄγαν θρασέως καταφρονῶμεν ἄλλων, αὐτοῖς τε προσέχωμεν ἐν τῷ λέγειν ἐπιμελέστερον. As noted by Howley 2011, 79-80, the assessment is paralleled by Quintilian, who argues for the use of *iudicium* in critical reading to find the benefit in any text.

The bee is a recurrent metaphor in Plutarch for his idealized critical reader, and the reference here recalls *de audiendis* 32e, where the bees represent children who, having been properly educated, are able to extract good moral elements out of seemingly bad passages, as well as 30c, in which the bee is cited as an example of one animal being drawn to certain elements of a text and other animals another.²⁷ The bee is further employed in a similar pedagogical context at *De Profectibus in Virtute* 79c-d, where the educated reader, like the bee, should collect whatever is worthwhile from his diverse reading thanks to his training which makes him able to appreciate these qualities.²⁸

Much of the remainder of the *De recta* details the proper etiquette for listening to lectures, rather than how one should respond to the presentations themselves, with an eye towards preparing the mind for philosophical enquiry. His conclusion, though, encapsulates the goal in pursuing his prescribed educational model, arguing that there is nothing more important for engaging with texts than to engage with them critically as a matter of habit: “it is that it is necessary to keep in mind what has here been said, and to cultivate independent thinking along with our learning, **so that we may acquire a habit of mind that is not sophistic or bent on acquiring mere information**, but one that is deeply ingrained and philosophic, as we may do if we believe that right listening is the

²⁷ The bee is a commonly cited exemplum given in classical discussions of proper reading: see Morgan 1998, 262-270, and Xenophontos 2013, 126-134 with bibliography, who provides an archaeology of the metaphor as it relates to Plutarch and his reinterpretation of it, as well as extensive discussion of the function of the metaphors in the *De audiendis* and the *De recta*. On the imagery and its appearances see further Barns 1950, 132-134; Borthwick 1991, 560-562. Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 84.3-5, discussed by Rust 2009, 196-197, which uses a very similar metaphor of the bee to express the manner in which he argues reading is to be distilled into usable information for the rational mind.

²⁸ Howley 2011, 80-81, interestingly suggests that, if the three citations are originally intended to be encountered in the order of the manuscripts (i.e. following the sequence *de audiendis*, *de recta*, *de profectu in virtute*), these three variants of the same metaphor enact the progression of Plutarch’s reader in the manner in which the image is presented.

beginning of right living” (δεῖ δὲ καὶ τοῦ νῦν εἰρημένου μνημονεύοντας ἀσκεῖν ἅμα τῇ μαθήσει τὴν εὐρησιν, ἵνα μὴ σοφιστικὴν ἔξιν μὴδ’ ἱστορικὴν ἀλλ’ ἐνδιάθετον καὶ φιλόσοφον λαμβάνωμεν, ἀρχὴν τοῦ καλῶς βιῶναι τὸ καλῶς ἀκοῦσαι νομίζοντες, *De recta* 48d). Engagement with text for Plutarch is an active critical process, originating with personal habits of philosophical self-improvement and is not confined to the moment of initial engagement with a poem or speech; rather, the principles he espouses represent a method for self-directed edification and intellectual growth. The reader’s philosophical betterment derives from his ability to separate elements of λέξις from the more meaningful content, though this does not mean that style goes entirely unappreciated, as noted at 42c-d. Instead, the mature reader may appreciate both elements simultaneously (which is only possible if the reader’s rational faculties have been sufficiently bolstered by philosophy, as the educational paradigm proposed across these texts suggests).²⁹ The capacity for this form of critical reading is present in all, even if they do not actively practice it; as he suggests when commenting on the lazy student,

ὅταν τὰ κεφάλαια τῇ νοήσει περιλάβωσιν, αὐτοὺς δι’ αὐτῶν τὰ λοιπὰ συντιθέναι, καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ χειραγωγεῖν τὴν εὔρεσιν, καὶ τὸν ἀλλότριον λόγον οἶον ἀρχὴν καὶ σπέρμα λαβόντας ἐκτρέφειν καὶ αὖξειν. οὐ γὰρ ὡς ἀγγεῖον ὁ νοῦς ἀποπληρώσεως ἀλλ’ ὑπεκκαύματος μόνον ὥσπερ ὕλη δεῖται, ὁρμὴν ἐμποιοῦντος εὔρετικὴν καὶ ὄρεξιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

when their intelligence has comprehended the main points, **they put the rest together by their own efforts, and use their memory as a guide in thinking for themselves**, and, taking the discourse of another as a germ and seed, develop and expand it. For the mind does not require filling like a bottle, but rather, like wood, **it only requires kindling to create in it an impulse to think independently and an ardent desire for the truth.** (*De recta* 48b-c, trans. Babbitt)

The mind does not passively fill, for Plutarch; rather, learning emerges out of a stimulus that leads the reader to interrogate, and ultimately to interpret correctly, different elements of the text. A key facet of this theory of reading is the

²⁹ Whitmarsh 2001, 51; Howley 2011, 79-80.

combination of inspiration and independent thought emerging from the application of memory, which enkindles a fuller understanding of the various elements of what is read.³⁰ Just as Plutarch suggests in his philosophical system that the rational element is triggered to seek truth, so does memory inspire the reader to assemble the constituent elements of his reading and appreciate both the content as well as the style in which it is presented.

A further point worth noting for attempting to understand any impact on Gellius is Plutarch's attitude towards reading the miscellaneous. Beginning from the conclusion of the *De recta* quoted above, we may see a first hint of his feelings, namely that approaching literature while focused squarely on the acquisition of information is to be avoided. Indeed, a similar sentiment emerges in the *De Curiositate*, in which Plutarch stresses that those who collect sophisms and other witticisms with reckless demonstrate their own carelessness as readers, which in turn is representative of a lack of self-mastery and the predominance of their appetites:

ἐρε γάρ, εἴ τις ἐπὶ τὰ συγγράμματα τῶν παλαιῶν ἐκλαμβάνοι τὰ κάκιστα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς
καὶ βιβλίον ἔχοι συντεταγμένον οἷον Ὀμηρικῶν στίχων ἀκεφάλων καὶ τραγικῶν σολοικισμῶν καὶ
τῶν ὑπ' Ἀρχιλόχου πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπρεπῶς καὶ ἀκολάστως εἰρημένων, ἑαυτὸν
παραδειγματίζοντος, ἄρ' οὐκ ἔστι τῆς τραμένων, ἑαυτὸν παραδειγματίζοντος, ἄρ' οὐκ ἔστι τῆς
τραγικῆς κατάρας ἄξιος
'ὅλοιο θνητῶν ἐκλέγων τὰς συμφοράς';
καὶ ἄνευ δὲ τῆς κατάρας ἀπρεπῆς καὶ ἀνωφελῆς ὁ θησαυρισμὸς αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων
ἀμαρτημάτων.

Suppose a man should run over the works of the ancients and pick out the worst passages in them and keep a book compiled from such things as “headless lines” in Homer and solecisms in the tragedians and the unbecoming and licentious language applied to women by which Archilochus makes a sorry spectacle of himself, would he not deserve that curse in the tragedy, “be damned, compiler of men’s miseries?” And even without this curse, such a man’s treasure-house of other people’s faults is unbecoming and useless. (*De curiositate* 520a-b, trans. Heimbald)

³⁰ See König 2007a, 57-58 on the connection of this imagery to certain of Plutarch’s logical connections, which may be interpreted as structural markers, in the *QC*.

The sort of miscellany that Plutarch proposes here, filled with literary faults and other worthless items, is not to be emulated; such a text serves here as an exemplum for the busybody's unbridled and intemperate thirst for learning the vices of others. Though Plutarch denigrates such a little book of horrors that reflects the disordered mind of its compiler,³¹ his statements on his own miscellanistic endeavors are useful for interpreting how he envisions a profitable reading of such works would take place. One of the most revealing is the preface to Book 2 of the *Quaestiones Conviviales* (QC). Here, Plutarch takes stock of his previous book and creates a dichotomy between the two types of questions he dealt with in the first book: those he calls "sympotic" (συμποτικά), which focus on the etiquette of the symposium itself, how it is to be organized and how one ought to comport one's self at the party, and "symposiac" (συμποσιακά), questions that are suitably pondered and discussed at the symposium, though they do not deal with the functioning of the event in any specific sense (629d).³² He then tells his dedicatee, Sosius Senecio, that the work was "composed in a scattered fashion and not planned out, but as each item came to mind" (σποράδην δ' ἀναγέγραπται καὶ οὐ δικεκριμένως ἀλλ' ὥς ἕκαστον εἰς μνήμην ἦλθεν).³³ After noting that Sosius might recognize his own contributions to the discussions in the QC, Plutarch concludes by observing that "if recollection does not produce learning, often remembering amounts to the same thing as

³¹ As Gellius himself does in his own encounters with what are, by his standards, defective texts, as at 14.6; cf. Howley 2011, 81-82 on this passage and its implications for Plutarch's theory of reading.

³² König 2007a, 56 recognizes that this distinction is a false dichotomy, as both of these categories are in some way συμποτικά given that the shows of knowledge that make up the συμποσιακά are ultimately concerned with the appropriate performance of the identity of the elite Greek male at the symposium. On the symposium as a site of the performance of elite male identity and the blurring of these boundaries in Plutarch among others, see König 2012 (esp. 66-71 on the QC).

³³ Much as in the Preface to the *Noctes*, Plutarch's prefatory statements here ought to be read as disingenuous, which may in fact be paralleled in other such claims throughout the classical tradition; see also my discussion of the nature of these claims in Gellius' Preface, pp. 51-54.

learning” (καὶ γὰρ ἂν αἱ μαθήσεις ἀναμνήσεις μὴ ποιῶσιν, πολλάκις εἰς ταὐτὸ τῷ μανθάνειν τὸ ἀναμνήσκεσθαι καθίστησιν, 629e). This close relationship posited between knowledge and memory parallels the sense of inspiration at *De recta* 48b-c, where memory sparks independent knowledge. When read together, the two passages suggest that recollection is an instrumental part of learning in Plutarch’s text. His claim about ordering is suggestive, indicating that memory in part provides order to the chapters, and the coherence that emerges when reading whole books of the *QC*, as König has argued, mimics the “retrospective patterning which memory inevitably imposes.”³⁴ Recognizing the effect of memory and its influence on the order of the text sparks the reader’s own learning, as simultaneous perception of an aesthetic that is mimetic of the function of memory complements the educative sympotic content. Structure emerges through memory along with the reading habits expounded in the *De audiendis* and the *De recta*. Miscellany, especially when it echoes memory, is useful for inspiring independent thought; it affords an example of the thought processes that underlay the intellectual enterprise represented by the *QC*, and it instantiates careful (albeit philosophically focused) reading practices.

Plutarch thus approaches reading with a specific ethical agenda in mind: education and reading serve the purpose of developing the moral character of students, and successful development is contingent upon interpreting the content and the style in tandem. His approach to miscellany is similar, stressing the necessity of reading the text with care and recognizing the effects of stylistic elements and structures such as those

³⁴ König 2007a, 62; on the ordering that emerges, 56-62. Cf. Teodorsson 1996, esp. 45-47, which argues that Plutarch used a kind of psychological association in assembling different sets of chapters, a feature that gives an air of authenticity to the different interactions and reminiscences.

mimicking the effect of memory. For Plutarch, much of the educational benefit of a miscellany (when it has been properly constructed and contains entries intended for the moral betterment of the reader) lies in the interaction of aesthetics and content, which the judicious reader may recognize to his advantage.

The elements of this theory have implications for reading Gellius, as there are clear points of contact between both writers' prescribed methods of interacting with their works. Though Gellius at the outset imagines a more exclusive audience, he is likewise interested in his readership possessing a critical eye, aware of the distinctions between form and content. Indeed, his protreptic Preface already rewards such a careful reader while emphasizing the necessity of a sophisticated approach to the *NA*: a trained reader is able to access the full range of meaning within the text, and to extract the elements that will improve his intellect. Whether or not this model of reading in Gellius is derived from Plutarch, both writers approach reading in a similar fashion—we read to improve ourselves, they suggest, but only the reader who is well-trained and practiced is capable of being an initiate into the full range of mysteries of literature. Without this training, it becomes impossible to appreciate the writer's craft and successfully negotiate the various elements of the miscellany in order to access its meaningful content. Gellius does not leave his reader to fend for himself completely, however; he is interested in inculcating such a reading practice in his reader as part of the program of the *NA*. Throughout the work, he directs his audience's attention to various interrelations between the *commentarii*, and in the next section I examine several of these constructions.

Navigating the Maze: Gellius' Deictic Markers and Fashioning Connections Between Chapters

With these prescriptive elements of Gellius' Preface in mind, we may now begin to consider the ways in which the chapters of the *NA* are composed and their various relations with each other. Though Gellius has claimed a chance ordering for his chapters, as has been noted, he nevertheless demonstrates awareness of the various relationships between the different constituent components of his text; he makes use of a set vocabulary alluding to the thought processes underlying the compilation of the *NA*, though caution is necessary in attempting to establish a relative chronology of composition.³⁵ Gellius acknowledges the architecture of the individual chapters, drawing attention to earlier elements in the same discussion in order to reinforce his argument. The markers help the reader navigate through his chapters by emphasizing the connections that Gellius took pains to make between the different parts of his argument in each chapter, thus reinforcing the the didactic purpose of each unit. But it is of note that Gellius makes use of the same words and markers to draw attention to such connections across chapters as well, reflecting an awareness of the manner in which the fabric of the text is composed, and helping to guide his audience in approaching the text. On the one hand, this is mimetic of the process of collecting notes; in this regard Gellius maintains

³⁵ The traditional, *Quellenforschung*-inspired interpretation of such passages is that they represent material that was composed simultaneously (or close to simultaneously), as Gellius was using the same set of sources while assembling this portion of the *NA*; see Mercklin 1860, 664-674, Vogel 1888, 4. Holford-Strevens 2003, 34-35, notes "deliberate disruption" and cites the lack of chronological sequence among the various snippets of Gellius' life throughout the text, as well as a disorderly introduction to certain figures and the shuffling of citations from the same work as evidence. Inconcinities across the collection make it hard to distinguish any order of composition, though certainly some notes were written far in advance of publication in the collection; Marache 1967, xv posits a temporal distinction between the juxtaposition of *annotationes* and *commentarii* at *NA* pr.3, suggesting that the *annotationes* represent the earlier stage in the process of collection; Astarita 1993, 30-31 echoes the assessment while identifying the seemingly random technique of composition with the process of compiling notes. Cf. Rust 2009, 137-139. Even the connection of certain consecutive chapters, as noted below, may not necessarily indicate a compositional sequence, but rather an invitation to read more broadly across the collection.

the illusion, established in the Preface, of a solitary worker compiling those notes as he comes across them into a disjointed collection. However, examining the instances in which Gellius makes direct reference to the different parts of the *NA*, reveals that through these instructions he offers an alternative approach to the text in line with that espoused in the Preface. In so doing, Gellius suggests that his audience should read chapters synchronically, keeping in mind the connections between different elements rather than reading the *NA* as a collection of discrete notes with limited interaction between them.

One of the most basic ways in which Gellius can provide such direction is through directional words such as *supra*; throughout the *NA*, he uses this adverb to refer to earlier in the same chapter in his own text, as well as those of others.³⁶ In Gellius, the majority of these uses are also narrowly bounded, in the sense that they all appear to help the reader navigate within discrete chapters in order to facilitate their recollection of earlier parts of the argument. Beginning in the second half of the *NA*, *supra* begins to appear more frequently with reference to an earlier context in a passage that has been cited; for instance, at 12.9, in a discussion of words that can have either positive or negative valuations in archaic literature depending on the context, Gellius examines the usage of the word *honor* by Quintus Metellus Numidicus in his speech *De Suo Triumpho*. After quoting from the speech, he suggests that he makes his intended meaning explicit earlier in the speech: “‘He has shown worse honor for you than for me,’ he says; the meaning of

³⁶ The word appears a total of fifty-seven times in the text of the *NA*, with thirty-six instances being what we may term deictic instances of the word;³⁶ of those thirty-six, Gellius refers to his own previous statements or citations in the same chapter thirty-two times, with the most typical formula of such citation taking the form *quod supra scripsi* (4.8.8) or *ut supra dixi* (2.23.22). That Gellius constructs such directional relationships in his text in this fashion should not be surprising; authors as early as Cato make use of *supra* to refer to their previous statements. These formulae are typical of this manner of cross-referencing in Latin prose: see Starr 1981, 431-432. He also notes (433-434) that, while it is normal early on for such terms to indicate material in relatively close proximity, Pliny the Elder seems to represent a shift in this approach, with cross-references in his own work traversing much greater spaces in the text, and occasionally even crossing books.

this word is, **as he himself also said above**: ‘he affects you with greater injury and abuse than me’” (*‘honorem’ inquit ‘peiorem vobis habuit quam mihi’; cuius verbi sententia est,*

quam ipse quoque supra dicit: ‘maiore vos adfecit iniuria et contumelia quam me’,

12.9.5). The usage of *supra* directs the reader to the earlier, original context within

Numidicus’ work, which Gellius himself has cited immediately before:

Quintus autem Metellus Numidicus in oratione, quam de triumpho suo dixit, his verbis usus est: **‘Qua in re quanto universi me unum antistatis, tanto vobis quam mihi maiorem iniuriam atque contumeliam facit**, Quirites, et quanto probi iniuriam facilius accipiunt, quam alteri tradunt, tanto ille vobis quam mihi peiorem honorem habuit’.

Moreover Quintus Metellus Numidicus in the speech, which he spoke *de triumpho suo*, used these words: **‘In this matter by how much you collectively are more important than me alone, by so much does he make a greater injury and abuse for yourselves than for me**, citizens, and by how much more easily do honest men take injury than to deliver them to another, by so much had that one shown worse honor to you than to me.’ (NA 12.9.4)

Gellius’ directs his reader through both of the passages, his own and the quotation of Numidicus, and he conceptualizes the two as the same sort of discrete textual unit. What is more, *supra* here joins the two passages into the same context in a kind of zeugma; the act of looking above occurs within both texts, given that Gellius suggests that the former *locus* in the *De Svo Triumpho* elucidates the latter, though the reader is able identify what is being referred to in Gellius’ own text. On one level, the reader is instructed how to read the fragment and access its proper meaning; on the other, Gellius unifies his own text and his citation into a single entity through this direction. Given the subject of this chapter as stated in the lemma, “what words are called ambiguous” (*quae dicuntur vocabulae ancipitia*), such ambiguity and perhaps even assimilation between the two authors is implied and reinforced.

Gellius uses *supra* once again to refer to an earlier context in one of his citations at 13.13, in which he considers whether a praetor is legally allowed to summon a

quaestor to court, and invokes Book 21 of Varro's *Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum* as evidence. At 13.13.5, rather than referring to an earlier part of this chapter, Gellius uses *supra* to indicate an earlier passage in Varro: "Varro says this in that part of the book about aediles, **but above in the same book** he says that quaestors have neither the right of summoning nor of arrest" (*hoc Varro in ea libri parte de aedilibus, supra autem in eodem libro quaestores neque vocationem habere neque prensionem dicit*). Within the chapter in question, there is no specific citation that Gellius is directing his readers towards beyond *isdem liber*. However, 13.12 provides an answer: a similar discussion of whether the tribunes of the plebs have the power to summon an individual to appear, he cites the same work and book of Varro at length in support of Capito's judgment that the tribunes lack the power of *vocatio*. In the citation, Varro specifies that offices possessing *imperium*, such as the consulship, have the right of *vocatio*, and that those who have a messenger, such as the tribunes of the plebs, have the right of *prensio*, but that "they have neither the right of summoning nor of arrest, as the quaestors and the rest do, who have neither a lictor nor a messenger" (*neque vocationem neque prensionem, ut quaestores et ceteri, qui neque lictorem habent neque viatorem*, 13.12.6). Gellius here unifies the text of the *NA* with that of his citation through his direction; in contrast to the previous example, however, Gellius leads his reader to the previous chapter instead of earlier in the present chapter in order to access the full meaning. Indeed, the necessity of reading both passages together is present in 13.13 itself to arrive at the appropriate conclusion, as Gellius indicates in the final sentence: "**therefore when each part of the book had been read all conceded to the opinion of Varro**, and the quaestor was summoned into court to the praetor" (*utraque igitur libri parte recitata in Varronis omnes sententiam*

concesserunt, quaestorque in ius ad praetorem vocatus est, 13.13.6). In the legal context, both passages of Varro are necessary to arrive at the proper conclusion, namely that the praetor had the requisite authority to call the quaestor to trial; similarly Gellius, through his use of the unifying deictic marker *supra*, suggests that the two chapters need to be read with one another and their citations in order to have a full understanding of the questions under consideration. This use of *supra* to direct the reader across chapters is quite rare: in addition to the unit of 13.12-13, Gellius links two chapters via the use of *supra* in only three other contexts: 5.15-16, 9.13-14, and 11.9-10.

5.15-16 treat a pair of philosophical questions concerning the senses. Gellius introduces the first question, “whether the voice is corporeal or incorporeal” (*corpusne sit vox an incorporeum*, 5.15.1); after suggesting that there is a Greek precedent for answering this question, and emphasizing Lucretius’ knowledge of this definition in the *de rerum natura*, Gellius provides a detailed discussion of the Stoic, Platonic, and Epicurean doctrines of whether voice is corporeal (5.15.2-8). The chapter concludes, however, not with further details or development of the philosophical ideas, but a rejection of philosophical inquiry using a line of Ennius:

hos aliosque talis argutae delectabilisque desidia aculeos cum audiremus vel
lectitarem neque in his scrupulis aut emolumentum aliquod solidum ad rationem vitae
pertinens aut finem ullum quaerendi videremus, Ennium Neoptolemum probamus, qui
profecto ita ait:

philosophandum est paucis; nam omnino haud placet.

When I heard or read these and other thorns of such witty and delightful cleverness and I did not see in these doubts either some palpable advantage relating to the way of life or any end of inquiring, I agreed with Ennius’ Neoptolemus, who rightly says thus:

Philosophizing is for the few; for it is not entirely pleasing. (NA 5.15.9)

Having thus concluded 5.15, Gellius immediately begins his next chapter by recalling that philosophers have differing opinions on the operation of sight: “I have noticed that there are different opinions of philosophers concerning the manner of sight and the nature

of sight (*de videndi ratione deque cernendi natura diversas esse opiniones philosophorum animadvertimus*, 5.16.1). He discusses the Stoic (5.16.2), Epicurean (5.16.3), and Platonic views on the question (5.16.4), but again directs the reader to Ennius' Neoptolemus: "but here we must not dally about here for longer, and we must use the plan of that very same Neoptolemus of Ennius, **about whom I wrote above**, who judged that philosophy must be tasted, but it is not to be gorged upon" (*sed hic aeque non diutius muginandum, eiusdemque illius Enniani Neoptolemi, de quo supra scripsimus, consilio utendum, qui degustandum ex philosophia censet, non in eam ingurgitandum*, 5.16.5). The chapter requires the one immediately previous to interpret it correctly, as both use the Ennian line as a fulcrum; should his reader have read only 5.16, having had his interest piqued by the lemma, Gellius directs the attention back to the previous chapter to complete the interpretation. 5.15-16 are closely linked in terms of structure and content, with both addressing philosophical attitudes to different senses, while cautioning against overindulging in such philosophical minutiae.³⁷ Indeed, the chapters encapsulate Gellius' attitude towards dealing with these kinds of narrow discussions that have little moral importance, as evidenced elsewhere (most prominently at 14.6). In balancing the two chapters around the Ennian passage that Gellius cites at 5.15.9 and refers back to at 5.16.5, he suggests the lesson that is to be drawn from literature, rather than the cursory philosophical discussion in the chapters, which had been suggested as the primary focus by the lemmata. Gellius leads his reader to this correct interpretation of the importance of such philosophical questions through his explicit directions to read the chapters together.

³⁷ Reading the chapters together and ignoring the division, the parallelism is striking, virtually mirroring the ABCAB structure of the "golden line". The consistency of tenses across the two chapters, as well as the deictic reference, suggests that the two chapters are best read not only as a unit, but as a continuous and unbroken text, approaching a set of related topics and treating them from a similar point of view.

The final example of these indications, NA 11.9-10, marks the relationship between the two chapters in a different fashion: Gellius articulates the link between the two chapters twice in 11.10, first in the lemma to the chapter itself, which describes the content of the chapter: “That Gaius Gracchus in a speech of his attributed a story written above to the rhetor Demades; and the words related of Gaius Gracchus himself” (*quod C. Gracchus in oratione sua historiam supra scriptam Demadi rhetori, non Demostheni, adtribuit; verbaque ipsius C. Gracchi relata*, 11.10.lem). Already in the table of contents, Gellius flags 11.10 as dependent on the previous chapter. This tag is then rephrased in the first sentence of the chapter itself, stressing the connection between the two: “What **in a previous chapter** I said had been written by Critolaus, about Demosthenes, Gaius Gracchus, in his speech in which he opposed the *lex Aufeia*, assigned this to Demades with this words” (*quod in capite superiore a Critolao scriptum esse diximus super Demosthene, id C. Gracchus in oratione, qua legem Aufeam dissuasit, in Demaden contulit verbis hisce*, 11.10.1). This formulation is the most explicit direction Gellius gives to his reader in terms of reading one chapter against the other; as has been noted above, he normally uses only the adverb *supra* or some variation, with the reader left to determine whether this refers to the same chapter or a previous one. The two chapters comprise a single conceptual that must be read together in order to interpret the two correctly, even as Gellius’ acknowledges that the two chapters are in fact distinct entities.

What, then, do we make of these directions within the text? Throughout the NA, such internal references are generally rare, with those referring to earlier points within the same chapters frequently serving as helpful reminders to the reader of the various passages and ideas under consideration. They help to outline the internal logic, and are an

effective device for ensuring that Gellius' readership follows his thought process, much as a teacher guides a student through a text. When the directions explicitly link neighboring chapters, he stresses the interrelation of the chapters in question and marks them as a thought unit, akin to single chapters. By inviting the reader to interpret two separate chapters together as part of a larger unified entity, Gellius produces two effects. First, he calls attention to larger patterning within the *NA*, highlighting for his readership places where reading the context of the surrounding chapters to interpret material correctly is essential, as at 13.12-13.13, and to recognize piquant contrasts, as in the juxtaposition between 11.9-11.10. Second, and perhaps more significantly, Gellius' acknowledgment of the arrangement of his chapters suggests an awareness of the order and composition of the *NA*. Such framing of the text and cues to help the reader navigate suggests, at the very least, editorial awareness of the structure of the work.

Among other phrases that he employs to help his reader negotiate the text, Gellius makes frequent use of the phrase *id quoque* to summarize his argument and apply the conclusion to a new point, or to mark internal shifts within chapters. A common application of this technique occurs at 1.16.9, where, having discussed the proper number of the words *mille* and *χιλιάς*, Gellius brings his conclusion to bear on a new example: "therefore this too is customarily said correctly and commendably 'a thousand *denarii* are in the chest' and 'a thousand horse are in the army'" (*quamobrem id quoque recte et probabiliter dici solitum 'mille denarium in arca est' et 'mille equitum in exercitu est'*). Gellius flags the transition for his reader, indicating that at this point in the text he is shifting from his initial discussion to a practical application that will help the reader to understand further the point that he has made. *Id quoque* appears most frequently in these

sorts of contexts; however, the collocation may also carry with it reference to passages that have appeared in other chapters. For instance, after discussing the movement of the tides and several references to wind in Homer in NA 2.30, Gellius changes course:

Id quoque a peritissimis rerum philosophis observatum est austris spirantibus mare fieri glaucum et caeruleum, aquilonibus obscurius atriusque. Cuius rei causam, cum Aristotelis libros problematorum praecerperemus, notavi.

This too has been observed by the most experienced philosophers of these matters that, when the south winds are blowing, the sea becomes blue-grey and azure, but when the north winds blow it becomes more opaque and darker. I made note of the cause of this effect when I was picking through Aristotle's books of *Problemata*. (NA 2.30.11)

This instance, given the other parallels identified between this passage and the several other linguistically- and citationally-related chapters as will be discussed below, not only directs the reader to a new example based on the discussion in the current chapter, but hearkens back to the mosaic of the previous chapters, in which colors and winds have played a prominent role. In this situation, *id quoque* suggests looking forward and back simultaneously, introducing a new, albeit related, example to a discussion that draws heavily upon the preceding chapters. The force of the phrase is both prospective and retrospective, as Gellius signals both the logical structure of his chapters on the micro-scale and alerts the reader to the intratextual relationships across several chapters on the macro-scale.

One particular usage of the phrase, 2.1.1, deserves note, as it is the only instance in which a chapter is started with *id quoque* in the first sentence.³⁸ Starting his second book with a discussion of Socrates, Gellius inserts the reader *in medias res* to a discussion of his physical endurance: “amidst his voluntary labors and exercises for the sake of fortifying his body for chance turns of endurance, I heard this also that Socrates

³⁸ If we include examples of demonstratives with *quoque*, or simply just the presence of *quoque* at the beginning of a chapter, the count increases slightly with the inclusion of 10.8.1, 12.12.1, and 18.12.1.

was accustomed to do” (*inter labores voluntarios et **exercitia** corporis ad fortuitas patientiae vices firmandi id quoque accepimus Socraten facere **insuevisse***). Within the book, and realistically even within the chapter itself, there is very little retrospective force that can be felt beyond the acknowledgment of other *labores voluntarii et exercitia corporis*. Yet, the reader is immediately reminded of Socrates’ last appearance in the text, 1.17, in which a very different kind of endurance is recounted. Gellius relates an anecdote about the shrewishness of Socrates’ wife Xanthippe. There, Alcibiades asks Socrates why he tolerates such a wife, and Socrates replies “since, when I endure such a woman as that at home, I grow accustomed and I am trained to endure more easily even the attacks and abuse of the rest out in public” (“*quoniam... cum illam domi talem perpetior, **insuesco et exerceor**, ut ceterorum quoque foris petulantiam et iniuriam facilius feram,*” 1.17.3). Gellius’ Socrates has already been shown to possess a particular endurance, and to continue to undergo such trials and tribulations willingly, in addition to those that will be further detailed in 2.1. The presence of the *quoque* retrospectively looks back to the previous book and calls to mind the previous depiction of Socrates; the careful reader will read intratextually thanks to the marker at the beginning of the book, and look back in order to enrich the understanding of the present chapter.

The presence of *quoque* at the beginning of a chapter thus works both prospectively and retrospectively, much in the fashion that it does as a logical connective in the body of a chapter; indeed, as I have suggested, even when not at the beginning of a chapter the phrase acts as a kind of intratextual tag, directing the reader’s attention both backwards and forwards to develop a complete understanding of the material he or she is presently reading. Gellius employs these tags with awareness of the text’s construction;

the presence of a *quoque*, especially at the beginning of a chapter, need not indicate a direct relation to the chapter immediately previous.³⁹ Indeed, this is the case at 10.8.1, which Gellius begins by noting that “this too was a military punishment of antiquity, for the sake of disgrace to order a soldier’s vein to be opened to blood to be released” (*fuit haec quoque antiquitus militaris animadversio iubere ignominiae causa militia venam solvi et sanguinem dimitti*). This chapter has no obvious connection to the previous, on the rivers that lay beyond the boundaries of the Roman *imperium*,⁴⁰ though the immediately preceding chapter, 10.6, on the (civil) punishment of the daughter of Appius Claudius Caecus for speaking out of line, offers an intratext that the *quoque* may retrospectively indicate. Additionally, the immediately *sequential* chapter, 10.9, continues the theme of discussing military topics and words; the *quoque* here proleptically anticipates the continuation of the theme in a kind of hysteron-proteron that helps to binds the chapters together.⁴¹ The use of *quoque* links 10.8 to what has preceded

³⁹ Holford-Strevens 2003, 35 n. 47, citing Frischer 1983, takes the point further and claims that “*id quoque* and the like at the beginning of a chapter... do not prove disruption;” his main goal is to suggest that the presence of such connectives do not necessarily mean that Gellius has moved a chapter that originally was paired with another into a different place in the architecture of the work at a later stage. However, as I have noted, reading the presence of *id quoque* and the like as an intratextual marker suggests a level of awareness of the structure of the text, and indeed is likely a product of poetic affectation, possibly imposed later than the original composition, than evidence of separating originally paired chapters. Frischer 1983, 329 is aware of the prospective/retrospective potential of (chiefly) what he terms the inceptive *quoque*, and details *passim* several usages; of these, his Type 2b (“the use of *quoque* at the beginning of a book to indicate the relationship of the new book’s theme to that of a previous book in the same work,” 243) and Type 3a (“a still greater degree of semantic indeterminacy occurs when *quoque* links the beginning of a poem to a passage in another, non-contiguous poem, as if the latter passage were a continuation of the earlier,” 243) are, I believe, the most applicable to Gellius’ usages.

⁴⁰ According to the *lemma*, at any rate; in Gellius’ time the rivers named (the Nile, the Danube, the Rhone) all were either wholly or in part within the boundaries of Rome, though their sources, especially that of the Nile, remained a topic of interest.

⁴¹ Frischer 1983, 240-241 notes that inceptive *quoque* may have this effect across the same sentence in a poem, focusing on Ov. *Trist.* 5.1, though says nothing of relationships across poems beyond the claim that “Ovid makes explicit the close relationship of this book to the preceeding four *libelli* of the *Tristia*” (241). The effect of the hysteron-proteron is more strongly felt, I think, if one recognizes the chiasmic structure across chapters 10.7-10.10, all very brief notes: 10.7 on rivers at the boundaries of Rome (though citing Roman authors, namely Sallust and Varro, in its discussion); the central doublet of 10.8 and 10.9 on Roman

it, giving the reader pause to compare the punishment of Claudia in a civic setting with an inscrutable military punishment, while at the same time linking the chapter to the further brief discussion of military topics in 10.9. As elsewhere, Gellius' reader is invited to consider the broader network of relationships in the text; the architecture of the *NA* brings together the different constituent parts of the work to create a more thorough picture of the character of Socrates or Roman punishments, which is recognizable to the learned reader.

In this section I have considered several brief examples of deictic markers that Gellius employs throughout as a tool to help his readers negotiate the labyrinth of chapters he has composed. Indications such as *supra* and *quoque* acknowledge logical divisions and continuations within chapters, as would conventionally be expected. Often, however, when they fall in the first words of a chapter, these deictic words act as intratextual markers, directing the reader's attention retrospectively back over the previous chapters to reconsider this material and redeploy it to help create a fuller understanding of the new context. These intratextual markers do not only look backwards, but may look forward as well, binding together chapters and offering a prospective glimpse at a future theme that will be developed in the remainder of the book, or even the work at large. Though Gellius has marked off the connections for his readers in the instances examined above, he more frequently does not indicate the intratextual relationship, even across pairs of thematically or textually linked chapters; in the following section, I examine several of the most prominent of these pairs.

military topics, the letting of blood and the names of military formations respectively; and 10.10, a consideration of Greco-Roman customs of wearing rings, the information in support of which is drawn from Apion's *Aegyptiaca* and posits that the habit has its origins in Egypt, the location of the Nile and beyond the boundaries of the Roman *imperium* (according to 10.7).

The Effect of Paired Chapters

Classicists have traditionally gravitated towards consecutive chapters treating the same set of sources or similar topics, holding them up as instances where we can recognize Gellius composing chapters at the same time.⁴² However, this approach, rooted in traditional *Quellenforschung*, does not take into account ways in which these chapters respond to one another while treating similar material. Indeed, within these miniature, seemingly pleonastic echo chambers, Gellius' intended lesson can only be accessed through careful comparison of the differences, however slight, in approach and content between both parts of a pair. In fact, Gellius suggests as much to his reader at NA 13.25: in his discussion of the distinction between *praeda* and *manubiae*, which are often used synonymously, he emphasizes the importance of recognizing the fine distinctions between words that are apparently redundant—only at that point does the correct meaning of each become clear. This mental framework is ideal for approaching Gellius' paired chapters, and in what follows I shall argue that such an approach rewards the reader, while preparing him to encounter similar relationships across chapters on a larger scale.

The first pronounced pair of consecutive chapters treating the same topic are NA 2.8-9; both question Plutarch's assertions that Epicurus' style was defective. In 2.8, Gellius reports that Plutarch objected to Epicurus' famous syllogism, that death is nothing to us, since he fails to use what the former believes is the appropriate first term for the syllogism, that death is the dissolution of body and soul (2.8.2-4). Gellius suggests a stylistic reason for Epicurus' failure to adhere to the strict logical form, not feeling it

⁴² See above, 139 n. 39.

necessary to call attention to what is obvious (2.8.8). He concludes by stressing that even Plato frequently inverts the order of syllogisms with little regard for the potential criticism (*cum **eleganti quadam** reprehensionis **contemptione***, 2.8.9). Plato has previous at 2.5, where Gellius shares Favorinus' pithy evaluation about prose style, claiming that '*si ex Platonis*' inquit '*oratione verbum aliquod demas mutesve atque id commodatissime facias, de **elegantia** tamen detraxeris; si ex Lysiae, de sententia*' (NA 2.5.1).⁴³ Gellius reads Epicurus' syllogism in line with Favorinus' judgment of Platonic style, and Plutarch is wrong to criticize the expression.

The discussion continues without break in 2.9, where Gellius, reinforcing this sense of continuity, observes that in the very same work, Plutarch attacks Epicurus' imprecise word choices. Already from the lemma it is clear that Gellius thinks Plutarch to be wrong in this accusation (*Quod idem Plutarchus **evidenti calumnia** verbum ab Epicuro dictum **insectatus sit***). He argues that Plutarch is "word-hunting" and that Epicurus in fact spurns *elegantia* instead of pursuing it; Gellius, however, effects his own word play on *sectatur/insectatur*: *nimis minute ac prope etiam subfrigide Plutarchus in Epicuro accusando λεξιθηρεῖ. Has enim curas vocum verborumque **elegantias** non modo non **sectatur** Epicurus, sed etiam **insectatur*** (2.9.4-5). The inversion of the previous chapter is evident: while Plato (whose contempt was termed *elegans*)⁴⁴ was introduced to support Epicurus' subordinating logic to style, here Gellius argues that the philosopher in fact spurns such stylistic considerations. *Elegantia*, a stylistic virtue in the previous

⁴³ The issue of the appropriateness of words and whether they should be changed becomes a major theme in the next chapter, where *grammatici*, among whom Gellius ranks Cornutus, object to Vergil's use of the word *vexasse* at *Ecl.* 6.75-77: '*Vexasse*' enim putant verbum esse leve et tenuis ac **parvi incommode** nec tantae atrocitati congruere, cum homines repente a belva immanissima rapti laniatique sint.

⁴⁴ Fitzgerald unpublished, 15-16.

chapters, has now been rejected.⁴⁵ And Gellius has employed an elegant play on words to thwart the *evidens calumnia*; indeed, Gellius' joke reverses the lemma, where Plutarch is the subject (*Plutarchus... insectatus sit*). The inversion not only refutes the accusation, but allows Epicurus (and Gellius) to defeat Plutarch at his own game of word-hunting, λεξιθηρεῖν.⁴⁶

There is an immediate tension in this evaluation of *elegantia*, which has transformed over the course of the book from a positive stylistic virtue to a verbal triviality.⁴⁷ Yet the conflict between 2.8 and 2.9 moves beyond style, as the rejection of what has been explicitly identified with Plato (i.e. *elegantia*) in this context may repudiate the philosophical system that he espouses.⁴⁸ Moreover, Gellius has taken a single work of Plutarch and exposed several valences through the same text. At the most basic level, he displays his strategies of reading, as well as his own logical and stylistic knowledge at the expense of a figure, Plutarch, who has been inscribed as an authority from the very beginning of the *NA*. Gellius instead asserts his own authority with respect to these questions of style, and he invites the reader to consider the underlying aesthetics of the paired chapters by complicating the notion of *elegantia*. On the one hand, Gellius

⁴⁵ Cf. 11.2, in which Gellius traces the evolution of the meaning of *elegantia* throughout Roman discourse, initially a negative description of excessive clothing and habits rather than a description of *ingenium*, as it appears here, that eventually changed in valuation from negative to neutral and finally to positive by the time of Cicero. The passage is raised by Fitzgerald unpublished, noting that it is unclear what level of meaning Gellius wants us to understand in this context, though certainly such ambiguity serves Gellius' purpose here, given the sophistic nature of the argument.

⁴⁶ λεξιθηρεῖν is invariably considered a negative action, used to undermine the authority of a text by the reader by utilizing parts out of context against the rest of the text itself; cf. Clem. Alex. *Paedagogus* 1.6.45.3; Origen *de principiis* 3.1.16 (= *Philocalia* 21.15).

⁴⁷ *Elegantia* and its cognates recur throughout book 2 across a total of 8 chapters, more than any other book in the work. The citations here represent the first three uses; cf. 2.17.2, 2.18.5, 2.21.11, 2.22.27, and 2.26.20, where the valuation of word appears to be positive.

⁴⁸ Fitzgerald unpublished, 17, who broaches a range of other possible readings of the reaction to *elegantia*.

uses rhetorical trickery to expose the faults in Plutarch; on the other, he invites the reader to recognize the interplay of the different chapters and the influence of these stylistic questions on miscellaneous composition.

In much the same way as Gellius pairs 2.8 and 2.9 in order to explore *elegantia*, so too does he employ a similar construction to explore rhetoric in Book 5. At 5.10 and 5.11, he addresses the same rhetorical idea, the logical fallacy of the so-called “reversible” argument (ἀντιστέφοντα, termed *reciproca* Latin), and he makes use of the same set of sources in his inquiry.⁴⁹ Gellius relates the story of Protagoras and his student Euathlus in order to illustrate this fallacy, in which the speaker is correct if one of two contradictory conditions is met, even though the opposite outcome is also supported by the same conditions. Protagoras took Euathlus as a student with half the fee being paid up front and the second half to be paid when Euathlus won his first victory in the courts; since Euathlus was slow to go to court, and thus pay his teacher the rest of what was owed to him, Protagoras decided to begin litigation in order to obtain the remainder of his fee on the assumption that if he won the case, he would be owed the money because of the judgment, but if he lost, he would still be owed the money under the conditions of Euathlus’ tuition. However, Euathlus turns the strategy against itself, arguing that if the courts decided in *his* favor, he owed Protagoras no money, while if Protagoras won, Euathlus should still not pay him because the student had not yet won in the courts. The court ultimately leaves off the question as it was in doubt as to how to resolve the issue, leaving Protagoras thwarted: “then the jurors, having considered what each said to be doubtful and difficult to explain, lest their judgment might annul itself, for whatever side

⁴⁹ On the pairing, see Rust 2009, 180-181.

it was rendered” (*tum iudices dubiosum hoc inexplicabileque esse, quod utrimque dicebatur, rati, ne sententia sua, utracumque in partem dicta esset, ipsa sese rescinderet*, 5.10.15). The master has been defeated at his own game by his student.⁵⁰

In the following chapter, Gellius takes a position, just as the judges in the previous chapter did not, and introduces a syllogism of Bias concerning whether to marry in order to logically refute it: you will either marry a beautiful woman or an ugly woman; if she is beautiful, she will be shared with everyone, but if she is ugly, she will be a punishment, both of which are undesirable. Gellius proceeds to question whether this is truly an ἀντιστρέφον fallacy, since if the propositions are inverted, a separate question seems to be answered, rather than the opposite of the initial one disproved:

Sed minime hoc esse videtur ἀντιστρέφον, quoniam ex altero latere conuersum frigidius est infirmiusque. Nam Bias proposuit non esse ducendam uxorem propter alterutrum incommodum, quod necessario patiendum erit ei, qui duxerit. Qui convertit autem, non ab eo se defendit incommodo, quod adest, sed carere se altero dicit, quod non adest.

But this does not seem to be “reversible” in the least, since the converse from the other side is more feeble and weaker. For Bias proposed that a wife is not to be taken because of one of two disadvantages which necessarily must be endured by him who marries. But he who reverses the statement does not defend himself from that disadvantage, which is present, but says that he lacks another, which is not present. (NA 5.11.5-6)

In these two cases, Gellius makes clear the operation of the fallacy and attempts to distinguish between proper applications of the term. Moreover, 5.10 depicts a sophistic authority figure, Protagoras, being overcome by his own student utilizing his own methods (“thus was the famed master of eloquence confounded by his own student with his own argument, and his cleverly wrought sophism was thwarted,” *sic ab adulescente discipulo magister eloquentiae inclutus suo sibi argumento confutatus est et captionis*

⁵⁰ The story is also told at Apul. *Flor.* fr. 18.19-29, where it is paired with a similar story about Thales; cf. Diog. Laert. 1.21-44, Max. Tyr. 18.9. Similar scenes appear in the novels, as Encolpius’ rhetorical display at the beginning of the *Satyricon* represents a similar inversion; on the scene and its parody of declamation, see Kennedy 1978, esp. 174-177.

versute excogitatae frustrates fuit, 5.10.16). The combined effect of raising awareness of this particular logical fallacy, as well as the hint that it undermines an established authority figure, primes the reader to be alert for it elsewhere; as Rust has suggested, when the ἀντιστρέφον returns at 9.16, Gellius calls attention to Pliny the Elder *missing* the fallacy and failing to recognize how it affects his argument negatively: *fugit autem Plinium sententiolam istam, quam putavit esse argutissimam, vitio non carere, quod Graece ἀντιστρέφον dicitur* (9.16.7).⁵¹ His predecessor has failed to learn the lesson that Gellius has made sure to teach his readers earlier, and because the older writer considered the *controversia* that he misinterprets as something that was said “elegantly and appropriately” (“*eleganter*” *inquit* “*et probabiliter ex parte posterioris viri fortis uxorem sibi redid postulantis hoc dictum est*”), Pliny’s *Studiosi*, a rhetorical treatise, appears questionable to Gellius’ learned audience as a result. The rug is pulled out from beneath the feet of Pliny, much as it has been from Protogoras; the student has beaten the teacher at his own game.

Such an ambiguity surrounding authority is present already if we return to the original pair: after refuting that Bias’ statement is indeed an example of the ἀντιστρέφον, Gellius introduces Favorinus and his assessment of Bias’ syllogism:

Sed Favorinus noster, cum facta esset forte mentio syllogismi istius, quo Bias usus est, cuius prima protasis est: ἤτοι καλὴν ἄξις ἢ αἰσχράν, non ratum id neque iustum diiunctivum esse ait, quoniam non necessum sit alterum ex duobus, quae diiunguntur, verum esse, quod in proloquio diiunctivo necessarium est. Eminentia enim quadam significari formarum turpes et pulchrae videntur. **“Est autem” inquit “tertium quoque inter duo ista, quae diiunguntur, cuius rationem prospectumque Bias non habuit.**

⁵¹ Rust 2009, 181. Several parallels also tie the later chapter to the pair in book 5: there are similarities in describing the effect of the device (*id autem vitium accidit hoc modo, cum argumentum propositum referri contra convertique in eum potest a quo dictum est, et utrimque partier valet*, 5.10.3; *vitio non carere, quod Graece ἀντιστρέφον dicitur... nihil enim minus converti ex contrario id ipsum adversus eundem poetest*, 9.16.7); the particular *controversia* in Pliny concerns the propriety of a particular marriage, much as the theme of the ἀντιστρέφον in 5.11 is whether to marry; and the general description of the proposition as a *controversia* (5.10.4 and 9.16.5).

Inter enim pulcherrimam feminam et deformissimam media forma quaedam est, quae et a nimiae pulcritudinis periculo et a summae deformitatis odio vacat; qualis a Quinto Ennio in *Melanippa* perquam eleganti vocabulo ‘stata’ dicitur, quae neque κοινή futura sit neque ποινή.” Quam **formam modicam et modestam** Favorinus non mi hercule **inscite appellabat “uxoriam.”** Ennius autem in ista, quam dixit, tragoedia eas fere feminas ait incolumi pudicitia esse, quae stata forma forent.

But our Favorinus, when by chance a mention of that syllogism which Bias had used had been made, whose first *protasis* is “indeed you will marry a beautiful woman or an ugly one,” said that it was neither certain nor a just distinction, since one of the two which are distinguished need not be true, which is necessary in an assertion making a distinction. For ugly and beautiful seem to be indicate outstanding extremes of appearance. **“But there is,” he said, “a third in between those two that are distinguished, the reason and possibility of which Bias did not understand. For between the most beautiful woman and the ugliest there is a certain intermediate appearance, which is free from the danger of too much beauty and from the hatred of the greatest ugliness; such an appearance is called by Quintus Ennius in his *Melanippa* with the very elegant word ‘put-together,’ which would neither be shared nor a punishment.”** Favorinus was to my mind wisely calling this **intermediate and modest** appearance “wifely.” Moreover Ennius, in that tragedy that he mentioned, said that those women who were normal in beauty had untarnished chastity. (NA 5.11.8-14)

Favorinus’ main objection to the sophism of Bias, that he fails to take into account any intermediate between the two kinds of women that he entertains as the sort of women that are worthy of marriage; Gellius reinforces this attitude by citing the Ennian verse that Favorinus used in support of his argument, noting the chastity of this intermediate type of woman. The second half of the chapter, following Gellius’ demonstration that Bias’ syllogism is failed example of the ἀντιστρέφον, continues this theme with Favorinus illustrating the manner in which he believes the sophism to be defective.⁵² The surface reading of the passage exposes a logical problem in the syllogism that is ultimately resolved (and to some extent introduced) by Favorinus, with his friend and sometimes-pupil Gellius lending support by reading a cited passage more thoroughly than the reported speech.

⁵² Keulen 2009, 161 argues that Favorinus’ recognition and explication of this “false” sophism is a response to Galen’s criticism that Favorinus “was a sophist because he failed to teach his followers the difference between a proof and a sophism.”

However, rereading the chapter in light of the preceding reveals tensions between the two; the connection between the two chapters is already inscribed at the end of 5.10, especially when set against 14.2, in which Gellius, acting as a judge, consults Favorinus to help resolve a particularly thorny question (*illa mihi tunc accidit inexplicabilis reperiendae sententiae ambiguitas*, 14.2.3).⁵³ Favorinus refers to his intermediate case of female appearance as *stata*, drawing on Ennius. This usage of *status*, meaning “put-together” or “normal,” is incredibly rare,⁵⁴ and it is striking that Favorinus elects to call this intermediate woman *stata* even though Gellius tells us afterwards that Favorinus had termed this class of women *uxoriae*. He suggests that there is something in between beauty and physical deformity that Bias has not taken into account, a *media forma*; one cannot help but read the description of an intermediate womanly body without Favorinus’ supposed hermaphroditism coming to mind, making the meaning of *stata* ironic and unexpected, and necessitating Gellius’ further explanation.⁵⁵ The overall timbre of the conversation too, with the words that have been put in Favorinus’ mouth for ugliness, *deformissimam* and *deformatatem* (both of which are stronger than simply ugly, or αἰσχροῦ) appearing to satirize Favorinus, given his interest in these elements of prostitutes in Plautus (3.3.6). He is associated with this class of women throughout the *NA*, at least in

⁵³ A connection observed by Howley 2011, 45 n. 105; for further discussion of *inexplicabilis*, see Howley 2011, 45-47.

⁵⁴ Cf. *OLD* s.v. *status*, which cites only this passage in support of this usage. Gunderson 2009, 112-113 suggests the entire passage may be taken as a metaphor, with the woman standing in for Gellius as a disseminator of knowledge, and renders the *stata* more literally, understanding it to be “fixed” in the sense of a neutral disseminator of information.

⁵⁵ The *deformatas* of prostitutes is presented as an interest of Favorinus at 3.3.6, and Favorinus appears again in 12.1 discussing a *contra naturam imperfectum atque dimidiatum matris genus* (12.1.6), both of which appear to reinforce allusion to Favorinus’ supposed sexual deformity. On the speculation about the nature of Favorinus’ disability, see Swain 1989, 154.

part because of the erotic attachments of upper-class Romans to hermaphrodites,⁵⁶ a possible insinuation into his own personality and tendencies, and his interest in this topic, with its questions of the classes of women and use of *deformatas* as a criterion, recalls the connection of Favorinus with such women.

Yet even the clarification that Favorinus called the intermediate class of women *uxoriae* is not without irony, as one of the self-professed paradoxes of Favorinus' life was that "though he was a eunuch he was convicted of adultery" (εὐνοῦχος ὢν μοιχείας κρίνεσθαι, Phil. VS 489).⁵⁷ He certainly knew at least one *uxor* (*haud inscite*), a fact that would make him a (fairly ridiculous) authority to comment on Bias' sophism about the perils of marriage, himself having made a wife both κοινή *and* a ποινή for her husband. This knowledge makes the citation of Ennius, that such women had untarnished chastity, all the more piquant. Gellius takes liberties with his teacher's objection to raise his reader's suspicions, and thus undercuts his authority, much as Euathlus did to Protagoras; indeed, his real-life conduct proves the veracity of the syllogism, especially if the *media forma* subtly refers to Favorinus' own ambiguous sex rather than to a golden mean of chastity. While on the surface the objection that Bias only deals in extremes rings true, when read against the pattern of teacher/student relations from 5.10 to 5.11 Favorinus is assimilated to Protagoras and the joke at Favorinus' expense becomes apparent, with Gellius' authority coming to the fore rather than that of his teacher.⁵⁸ The pair of chapters

⁵⁶ As Gellius points out at 9.4.16; see Keulen 2009, 130, with n. 42.

⁵⁷ The woman in question was the wife of a consular and the affair caused a significant scandal, though Favorinus himself suffered no ill from the indiscretion: θερμὸς δὲ οὕτω τις ἦν τὰ ἐρωτικά, ὥς καὶ μοιχοῦ λαβεῖν αἰτίαν ἐξ ἀνδρὸς ὑπάτου. Διαφορᾶς δὲ αὐτῷ πρὸς Ἀδριανὸν βασιλέα γενομένης οὐδὲν ἔπαθεν (Phil. VS 489).

⁵⁸ Cf. Keulen 2009, 161-162, who suggests is part of a broader "rehabilitation" of Favorinus that occurs throughout the work, though ultimately problematized by the assimilation of the two sophists, precisely

enlighten each other when read together, allowing the reader to develop a full appreciation not only of the ἀντιστρέφον sophism to which Gellius returns at 9.16, but his characterization of Favorinus.

Tensions between chapters are likewise apparent across longer groupings unified by similarities of theme or the recurrence of key words and citations, and close reading of Gellius' chapters reflects numerous deliberate structures within individual books. As will be discussed later, the ordering of the chapters may suggest parallels between poetry and miscellaneuous texts, as well as implying a manner of reading the work that necessitates taking into account broader structures between the chapters. These structures inscribe other readings within the text; one of the most prominent incorporates what one might call a didactic effect, in which the reader must internalize the lessons of previous chapters in order to interpret correctly a later chapter. These clusters instantiate the educational practices underlying the *NA* and induce the reader to learn through active reading, as a short example from Book 10 illustrates. As Gellius sits in his carriage in 10.25, he engages in a basic memory exercise, recalling at length words for missiles, javelins, and swords, listing 26 different words for these weapons (10.25.2),⁵⁹ and only going into details on two of them, *lingula* and *rumpia*, both of which afford Gellius the opportunity to discuss Naevius' *Hesiona* and Ennius' *Annales* (10.25.3-4). The chapter ends with an even longer list of words for ships. The following chapters each draw at least one of the

because of the slight negative valuations given to Protagoras elsewhere in the *NA*, including earlier in book 5 (5.3.7). This "rehabilitation," though, is also part of a shifting nexus of authority that Gellius constructs surrounding his teacher, on which see Keulen 2009, 155-189.

⁵⁹ As Howley 2011, 110-116 notes, the exercise is the sort that is condemned by Quintilian as puerile in *Inst. Or.* 10.1.7-8, and the memory act that he relates is a representation of Gellius' own mental activity while reading and writing. The exercise and its merits contrast with the reading practices of Pliny the Elder as described by his nephew in *Ep.* 3.5. Cf. Hansen 2011, esp. 14-19, on the uses of such lexical and catalogic structures in Athenaeus to narrative effect.

terms from the lists: in 10.26, while considering an idiom for maritime crossings in Sallust, Gellius invokes *scaphae*, drawing an example from near the end of the list of ships in the previous chapter; while in 10.27, he relates how Fabius sent a spear and a staff as markers of war to the Carthaginians, using the first word for a weapon listed in 10.25, a *hasta*. The chiasitic construction highlights the connection between the chapters, and reading them in sequence recreates the memory exercise Gellius engages in while sitting in his *reda*. Moreover, as Howley has noted, 10.27 concludes with a coda claiming that the *hasta* and *caduceus* that were sent were only symbolic tokens (*simulacra*), suggesting that these words represent more than the historical context indicates.⁶⁰

Indeed, they are best interpreted as *symbola* for the *NA* as a whole: though such lexical lists appear pedantic, when associations with particular texts are made, the list has value for intellectual development.⁶¹ Reading these chapters in sequence invites participation in

⁶⁰ Howley 2011, 112.

⁶¹ In interpreting these tokens, it may be instructive to consider Foucault's theorization of money and its symbolic function. He notes that "[c]oinage can always bring back into the hands of its owner that which has just been exchanged for it, just as, in representation, a sign must be able to recall to thought that which it represents. Money is a material memory, a self-duplication representation, a deferred exchange" (Foucault 1994, 181). In discussing the manner in which different values can be assigned to a piece of metal, for instance, that has no intrinsic value, he continues that "a single piece of metal can, in the course of time and according to the individuals that receive it, represent several equivalent things (an object, work, a measure of wheat, a portion of income)—just as a common noun has the power to represent several things, or a taxonomic character has the power to represent several individuals, several species, several genera, etc." (185). The *tesserulae* sent to the Carthaginians operate in a similar manner to the currency example discussed by Foucault: they are imbued with symbolic worth because of the markings of the caduceus and spear respectively, just as the two were themselves representative of war and peace. In this regard, the *tesserulae* act much as Foucault's coinage, given its symbolic weight. To explicitly introduce the idea that these are *simulacra*, however, activates a separate level on which they might be interpreted—that while in the original context (Varro's account of the events), the tokens are simply representations of the spear and caduceus, in Gellius' hands these *simulacra* become emblematic of something separate. They signify not only the physical objects which are represented upon them, but in the abstract world of the *NA*, these *simulacra* are transmuted into *symbola* of the larger project, a transition effectively induced by the lexical lists of 10.25. For Varro and Gellius, then, the same tokens bearing the same images appear to represent two drastically different notions: for the former, as depicted in 10.27 by Gellius, the tokens are markers of war and peace; for the latter, they become mimeses of the thought and learning processes depicted earlier in this sequence of chapters, as well as throughout the miscellany.

the exercise, and reinforces this practice as part of the reader's own cultivation of intellect by modeling this method of reading.

Throughout this section, I have argued that Gellius has organized chapters organized in functional units, bound together by similarity of topic or the recurrence of key vocabulary and figures. Often these units treat similar notions in subtly different ways, and it is incumbent upon the reader to recognize and interrogate these differences, which frequently offer alternative ways of conceiving important concepts for the text such as *elegantia* (2.8-9). This is especially true of chapters that at first blush appear pleonastic. By applying the careful forms of reading prescribed in the Preface, Gellius' ideal reader is able to discern the different levels of meaning implicit in these juxtapositions and reflect thoughtfully on the different valences activated by the intratextual relationships. To return to *elegantia* briefly, Gellius introduces both discussions of Plutarch, focused on his lexical nitpicking of Epicurus, and embeds within a problem deeper than whether Epicurus ought to have been more precise in his word choices. The philosopher has no time for *elegantia* in his text, and Plutarch should engage with the substance rather than quibbling over the expression and obfuscating the focus of the argument. On the other hand, Plutarch's narrow focus on diction betrays his own lack of *elegantia* in a different sense, namely the proper etiquette of discussion. Instead of offering substantive discourse, Plutarch elects to word-hunt, λεξιθηρεῖν, which fails to provide real criticism and attempts to undermine in banal fashion the authority of what Epicurus has written. Though he elsewhere has little problem with Plutarch, here Gellius elects to treat the Greek philosopher ironically by highlighting the failings of this set of arguments, while offering a rebuttal rife with *elegantia*. Reading the pair of chapters

together allows for these levels to be unveiled, and Gellius demonstrates the appropriate *elegantia* which one ought to bring to these forms of discussion. Such a reading also allows Gellius to fashion his persona—a man replete with knowledge and *elegantia*, able to navigate the objections of one philosopher to another and reply to these claims with felicity of expression.

Ultimately, then, these pairings demonstrate one set of Gellius' techniques of composition in action; by pairing similar concepts in small clusters, he invites his reader to tease apart the fine distinctions between their appearances by reading critically. These moments inscribe a form of practice into the text, encouraging the audience of the *NA* to rehearse the careful, comparative method of reading that has been espoused in the Preface in order to develop a full appreciation of the text. Beyond pairings based on shared source or citation, however, Gellius introduces a more subtle, though related, form of connection between his chapters, namely the recurrence of essential words across several chapters. These sequences are less overt, yet still reward the same critical approach, as my analysis of 10.25-10.27 demonstrates. While these examples appear confined, these forms of intratextuality ultimately form the building blocks for a much larger system of interrelations throughout the *NA*, and in the next section I examine one case study that demonstrates how these techniques may be combined profitably by Gellius across a ten chapter section of text.

Structures Writ Large: Intratextual Links in Book 2

Thus far I have dealt with intratextual relationships on a rather small scale, looking only at sequences of two (or three at most) chapters that are united by topic or

text to highlight the dissonances within each cluster; the reader is invited to resolve these tensions, through which process they come to appreciate not only the manner in which Gellius has arranged his material but also to draw the intended lessons from these chapters. Keeping the strategy of reading that Gellius has suggested in the Preface in mind, a reading practice predicated upon the consideration of the whole of the text and the necessity of reading and rereading passages in their contexts in order to arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the material, in this section I apply this theory of reading to the heterogeneous range of chapters at the end of the second book of the *NA* (2.21-30). These chapters are linked thematically by the presence of synkrisis between Greek and Roman topics; and the repetition of several textual citations in quick succession within these chapters impels the reader to interact with and then redeploy the knowledge of the earlier chapters of the sequence. The process of reading the end of this book is mimetic of the methodology outlined in the Preface, and as a result helps to further cultivate the critical reading skills of Gellius' audience.

NA 2.21 depicts a night-time boat crossing from Aegina to Piraeus, on which several Greeks explain the origin of the name of the constellation ὤμαξα. After that has been sufficiently explained, Gellius himself poses the question of the origins of the Latin name for the same constellation:

hic ego ad nostros iuvenes convertor et 'quin' inquam 'vos opici dicitis mihi, quare, quod ὤμαξαν Graeci vocant, nos "**septentriones**" vocamus? non enim satis est, quod septem stellas videmus, sed quid hoc totum, quod "septentriones" dicimus, significet, scire' inquam 'id prolixius volo.

At this point I turned to our young men and I said 'Why don't you boys tell me why we call "**septentriones**" what the Greeks call ὤμαξα? For it is not enough because we see that there are seven stars, but I desire to find out, at length, what this whole idea is, and what "septentriones" means. (*NA* 2.21.4-5)

A philological discussion ensues and citations of Aelius Stilo and Varro provide an answer: the word is partly derived from the number of stars, but also from a corruption of the word *terriones*, oxen that are suited to work the fields, given the similarity of the constellation to the plow (2.21.8-9). Gellius contrasts the methodologies of the two learned groups: the Greeks appeal primarily to Homer (2.21.3), while the Romans utilize antiquarian and philological works to present a seemingly more systematic interpretation of the constellation's name. Gellius cites Varro's *De Lingua Latina* for this etymology and, though its especially georgic nature, given the prominence of the *terriones*, perhaps evokes Varro's *De Re Rustica* more strongly, which was cited at length in the previous chapter (2.20). There, Gellius extensively summarizes the discussions of *De Re Rustica* concerning rabbit warrens (*leporia*) to shed light on a usage in Scipio's speech *Contra Clodium Asellum*. Throughout NA 2.20, several parallel constructions are cited, all of which Gellius pairs with their Greek counterparts; he calls special attention to Varro's use of a Hellenism for beehives, *melissonas*, rather than the more common Latin word, *apiaria*. Such comparative questions concerning Varro's diction introduce a contrast between Greek and Roman approaches that becomes a recurring theme throughout the end of Book 2.

In 2.22, during a recitation of Latin poetry at a banquet hosted by Favorinus, the company comes across the wind *iapyx*. Gellius reports that Favorinus raises the question of the wind's identity in order to teach his companions (*ut super ceterorum nominibus regionibusque docere nos ipse vellet*, 2.22.2). Favorinus himself then begins by describing the various parts of the sky: '*satis*' inquit '*notum est limites regionesque esse caeli quattuor: exortum, occasum, meridiem, **septentriones***' (2.22.3). The constellation

from the previous chapter among Favorinus' first words, yet it is presented here in a new context and with a new, though arguably more basic, meaning of the northern regions of the sky. The reader is left to understand what the *septentriones* are based on the earlier reference and to use that knowledge to interpret Favorinus' description correctly. The sophist then rattles off the names of the different winds, comparing the Latin and Greek equivalents and highlighting their different etymologies (2.22.5-26). Homer is cited as a principal source for certain of the Greek winds, (2.22.9), while several of the Latin names are likened to the Greek terms. Favorinus returns to the *septentriones* at 2.22.15, only to note that the wind from that part of the sky, which blows opposite *notus*, is called the *septentrionarius*. He concludes his discussion with several citations of Latin and Greek literature in support of his identification of the wind *iapyx* (2.22.19-26), including a passage from Aristotle's *Problemata* 26.29, though his quotation serves to introduce a proverbial expression rather than develop further support for the name of the wind. The chapter ends with several further interpretations offered by Gellius himself in order to supplement, or else gently correct, those provided by Favorinus by appealing to the Roman antiquarian tradition rather than the Greek literary quotations preferred by his companion; this brief coda emphasizes again the difference in reading methodology between Greek and Roman intellectuals, to which Gellius will return later, along with several of the passages cited by Favorinus.

When read together, these three chapters on diverse topics relate closely through a combination of shared approaches and textual connections. Reading them sequentially practices the critical skills which Gellius privileges, while at the same time introducing

new knowledge that is then necessary to help explicate further usages in different contexts.

A similar conversation occurs several chapters later (2.26), when Favorinus and Gellius visit the home of the imperial tutor Fronto.⁶² At this gathering, Fronto and Favorinus debate the color vocabularies of Latin and Greek and the relative richness and paucity of each, with Favorinus arguing for the poverty of Latin (*atque eam vocum inopiam in lingua magis Latina video, quam in Graeca*, 2.26.5). He begins the discussion by claiming that Latin lacks the variety of words for different shades of red and is instead reliant on adjectives such as *igneus*, *flammeus*, or *sanguineus* for specificity (2.26.5). Fronto counters by noting that there is a wide array of Latin color words, including some drawn from the Greek, that meet Favorinus' objection, such as *flavus*, *rubidus*, *poeniceus*, and *spadix* (2.26.8). Indeed, these color names may look to the previous chapter, 2.25, which introduces a Varronian discussion of anomaly and analogy, and which supports anomaly and custom as the determinant of good usage, for support of their linguistic propriety. The conversation in 2.26 then moves beyond the original subject given in the title into a discussion of different color terms in Latin poets, most prominently Virgil, including a note on different shades of green in the *Georgics* (2.26.17). The scene concludes with Favorinus proclaiming that, over the course of the conversation, Fronto has helped him to better understand a passage of Ennius that had troubled him because of his own confusion between color terms (*verrunt extempo placidum mare: marmore flavo / caeruleum spumat mare conferta rate pulsum*, 2.26.21 = Ennius *Ann.* fr. 377 Skutsch).

⁶² This *commentarius* is often cited in broader discussions of the nature of colors in the ancient world; for a recent discussion of this sort, including thorough bibliography of both anthropological and linguistic studies, see especially Bradley 2009, 229-233. Likewise, the discussion provides an opportunity for meditating on bilingualism in Gellius; see Garcea 2003, 177-192.

The chapter thus ends with a scene of intellectual activity incorporating numerous features of the earlier episode with Favorinus: instead of discussing color for its own sake, Gellius' shows that such knowledge is appropriately incorporated into an intellectual's stores of learning, and applied in a different context.

After several comparative chapters ranging from philology, to divinities responsible for earthquakes, to the Aesopic fable of the stork, Gellius concludes Book 2 at 2.30 with a brief commentary on how the winds affect the movement of the waves, in which he himself interrogates the question and offers his own findings. Immediately at the opening of the chapter, the reader is confronted with many of the Latin names of the winds that were discussed in 2.22, *aquilo*, *auster*, and *africus* (2.30.1). Each of these winds has a different effect on water when they are blowing, and several of the effects are tied to the action of *septentriones ex altiore caeli parte* (2.30.4), again recalling the discussions of 2.21 and 2.22. Gellius then cites three passages from the *Odyssey* as evidence for his discussion about the winds, an appeal to the Greek methodology that Gellius has been cautious with throughout these chapters. The second citation is of particular interest:⁶³ the line cited, καὶ βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης μέγα κῆμα κυλίνδων (*Od.* 5.296), is the same line previously glossed at 2.22.9 by Favorinus in his discussion of the Greek names of *aquilo*. Gellius has done the homework for his reader, tracking down the entire original line in order to discuss it, which reinforces the connection between this chapter and the preceding discussion. However, in contrast to Favorinus' offhand trivial citation that the βορέας is also called by Homer αἰθρηγενέτης, Gellius offers the full context and examines its implications beyond the epithet, recognizing how to incorporate

⁶³ NA 2.30.8: *contra autem de borea, quem 'aquilonem' nos appellamus, alio dicit modo:*
καὶ βορέης αἰθρηγενέτης μέγα κῆμα κυλίνδων.

it into his discussion of the waves. This application of Homeric philology, rather than that of Favorinus earlier, is the correct way to learn from reading.

Following the citations from the *Odyssey*, Gellius then tells his reader that the different winds change the color of the water: *id quoque a peritissimis rerum philosophis observatum est austris spirantibus mare fieri glaucum et caeruleum, aquilonibus obscurius atriusque. Cuius rei causam, cum Aristotelis libros problematorum praecerperemus, notavi* (2.30.11). The colors named are striking, as they are the two shades of green mentioned by Fronto in his discussion of Virgil's color terminology at *Georgics* 3.82: *non potuit Vergilius colorem equi significare viridem volens caeruleum magis dicere eum quam "glaucum," sed maluit verbo uti notiore Graeco, quam inusitato Latino* (2.26.18).⁶⁴ Gellius concludes with a reference to Aristotle's *Problemata* that contains the reason for this change, which he leaves his audience to identify on their own. However, though Gellius provides no reference other than the work, the passage is quoted from slightly earlier in the same book of Aristotle as that in the chapter on winds.⁶⁵ Once again Gellius has read his learned friend's source material more thoroughly and this acts as the final phase of Gellius' object lesson in his reading methodology; he brings the material cited throughout the previous chapters into dialogue, showing how the Aristotle cited earlier might be brought to bear on Favorinus' confusion between sea colors. The composition of this final chapter challenges the *NA*'s readers to recognize and correctly apply the numerous facts and techniques that Gellius has introduced in the cycle of chapters at the end of the book, in which the preceding chapters

⁶⁴ Garcea 2003, 189-190 with n. 33 acknowledges the repetition, but is primarily interested in assessing whether there are linguistic differences between the different uses.

⁶⁵ Arist. [*Pr.*] 26.29 (=NA 2.22.24), 26.37 (=NA 2.30.11).

have honed the reader's critical faculties, and the compositional strategies underlying the work encourages the audience to approach this last chapter with those earlier lessons in mind.

With correct application of Gellius' reading techniques, the audience engages with the instructive layer of the *NA*, which reinforces what he has learned throughout the chapter, but also appreciates the craft with which the book is composed. Gellius has designed these chapters to be mutually enriching, and this form of intratextual construction represents a form of literary sophistication characteristic of the *NA* as well as other comparable collections. This reading of the latter parts of Book 2 illustrates one of the more prominent textual effects that Gellius has employed in designing his work—which is didactic in terms of genre and intent, as is declared in the Preface—in which the act of reading the *NA* is mimetic of the process of learning.⁶⁶ Information is introduced in different contexts and patterns, and it is incumbent upon the reader to recognize these instances and the reapplicability of the information he is learning from the *NA*. While not explicitly protreptic, I have suggested that reading the *NA* in a linear fashion fulfils the didactic intent of the text, and these juxtapositions and other intratextual connections help educate the audience. At the same time, this patterning is an aesthetic choice, allowing Gellius to maintain the illusion of randomness while offering instruction in critical

⁶⁶ Rust 2009 sees the text working in a similar way, offering a model for the life of the intellectual in the Antonine period, and “the social world of deploying knowledge as one in which any conversation might become an impromptu debate that hinges on a tidbit from an earlier text” (100); on her reading, the *NA* offers the skills and models for success in such a competitive social and intellectual environment, and the miscellaneous nature of the text on the one hand prevents overspecialization of the sort often vilified in the text (in the persons of *grammatici* and the like), and on the other it mimics the lived experience of needing to deploy different elements of knowledge confidently and at disparate times. For her, the “radical disorder... allows each note, observation, and discussion the potential to connect with another and invite the coincidences that Gellius imagines as structuring his world” (100); while this is certainly true, there is more at play in intratextual mechanics than a mimesis of the gentleman-scholar's lifestyle.

reading and thought. As we will see in the next section, Gellius has available an alternative model for patterning a collection which he is aware of and to which he may turn, namely books of poetry. These instances of poetic patterning are an aesthetic choice, but when approached with the intratextual reading skills that Gellius has been teaching throughout the *NA*, such structures allow the chapters to interact in meaningful ways.

The Poetic Patterning of Book 1

As noted earlier, in his Preface Gellius alludes to Horace *Odes* 3.1 when articulating his ideal readership, banning the *profestum et profanum volgus* from his text. That reference suggests a potential (and profitable) connection with the *Odes* for Gellius to exploit in composing his own collection. An important place to look for such a strategy is the opening of first book, given the important programmatic role that the so-called “Parade Odes” (Hor. C. 1.1-9) are generally considered to play.⁶⁷ These nine poems provide an overview of the themes and outlooks that Horace advocates, and this device of patterning is later adopted by Pliny the Younger as part of developing his literary persona in the *Epistles*; in much the same fashion, Gellius makes use of a patterned structure at the outset of his own work, aligning his literary endeavor with that of Horace and Pliny. Other attempts have been made at articulating a program for the first chapters of the *NA*, in part based on the structure. Peter Steinmetz has interpreted 1.1-6 as a demonstration of the six forms of *commentarius* that constitute the remainder of the *NA*; he reads Gellius as presenting a typology of episodes, ranging from literary excerpts to ἀποθέγματα to

⁶⁷ See especially Seidensticker 1976 on the Horatian structuring and its interpretation. The pattern reveals the primary themes of the Horatian poetic program, contained within a virtuosic display in nine different meters; different themes that correspond to each other are embedded in a nested pattern, and the structure illustrates the poetic outlook on life advocated in the *Odes*. Such structuring is likewise adopted by Pliny, on which see Ludolph 1997, esp. 91-98.

Gellius' own interpretations of topics.⁶⁸ The program appears to operate in similar fashion to the variety of meters that Horace employs at the beginning of the *Odes*; however, for his reading of a program, the order of the chapters is not of consequence. On the contrary, it is profitable, and indeed complementary, to Steinmetz' analysis to consider the interaction of the opening chapters of the work as they offer evidence that Gellius has incorporated a compositional element out of Horace and Pliny, merging this aesthetic with his own intellectual program. Put another way, the ordering of the opening ten chapters of the first book suggests that Gellius has deliberately ordered these chapters in an attempt to define his work, and himself, through his literary predecessors.

On the surface, the first chapter, a discussion of Pythagoras' calculation of the height of Heracles based on the measurements of the stadium at Olympia, appears a relatively light topic, which would not necessarily have bearing on how we are to interpret what follows.⁶⁹ However, the anecdote has a more subtle implication underlying its discussion, that in spite of appearances, there is something qualitatively different about the stadium at Olympia, and that this qualitative difference derives from the intrinsic nature of Hercules, as the creator of the stadium.⁷⁰ On this interpretation, the first of Gellius' *commentarii* introduces the dichotomy between the quantity and quality of the

⁶⁸ Steinmetz 1982, 282-288. Howley 2011 proposes a different typology of the kinds of scenes, in which he sees three main types: dialogic narratives, narratives of reading, and other assorted essays and notes (which acts as catch-all for most of the other forms that do not fit into his first two categories); however, he does not attempt to posit a similar reading of the opening structure of Book 1.

⁶⁹ This attitude is articulated by Cavazza 1985, 21 n. 11; Holford-Strevens 2003, 36 n. 50 proposes reading NA 1.1 as "an engaging chapter that shall entice us into reading on;" likewise Steinmetz 1982, 283.

⁷⁰ Even in the Renaissance, Castiglione interpreted the implication of the chapter to be that quality is more important than quantity, and he praises the court of the duke of Urbino in such terms by citing this passage in the *Book of the Courtier*; see Berthold 1985, 12.

NA's entries, a recurring theme in his critique of other miscellanies, which is laid out initially in the Preface:

sed ne consilium quidem in excerpendis notandisque rebus idem mihi, quod plerisque illis, fuit. Namque illi omnes et eorum maxime Graeci multa et varia lectitantes, in quas res cumque inciderant, 'alba' ut dicitur 'linea' sine cura discriminis solam copiam sectati converrebant, quibus in legendis ante animus senio ac taedio languebit, quam unum alterumne reppererit, quod sit aut voluptati legere aut cultui legisse aut usui meminisse.

But in excerpting and making note of these things I did not have the same plan which many of those had. For all of them, and especially the Greeks among them, when they had read many varied things, they swept whatever they happened upon "with a white line," as is said, pursuing volume alone with no distinction; in reading which things the mind grows tired through weariness or disgust sooner than it should find one or two things that are enjoyable to read, or inspiring to have read, or useful to remember. (NA pr.11)

Indeed, this point recurs throughout the whole text: in 14.6, when offered a miscellany from a figure of great learning, he rejects this material, on the grounds that it is not volume that lends learning to his work.⁷¹ Gellius argues that the manner to live one's life is more important than sheer volume of trivial learning as he deems the Homeric problems contained in the work he condemns. When read together with pr.11-12 and 14.6, the implication of 1.1 becomes clear—Gellius envisions his project as more than a collection of excerpts of learned material.

Chapter 1.2, which takes the form of a recollection of a symposium at Herodes Atticus' idyllic townhouse in Cephisia, depicts the interactions between an impetuous self-styled Stoic youth and Herodes himself. During discussion at a banquet, a young man a fool pretending to knowledge, and thus overstepping his bounds. After interrogating the young boor and his Stoic credentials, Herodes calls for the first book of Arrian's abridgement of Epictetus to be read out, which he then employs to expose the

⁷¹ NA 14.6.5: Quem cum statim properans redderem, 'ὄναίό σου,' inquam 'doctissime virorum, ταύτης τῆς πολυμαθίας et librum hunc opulentissimum recipe nil prosus ad nostras paupertinas litteras congruentem. Nam meae noctes, quas instructum ornatumque isti, de uno maxime illo versu Homeri quaerunt, quem Socrates prae omnibus semper rebus sibi esse cordi dicebat: ὅτι τοι ἐν μεγάροις κακὸν τ' ἀγαθὸν <τε> τέτυκται.'

young man as a false philosopher. The text read out is a dialogue between Epictetus and a young Stoic pretender that follows the same course as Gellius' episode; the impetuous youth recognizes the words of Epictetus against the young man as those of Herodes to him himself.⁷² Herodes' Stoic learning trumps that of the young man, as he not only recognizes his error of judgment, but is also instructed along with the reader in the right manner in which to behave and make use of knowledge. Such scenes of exposing fraudulent knowledge are a feature of many of the *commentarii* throughout the *NA*; these episodes preserve an intellectual hierarchy while offering positive and negative models. The performance of learning, an instrumental part of what Gellius depicts and recognizes as critical to participating in his contemporary intellectual culture, necessitates knowing when to deploy knowledge and when to refrain. In 1.2, Gellius accomplishes two aims: he establishes the role of Herodes as an authority figure for the text, representing him as a learned figure correctly able to perform knowledge while offering a paradigmatic example to be avoided.⁷³ Gellius thus inscribes within 1.2 several central preoccupations of the text, including the proper use of knowledge and the representation of authority figures within the *NA*.

1.3 develops a different theme in a different form than the preceding chapter: Gellius reflects on the question of whether a person in a position of power should use that power to the advantage of their friends; he looks to the biography of Chilo, who was racked by guilt on his deathbed for doing just this. In seeking an answer, Gellius carefully weighs the philosophical approaches of Cicero and Theophrastus to the question, with the

⁷² Gunderson 2009, 229-230.

⁷³ Though not unproblematically; see Keulen 2009, 286-287.

ultimate aim of a practical application of philosophy to political life. He even goes so far as to condemn Theophrastus, a thinker elsewhere thought of highly, for *not* offering such a prescription (1.3.29).⁷⁴ Favorinus is introduced as well to fill a hole that Gellius perceives between Theophrastus and Cicero (1.3.26), and Plutarch helps supplement the analysis in a brief coda as well (1.3.31). The chapter shows Gellius in the act of comparative reading, attempting to reconcile Greek and Roman thought in order to generate a functional synthesis for his contemporary world. Though the chapter is presented as something less than serious, emphasized by the diminutive *disputatiuncula* (1.3.30), he prompts his reader to carefully contrast the approaches to the question of his philosophical sources; he illustrates one strategy for navigating these thorny issues, leaving himself as an interpretive authority, capable of bridging the gaps that he perceives between the two philosophers (*hoc immo ipsum est, quod maxime discendum est quodque ab his, qui docent, minime dicitur, quatenus quaque fini dari amicitiae venia debeat*, 1.3.16).⁷⁵ The chapter represents an exercise in thinking through a question that has significant potential impact on the life of an elite Roman man, and Gellius aims to offer a universal guideline for responding to the question. A precise maxim is only formulated through careful research and investigation; everyone needs a little help from their friends and it is no great shame to offer it if to do so will not detract from your own honor, he concludes, and the chapter's system of reading demonstrates the truth of this statement.⁷⁶ Gellius arrives at his answer through the learned interaction with texts, by bringing them

⁷⁴ Holford-Strevens 2003, 171-172. Like Aristotle, he is generally cited as an (authoritative) source for esoteric facts and information.

⁷⁵ Keulen 2009, 230.

⁷⁶ Gunderson 2009, 247-248, who sees the message of the chapter as deeply philological, and stressing the importance of citations as the "friends" of the antiquarian.

into productive contact with one another, whether or not they logically belong together. He places the different citations into dialogue, providing a paradigm for answering difficult questions through reading, and establishing his critical, and in this instance philosophical, authority.

In 1.4, Gellius introduces another form of discussion, in which he interacts with the opinions of a learned authority of his day. He represents the teacher Antonius Julianus who elucidates a passage of Cicero, stressing the artistry of the passage while illustrating its proper meaning (1.4.2-8). The explication of the text, while focusing on semantics, primarily acts as a praise of Cicero's application of his own philological learning to his forensic oratory. He highlights Cicero's deft substitution of *habet* for *debet* when transitioning from speaking of debts of money and those of gratitude; while both parts of the antithesis may employ the same word, Cicero makes a pointed rhetorical contrast.⁷⁷ Gellius approves of Julianus' assessment, including a praise of the breadth of his reading and observing that this was typical of the teacher's methodology, which he holds up as a model (1.4.8). Gellius establishes the linguistic authority of Julianus, though the place of Cicero is likewise important, as the chapter offers evidence of his brilliance in the use of language to supplement the philosophical authority present in 1.3; he cleverly distinguishes between the two forms of debt while demonstrating his rhetorical ability to use this witticism and convince his audience. The various meanings of debt that are considered will become important again later in the opening schema, though Gellius here is only concerned with semantics; indeed, these meanings are an important element by means of which Gellius is able to connect this chapter thematically to 1.8.

⁷⁷ Holford-Strevens 2003, 87-88, with n. 24.

The beginning of 1.5 introduces a criticism of Demosthenes: on the basis of his effeminate clothing, he was slandered in terms of both his rhetorical skills as well as his sexuality, *hinc etiam turpibus indignisque in eum verbis non temperatum, quin parum vir et ore quoque polluto diceretur* (1.5.1); the same accusations are leveled against Quintus Hortensius later in the chapter (though not, as Gellius notes, by Cicero). The critique in the first half of the chapter hinges on the double meaning of *ore... polluto*—the expression attacks effeminacy both in terms of sexual practice, as well as the negative effects such perceived effeminacy has on style.⁷⁸ Hortensius rebuts the attacks of Lucius Torquatus, who “called him not only an actor, but a dancer and ‘Dionysia,’ using the name of a well-known dancing girl” (*non iam histrionem eum esse diceret, sed gesticulariam Dionysiamque eum notissimae saltatriculae nomine appellaret*, 1.5.3), by calling his attacker ἄμουσος, ἀναφρόδιτος, ἀπροσδιόνυσος: exactly the sort of figure who has no place reading the *NA*, let alone appearing in them.⁷⁹ At play is the question of Roman masculinity—whether it is better, in this case, to be a Roman who is effeminate on the model of Demosthenes, or a Republican stereotype of unquestioned masculinity whose uncultured status leaves him susceptible to attack by those who have drunk from the font of Greek learning. Gellius’ verdict appears to incline towards philhellenism, though there is a fine line that the Antonine intellectual should walk between the extremes of boorishness and effeminacy. Simultaneously, Gellius challenges the authority of the Greek and Roman pasts, bringing them into dialogue. He does not

⁷⁸ Keulen 2009, 113-114.

⁷⁹ Gellius’ own assessment of the man (*subagresti homo ingenio et infestivo*) mirrors the attack of Hortensius. In particular, the claim that Torquatus is ἄμουσος is damning, given the significant roles that we have seen the muses play in the Preface, as well as the description of the ideal reader. Cf. Keulen 2009, 116-117, who proposes that we may see the scene as mapping onto the diatribes between Polemon and Favorinus, in which the interplay of gender and *paideia* were of paramount importance.

himself decide between the two options, though the pithiness of Hortensius' reply concluding the chapter marks it as preferred; but the fact that Gellius has not decided should stimulate the reader to make the judgment for himself as to the merits of each cultural paradigm.

Standing at the center of this schema is 1.6, a discussion of Metellus' speech during his censorship on the necessity of marriage. While the chapter is ostensibly on the importance of a Republican social institution, yet again the focus of Gellius' discussion moves to the rhetoric of this speech and the propriety of mentioning the disadvantages of marrying rather than the subject matter.⁸⁰ Titus Castricius defended the choice to make explicit the disadvantages of marriage, noting that *aliter censor loqui debet, aliter rhetor* (1.6.4). He stresses that the *rhetor* (by which he means a sophist) is allowed to speak falsely, with words founded on cleverness and trickery to entice his listeners, while Metellus, as a Roman official, must employ his oratorical skills practically and to good moral effect, especially if the negative facets are common-knowledge as in this case (1.6.6).⁸¹ Castricius cautions readers who are dismayed at the strategy to keep sight of the context and speaker before coming to a hasty judgment about the merits of the language; all of these features must necessarily be kept in mind in order to form correct opinions about literature. The dichotomy between the registers of censor and *rhetor* is prominent throughout the chapter, and represents an essential polarity for the various forms of speech throughout the *NA*. In the voice of Castricius, Gellius offers one manner in which

⁸⁰ The infrequent discussions of this chapter in the scholarship tend to focus on these questions as well, or else questions about the historical context, on which see McDonnell 1987 (with bibliography on the status of the question), who ultimately concludes that the speech dates from 102-101 BCE in response to Marian reforms, against the *communis opinio* that the attribution to Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus (censor 102-101 BCE) is a mistake for Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus (censor 131-130).

⁸¹ Gunderson 2009, 105; cf. Holford-Strevens 2003, 206.

we ought to distinguish these styles, with the embellished and captious sophistic rhetoric necessitating a separation between content and form (just as in poetry, according to Plutarch). Further, each of these registers has its own place; censor and *rhetor* speak differently from each other and in their own contexts. The discerning reader should recognize the time to deploy both types of speech, to the benefit of both their political and personal lives, as the chapter suggests.

1.7 returns to Ciceronian philology, this time looking to proper archaic usage and emphasizing a scholarly approach based on manuscript knowledge. In his reading, Gellius has stumbled upon a word that is held by many to be a mistake in Cicero's fifth *Verrine*, a *futurum* where one might expect a *futuram* (1.7.3). A learned friend is present, who looks at the text and interprets Cicero's usage: there is no mistake, he claims, but rather adherence to old linguistic custom, for *futurum* is an infinitive and is thus correct (1.7.4-8). The friend offers a wide array of evidence for this usage, ranging from Plautus to Gaius Gracchus and Quadrigarius, before returning to Cicero's *De Imperio Cn. Pompeii* to illustrate further point. This erudite display prompts Gellius to think further about the grammatical rules laid out by his friend, claiming that the text appears to echo the attention to euphony in other Ciceronian works.⁸² Gellius stresses the importance of cadence and word order as elements of style, and as identifying markers of authentic Ciceronian texts.⁸³ 1.7 presents a comprehensive system of philological investigation, including the specific rules (*ratio*) advocated by Gellius' learned friend as well as euphony and common sense about what is appropriate linguistically (*usus*). Gellius

⁸² *ut et rationem autem istam missam facias et auctoritates, sonus tamen et positura ipsa verborum satis declarat id potius ἐπιμελεία τῶν λέξεων modulamentisque orationis M. Tullii convenisse...* (1.7.19).

⁸³ Despite his stylistic claims, it is notable that the text that Gellius upholds on these grounds is nowhere else attested in the Gellian form.

makes use of citation to bolster his argument, elucidating Ciceronian speech habit by lending comparative support, in addition to recognizing what sounds right. The latter is a new feature of Gellius' interpretative toolkit, though it resonates with Julianus' methodology in 1.4, predicated upon his deep reading and knowledge of habit; likewise, comparative use of citation, the second part of the methodology here, was central to resolving the philosophical questions of 1.3.

Just as the previous chapter on Ciceronian philology (1.4) was followed by a, anecdotal chapter featuring Demosthenes, so 1.8 presents Demosthenes' interactions with a courtesan: but here, the focus is squarely on the Greek orator's cleverness and the pithy joke he employs to resolve the situation, rather than using him as a comparison for a Republican *exemplum*. Gellius read an anecdote out of Sotion's miscellany *Κέρας Ἀμαλθείας* (which title he translates for his reader into Latin, 1.8.1-2) detailing how Demosthenes went to the Corinthian prostitute Lais; when he refused to pay her exorbitant fee, he remarked that he "will not buy regret at so great a price" (*'ego' inquit 'paenitere tanti non emo'*, 1.8.6). In contrast with his last appearance, Demosthenes is here portrayed as an upright man rather than effeminate; at first blush, his role is different in the text as well, since he is not solely a vehicle for Gellius to make a point about Hortensius. Demosthenes appears to heed the lessons taught by 1.6 as well, recognizing that a woman will bring him only regret, for which he is unwilling to pay.⁸⁴ The final claim, though, offers a different view of the situation: Gellius tells his reader that the Greek version of Demosthenes' reply was better than his translation, and then offers the

⁸⁴ Perhaps the depictions of Demosthenes draw on 1.4 and recognizing what sort of a debt is appropriate in this scenario; ought he to incur so high a monetary price, when he will have no *gratia* to come from it as well?

original.⁸⁵ The source, apparently the Κέρας Ἀμαλθείας, is drawn from the list of rejected works in the Preface, yet Gellius draws attention to it by using it as a framing device for the chapter. But when Gellius calls our attention to it being better in Greek, does he mean to call our attention to the rival miscellany, or to his own ability to incorporate both Latin and Greek into his complex whole? William Fitzgerald has suggested that a cross-linguistic pun in the translation of the Κέρας Ἀμαλθείας, the *Cornum Copiae*, drives home this point; the recurrence of *copiae* in the passage affords Gellius the opportunity to play upon the various meanings, from the resources of the courtesan to the breadth of (source) material contained within the *NA*.⁸⁶ The range of meanings behind *copiae* thus allows Gellius to make a programmatic gesture about the nature of miscellany in his discussion of Demosthenes. Gellius offers a way of reading Greek anecdote different from the previous demonstrations—not as an *exemplum* for comparison with Republican Roman mores, but as a vehicle for metacommentary on the whole. In this case, *Lais* becomes an analogue for approaching miscellany at large: if it comes at too high a price, it is better to look elsewhere, lest what you read cause you to regret the choice.

1.9 returns to philosophical discourse, and focuses on the *ordo* of the Pythagorean educational curriculum: *ordo atque ratio Pythagorae ac deinceps familiae et successionis eius recipiendi instituendique discipulos huiuscemodi fuisse traditur* (1.9.1). Gellius details the various phases, especially the period of silence required until a student is ready to be allowed to speak (a point which would be well-taken by the young men in 1.2 and 1.10). Moreover, the philosopher Taurus cites this *ordo* to make the broader point that the

⁸⁵ *Sed Graeca ipsa, quae fertur dixisse, lepidiora sunt: οὐκ ὀνοῦμαι*, inquit, μυρίων δραχμῶν μεταμέλειαν (1.8.6).

⁸⁶ Fitzgerald unpublished.

bulk of contemporary students dive into philosophical education only to find points of style, rather than to apply the thought to their private lives: *qui Platonem legere postulet non vitae ornandae, sed linguae orationisque comendae gratia, nec ut modestior fiat, sed ut lepidior* (Gellius NA 1.9.10).⁸⁷ Once again, Gellius inveighs against those who deploy learning incorrectly, looking only to the linguistic elements of the philosophers instead of their moral betterment.⁸⁸ Taurus calls such young men ἀθεώρητοι, ἄμουσοι, ἄγεωμέτρητοι (1.9.8), with the middle term recalling Gellius' use of this adjective at 1.5.3. These fools who thirst for the style of the philosophers but not their content fail to demonstrate, or even desire, real *paideia*. They likewise do not have the patience to come to appropriate reading material in due course, but rather seek to glean the attractive elements immediately. In lambasting the modern approach to philosophy, Gellius illustrates the separation of content and style when taken to the extreme; reading is no longer about moral or intellectual improvement, but finding the perfect turn of phrase to pilfer and use as embellishment. Such behavior is the wrong way to treat textual friends, as demonstrated in 1.3; texts should be read fully and used to support one another in argument, not mined for information. This methodology should also be used to read the NA and digest its material fully, rather than looking for the pithy witticism.

At the end of the opening cycle, Gellius returns to the theme of correctly deploying knowledge in 1.10, where it is the turn of Favorinus to disabuse a foolish young man with a fondness for archaism. He is counseled to uphold the ancient moral

⁸⁷ As Gellius himself was accused of doing by Taurus at the beginning of his stay at Athens in NA 17.20.

⁸⁸ Cf. Keulen 2009, 211-213, where the chapter is taken as “programmatic... as a reflection of Gellius’ interest in methods for exercising social control and for forming an intellectual elite group” (211); for Keulen, the chapter is ultimately a discussion about Gellius’ intellectual and cultural program, focused on proper education and Roman identity.

code while using the language of the present day, if he feels such an attraction to the past as his diction suggests. Citing Caesar on analogy, Favorinus makes clear the importance of correctly employing language; though archaism may be the current fashion, it should be avoided if it impedes communication. Once again, as in 1.2, the proper deployment of knowledge is at stake, and through Favorinus Gellius stresses linguistic propriety in the face of antiquarian learning.⁸⁹ This chapter echoes 1.2 and frames the opening structure of the first book; through the voices of two Greek intellectuals close to Gellius (who are themselves very closely related, according to Philostratus), Gellius asserts a hierarchy of learners, stressing the need for not only proper reading but also deployment of knowledge by those who are prepared and speak with authority, as opposed to impetuous youths with only partial knowledge. Knowledge merely for the sake of demonstrating such knowledge has no place in the Gellian system.

The ordering of chapters 1.2-1.10 is thus manipulated to create a contained unit of chapters, and to highlight several of Gellius' principal concerns throughout his work, and including order itself in a distinctive nested pattern (see figure 1). 1.2 and 1.10 cast Greek luminaries who were close to Gellius as cultural authorities to illustrate the correct deployment of knowledge in scenes purported to be recollections of real interactions. 1.3 and 1.9 both treat applications of philosophical training; the Ciceronian philological chapters and accompanying anecdotes concerning Demosthenes correspond to one another in terms of setting and share a focus on appropriate rhetorical discourse. Together, these chapters examine the various facets of *ordo*, ranging from the linguistic, to the educational, to the philosophical, to the moral, even as Gellius manipulates the

⁸⁹ Gunderson 2009, 94-95.

1. Plutarch, *ex pede Herculem*

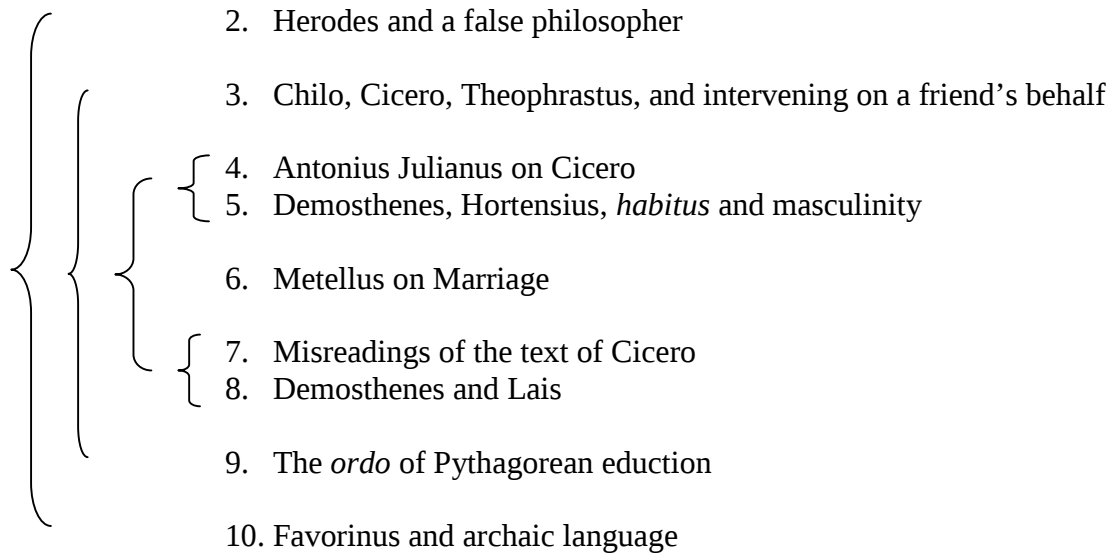


Figure 1 - Patterning of 1.1-10

order at the outset. The employment of such careful patterning is programmatic for the rest of the work, surveying the main themes and forms of discourse, as well as offering a method for reading Gellius' miscellaneous composition, establishing protreptic authority and highlighting the variety of ways in which miscellany builds meaning when read by a prepared reader.

Such technique does have a precedent, much like the prefatory *recusatio*, in the letters of Pliny the Younger. These chapters of Gellius can be compared with a striking example of this deliberate ordering occurring in the so-called *Paradebriefe*, which have been explored by Matthias Ludolph.⁹⁰ He has argued that these letters, 1.1.-1.8, are ordered in such a way as to provide Pliny's self-definition, based on dedicating his *otium*

⁹⁰ On the *Paradebriefe*, see Ludolph 1997; on literary technique in Pliny more broadly, see Henderson 2002a, Marchiesi 2008.

to study and scholarship, as well as highlighting his own virtue and administrative achievements; the device echoes the Horatian technique in the first book of the *Odes*. In alluding to Pliny's and Horace's compositional techniques at the outset of his own work, Gellius thus frames his work as a literary project akin to these predecessors, layering his work to elevate it beyond the level of a mere miscellany; he stakes claim to higher literature, and importantly inscribes Pliny the Younger within his work as a source of his technique and his underlying worldview. Gellius frequently reinforces these connections with Pliny throughout the *NA*, and I will return to these connections.⁹¹ For now, it is enough to recognize Pliny underlying the text, and his balance of learning and *negotium* provides the basis for Gellius' own endeavor; by casting himself as a Pliny-like figure, he projects the authority of a senator-cum-litterateur and offers another outlook on his own literary project.

Bridging the Gap: Cross-Book Connections

The opening of the *NA*, with its patterning reminiscent of poetic books and other related collections, is not the only place where Gellius overlaps with poetic structuring; in particular, he appears to be aware of the importance of midpoints and endings, as the last chapter of the first half and the first chapter of the second suggest. The first half of the work ends with a discussion of the different valences of the conjunction *atque* at 10.29. Gellius remarks that grammarians consider *atque* to be a copulative, but that it "has many certain other powers not noted enough except by those experienced in careful treatment of early literature" (*alias quasdam potestates habet non satis notas nisi in veterum*

⁹¹ See Chapter 4, "Gellius and Models of Gentleman Scholarship: Pliny, Tacitus, and Seneca."

litterarum tractatione atque cura exercitis, 10.29.1). He then goes on to suggest several other usages: standing on its own, it can have a strong adversative force, and if geminated it can be emphatic, as in a passage of Ennius (10.29.2-3). Last, Gellius also notes that *atque* can carry the force of *statim*, as he suggests is the case in *Georg.* 1.199-203 (*NA* 10.29.4). Given the importance of the midpoints of works generally speaking, and that the immediately preceding chapters appear to be linked rather closely, it is curious that Gellius chooses to end Book 10 with such a brief note on the different meanings of *atque*, even as it affords him the opportunity to explain several archaic verses.

A hint as to what is going on here may lie in the range of meanings that Gellius proposes for the short conjunction. At the most basic level, *atque* serves as a connective, and given its place as the last chapter of this book, it serves as a segue between the books, and the two halves of the *NA*. As Gellius has suggested, though, a careful reader should detect other possible levels to the (chapter explaining the) word: the frequent use of the word throughout the chapter evokes the intensifying effect, especially when read with the Ennian example, *atque atque accedit muros Romana iuventus* (550 Skutsch). The final rare usage, as a replacement for *statim*, pairs nicely with this sense, and if applied to the presence of *atque* as the final chapter of the book, suggests that the reader continue on to the second half of the *NA*. Such an exhortation is complicated by the presence of a *lembus* in the quotation from the *Georgics*, which almost certainly looks to the list of boats at 10.25.5, integrating this transition with what came before by binding the chapters at the end of the book together and slowing down the reader's attention as he looks retrospectively to the earlier wordlist.⁹² On its own, the chapter acts as an authorial

⁹² On the relationships of the wordlist to the following chapters, see above, pp. 150-152.

exhortation to continue throughout the work emerges, and this bridge chapter thus leads the reader from one half of the work to the next.

To see the first alternative meaning offered, the adversative force, at play in 10.29, the reader must take the encouragement to read ahead and look to 11.1, which begins with a discussion of the etymology of *terra Italia*. Gellius tells us that, according to both the Greek historian Timaeus and the Roman Varro, Italy was so called from the Greek word ἰταλοί because of the abundance of cattle there: *terram Italiam de Graeco vocabulo appellatam scripserunt, quoniam boves Graeca vetere lingua ἰταλοί vocitati sint, quorum in Italia magna copia fuerit, bucetaque in ea terra gigni pascique solita sint complurima* (11.1.1). Continuing from the origins of the name,⁹³ Gellius launches into a discussion of old fines: the fine that was called *suprema*, he argues, was two sheep or thirty oxen every day because of the relative abundance of cattle that gave Italy its name (11.1.2). Having explained that the law, which was instituted to prevent less scrupulous citizens from paying their fine only with their cheapest livestock, Gellius then discusses two small lexical curiosities, namely that *oves* is masculine in the pronouncement of a fine (11.1.4), and Varro's assertion that the word for fine, *multa*, is not Latin but rather Sabine in origin (11.1.5).

What is of interest for the present discussion is the first half of the chapter, namely the etymology of *Italia* and the introduction of the *lex Aternia*. Gellius appears to correlate the very first chapter of the work as a whole, 1.1, with the beginning of the second half based on a similarity of theme. The first chapter begins with Plutarch,

⁹³ For the range of ancient etymologies for the name *Italia*, cf. Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.35.2 (= Hellenicus *FGrH* 4 F 111), Varro *Rust.* 2.1.9, 2.5.3. Fuller references and bibliography are given by Cavazza *ad loc.* All of these etymologies are fairly close to what is the currently accepted etymology, from the Oscan word for bull, *víteliú*; and notably all the ancient etymologies that are extant attribute the name of the region to the Greeks.

immediately asserting a generic, and importantly a cultural, affiliation for the *NA*: it is grounded in the Greek sympotic/miscellaneous tradition from the reader's first exposure to the work proper.⁹⁴ This stands in contrast to the beginning of the second half, where *Italia terra* is ostensibly the focus; the adversative force of the *atque* chapter may be felt dividing the halves of the book starting from Greece and Italy. This reading is complicated by the origins given for *Italia*—the word is ultimately Greek, and by virtue of the etymology, Italy is subordinated to Greek learning. While Timaeus and Varro are both cited as authorities for the etymology of the name of *Italia*, the Roman authority's source is in fact Timaeus himself.⁹⁵ Though he cites both a Greek and a Roman source to support the etymology that is proposed here, Gellius is doubtless aware of this fact; even the most learned of Roman antiquarian authorities is indebted to the Greek. The further discussion of the *lex Aternia* changes the focus, however: Greek learning is employed to help answer the legal question that Gellius seeks to resolve (what is the *multa suprema* that is stipulated by the *lex Aternia*) because of the implications of the etymology. Even as he appears to suggest the primacy of Greek wisdom, he illustrates a practical (and proper) application for such learning: to observe its implications for Roman *negotium*. In contrast to 1.1, where an abstract Greek intellectual question was explored for its own sake, here Gellius draws on the Greek in order to show how it can answer Roman questions and concerns.

⁹⁴ The Preface complicates this picture somewhat, given that it is written much more in the style of Latin didactic prefaces (e.g. Cato, Cicero, Seneca the Elder), while at the very end still encouraging the reader into the band of *pepaideumenoi* through the quotation of Aristophanes' *Frogs*. See above, pp. 114-117.

⁹⁵ Varro *Rust.* 2.5.3: *Graecia enim antiquae, ut scribit Timaeus, tauros vocabat italos, a quorum multitudine et pueritudine et fetu vitulorum Italiam dixerunt.*

A further contrast may appear if we look at the details of the *lex Aternia*. Part of the reason the law was introduced, as is indicated in 11.1, is that people were paying fines of cattle and sheep with only their worst animals; under the law, the livestock was all assigned a monetary value. Though this may suggest a transition from payment in kind to the use of metallic money at the time of the introduction of the law,⁹⁶ the important idea to recognize here is that different things of the same kind should have a set value in the Roman situation here, which stands in contrast to a Greek scenario presented in 1.1. As noted above, Gellius presents the stadium of Heracles at Olympia as qualitatively different from other Greek stadia as a result of the innate (and obviously better) status of its founder, Heracles; while the numerical measurement of all stadia in Greece is the same, that at Olympia is grander because of the Heracles' height. These two scenarios suggest a cultural dissonance: while for the Greeks, things that possess the same quality can be quantitatively different, the Romans, taking a more pragmatic approach, are able to resolve these discrepancies by assigning a true (and juridically determined) valuation. The dichotomy, stressed by the positions of the two chapters, highlights the two contrasting elements that make up the whole of the *NA*, Greek learning and Roman applications, with the former finding an appropriate balance and valuation in the latter.

The coda to the chapter further complicates this reading, shifting the focus back to philology. Gellius tells us that Varro reported that the word for fine, *multa*, is Sabine in origin rather than Latin, though the modern *grammatici* present an etymology based on the principle of opposites (*sed turba grammaticorum novicia κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν, ut quaedam alia, hoc quoque dici tradiderunt*, 11.1.5). The chapter thus ends by returning to

⁹⁶ A possibility raised by Cavazza 1991, 69-70.

the *Italia terra* and its original languages, illustrating another instance of linguistic imperialism; rather than Italy being subsumed under Greece through giving it a name, it is the Romans here who assert their authority by bringing an Italic word into their language and make it their own. Likewise, those who attempt to explain Latinate origins for the word must resort to Greek sophistry to produce what is a false etymology for the word. The complex linguistic nexus that Gellius has attempted to negotiate requires harmonizing the different elements (Latin, Greek, Italic) to arrive at a correct interpretation of the historical question at hand, as Gellius himself does as he marshals all of the evidence at hand rather than relying solely on one or the other stream of learning.

Lastly, he discusses the verbs to be used with *multa*, observing that while it is most commonly used with forms of *dicere*, Cato uses *facere* (11.1.6-7); Gellius claims that Cato changed the verb with an eye towards stylistics, since the penalty was being levied in a military setting and not pronounced in an assembly (*potest autem videri consulta elegantia mutasse verbum, cum in castris et in exercitu multa fieret, non in comitio, nec ad populum diceretur*, 11.1.7). Gellius' argument that Cato changes the construction in the military setting rather than the civic plays on the meanings of *facere* and *dicere* here, but what is most interesting is that he claims that Cato made this choice with an eye towards elegance, *consulta elegantia*; such a stylistic flourish is much more likely at home in the civic setting rather than the military. How we should read this assessment of *elegantia* is complicated further by the subject of the next chapter, a discussion of how *elegantia* has changed semantically throughout Roman history, beginning with Cato's time, when it was a vice rather than a virtue (*'elegans' homo non dicebatur cum laude, set id fere verbum ad aetatem M. Catonis vitii non laudis fuit*,

11.2.1). As Gellius stresses, though, Cato does not see *elegantia* as a stylistic quality, but rather an excessive and florid style of dress (11.2.3); it is not until the time of Cicero that *elegantia* receives a neutral valence, focused on style and general *habitus* rather than attire. Gellius further cites Cato's own words about how men ought to dress in the forum: "it was the custom to dress modestly in the forum, at home to wear what was enough to cover themselves" ('*vestiri*' inquit '*in foro honeste mos erat, domi quod satis erat*', 11.2.5). Cato sees the forum as a place of modesty in dress and decorum, as opposed to *elegantia*, which agrees with his employment of *elegantia* in his speech in the military camps as opposed to the city. Yet the conventional place of such style is the civilian realm of sophists and rhetoricians, not the military camps. The two parallel Cato citations once again evoke the tensions surrounding *elegantia*, as has appeared at 2.8-9, and force the reader to once again negotiate the meanings of this stylistic evaluation, as well as the appropriate venues for specific forms of speech, setting the stage for much of what is to come in the remainder of Book 11.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter, I have enumerated several methods of organizing information and for engaging with the *NA* profitably. Gellius cultivates a distinctive miscellaneous aesthetic, declaring to his reader from the outset the disorder of his work, even as the experience of reading the texts prompts the reader to think otherwise. Structures and unities seem to emerge and disappear back into the mist like so many will-o'-the-wisps; this instability is simultaneously one of the greatest challenges for critics and one of the attractive aesthetic elements for the reader. Examination of the intratextual

connections between the chapters, be they repeated words, characters, or texts, reveals unity across more of the *NA* than has been traditionally presumed. Among other roles, the relationships between the chapters produce an educative effect, leading the reader to participate in Gellius' didactic project by reading, interpreting, and then reinterpreting material in a different context. While part of the purpose of the *NA* is to educate, the text is also clearly designed to delight its audience; the author envisions a learned reader, able to appreciate the literary games that abound throughout the work, and willing to draw connections between the various facets of the text. While one may read the chapters in a miscellany discretely and on their own merits, when we read in a linear fashion and with attention to the relationships constructed between the different units, the full range of each chapter's implications become evident.

Even chapters with seemingly minor or innocuous topics have great potential for broader resonances for the work as a whole, as in the case of the brief *NA* 9.7. In this chapter, Gellius describes a curious natural phenomenon: "on the summer and winter solstices, it is generally written and believed that the leaves of the olive tree turn over and, what was the more hidden underside of the leaves becomes the upper and it is exposed to the eyes and the sun" (*volgo et scriptum et creditum est folia olearum arborum brumali et solstitiali die converti et quae pars eorum fuerit inferior atque occultior, eam supra fieri atque exponi ad oculos et ad solem*, 9.7.1). He can confirm this claim by autopsy, Gellius alerts the reader, stressing the veracity of this marvel. However, he moves on to something that he considers to be rarer and more wondrous which he found in a work of Suetonius, the *ludicrae historiae*: "that on the winter solstice when some strings on the lyre are plucked by the fingers, others sound" (*nervias in*

fidibus brumali die alias digitis pelli, alias sonare, 9.7.3). He offers no explanation of what phenomenon precisely he is referring to here, though Gellius may be suggesting something akin to our modern understanding of overtones and harmonics, though such an interpretation is likely anachronistic.⁹⁷ At first glance, then, this chapter seems nothing more than a trivial, albeit fascinating, piece of paradoxography, fitting cleverly into a book that turns the tables several times on Pliny the Elder and his blind acceptance of other writers' curiosities into his encyclopedia.⁹⁸ Of interest is the instrument that Gellius says is affected by the winter solstice, the *fides*, the direct translation of the Greek λύρα.⁹⁹ The instrument only appears in two other contexts in the *NA*: in 16.19, the *fides* is the instrument played by Arion, in the telling of Herodotus, and in the Preface, where it is included in a proverbial citation which Gellius has used to define the sort of people for whom his work is intended:

Erit autem id longe optimum, ut qui in lectitando, <percontando>, scribendo, commentando numquam voluptates, numquam labores ceperunt, nullas hoc genus vigiliis vigilarunt neque ullis inter eiusdem Musae aemulos certationibus disceptationibusque elimati sunt, sed intemperiarum negotiorumque pleni sunt, abeant a *noctibus* his procul atque alia sibi oblectamenta quaerant. Vetus adagium est:
 nil cum fidibus graculost, nihil cum amaracino sui.

However, it would be by far best, that those who have never delighted in reading, inquiring, writing, and discussing, who have never taken labors, who have never spent sleepless nights in this way and have not polished themselves with any discussions and debates with rivals of the same Muse, but are filled with excessive business, let them be

⁹⁷ On this and further possibilities, see Lindermann 2006, 177-178. Cf. Holford-Strevens 2003, 326 n. 109, in which he rejects the possibility of “simultaneous sounding” on the basis of the *alias...alias*, as well as sympathetic strings. Perhaps the simplest explanation has to do with the instrument's tuning: it would be unsurprising that on a day that marked a change of season different tones would be sounded than the ones being struck, given the difficulty of keeping stringed instruments in tune as the weather changes.

⁹⁸ For a detailed close reading of Gellius' exposure of Pliny along these lines in 9.4, see Howley 2011, 85-93. In 9.7 specifically, the facts about the leaves may derive from Pliny *NH* 2.108, which discusses these properties as well, though there are also correspondences with Varro *Rust.* 1.46 (and it may be the case that Gellius is here complicating his own relationship with Varro, as he often does with Pliny); for further parallels, see Cavazza 1989, ad loc.

⁹⁹ Cf. Varro *Rust.* 2.5.12: *astri... quod Graeci vocant lyran, fidem nostri.*

far apart from these *Noctes* and let them seek other pleasures for themselves. There is an old adage:

“The jackdaw has no business with the lyre, the pig with marjoram perfume.”

(*NA* pr.19)

For Gellius in the Preface, the *fides* seems to be a programmatic element, stressing that the unlearned will find no enjoyment in the *NA*, much as the daw would get nothing from the *fides*. Moreover, Gellius stresses that the strings, *nerviae*, have different resonances at different times of the year, in particular during the winter, the very time of composition that he gives for the *NA* in the Preface (pr.10). Keeping in mind the context of Gellius’ writing of the miscellany, as well as his likening it to a *fides*, if we extend this metaphor to 9.7 and take the *fides* as the *NA* here again, it becomes apparent that this seemingly trivial chapter has broader implications for the work as a whole. The notion that strings resonate differently throughout the winter is not only an example of paradoxography that Gellius treats in a fashion that he deems appropriate, but rather a suggestion that there are often multiple ways of reading any of the chapters throughout the *NA*, including this brief note, and that different chapters will resonate with each other often in unexpected fashion. Taking this excerpt together with the Preface, Gellius marks off a method of reading that enriches the experience of the reader, stressing the multivalence of interpretation available to his chapters thanks to the intratextual echoes and connections between them.

CHAPTER 3

HOW TO READ A BOOK: INTRATEXTUAL PROSAICS AT WORK IN *NA* BOOK 3

In the previous chapter, I enumerated various strategies encoded within the text of *NA* for engaging with the disparate elements of the text. The devices of composition evident throughout, which demand an active reader's careful interaction and manifest in different forms of patterning, are apparent upon continuous and sequential reading of individual books, an approach which reveals a complicated network of connections and subtexts. Many of the chapters are tied to the immediately preceding chapters through the repetition of a key word, a citation, or thematic link with the previous chapter; the structure causes the thought of each chapter to flow into the next for much of the book, providing a sense of unity across, as well as mimicking the effect of moving through the notes that made up the chapters themselves. Additionally, as more and more new material is examined, Gellius redeploys the newly acquired knowledge as part of his didactic program throughout the *NA*, as I discussed in the previous chapter illustrated in the case of the ending of the second book. Deliberate parallels in structure and citation require the reader to reevaluate previous statements, and through these necessitated re-readings Gellius problematizes the authority (and voices) of his esteemed sources while reinforcing his own authorial persona.

In this chapter, I will look to these intratextual strategies of reading that Gellius has inscribed within the *NA* and examine how they operate across a full book. The various juxtapositions and structures bring different realms of knowledge (literary, historical, etc.) into contact, complicating our views of characters' or facts' initial appearance as well as enriching our understanding of each in its new context. As we shall see, each chapter functions on its own to introduce some branch of learning, while at the same time fitting into the larger intellectual programs of the *NA* and prompting the audience to appreciate his miscellany's aesthetics, which Gellius time and again holds up as distinguishing it from the majority of its generic comparanda, in addition to its content.

To that end, in this chapter I analyze the third book of the *NA* in order to demonstrate that the book as a whole invites appreciation of its artistry when approached with the reading methodology elaborated in the previous chapter. In particular, the chapters of Book 3 are heavily interconnected and rife with the sort of intratextual composition identified in the last chapter, and moreover the works in tandem with the preceding and following books, standing at a critical juncture and mediating between competing portrayals of Gellius' teacher Favorinus in Books 2 and 4. While the majority of the *commentarii* treat relatively disparate topics, careful attention to the network of chapters of Book 3 reveals several recurring threads throughout the book. Madeleine Henry, in her attempts to suggest some potential thematic unity, stresses that "Book Three introduces the twin concepts that greed lacks bounds and that boundlessness is a feminine trait," calling attention to what she perceives as the not-infrequent anxieties over how femininity influences boundaries in legal as well as philological settings.¹

¹ Henry 1994, 1923. As noted previously, Henry is concerned only with the themes that can be identified as the "*ideés fixes*," focusing as she does on attempting to historicize Gellius' intellectual preoccupations.

While these concerns are certainly detectable, as I will discuss, the textual interactions between the chapters of *NA* Book 3 suggest a set of deeper meditations on elite Roman identity. Several distinct sets of textual interaction have been inserted into the various chapters, many of which highlight explicitly the tensions between Roman and non-Roman; for Gellius, what is at stake is fostering a breed of intellectually inclined, yet still politically active Romans, and this ultimate goal necessitates a particular mental framework of informed research and critical thought. Through the composition of Book 3, Gellius produces a series of tensions between the voices of authoritative Greek and Roman figures, and he leaves it to the audience to insert themselves into dialogue with this polyphony and to negotiate between the competing voices, while at the same time offering a model for navigating the layers of meaning and authority throughout the book.

This chapter explores several units of chapters within Book 3 in order to trace several dominant threads of thought tied to Gellius' overall project. In the first section, I begin with the first five chapters (3.1-3.5) and examine two approaches to interacting with textual material that Gellius demonstrates in isolation, then combines for his reader as an attempt to highlight a fuller approach to Greek and Roman culture and history, in particular to questions of Roman masculinity and *virtus*. He also introduces several important characters and sources characters, in particular his teacher and friend Favorinus and the antiquarian Varro; each of these figures represent different approaches to the questions raised by Gellius, and, as I argue, both play pivotal roles in his intellectual project throughout the book. In the second section, I elaborate several connections across *NA* 3.6-3.8 that stress the distinctions Gellius draws between Greeks and Romans as a means of redefining *virtus* for Rome in a world seemingly corrupted by Eastern influence

by looking to Republican examples. In particular, Gellius focuses on Roman identity in the military sphere while keeping an eye on the problems of excess *avaritia*. The third section investigates one of the capstones of the martial theme of the preceding chapters, 3.9; I illustrate the ways in which Gellius uses the episode of the *equus Seianus* as a test case for demonstrating proper Roman behavior, especially when individual interests conflict with those of the *res publica*. Moreover, I examine the reappearance of information and reading strategies from previous books, especially Book 2, illustrating how Gellius invites readers to draw connections not only between chapters, but also across books, and what the implications of reading these different chapters against each other are for understanding the intellectual project of the whole. The fourth section sees similar connections made with respect to Varro in the next block of chapters, 3.10-3.16; drawing on the previous moments of recalling texts cited elsewhere in the work, I highlight the recurrence of several patterns of investigation and the reuse of several citations detailed in section one, as well as the transformation that they have undergone in their new context. The final section of the chapter turns to the final three chapters of the book, and especially 3.19, which presents Favorinus once more, though in a far more ironical portrait that is only evident when read in light of his earlier appearances and the development of the whole of the book. This transitional portrait problematizes the sophist's authority moving forward as well, including his appearance at the beginning of the next book, where the reader cannot but read the character in light of the satiric portrait developed over the course of Book 3.

The avenue of analysis chapter is similar in approach to Roy Gibson and Ruth Morello's attempt to engage with books of Pliny the Younger as a whole, best

exemplified by their exploration of Book 6 of the *Epistles*.² Their efforts underscore the importance of detecting structures and patterns, especially in prose collections that are known to have been assembled by their author: in particular, they call attention to the fact that such a method of reading can have implications for our understanding of the compositional intent of the *Epistles*, beyond any aesthetic appreciation that we may derive from understanding the structure.³ Though there is danger in actively seeking out unities and deliberate symmetries (as the authors are aware, and as Alessandro Barchiesi has cautioned may produce distorted readings of, for instance, Augustan poetry),⁴ the recognition of such structures when present offers insight into Gellius' compositional approach to a book, as well as affording the reader an opportunity to interact with the broader questions about reading and culture which Gellius presents. In much the same way that Gibson and Morello's analysis of the multiple sequences and patterns in Pliny has been revelatory of deeper design and artistic intent, by offering an intratextually informed reading of an entire book of the *NA* I aim to show that Gellius rewards, and indeed on some level requires, such an approach.

² Gibson and Morello 2012, 36-73.

³ See especially Gibson and Morello 2012, 37: "[a]ny architecture uncovered might not only prove aesthetically meaningful in itself, but could also be taken as an indication that Pliny meant his books to be read as artistic units. That is to say, alongside the activity of selecting letters for particular attention... we may find ourselves invited to situate letters within their immediate context as members of artistically arranged series with a meaningful structure and beginning and end."

⁴ Barchiesi 2005, 320-321 persuasively notes the deleterious effects of the common critical approach of much scholarship on Augustan literature from the 1970s and 1980s which sought after the "perfect book," seeking geometric unities and structures that produced interaction between the poems of a collection, while still maintaining the "performative autonomy" of each. He goes on to illustrate the potential for reading several authors whose collections are known to be the product of their authors (Martial and Pliny the Younger, 324-332), and yet have traditionally been held to be devoid of this kind of structuring, in part because of Classicists' reluctance to see either Martial or Pliny as of sufficiently high caliber to manipulate their collections in this way.

Through the Looking Glass: At the Intersection of Philology and Antiquarianism

Book 3 opens with a series of textual engagements of different sorts; Gellius approaches these with different frames of reference, ranging from strictly literary (what we might term from a modern perspective philological), to an antiquarian interest in historical matters, to the interaction of both.⁵ Each of the opening five chapters engages with one of these common Gellian interpretive interests or seeks ways to combine them profitably, with Gellius' characters and supporting cast of other authors providing a range of models upon which to draw. These chapters represent a *mise-en-scène* for much of what is to come in the book: here, several of Gellius' important teachers and literary sources first appear, as do certain textual patterns which will be echoed later. Having primed the reader by introducing these figures and structures at this early stage, in their reappearances later in the book Gellius explores the implications of these earlier discussions and approaches, prompting readers to reconsider these chapters and to negotiate between the rich variety of voices that Gellius presents throughout the book.

⁵ To be sure, antiquarianism, like miscellany, is a modern anachronism that carries with it a series of assumptions about the esotericism of the material and the dilettantism of its author; these aspects are included in the conventional definition provided by Momigliano 1950, 286-287 in his attempt to distinguish between the practices of history and antiquarianism. On the emergence of antiquarianism as a distinct area of inquiry at Rome, see also Rawson 1985, 233-249. The definition of Roman antiquarianism is problematized briefly by Gunderson 2009, 16-18, who notes the cycle of attempting to define genealogies and reconstruct a past which they then revere. Indeed, Seneca criticizes such inquiries, with their focus on the distant past, for their limited applicability to personal development (*Ep.* 88.36-46, 108.23); while possibly an accurate set of critiques, Seneca's own desire for novelty might be clouding his assessment. Antiquarianism for Gellius embraces a range of topics, from archaic literature to history to the tradition of scholarship on all of these, with a decided interest in more ancient material; in fact, it is part of a system of inquiry with which he may approach a wide array of questions, thanks to the deep perspective it offers through the investigation of precedents. For a brief history of antiquarianism at Rome, and whether Gellius should be read as part of that tradition, see Stevenson 2004, 119-124; on the broad interests of the field, 141-151. In general, throughout this chapter I refer to topics that are more focused on historical or other cultural topics, especially those located in the distant past relative to Gellius, as antiquarian, while terming material that more readily fall under the rubric *grammatica* as philological.

As often throughout the *NA*, the first chapter of Book 3 is devoted to one of Gellius' preferred figures, in this case Favorinus.⁶ While walking near the *balneae Titiae*, Favorinus and several of his *sectatores*, including Gellius, listen to a passage being read from Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*, in which it is stated that no wise man desires avarice, since it infects both body and mind: *avaritia pecuniae studium habet, quam nemo sapiens concupivit; ea quasi venenis malis inbuta corpus animumque virilem effeminat* (3.1.2 = Sall. *Cat.* 11.3). Favorinus then stops the reading to debate exactly how one might say that avarice "feminizes the body" (*corpus effeminare*), and first turns to Gellius to ask his interpretation of the line. He is spared from having to answer by another of Favorinus' *sectatores*, who interjects that Valerius Probus holds this to be an instance of Sallust employing a poetic periphrasis ("*Valerium*" inquit "*Probum audiavi hoc dicere: usum esse Sallustium circumlocutione quadam poetica*, 3.1.5). Favorinus dismisses this claim, however, noting that Probus, being the skilled grammarian that he was, would never have made such a foolish mistake as to think that Sallust would use such a circumlocution. A third *sectator* offers another interpretation of the line, and Favorinus, upon further reflection, concedes that the second claim is reasonable, "or Sallust laid charges against avarice more than he ought to have because of his hatred of it" (*aut Sallustius odio avaritiae plus quam oportuit eam criminatus est*, 3.1.14). An answer to the philological

⁶ Among his teachers, Favorinus appears at 2.1, 3.1, 4.1, 12.1, 14.1, 14.1, and 20.1 (along with the jurist Sextus Caecilius in a chapter that is a lengthy tour de force comparing their methodologies and applying several of the reading strategies developed throughout the *NA*); Plutarch at 1.1; and Antonius Julianus at 9.1 and 15.1. Historical characters also inaugurate books: Socrates appears at 2.1; Musonius Rufus at 5.1 and 16.1; Scipio Africanus at 6.1; Pompey at 10.1 Holford-Strevens 2003, 35-36, considers the initial chapters of books focusing on Gellius' favored individuals one of the few pieces of evidence for deliberate ordering and design of the books. Favorinus is himself in many ways a cipher for the hybridity of the text, as well as its approach to the miscellaneous genre; on these elements, see especially Beall 2001, 88-95.

question has ultimately been reached and the chapter comes to a close, though Favorinus insists on having the last word, as teacher and students continue their walk.

The choice of Sallustian passage under consideration is pointed, as Wytse Keulen has argued, and is intended to satirize Favorinus, not least because he walks into this inquiry seemingly unaware of the irony inherent in leading a discussion in effeminacy himself.⁷ Debating how exactly avarice produces effeminacy in a man brings together a known vice of the sophist, namely his greed, with his problematic masculinity, creating a joke at his expense that Gellius is apparently aware of, given his hesitation in replying.⁸ Much of the irony, and the joke, of the chapter derives from the forced discussion of the verb *effeminare* by Favorinus, whether truly at his expense or not. Gellius' apparent awareness of the double meanings makes the implications all the more piquant, yet shows him as diplomatic enough to not confront his teacher's image.⁹ In this regard, Gellius presents himself as a model intellectual, able to hold his tongue before an authority figured when he suspects that he might give offense (akin to the lessons laid out at the beginning of Book 1, especially 1.9).

⁷ Keulen 2009, 120-122, on which much of this reading is based; there is also the possibility, raised by Holford-Strevens 2003, 103 and noted by Keulen, that raising the question is an attempt by Favorinus to head off any attack by an opponent upon himself and his body. On the topic of parodying Favorinus more generally, see Beall 2001, 100-105.

⁸ Though there is no testimony offering a specific charge, avarice was attributed to Favorinus by his opponents, and become one of the stock traits of invective targeted against him: cf. Polemon A20 Hoyland, "he was greedy and immoral beyond all description." At least one of the bases for this attack was his attempt to refuse a high-priesthood in order that he might avoid paying public liturgies as part of the office, as reported by Philostr. VS 490: Ἀρχιερεὺς δὲ ἀναρρηθεὶς ἐς τὰ οἴκοι πάτρια ἐφῆκε μὲν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν τοιοῦτων νόμους, ὥς ἀφειμένος τοῦ λειτουργεῖν, ἐπειδὴ ἐφιλοσόφει. On Favorinus' avarice, see further Keulen 2009, 118-120.

⁹ This decorum is of course explicitly contradicted by the very existence of this chapter: far from electing not to have fun at the expense of the sophist, Gellius has waited for the correct time and place for his challenge, rather than potentially making a fool of himself in front of his fellow students and Favorinus.

Moreover, the combined effect of alluding to Favorinus' supposed avarice as well as his unmanly body undermines his authority within the *NA* and sets him up as a figure of false wisdom, especially when 3.1 is read against 1.15.18, where an earlier citation of Sallust (*Cat.* 5.4) is quoted and discussed by Valerius Probus: *satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum*. The presence of Probus discussing Sallust in each chapter invites the reader to read at the two together, and doing so casts the satirical picture of Favorinus in the *NA* into higher relief, distancing the sophist from any true sense of *sapientia*, even though he claims it for himself.¹⁰ These two references together heighten the challenge to authority that is present in 3.1. Even though it becomes clear that the person whose competency is questioned is merely a *sectator*, nevertheless Probus is depicted as an authority that requires further investigation (could Favorinus' old teacher Probus have truly said something so foolish?), which in turn problematizes his first assessment of Sallust we encounter in *NA* 1.15. The tension between the two passages is emphasized by the shared source material and proximity of the two quotes in that source, as well as the presence of Probus, whose sentiment is accepted as authoritative by a learned friend of Favorinus (*ex familiari eius, docto viro*) about a discussion of the vice of loquacity in Sallust at 1.15, though his opinion is repudiated at 3.1. The parallels between the two passages, in particular the collocation of Probus and Sallust, require the reader to interpret in light of each other; examining the to access a picture of Favorinus beyond that of honored teacher, as presented on the surface level. Yet these contrasting passages also caution against accepting the authority of Probus out of hand as well; the reader must

¹⁰ Keulen 2009, 121-122.

take care to form his own judgments, and to utilize the full range of philological approaches at his disposal.¹¹

The next chapter begins with a very different sort of question: what day is said to be the birthday of children who are born in the middle of the night? Gellius draws his answer from Varro's *Rerum Humanarum*, who suggests that the day runs from midnight to midnight (3.2.2). With the answer secure, Gellius reads in Varro, encountering the dating conventions of the Athenians (3.2.4), the Babylonians (3.2.5), and the Umbrians (3.2.6), all of which offer different solutions to the initial question of how to reckon when one day ends and another begins.¹² These four, chiastically balanced between dividing the day based on the rising and settings of the sun (Babylonians and Athenians respectively) and dividing at midnight and midday (the Romans and the Umbrians), illustrate the different options, though primarily in the service of illustrating Roman superiority.¹³ The

¹¹ In general, Probus is thought of highly throughout the *NA*, and Gellius himself does not explicitly disagree with the great grammarian; Holford-Strevens 2003, 163-165 discusses Gellius' attitude toward his learned predecessor. Likewise, the picture of Probus at Suet. *DGR* 24, as a man who turned to texts later in life and immersed himself in the old (and great) literature of the Romans parallels Gellius' own trajectory; however, he is referred to as a *grammaticus*, frequently a term of disdain in Gellius, Suetonius notes that he never took real students (*hic non tam discipulos quam sectatores aliquot habuit, gram.* 24.3) and depicts him leading the same kinds of activities that Favorinus and Gellius frequently participate in (*unum et alterum vel cum plurimum tres aut quattuor postmeridianis horis admittere solebat cubansque inter longos ac vulgares sermons legere quaedam, idque perraro, DGR* 24.3), a fact that may further elucidate Gellius' preference for the grammarian. Furthermore, in other appearances Gellius supports Probus' opinions and appeals to him as an authority (e.g. 4.7, on the pronunciation of Punic names; 13.21, on euphony and Vergil; 17.9, on Caesarian codes) with little problem, and even denies that an absurd opinion could have belonged to him (15.30, on a false etymology of *petorritum*). Nevertheless, in Probus' second appearance in the text here, the reader is forced to reconcile the previous appearance with this uncertainty about his authority.

¹² Cf. Plin. *HN* 2.188, where the peoples discussed and ordering are identical; Plut. *Mor.* 284c-f, for a range of explanations, the most detailed of which stresses the difficulty of reckoning days from the rising and setting of the sun astrologically; Censorinus *DN* 23.3-5, with Umbria moved to second position in the list, and whose source appears to be Varro or Pliny; Lydus *mens.* 2.2.

¹³ Holford-Strevens 2003, 320-321. Given the heavy debt this passage owes to Varro, it is conceivable that the chiasmus is his and not an innovation of Gellius, and in any event his principle concern is focused on the Roman legal contexts and, ultimately, Vergil's allusion to these practices. Indeed, the legal concerns are what interested Macrobius, who takes nearly the entirety of the chapter whole cloth and inserts it into his *Saturnalia* (1.3.2-10); on the borrowing, see Gunderson 2009, 256-257. Nevertheless, even if the device is

most space is given to the Umbrians, who reckon days from noon to noon; Gellius quotes Varro's objection to this system, the only one openly criticized, that according to this metric someone born at noon would be half born on one day and half on another (a ridiculous prospect, according to his decidedly Roman understanding of days). Gellius continues with Varro, offering various arguments that he had recorded in support of the Roman reckoning of the day, describing the difference between day- and nighttime rites in Roman religion, as well as the technicality by virtue of which a tribune of the plebs could be said not to have violated the prohibition on tribunes not being at Rome for a day (3.2.7-11).

Leaving Varro, Gellius also cites the jurist Quintus Mucius and an anecdote about a woman's emancipation requiring three nights as further evidence of the length of days (3.2.12-13). Gellius concludes the chapter by introducing several lines of the *Aeneid* (5.738-9), noting that Vergil appears to be aware of archaic dating practices:

Ista autem omnia de dierum temporibus et finibus <ad> observationem disciplinamque iuris antiqui pertinentia cum in libris veterum inveniremus, non dubitabamus, quin Vergilius quoque id ipsum ostenderit, non exposite atque aperte, sed, ut hominem decuit poeticas res agentem, recondita et quasi operta veteris ritus significatione :

‘torquet’ inquit ‘medios nox umida cursus,
et me saevus equis oriens afflavit anhelis.’

His enim versibus oblique, sicuti dixi, admonere voluit diem, quem Romani ‘civilem’ appellaverunt, a sexta noctis hora oriri.

However since I found all those details about the times and ends of days pertaining to the observance and system of ancient law, I do not doubt that Vergil also referred to the very same thing, not plainly and openly, but, as fits a man treating poetic topics, with a hidden and veiled, so to speak, meaning of the old rite. He said: “wet night turned the middle of her course / and wild dawn breathed upon me with his panting horses.” Indeed, with these verses he wished to remind us secretly, as I have said, that the day, which the Romans called ‘civil’, began from the sixth hour of the night. (NA 3.2.14-16)

Gellius deploys the full range of antiquarian knowledge he has introduced to interpret these lines of the *Aeneid*, spoken by Anchises' shade to the dreaming Aeneas, and to

originally Varro's, Gellius's choice to include it indicates that he too wishes to emphasize the contrast being made between the different options.

illustrate how this poeticism supports the supremacy of the Roman interpretation of time.¹⁴ The frequent use of the Trojan War as the transitional point between the periods of myth and history may enter into play as well, as one of the key innovations that marks the disjuncture between the ages of men and gods is the invention of human time and methods of its measurement.¹⁵ In citing Vergil, Gellius draws on the poet's own authority to assert his own in the realm of antiquarian interpretation as well as philology; and by drawing on a source set in legendary time, the Roman civil day may be seen to be granted primacy ahead of the other means of reckoning days as a result of its existence at the very beginning of human time. Indeed, the calendar is often a mediating element between different cultures, and the Romans' obsession with their own calendar as a governing principle for their world reverberates in this chapter, in which the Roman calendar is the only logical way to interpret days and correctly identify birthdays and other anniversaries, which held special symbolic importance.¹⁶ Beyond reasserting his historical expertise, the interpretation demonstrates the Gellius' philological expertise, utilizing literary reading to elucidate cultural or historical matters.

Notable too is what Gellius tells us about Vergil's poem as part of his interpretation of the verses: as a poet, he of course obfuscates his meaning and speaks in periphrases (*id ipsum ostenderit, non exposite atque aperte, sed, ut hominem decuit poeticas res agentem, recondita et quasi operta veteris ritus significatione*). Such an

¹⁴ As Holford-Strevens 2003, 213, notes, the conclusion seems to have less to do with the correct interpretation of Vergil than in using the poet in order to support his own agenda through the poet's authority. Servius *ad loc* in fact uses this passage of Gellius, as well as an appeal to Cicero (*in auguribus*), to explicate the distinction being made in an inversion of Gellius' own application of the lines to his discussion, though he claims that both the Athenians and the Etruscans set the beginning of the day at noon, while the Egyptians claim it begins at sunset and the Persians at sunrise.

¹⁵ Feeney 2007, 115-118.

¹⁶ On birthdays and anniversaries, see Feeney 2007, 138-166.

interpretation stands in stark contrast to the treatment of Sallust by the follower of Favorinus in the previous chapter. Likewise, the representation of the rebuke to an extent erodes Probus' philological authority, since he failed to recognize the folly in attributing a *circumlocutio poetica* to Sallust, among the most prosaic of prose authors according to Favorinus' interpretation here.¹⁷ Gellius, in contrast, correctly deploys this philological knowledge and recognizes Vergil's poeticisms; after all, he is a figure in whose writing one should expect to find these sorts of metaphorical turns of phrase, in contrast to the *sectator's* foolish interpretation of Sallust. The ending of 3.2 is closely connected to one of the main philological concerns of 3.1—Gellius illustrates the appropriate manner to assess a poeticism to his readers after rebuking a failed attempt in the previous chapter.

¹⁷ Favorinus' claim about Sallust's style is not without its problems, however; while the conventional assessment denies poetic qualities to his work, modern conceptions of what makes a text "poetic" are not the same as the Romans and as Leeman 1963, 1.184 notes, "Sallust's style is much more poetic than we should have expected," in much the same way that Dionysius could call Thucydides' style poetic (Dion. Hal. *Thuc.* 50-51). If in this context in Gellius Sallust is held up as a paragon of a pure prose uncontaminated by poeticism, this is nevertheless a misrepresentation of the historian's style (or at least represents a single strand of criticism that aligns with modern perceptions). Although he eschewed the conventional poetic idiom of his day in his attempts at to fashion a novel means of expression, in turn modeled on Thucydides' attempt to do the same, nevertheless Sallust reveals several affinities with the language of poetry. Numerous lexical choices show parallels with poetic diction, including the use of *mortales* for *homines* (a usage criticized at NA 13.29.2 in Claudius Quadrigarius on the grounds that it is too poetic, *inepte frigideque in historia nimisque id poetice dixisse*; Fronto in turn defends the usage), and poetic usages of *pectus* among others; see von Albrecht 1989, 69-71, Skard 1956, 47 on *pectus* and its origins in epic specifically (on other debts to epic more generally, see Skard 1956, 45-56; to tragedy, 57-74). Other elements of Sallust's style, including his idiosyncratic combinations of words and his removal of much contemporary political vocabulary, further contribute to a poetic flavor, as suggested by von Albrecht 1989, 77, and Syme 1964, 255-257 respectively. Additionally, while archaism can suggest poetic language (Cic. *De or.* 3.153), as Sallust's self-consciously archaizing style occasionally does (Syme 1964, 258-259), nevertheless such choices are often prosaic rather than poetic; see Axelson 1945, 27-29. In view of this, Favorinus' objection must rest solely on Sallust's famed brevity rather than any lack of poeticism in the text (Quint. *Inst.* 4.2.45, 10.1.32; cf. Syme 1964, 264-266). If Favorinus is in fact objecting to the inclusion of poetic diction or other elements in Sallust, his objection must be incorrect; the only question is whether the reader is intended to recognize the mistake and lose further faith in Favorinus' critical acumen. On the one hand, such an outcome would serve Gellius' purpose of using him as a lens through which to examine several of his preferred critical topics; however, given his frequent appeals to Favorinus and the crucial role he plays at several points in the work, one hesitates to read more criticism than is necessary into the portrayal of Favorinus and his intellectual power here.

3.3 continues the philological tendency throughout the initial chapters of the book, discussing various authentic and inauthentic plays of Plautus. Gellius tells us that the plays of doubtful authenticity ought not to be reckoned from the lists produced by various ancient scholars, but rather from whether the play smacks of Plautine elements:¹⁸

Verum esse comperior, quod quosdam bene litteratos homines dicere audivi, qui plerasque Plauti comoedias curiose atque contente lectitarunt, non indicibus Aelii nec Sedigiti nec Claudii nec Aurelii nec Accii nec Manilii super his fabulis, quae dicuntur ‘ambiguae’, crediturum, sed ipsi Plauto moribusque ingeni atque linguae eius.

I find what I have heard certain well-lettered men who have read many of the comedies of Plautus carefully and closely say to be true, that concerning these plays which are called ‘doubtful’ one should believe the lists of neither Aelius nor Sedigitus nor Claudius nor Aurelius nor Accius nor Manilius, but rather Plautus himself, his customs of composition and his language. (NA 3.3.1)

Varro employed this metric in determining the canonical twenty-one plays that are referred to as “Varronian” and are of uncontested authenticity, as Gellius tells us (3.3.2); moreover, Varro attributed several plays transmitted under different names to Plautus on the criterion of matching Plautine elements of thought and speech, including the *Boeotia*, attributed to Aquilius (3.3.3-4), from which Gellius cites a snippet of a speech by a *parasitus esuriens* to illustrate how truly Plautine the play is:

ut illum di perdant, primus qui horas repperit,
 quique adeo primus statuit his solarium!
 qui mihi comminuit misero articulatum diem.
 nam me puero venter erat solarium
 multo omnium istorum optimum et verissimum:
 ubi is te monebat, esses, nisi cum nihil erat.
 nunc etiam quod est, non estur, nisi soli libet;
 itaque adeo iam oppletum oppidum est solariis,
 maior pars populi aridi reptant fame.

May the gods destroy that man who first discovered the hours, and who first established a clock for them here, he who has shattered the day into little pieces for wretched me. Indeed, when I was

¹⁸ On the qualities that distinguish Plautus as a poet, see Fraenkel 2007, 262-286 (for discussions of individual elements such as use of mythology and his innovations with respect to *cantica*, see *passim*). In his still classic work on Plautus, Fraenkel likely landed upon a very similar set of criteria in identifying the elements of Plautus’ work that made them distinctly “Plautine” as those that Varro himself applied in determining the canonical 21 plays; see Fontaine 2014, 408 with n. 7. It is worth noting here that, as Fontaine remarks, although he established our canonical 21 plays, Varro apparently believed there to be 40 authentic plays of Plautus; on the Varronian canon generally see Ritschl 1845, 126-154 (on the claim that Varro thought there to be 40 authentic plays, see esp. 126-130).

a boy my belly was by far the best and truest clock of them all: when it was urging you, you would eat, unless there wasn't anything. Now even if there is, it isn't eaten unless the sun allows it; now the town is so filled with clocks, the greater part of the people slink along shriveled up from hunger. (NA 3.3.5 = Plaut. fr. 21-29 Lindsay)

Likewise Favorinus, upon hearing Gellius read a line out of one of the spurious plays, the *Nervularia*, was “delighted by the charming antiquity of the words meaning the vices and ugliness of the prostitutes” (*delectatus faceta verborum antiquitate meretricium vitia atque deformitates significantium*, 3.3.6) and declared the play genuine on those grounds, employing Gellius’ preferred criterion in this chapter.¹⁹ Gellius then applies this intellectual rubric and argues for the authenticity of a play, the *Fretum*, against the objections of numerous scholars on the basis of several lines that strike him as particularly Plautine (3.3.7-8). At first blush the criteria that are used to defend the plays may seem somewhat impressionistic, based as they are solely on whether the texts feel as though they are by Plautus rather than by appeal to the traditional ascriptions save Varro’s.

Yet these criteria are rather close to another figure that has appeared in Book 3, albeit fleetingly: Valerius Probus. Although Gellius appears to challenge Probus’ authority across 3.1 and 3.2, the criteria which Gellius uses to support Plautine authenticity are reminiscent of Probus’ attitudes towards euphony that are generally

¹⁹ One of Fraenkel’s preferred hallmarks of Plautine style is what he termed *Skurrilität*, the buffoonish and otherwise ridiculously overblown comic or farcical elements present in the plays (see Fraenkel 2007, xiii-xiv [the translators’ prefatory remarks on Fraenkel’s contribution], 37-40, 265-271). In looking to these aspects of the text as distinctly Plautine, Fraenkel appears to be in agreement with Roman criticism, as Favorinus looks to these facets of the text in order to identify the *Nervularia* as Plautine from a single line. Though in this regard Favorinus does appear to recognize a main criterion of Plautus’ style, nevertheless the particular qualities that are highlighted in the comic language reflect back onto Favorinus, especially since he himself can be said to embody similar sorts of physical imperfections (*vitia et deformitates*), and thus problematize his authority in evaluating the authenticity of the text and his apparent attraction to it.

accepted by Gellius.²⁰ Elsewhere, at 13.21, Probus is introduced resolving a question of Latinity, whether *urbis* or *urbes* is the proper accusative. He replies that “if you are composing a verse or writing in prose and you must use the words, don’t follow the stale, tiresome rules of the grammarians but ask your ear what is fitting to say in any place” (‘*si aut versum*’ *inquit ‘pangis aut orationem solutam struis atque ea verba tibi dicenda sunt non finitiones illas praerancidas neque fetutinas grammaticas spectaveris, sed aurem tuam interroga quo quid loco conveniat dicere’*, 13.21.1), and cites Vergil as an example of an author with careful attention to euphony, though he fails to convince his interlocutor. Discernment of usage, then, falls to the choice of the author, and Gellius, who unlike the interlocutor has internalized Probus’ lessons on euphony, turns his focus to other authors. He successfully applies the criteria, recognizing other occurrences of the *e/i* phenomenon in Vergil (13.21.9-12), Ennius (13.21.13-14), Cicero (13.21.15-20, 22-24), and Lucretius (13.21.21), turning in a *tour de force* application of Probus’ theory.

Unlike the boorish fellow who is unable to intuit why certain sounds are better than others correctly, Gellius understands and then applies Probus’ method, asserting his own status as a linguistic and philological authority by demonstrating a complete understanding of the practices of these different authors. He can speak with authority on these passages because he recognizes their habits, thanks to his deep acquaintance with these authors; Vergil has written with his ear, and Gellius can read Vergil with

²⁰ The methodology described appears to have parallels with that of Antonius Julianus at 1.4.1 (*doctrina quoque ista utiliore ac delectabili veterumque elegantiarum cura et memoria multa fuit; ad hoc scripta omnia antiquiora tam curiose spectabat et aut virtutes pensitabat aut vitia rimabatur, ut iudicium esse factum ad amussim diceret*). The rhetorician is well trained and able to recognize the stylistic features of authors because of his deep acquaintance with them, and as a result he is able to speak with authority Ciceronian word play; see Holford-Strevens 2003, 87-88, Howley forthcoming.

discernment because of his own extensive reading.²¹ Such habits echo the manner in which one ought to discern the true Plautine plays from the spurious: after reading enough Plautus, the ear is trained to recognize the genuine article because of frequent exposure to the Plautine elements. The overall structure of 3.3 and 13.21 parallel each other closely as well: an initial discussion of an authoritative figure (Varro and Probus respectively), followed by a transition (*nos quoque ipsi nuperrime, cum legeremus Fretum* [3.3.7]; *nos autem aliud quoque postea consimiliter a Vergilio* [13.21.10]) which leads to Gellius' own application of the lesson.²² In determining Vergilian habits of composition, as well as those of others, he focuses on recognizing the correct sounds of the author and is thus able to approach each with authority. In 3.3, he reads Plautus' *Fretum* in a similar manner—aware of what makes a play Plautine, he is able to affirm the *Fretum*'s authorship. Likewise, Favorinus employs a similar approach in considering the passage from the *Boeotia*, although the authority of his application is marred by the passage at which he delights.

Additionally, the Plautine passage from the *Boeotia* is bound to its Gellian context beyond the discussion of the play's authenticity. The passage quoted focuses on a parasite's complaints about the appointed time of day for dinner and his corresponding

²¹ Gunderson 2009, 130: "The chapter as a whole teaches a sort of aural docility more generally. The authoritative ear has an ear for authority. Knowing how to hear Vergil means knowing how to write up an authoritative account of Vergil."

²² Holford-Strevens 2003, 163-164, with n. 37. The presence of *quoque*, as discussed above, Chapter 2, pp. 130-136, may stand as an intratextual red flag for the reader, in addition to its adverbial force, suggesting that the reader apply the methodology in each case to earlier chapters, as Gellius' own exegesis suggests. Having internalized the methodological lesson provided by Probus at 13.21 and by Varro at 3.3, it is evident in 3.2 that he is able to reconstruct what Vergil's metaphorical language signified through his own extensive reading and knowledge of the poet's habits of mind; his reading there is further complemented by his awareness of the antiquarian tradition. Additionally, the inclusion of Favorinus in 3.3 looks to 3.1, binding the opening chapters of the book together, as well as asking to reader to reconsider Probus' presence there in the voice of the unnamed *sektor*. Probus' methodology thus appears twice in the space of three chapters at the beginning of Book 3 being employed by others, with the reader prompted to interrogate its authority and that of rhetorician.

woes, lambasting those who first partitioned the day into hours. He decries those who first divided the day and established a regimented order of time, with discrete breaks and a system of measurement, the hours and the sundial (*ut illum di perdant, primus qui horas repperit, / quique adeo primus statuit his solarium! / qui mihi comminuit misero articulatim diem*). How to divide the day is likewise the focus of the previous chapter is the core theme of the previous chapter, namely at what hour days are split. Though the passage is adduced to illustrate Varro's defense of the authenticity of the play, the context of 3.3, following on the heels of the long discussion of Roman time, brings the two discussions of Varro and the division of days into dialogue with one another. We are slaves to time, the parasite decries, yet Gellius' report of Varro's discussion illustrates the confusion of time across the different areas of the ancient world; it is fickle and determined by men and their customs.²³ Varro's explanation, as related by Gellius, is somewhat lacking in the details of dividing the day with clocks, easing some of the tension between the two passages. However, Pliny the Elder offers a prominent discussion of the topic of the *parasitus esuriens*' objection, detailing the history of time-keeping at Rome and the establishment of the various clocks (*HN* 7.212-215).²⁴ Pliny's historical account is thorough, citing two sources: Fabius Vestalis, who offers limited information according to Pliny; and Varro, who offers a lengthy and detailed account of

²³ Following Gratwick 1979, who argues that this play of questioned Plautine authorship is in fact an adaptation of an earlier version by Menander, Feeney 2007, 263 n. 44 suggests that the Greek original comes from a time when the sundial was a recent introduction at Athens.

²⁴ A figure with his own problematic authority throughout the *NA*; see Howley 2011, 85-96. See also below, p. 208 n. 36, for a further discussion of the manner in which Gellius' reappropriation of Plinian material here represents a correction of his encyclopedic methodology.

the origins of the clock at Rome.²⁵ Gellius has omitted these elements of Varro's discussion in 3.2, focused as it was on the narrow question of determining the birthday; the voice of the *parasitus* picks up from Gellius' silence on this point and fills in the remainder of the picture. The verses here, then, link the two Varronian chapters back to the same extended analysis of time and days in the *Antiquitates Rerum Humanarum*. This link primes the reader from early in Book 3 Gellius to see the echoes of different Varronian citations across chapters and to reflect upon the resonances between them, thanks to the manner in which Gellius has juxtaposed his references to Varro.

The second half of 3.3 begins with Varro rejecting Plautine authorship for several of the plays listed by Accius (3.3.9), then highlights that certain plays have been attributed to Plautus based on a misreading of *Plautianus*; this refers to a certain Plautius, not Plautus (3.3.10). Gellius then adds a detail that threatens to undermine much of the philological underpinnings professed at the beginning of the chapter: the reason certain plays are attributed to Plautus falsely is that he took older playwrights' work and edited it, leaving the hallmarks of Plautine style upon them (*neque tamen dubium est, quin istaec, quae scriptae a Plauto non videntur et nomini eius addicuntur, veterum poetarum fuerint et ab eo retractatae, expolitae sint ac propterea resipiant stilum Plautinum*, 3.3.13).²⁶ The reader is prompted to reconsider the earlier attributions within the chapter,

²⁵ The Varronian work that is being cited is almost certainly the *de diebus* out of the *antiquitates rerum humanarum*, and the fragment is so classified by Mirsch. The timing of the arrival of the sundial in Rome that matched the hours of the day, according to Varro via Pliny, is problematic for Plautus' floruit: he tells us at *HN* 7.214 that the first official sundial in Rome was brought from Sicily and set up 10 years after the capture of Catina in 263 BCE, and that one calibrated to the hours was set up by Q. Marcius Philippus and L. Paulus 99 years later, well after the definite dates of Plautus' output (ca. 205-184 BCE). That said, this disjunction need not be a problem should we read the connection between the *solarium* and the hours more loosely. On the Plinian evidence, see also Gratwick 1979, 318-321.

²⁶ Holford-Strevens 2003, 194: "Yet Gellius also states that comedies not composed by Plautus were revised by him, and therefore smack of his style—which would invalidated judgments based on one line or

especially if the attribution depends on a single line freed from its context in the play, as does Favorinus' assessment of the *Nervularia*, as well as Gellius' own interpretation of lines from the *Fretum*. The skilled reader of Plautus may recognize Plautine elements, though on the basis of these decontextualized readings an entire play ought not to be declared the indisputable work of the poet.²⁷ Gellius ensures that he does not fall into this trap in his assessment of the *Fretum*: though his original interest in excerpting from the play is antiquarian, having extracted a reference to the Arretine oracle, he only offers it as a proof of Plautine authorship after having read the entirety of the work (*ex qua duo hos versus exscripsimus, ut historiam quaereremus oraculi Arretini*, 3.3.8). Favorinus, on the other hand, singles out one line that he overheard during Gellius' reading of the *Nervularia* as the necessary evidence to attribute the play to Plautus: '*vel unus hercle*' *inquit* '*hic versus Plauti esse hanc fabulam satis potest fidei fecisse*' (3.3.6). Gellius depicts his teacher as rushing to judgment, interpreting the whole on the basis of the smallest excerpt, which Gellius suggests later in the chapter potentially invalidates the judgment because it fails to account for the text in its entirety, even if his interpretation of this one line in particular does correctly identify the Plautine elements within it. Moreover, Gellius draws attention to what Favorinus enjoyed about the line he uses to justify the play as Plautine, highlighting that it was specifically a line about the ugly features of prostitutes (*delectatus faceta verborum antiquitate meretricium vitia atque*

one passage; even if the stylistic sense be sound, there is no more care in the reasoning than Ritschl found in the report."

²⁷ One may see a similar phenomenon in modern scholarship surrounding Shakespeare, with frequent attempts to recover parts of plays that have been written by Shakespeare but transmitted under the names of others that, with the most recent such intervention being the reattribution of some 325 lines of Thomas Kyd's *The Spanish Tragedy*; see Bruster 2013, who argues on orthographic grounds in early texts of the play for Shakespearean authorship.

deformitates significantium).²⁸ Physical deformity is here presented alongside Favorinus, drawing the reader's attention to the ambiguities surrounding Favorinus' gender and purported status as a eunuch—a deformed woman indeed.²⁹ Such a jest only serves to reinforce the faulty stylistic judgment that Favorinus makes in this chapter, undercutting his authority both as a philologist and as an upstanding, masculine Roman.

Gellius ends the chapter by citing a Varronian anecdote about Plautus: he was eventually forced to write the plays *Saturio*, *Addictus*, and a third unnamed comedy in a bakery after losing his fortune in failed trade enterprises (3.3.14). The story is paired with the report that Naevius wrote the plays *Hariolus* and *Leon* while imprisoned for his comedies written in the invective style of Attic Old Comedy (*de Graecorum poetarum more dicta*) and targeting numerous leading figures of state (3.3.15). The latter poet was only pardoned by the tribunes after recanting the slanders in the plays: *unde post a tribunis plebis exemptus est, cum in his, quas supra dixi, fabulis delicta sua et petulantias dictorum, quibus multos ante laeserat, diluisset* (3.3.15). The biographies of the two poets are linked, and are similarly held up as peers among the great Roman comedians (with Plautus only just ahead of Naevius) by Volcacius Sedigitus in his *De Poetis*, cited by Gellius at 15.24.³⁰ The passage, though, does not fit in the general philological scope of the chapter: beyond their conventional pairing, there is at first glance little other reason

²⁸ On the particular line in question (*scrattae, scrupedae, strittivillae sordidae*), cf. Varro *Ling.* 7.65, where the line is held up as Plautine and is cited as *scratiae, scrupipedae, strittabillae, tantulae*. See also Non. 169.11, whose gloss on the line is indebted to Gellius' interpretation.

²⁹ Keulen 2009, 130 n. 4, 141 with n. 13 suggest a careful play between Favorinus and the "old woman" element of the Plautine line and a set of attacks levied against Favorinus by his rivals, especially Polemo; indeed, Gellius elsewhere makes thinly veiled jokes at the expense of his teacher's high voice (e.g. 16.3.1, with Holford-Strevens 2003, 103, cited by Keulen). There may also be implied in the correlation between the two the accusation that Favorinus prostituted himself, which accounts for his attraction to the line from the *Nervularia*, and which would further depreciate his authority within the *NA*.

³⁰ Terence also holds up both poets as predecessors in adapting Greek originals: cf. *An.* 18-21.

to connect Plautus and Naevius in this context, given the difference in approach to comedy as well as Naevius' broader range. What the narrative function of this coda performs only becomes apparent upon reading the following chapter.³¹

When Gellius was reading about Scipio Aemilianus, as he relates in 3.4, he happened upon an account that he was brought to court by Claudius Asellus, a *tribunus plebis* whom he had removed from the ranks of the *equites* during his term as censor (3.4.1).³² Gellius notes that when he went to answer the charges, Scipio neither stopped shaving his beard nor wearing white clothing, as was customary for defendants (*eumque, cum esset reus, neque barbam desisse radi neque non candida veste uti neque fuisse cultu solito reorum*); Gellius is particularly surprised that Scipio was clean shaven, given that he was under forty years of age at the time, and younger men customarily kept full beards. Nevertheless, he reports that he investigated the custom by examining old statues, and concluded that Scipio had actually observed the current fashion.³³ Though Gellius' assessment is based on a factual mistake about Scipio's age, the brief chapter picks up

³¹ Gellius' use of *supra dixi* here notionally refers to the plays which were mentioned in the previous sentence, though it seems curious that he here felt the need to indicate to his reader that these were the plays in question given their proximity. Should the reader look beyond the previous sentence for the direction back to several of the plays of disputed Plautine authenticity with Naevius in mind, Gellius has invited his readers to reflect on the difference between the genuine Plautine article and the elements which might make a reader potentially attribute one of those plays to a different author. On Gellius' use of formulae such as *ut supra dixi* as intratextual markers, see above, Chapter 2, pp. 130-136. That Naevius could have been a model for Plautus and his technique is a possibility raised by Fraenkel 2007, 285, though it is impossible to produce a satisfactory answer to the question. The synchronicity in the two playwrights' biographical traditions suggests some kind of similarity between the authors, with the reader left to disentangle the two.

³² On the prosecution, which ultimately failed, as well as several of the other players including Scipio's colleague Mummius, who ultimately granted a reprieve to Claudius, see also NA 2.20 (a fragment of one of the speeches), 4.17; cf. Cic. *De or.* 2.258, 268; Val. Max. 6.4.2. Astin 1967, 125-127, 175-177 addresses the background and historical events surrounding the prosecution; the relevant sources are listed at 257-259.

³³ The connection between Scipio and the Hellenic fashion for shaving is not missed by Seneca in *Ep.* 86, who exploits it as part of his polemic against the contemporary decline in bathing practice; see Rimell 2013, 13-14.

several of the themes in the coda to 3.3. Both Naevius and Scipio both had criminal interactions with the *tribuni plebis*, the former because of his Atticizing literary activity and the latter for the performance of the quintessentially Roman office of censor.

Beyond their legal troubles, both passages are concerned in slightly different ways with tradition and the adherence to Roman custom. Indeed, the pivotal question represented in each of these anecdotes is the extent to which Roman identity allows for the introduction of Hellenic elements by innovators in poetry and fashion respectively. Naevius was released by the tribunes after renouncing his comedies written in the style of Old Comedy (*de Graecorum poetarum more dicta*), with the tribunes not willing to accept the introduction of such Attic-style *parrhesia* into Roman comedy at the time of Plautus. In contrast, some seventy years later Scipio, the consular and former censor well known for his literary connections and philhellenism, answered the charges of Claudius Asellus in court dressed in what appears a contemporary Greek style.³⁴ As he goes to court, Scipio adheres to what was then a Greek fashion (shaving the head as a young man).³⁵ This act seems to flout convention, with the former censor appearing in public as

³⁴ While his education was philhellenic and he was introduced to Greek rhetoricians and artists from a young age (Plut. *Aem.* 6.8-9), Scipio was a well-known patron of literature both Greek and Latin at Rome, including the poets Terence and Lucilius, and was enough of a philhellenist literary figure that he could be plausibly accused of ghostwriting the plays of Terence (cf. the accusations at Ter. *Haut.* 22-24 and *Ad.* 15-16); on his upbringing see Astin 1967, 15-16. Indeed, according to Astin, his literary patrons, who along with Scipio and his friend Laelius constituted the so-called “Scipionic Circle,” were decidedly Hellenizing in approach and represented an introduction of a new fashion to Rome, much like Scipio’s manner of personal style. On the “Scipionic Circle” and the new *humanitas* that they supposedly represented, see Astin 1967, 294-306; more recent scholarship has challenged the existence of such a circle in the terms represented by Astin; see Zetzel 1972, 173-179, Gruen 1992, 226, 252. Despite the questions surrounding the circle itself, Scipio’s personal philhellenism is not in doubt, and his own self-representation is an attempt to remain *au courant* with the increasing taste for Greek styles at Rome, in no small part represented by the increasingly Hellenistic literature of the second century BCE.

³⁵ This depiction aligns with our evidence for portrait sculptures of Scipio Aemilianus that survive, as noted by Rimell 2013, 14 with notes 40 and 41 in her discussion of possible allusions to the younger Scipio in his discussion of the trees which survive at the villa of Scipio Africanus (Sen. *Ep.* 86.17-18); on portraits of Scipio, see further Winckelmann 2011, 187-188, who observed that all of the portraits of the so-called Scipio type could not be of the same person. While beards are the norm at Rome until the Hellenistic period

a Greek intellectual, yet he ultimately managed to escape punishment while embracing Hellenism. The links between the chapters become more apparent when considering our other principle source for the detail that Scipio kept clean shaven—Pliny *HN* 7.211, which remarks that Scipio was the first Roman to undergo daily shaving (*primus omnium radi cotidie instituit Africanus sequens*). In the *HN* this discussion is followed closely by Pliny’s account of the introduction of clocks and the measurements of the day at Rome; Gellius extracts these two discussions and inverts their order, removing it from the earlier encyclopedic text and redeploying it. In so doing, he connects 3.2 and 3.4 more closely together as a result of the common source that underlies them, while still leaving room for a reader that recognizes the origin of this material to interrogate Pliny’s value for himself.³⁶ Rather than in a catalogue of human innovations, Gellius takes these facts and expands them, demonstrating an alternate strategy of organizing the material to produce connections and provoke thought in a novel way.

The responses to Scipio and Naevius are conditioned by the extent to which they adopt Hellenic practices relative to their peers, as suggested by Gellius’ discovery of

(roughly contemporaneous with the period that Gellius is examining in his discussion of Scipio), they become primarily a sign of barbarism, poverty, or other squalor until Hadrian once again brought beards back into fashion in the first half of the second century as a marker of the intellectual; see Cic. *Cael.* 33, *Tusc.* 3.26 (citing an unknown tragedy), Varro *Rust.* 2.11, Val. Max. 1.7.7, Juv. 5.30. On the evolving fashion in the Antonine period and the emulation of Hellenic intellectuals thanks to Hadrian’s reintroduction of the style, see Zanker 1995, 217-232, 243-247, while Smith 1998, 59-61, 63-87 complicates the picture presented by Zanker.

³⁶ That Gellius’ underlying source here may be Pliny the Elder does not vouch for the veracity of the material presented by Pliny in his discussion; indeed, Gellius challenges Pliny on numerous occasions, even within the course of Book 3 (see especially below, pp. 245-246 on Pliny’s appearance in 3.16). Pliny himself likewise appeals to Varro as the source for the material he presents on shaving and the introduction of the sundial (*in Italiam ex Sicilia venire post Roman conditam anno CCCCLIII adducere P. Titino Mena, ut auctor est Varro; atnea intonsi fuere, HN* 7.211; **M. Varro** *primum statutum in publico secundum Rostra...*, *HN* 7.214); despite their shared authority, Pliny seems content to collect references to such historical topics of antiquarian interest while Gellius attempts to show a way to actually apply this information in further inquiries. This application underscores Gellius’ rewriting of the Plinian passages and the logical connection between 3.3 and 3.4.

numerous statues contemporary to Scipio reflecting the same *habitus*—he does nothing out of the usual in fashioning himself in the manner of the Hellenistic elite, whereas Naevius stands out for his Attic-styled comedies laden with invective. He is only pardoned after he washes away the offending Hellenizing elements of his plays (*post a tribunis plebis exemptus est cum in his fabulis delicta sua et petulantias dictorum... diluisset*, 3.3.15). Scipio, on the other hand, successfully defends himself while maintaining his Hellenized affect (though it is never explicitly addressed as such in the chapter). The contrast prompts the reader to reflect on the extent to which Naevius and Scipio, both prominent figures in the evolution of Roman literature, merged their Roman *mores* with outside influence and the relative success of each. Such concern brings the reader back to the opening of the book and Sallust’s concern that *avaritia* weakens the body and spirit: the intrusion of foreign *luxus* into Rome, and the corresponding contamination of the national character, underlay much of the Sallustian discussion in 3.1. Gellius broaches these same questions of habit and influence in different times and authors, suggesting through these examples an appropriate middle ground for the introduction of *luxus* into Roman *mores*.

The opening unit of the chapter concludes at 3.5, a two-sentence chapter reporting an episode in Plutarch’s *Quaestiones Conviviales* (QC).³⁷ The philosopher Arcesilaus, in dealing with an excessively rich, foppish man who was nevertheless held up as moral by

³⁷ Plut. *Mor.* 705E; the anecdote also appears at *Mor.* 126A, and this Gellius passage is cited as fr. 181 by Sandbach.

the masses, recognizes distinctly effeminate characteristics in the man and savages him with a witticism.³⁸

Plutarchus refert Arcesilaum philosophum vehementi verbo usum esse de quodam nimis delicato divite, qui incorruptus tamen et a stupro integer dicebatur. Nam cum vocem eius infractam capillumque arte compositum et oculos ludibundos atque inlecebrae voluptatisque plenos videret: ‘nihil interest,’ inquit ‘quibus membris cinaedi sitis, posterioribus an prioribus.’

Plutarch relates that the philosopher Arcesilaus employed a harsh speech concerning a certain rich man who was too delicate, though he was nevertheless said to be untainted and untouched by dishonor. For when he heard the man’s unbroken voice and he saw his hair artfully ordered, and his eyes lively and full of licentious delight, he said: ‘it does not matter with which parts you are a *cinaedus*, the front or the back.’ (NA 3.5.1-2)

At the end of this opening unit of chapters, the content appears to further inscribe Favorinus as the dominant figure for Book 3; indeed, the connection between the *vir dives* who has become a *delicatus* and the claims in 3.1 that *avaritia* is a source of effeminacy mark the two discusses as linked. Moreover, Arcesilaus recognizes the debauched nature of the man, in spite of public opinion, through scrutiny of his voice, hair and eyes, typical traits highlighted by the physiognomists as indicators of character; in fact, there is some overlap between Arcesilaus’ *delicatus* and the description of Favorinus given by Polemon and his other opponents—both men have well-coiffed hair, a high and effeminate voice, and eyes that offer a glimpse of their true character.³⁹ The

³⁸ Cicero attributes a rather similar sentiment to Cato at *De or.* 2.256 in a discussion of paronomasia: *Alterum genus est, quod habet parvam verbi immutationem, quod in littera positum Graci vocant παρονομασίαν, ut “Nobiliorem mobiliorem” Cato; aut, ut idem, cum cuidam dixisset ‘eamus deambulatum’ et ille ‘quid opus fuit de?’ ‘Immo vero’ inquit ‘quid opus fuit te?’ Aut eiusdem responsio illa ‘si tu et adversus et aversus impudicus es.’*

³⁹ Hair: “He would take great care of himself and his abundant hair, and would apply medicaments to his body afterwards” (Polemon A20 Hoyland). Voice: “He had a voice resembling the voice of a woman and slim lips” (Polemon A20 Hoyland); cf. Lucian *Demon.* 12: ἐπεὶ γὰρ ὁ Φαβωρίνος ἀκούσας τινὸς ὡς ἐν γέλῳ ποιῶτο τὰς ὁμιλίας αὐτοῦ καὶ μάλιστα τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς μελῶν τὸ ἑπικεκλασμένον σφόδρα ὡς ἀγεννὲς καὶ γυναικεῖον καὶ φιλοσοφία ἥκιστα πρέπον...; Philost. VS 489: ἐδηλοῦντο δὲ καὶ φθέγματι, ὀξυρὴς γὰρ ἠκούετο καὶ λεπτὸν καὶ ἐπίτονον, ὥσπερ ἡ φύσις τοῦ εὐνούχου ἤρμοκεν. Eyes: “If the eye is open, and it has brilliance like that of marble and sharp sight, this indicates a lack of modesty. This nature is in the eyes of men who are not like the other men, like the eunuch who is not a eunuch but was born without testicles... His eyes were those of the most evil of people, and his eyes were of this description...” (Polemon A20 Hoyland); however, the vagueness of the description of the eyes is striking, even though he invites us to read a connection between the general description preceding his attack on Favorinus, as noted

anxiety surrounding a *delicatus* and the virulent response espousing the hard-line of Roman masculinity, in the words of the philosopher, leads the reader to draw a connection between 3.5 and the questions raised in 3.1 surrounding effeminacy and Favorinus.

A further suggestion that these chapters are to be read as complementary is the pairing of Demosthenes and Hortensius in the first book (1.5). There Gellius cites, though does not name, Aeschines and one of his attacks against Demosthenes, claiming that he was “not man enough, and with a defiled mouth.”⁴⁰ As Leo Franc Holford-Strevens notes, this attack likely derives from Aeschines 2.88, where he claims that Demosthenes is a *cinaedus* from both the front and the back.⁴¹ Wytse Keulen builds on this point, highlighting the ambiguities between the voice and the effeminate sexual acts of the mouth indicated by *ore polluto*, as well as the inclusion of Hortensius, which insinuates this particular set of attacks into a dialogue over Roman masculinity; as a result he reads the chapter as relying upon the mutual attacks of Polemon and Favorinus with their

by Gleason 1995, 46: “Here Polemo fails to describe the specific optical signs that he includes in all his other examples, but refers us instead to the ocular profile of “the very worst sort of men,” a category so broad as to be meaningless. It is almost as if, at the last moment, he could not bring himself to look his rival directly in the eye.” Cf. Anon. Lat. 40: *oculi late patentes micantes leniter intendentes tanquam concinnati ad suavitatem et gratiam, <si cetera signa> congruunt,...* <tales fuisse oculi Celti cuiusdam> a Polemone quidem auctore referuntur, qui eunuchum sui temporis fuisse hunc hominem descripsit. nomen quidem non posuit, intelligitur autem de Favorino eum dicere, huic cetera corporis indicia huiusmodi assignat : *tensam frontem, genas molles, os laxum, cervicem tenuem, crassa crura, pedes plenos tanquam congestis pulpis, vocem femineam, verba muliebria, membra et articulos omnes sine vigore, laxos et dissolutos...*

⁴⁰ 1.5.1: *Demosthenen traditum est vestitu ceteroque cultu corporis nitido venustoque nimisque accurate fuisse. Et hinc ei τὰ κομψὰ illa χλανίσκια et μαλακοὶ χιτωνίσκοι ab aemulis adversariisque probro data, hin etiam turpibus indignisque in eum verbus non temperatum, quin parum vir et ore quoque polluto diceretur.*

⁴¹ Holford-Strevens 2003, 238 with n. 72. Aesch. 2.88: Ἄρ’ οὖν, ὦ Ἀθηναῖοι, δοίητ’ ἄν μοι συγγνώμην, εἰ κίναιδον αὐτὸν προσειπὼν καὶ μὴ καθαρεύοντα τῷ σώματι, μηδ’ ὅθεν τὴν φωνὴν ἀφίησιν, ἔπειτα τὸ λοιπὸν μέρος τοῦ κατηγορήματος τοῦ περὶ Κερσοβλέπτῃν ἐπ’ αὐτοφώρῳ δείξαιμι ψεῦδος ὄν;

rhetorical strategies and postures.⁴² Accepting that this invective of Aeschines against Demosthenes may be read as a coded representation of Favorinus and Polemon's rivalry, the parallel between Arcesilaus' jibe and Aeschines' speech necessitates reading the chapters together, a point emphasized by the chapters occupying the same position in their respective books. Beyond this parallel, reading the physgionomical texts reinforces the connection between the avaricious Favorinus and the *cinaedus* attacked by Arcesilaus. The link need not imply that Favorinus himself was a *cinaedus*; indeed, while Polemon claims that "he would give in to every cause that incited a passion for desire and sexual intercourse" and, through the anonymous Latin physiognomist, that "this man suffered everything which is disgraceful by his inability to bear his desires, and that he had practiced what he had put up with," the inability to pin down a sexual role for Favorinus causes more anxiety than if he were able to be reduced to the passive partner.⁴³ Rather, we are left with a second set of effeminizing vices, which echo those presented in a reading of Sallust in 3.1 and frame these five chapters as a unit, stressing the blurred lines of Roman masculine identity.

Reading these first five chapters as a unit prompts the reader to reflect on what it means to be Roman in several ways, starting with the notion of Roman masculinity. While Favorinus, in the act of reading Sallust, prompts this line of inquiry, the satire implied by having the purported eunuch raise these questions should give the reader pause, namely on what grounds does such a decidedly non-masculine figure, by Roman standards, has the authority to speak on this topic. Favorinus, for all his intellectdefies

⁴² Keulen 2009, 113-117. Cf. above, pp. 190-194.

⁴³ Indeed, none of the ancient sources, however virulent in their attack on his liminal state, name Favorinus as *cinaedus*; see Gleason 1995, 130.

Roman classification thanks to his paradoxical nature, as he himself stressed throughout his career: though born a Gaul, he lived the life of a Greek; though a eunuch, he was charged with adultery; though he quarreled with an emperor, he still lived.⁴⁴ He is a figure that defies categorization, straddling boundaries and standing outside conventional schemata. Much like the days, which Varro reports are demarcated in different ways by the different cultures, Favorinus does not fit easily into any one scheme. Though Gellius, in 3.2, prefers a solution to the question of when the day begins, based on the Roman civil day and what he interprets as encoded understandings of this system of reckoning in the *Aeneid*, he does not accept the antiquarian tradition as absolute. Varro, and to a lesser extent Gellius himself, attempts to assert the Roman calendar as the sole authoritative method of interpretation for the days; however, even in this tradition the days have an uncomfortable lack of conformity to any standard, shifting in and out of the Roman classifying impulse to impose order, in much the same way as Favorinus. In fact, even defies easy interpretation according to the rubric provided by the physiognomists, as suggested by the recurrence of the motifs of proper gender roles at 3.5.

Yet, however problematically, he is still part of the nexus of Roman masculinity and the contemporary Roman intellectual tradition. Gellius challenges even this, though, by pushing back against Favorinus' reading practices in identifying a play as Plautine, even as he appears on the surface to make use of Gellius' preferred hermeneutic criteria. In appealing to only one line, and one that stresses the physical deformities of a marginal class of women at that, Favorinus exposes his faltering interpretation of one of the canonical authors of Roman literature as well as eroding his authority as a Roman man.

⁴⁴ Γαλάτης ὦν ἐλληνίζειν, εὐνοῦχος ὦν μοιχείας κρίνεσθαι, βασιλεῖ διαφέρεσθαι καὶ ζῆν, Philostr. VS 489.

Indeed, in a chapter that is squarely focused on the criteria by which a play can be definitively determined to be of one author or another, Gellius introduces Favorinus again, reminding the reader of the slippery categories he represents. Much as his anxieties about how to define Favorinus cast a shadow over the discussion of *effeminare* in Sallust, so too do they recur here with respect to Plautus. The concerns over Naevius' Hellenism in his writing resonate with the paradoxes of Favorinus' own life as well, given his status as a provincial from Arles who ended at Rome after becoming a prominent Greek orator. Naevius' comedies straddled the divide between Greek and Roman, like Favorinus' intellectual endeavors, though unlike the sophist who quarreled with an emperor, Naevius' Hellenizing was to his detriment.

Scipio Aemilianus stands in a similar position, inviting the reader to reconsider his understanding of Roman identity by depicting a censor adopting aspects of Hellenistic fashion. In Scipio Gellius illustrates a balance between assimilating foreign style and maintaining the prevailing Republican ideals of masculinity. Scipio stands in favorable contrast to Favorinus, though—the former is able to blend the two strands into a coherent and still identifiably Roman whole, while the latter defies all categorization as a result of the confusion between male and female, Roman and foreign. The first five chapters of Book 3 stand as a unit, prompting meditation on these forms of liminality, challenging the Roman impulses of classification by provoking the reader to think about not only the antiquarian (and grammatical) authorities that make up the basis of this system, but also conceptions of themselves, through the person of Favorinus, who defies all the conventional Roman categories of citizenship, gender, and ethnicity. For Gellius and his project in the *NA*, each of these strands represents an important sphere for his reader,

likely a young aspiring Roman elite like his children, to master as part of his intellectual development and ultimate participation in Roman society.

In each of the five chapters that open Book 3, then, Gellius introduces the main characters (especially Favorinus and Varro) that will play pivotal roles throughout the progress of the intellectual narrative of the book; that is, each of these characters will recur over the course of Book 3, inviting dialogue between each of their appearances. These characters inspire further reflection on each of the thematic topics I have noted when approached with the critical eye with which Gellius encourages his reader to approach the *NA*. The contrapositions embodied by each character in the first five chapters of Book 3 represent series of tensions that provide a focus for the discussions to come—in the next unit, 3.6-3.11, the distinction between Greeks and Romans, and the appropriate extent to which Romans should Hellenize, comes to the fore as a topic of negotiation.

Shifting Definitions of Virtus and Roman Identity

If at 3.1-3.5 Gellius has provided an introduction to the dominant themes of Book 3, Gellius delves into questions of Roman identity more thoroughly in next unit 3.6-3.11. That is not to say that this is the only element picked up from 3.1.-3.5; in fact, this first unit is linked forward to the next chapter, 3.6, by means of a shared source, even though the subject matter seemingly shares little with what precedes it. In the seventh book of Aristotle's *Problemata* and the eighth of Plutarch's *QC*, while reading an explanation of why palm wreaths (φοῖνιξ) are awarded to athletic victors, Gellius encounters a marvelous natural phenomenon: "should you set a great weight upon the wood of the

palm tree and weigh it down so heavily that the great weight cannot be borne, the palm does not buckle downwards nor is it bent in, but it rises up against the weight and presses upwards against it and curves outward convexly (3.6.2).⁴⁵ Plutarch further notes, according to Gellius, that this property is the very reason for the palm signifying victory: ‘*propterea...in certaminibus palmam signum esse placuit victoriae, quoniam ingenium ligni eiusmodi est, ut urgentibus opprimentibusque non cedat*’ (3.6.3).⁴⁶ This account, like that of Arcesilaus in the previous chapter, derives from the *QC*, though from the book after the citation of the Arcesilaus episode, Gellius similarly cites these passages to add color to the *NA*, offering what appears to be a break between thought units while allowing Gellius to move seamlessly from one to the next, even as these two chapters are linked by a common source. The *res miranda* of the palm wood (φοῖνιξ), though, is closely interconnected in the following chapter and stands at the beginning of several reflections on Roman military virtue.

In 3.7, Gellius offers an extended paraphrase of Cato’s account in his *Annales* of a certain military tribune Quintus Caedicius and his exploits against the Carthaginians. While in Sicily, the Carthaginian commander was in a position to cut off the Roman army; to avoid the destruction of the entire force, Caedicius conceived of a plan to lure the Carthaginians into an attack on four hundred soldiers on an isolated hill, and

⁴⁵ ‘*Si super palmae*’ inquiunt ‘*arboris lignum magna pondera inponas ac tam graviter urgeas oneresque ut magnitudo oneris sustineri non queat, non deorsum palma cedit nec intra flectitur, sed adversus pondus resurgit et sursum nititur recurvaturque*’... This quality is referred to at Plin. *HN* 16.223, though Gellius leaves this unmentioned. Cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 7.5.11, Theophr. *Hist. pl.* 5.6.

⁴⁶ For a detailed study of the reception of this chapter throughout the middle ages and into the modern period, see Holford-Strevens 2004, 249; though somewhat perplexing and frequently misunderstood (that the wood would bend up against a weight, as well as whether it was the tree itself or the branches that were bending, troubled scribes and lead to numerous attempts at correction), this chapter nevertheless “proved so congenial to churchmen that it was suffered to accompany excerpts [*sic*] from Doctors of the Church on the characteristics of the [palm] tree” in large part thanks to the connections of the palm tree with the Passion narrative.

volunteered to lead the expedition that would afford the consul time to evacuate the remainder of the army.⁴⁷ The tribune led his force into certain death, much to the surprise of his Carthaginian opponents, who sent their strongest forces against Caedicius while the rest of the Roman army escaped. For a time, the outcome of this battle was uncertain although the Romans were surrounded, until finally the numerically superior Carthaginians overran the Roman forces: *Romani milites circumveniuntur, circumventi repugnant; fit proelium diu anceps. Tandem superat multitudo* (3.7.14-15). While not exact, the description of the Romans during battle echoes that of the palm when faced by an insurmountable weight in the previous chapter (*adversus pondus resurgit et sursum nititur recurvaturque*, 3.6.2) with its etymological play and chiastic construction, which strengthens the parallel between the two that Gellius is attempting to draw. The Romans, much like the palm tree of 3.6, rise to meet their opponent, even in the face of certain defeat. To the Carthaginians who witness this show of Roman valor, the display is something to be marveled at in the same way as Aristotle and Plutarch marvel at the paradoxically inverted buckling of pine boards (*hostes eorum audaciam demirantur*, 3.7.12), serving Gellius' point of elaborating the bravery of the Roman army. He quotes Cato's own description of the aftermath of the battle, noting that the tribune, though gravely wounded, ultimately survived and continued to serve the state; he then compares Caedicius to Leonidas, equating their deeds but stressing that the Roman tribune, unlike the Spartan king, was remembered not in song or lasting monuments but only with

⁴⁷ Cf. Livy 22.60.11, where the soldiers number three hundred; Seneca *Ep.* 82.22; Front. *Str.* 4.5.10.

modest praise (3.7.19). Unlike the Greeks, who see fit to extol the virtue of one man's heroism in effusive fashion, the proper Roman response is far more measured.⁴⁸

Gellius' account of Caedicius' deeds ends with a brief notice that Claudius Quadrigarius, in relating the same tale in the third book of his *AAnnales*, gives the tribune's *nomen* as Laberius.⁴⁹ This book provides a segue for Gellius into his next discussion of Roman military virtue. During the war with Pyrrhus, the king of Epirus, Timochares, a familiar of the king approached the Roman consul Gaius Fabricius with an offer to kill Pyrrhus if the Roman state met his price. The Senate, rather than pay Timochares for treachery, elected to warn Pyrrhus to be cautious of those around him. However, Gellius notes that according to the third book of Claudius Quadrigarius, the

⁴⁸ The more obvious parallel for Leonidas and the three hundred Spartans would have been the defeat of the Fabii at the Cremera river, and these two events were most often linked as part of the Roman impulse of synchronizing their own history with that of the Greeks; see Feeney 2007, 20 with bibliography. Cf. Gellius' account of the Fabii, briefly summarized at 17.21.13 in his own attempt to show the various synchronicities between the two cultures. It is possible that the attempted synchronism between the Spartans and the Fabii (which is not precise; the battles were separated by three years and the numbers of soldiers in each case do not match precisely) may date to Fabius Pictor, who would have had access material relating to the disaster preserved by his *gens*; Richard 1988, 532-533 and Richard 1989, 324-325 suggest that he is the source for the majority of our other accounts, and that Pictor propagated the myth to counter hostility against his *gens*. Other sources for the episode are Livy 2.48.8-2.50.11, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 9.15.2-7, 18.5-22.6, Diod. 11.53.6, Ov. *Fast.* 2.193-242. On the episode more broadly, as well as the Fabii and the mythologization of this aspect of their history, see Mommsen 1879, 2.246-261. The purported causes of the disaster may suggest a complementary reason as to why Gellius avoids synchronizing it here with Thermopylae. The disaster at the Cremera was precipitated either by the Fabii's increasingly aggressive actions against Veii, whose raids they had substantially reduced, in what is represented in several of the sources as effectively a private war (the fighting force consisted solely of the Fabii and their clients), or else because of the participation in private *sacra* of the *gens Fabia* (as in the account given by Dionysius); both focus on the private dealings of the *gens* rather than the Republic. In any event, the account appears to have served to aggrandize the Fabii rather than the Roman state, which stands at odds with the comparison that Gellius is attempting to make, and thus justifies the pairing of Quintus Caedicius and his troops with the Spartans.

⁴⁹ Frontin. *Str.* 4.5.10 cites these two names, as well as the third possibility of *Calpurnius Flamma* (the name used by Livy at 22.60.11), for the tribune, leading Cavazza *ad loc.* to conjecture that "data l'incertezza del nome e la conseguente tradizione dei tre nomi diversi, la tradizione stessa del fatto può avere un'origine mitologica (e non più storica) ed i nomi attribuiti al tribuno possono avere un calore come dire simbolico." The inclusion of Claudius Quadrigarius and the two alternate names may serve as a joke on Gellius' part about Cato's marked exclusion of the tribune's name, providing options not in the *Annales* while demonstrating his own mastery of the historiographical tradition; I thank Dominic Machado for this suggestion.

name of the potential murderer is not Timochares, but rather Nicias, and that Pyrrhus was so moved by the warning that the consuls sent to him that he elected to free all of his Roman captives; he then offers the letter quoted by Quadrigarius, that Fabricius and his co-consul Quintus Aemilius purportedly sent to Pyrrhus, and which stress that the Romans would rather see Pyrrhus defeated in the field than by treachery: *sed communis exempli et fidei ergo visum, ut te saluum velimus, ut esset, quem armis vincere possimus* (3.8.8). Roman virtue does not abide Hellenic deception, even if it would bring a swift end to a destructive war in which the Romans have fared poorly and been largely outmatched. No amount of money can justify such deceit (*quod nobis non placet pretio aut praemio aut dolis pugnare*, 3.8.8), as it deprives the Romans of the opportunity to exert their martial, and masculine, virtues. The sentiment echoes Favorinus' line of questioning relating to the correlation between effeminacy and avarice at the outset of the book, and the consuls' disdain for Timochares' requested remuneration implicates the Greek as a prototypically avaricious, and therefore effeminate, figure willing to compromise his integrity and poison his friend and king for material gain.⁵⁰ In contrast to the deceitful and vicious Greek Timochares, this episode reflects the same qualities in the Romans that were manifested in their conflict with the Carthaginians by the tribune Caedicius, and correspondingly this diptych, drawn from Quadrigarius and Cato, aims to

⁵⁰ Poisoning is frequently connected with the feminine in Roman literature, including the Elder Pliny and Tacitus, among others; on the link, see Currie 1998, esp. 158-167, who observes that the anxiety in part hinges upon the internal corruption and manipulation which detracts from the masculine, as well as linking poisoning with adultery and feminine desire. Dutsch 2008, 63-71 draws attention to this connection in Plautine comedy and connects it with earlier tropes of persuasion and speech as a *pharmakon*. If this episode is read as correlating strongly with 3.1 and it is implicated into the same dialogue concerning Roman manhood, as well as the status of Favorinus, there is potential for seeing Favorinus in the portrait of Timochares and incorporating this chapter into a broader portrait of the sophist underlying this book. Not only was Favorinus reputed to be notoriously avaricious, as noted above, but according to Polemo's invective he was a witch: "was also a deceitful magician, and would swindle, telling people that he could give life and bring death... He would collect kinds of fatal poisons, and the whole sum of his intellect was engaged in one of these matters" (A20 Hoyland).

epitomize the military virtues of early Republican Rome against her two most significant external threats. These two chapters thus introduce a critical dyad that forms a fulcrum around which the remainder of Book 3 will pivot: the moral fortitude of the Romans in contrast to the corruption of the Greeks, priming the audience to be alert to such juxtapositions between Greek and Roman in the following chapters and setting the stage for the analysis of Roman decline in the episode of the Seian horse.

A Horse of a Different Color: The equus Seianus and Chromatic Recall

One of the recurring themes of Book 3 thus far, avarice, appears once more at 3.9 in the context of the Seian horse (*equus Seianus*). Gellius, drawing on the rival miscellanies of Gavius Bassus (*Commentarii*) and Julius Modestus (*Quaestiones Confusae*), narrates the history of the horse and its owners, describing it as a marvel analogous to the description of palm wood (*historiam... dignam memoria atque admiratione*, 3.9.1). Despite the horse's magnificence, it was originally purchased in Greece by a lowly Roman scribe, Gnaeus Seius; however, after Seius was put to death by the order of his master Marcus Antonius, a succession of prominent men claimed the horse as their own (Cornelius Dolabella, Gaius Cassius, and later Antonius himself) and each met their ruin as a result.⁵¹ Notably, Dolabella was enflamed by a desire to possess

⁵¹ The Seian horse is likened to the "gold of Tolosa" in the following paragraph, 3.9.7 as an analogous proverbial saying. The gold, which was itself taken from Delphi during the Gallic invasion of 279 BCE, was plundered from the temples of Toulouse by Quintus Servilius Caepio (cos. 106 BCE) after his siege of the town in 105 and was reputed to bring ruin to whomever touched it; this reputation is no doubt based on the fact that Caepio was punished severely either as a temple robber (according to Strabo) or under a charge of *maiestas* by Saturninus in 104/103 BCE after the Roman defeat at Auresio at the hands of the Teutoni and the Cimbri. On the episode, see Strabo 4.1.13, Livy *Per.* 67, the brief mentions at Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.74, *De or.* 2.197, and the notice of Caepio's imprisonment, presumably for the sacrilege of looting the temple, at Val. Max. 4.7.3; see further Broughton 1951, 1.553, 1.557. Only the silver of the hoard made it back to Rome with the gold disappearing in transit; one tradition of the narrative holds that Caepio himself arranged for the theft of the gold (Oros. 5.16.17). The presence of the *aurum Tolosanum* as a comparison reinforces the underlying theme of the destructive implications of avarice for the person who cannot control his avarice by comparing the Seian horse explicitly to the commission of a sacrilege that was in turn

the horse (*cupidineque habendi eius exarsisse*, 3.9.4), and Gellius depicts each member in the sequence of prominent men all become similarly overcome.

Avarice is problematized, and it appears to have broader implications given the exemplary figures that sought to possess the *equus Seianus*. With the exception of Seius himself, each is declared to be a *hostis* of the state and ultimately meets his demise in battle against Rome.⁵² Such singular desire can represent disloyalty to the *res publica*, an element which may already be inscribed earlier in Book 3 in the discussion of Favorinus. As Wytse Keulen has suggested, Favorinus' attempts to avoid a priesthood because of the requisite liturgies accompanying the office (that is, because of his avarice and greed) may signal a similar kind of infidelity as that is ultimately manifested by.⁵³ On one level, the story of the *equus Seianus* operates in a similar fashion, as the compelling desire to

prosecuted by the state. The Q. Servilius Caepio in question here is not the same Caepio who was an associate of Scipio Aemilianus (cos. 141 BCE, on whom see Broughton 1951, 1.479 and Astin 1967, 82-83, 142-146; on his hostilities with the same Clodius Asellus who brought Scipio to court, see Astin 1967, 126-127); however, his inclusion here may indirectly look back to Scipio at 3.4.

⁵² Dolabella, after assuming the consulship and taking command of an expedition against the Parthians in 44 BCE, was declared an enemy of the state and later defeated by Cassius Longinus at Laodicea in 43 BCE, whereupon he took his own life. Cassius was subsequently outlawed along with Brutus in the autumn of 43, and was defeated and committed suicide in the aftermath of the battle of Philippi in 42 BCE. Antonius was effectively declared a foe of the Republic by Octavian in late 32 BCE with the declaration of war on Cleopatra. On the afterlives of the families of each of these figures, see Tansey 2000, esp. 269 ff. Though Seius himself was not an enemy of the state, the potential of the adjectival form of the name appearing in the chapter was likely not wasted on Gellius; Tacitus' portrayal of Aelius Sejanus, the praetorian prefect, at *Ann.* 4.1 (*corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax; sui obtegens, in alios criminator; iuxta adulatio et superbia; palam compositus pudor, intus summa apiscendi libido, eiusque causa modo largitio et luxus, saepius industria ac vigilantia*), with its clear echoes of Sallust's Catiline, nicely fits the mold of a figure in service of the state whose greed and ambition ultimately leads to his downfall. On the parallels in characterization, see Keitel 1984, 322-323.

⁵³ Keulen 2009, 118, who terms Favorinus behavior because of his greed an act of "disloyalty towards the state." The sophist had been appointed as a high priest (ἀρχιερεύς), though attempted to avoid the position because of the liturgies required of the post; he claimed an exemption on the grounds that he was a philosopher. When it became clear that Hadrian was going to rule against him, Favorinus backtracked and accepted the position, claiming that his teacher Dio Chrysostom appeared to him in a dream and persuaded him to serve as priest. Nevertheless, the Athenians were so incensed at his actions that they tore down one of his statues, and this conflict led to the falling out between emperor and the sophist, as well the exile of the latter. On the episode, see Philostr. *VS* 490; on Favorinus' exile, see Whitmarsh 2001, 167-178, Holford-Strevens 2003, 101-102.

possess the horse correlates with the downfall of those that ultimately come to possess it. Indeed, each man's desire for the horse is reflective of greater personal ambitions, as well as reputed greed, leading each to act against the interests of the *res publica*.⁵⁴ The episode of the horse thus exposes a cardinal flaw, *avaritia*, and its consequences at the opposite end of the spectrum as that discussed in 3.1: rather than effeminizing men *per se* as Sallust suggested, such avarice may lead to outright destruction of one's political identity as a Roman.

In keeping with the focus upon the *equus Seianus* as an object of desire for the bulk of the chapter, Gellius concludes by making the horse the object of the gaze, relating Gavius Bassus' claim to have seen the horse himself and remarking upon its rich red color:

Hunc equum Gavius Bassus vidisse Argis refert haut credibili pulcritudine vigoreque et colore exuberantissimo. Quem colorem nos, **sicuti dixi**, 'poeniceum' dicimus, Graeci partim φοίνικα, alii σπάδικα appellant, quoniam palmae termes ex arbore cum fructu avulsus 'spadix' dicitur.

Gavius Bassus claims that he saw this horse at Argos, and that it was of unbelievably beauty and strength and the richest color. This color, as I have said, we call '*poeniceus*,' some of the Greeks call φοῖνιξ and others σπάδιξ, since the branch of the palm, when it is torn from the tree along with its fruit, is called '*spadix*.' (NA 3.9.8-9)

⁵⁴ Dolabella (whose early career is discussed by Dettenhofer 1992, 119-122) was profligate in his youth and had to be defended in court for his dissolute ways on numerous occasions by his eventual father-in-law Cicero; as tribune in 47 BCE, he sought to pass a law cancelling debts, in part to release himself of his own obligations (Plut. *Vit. Ant.* 9), and seized the consulship after the death of Caesar. He played both sides in the wake of Caesar's assassination in order to further his own position and obtain the province of Syria (Cic. *Att.* 14.18) before his eventual suicide at Laodicea (cf. the account at Cic. *Phil.* 11.6-9, detailing the crimes he committed, including the assassination of the proconsul Trebonius and the plundering of Asia on the way to Syria). Cassius was connected with Crassus' failed Parthian expedition of 53 BCE, and had contended with Brutus for honors throughout both of their youths, as Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 7 notes; most important of all was frequently considered to be the instigator of Caesar's assassination and the subsequent division of the *res publica* between the conspirators, with much of the blame pinned on him assigned to him. Plutarch notes that Cassius had amassed a large treasury during the Greek campaign, and he appears to assign avarice and ambition as faults to Cassius in his description to him while leading forces with Brutus (Κάσιόν τε τοῦτον, σφοδρὸν ἄνδρα καὶ θυμοειδῆ καὶ **πολλαχοῦ πρὸς τὸ κερδαλέον ἐκφερόμενον τοῦ δικαίου, παντὸς μᾶλλον ὥοντο πολεμεῖν καὶ πλανᾶσθαι καὶ κινδυνεύειν αὐτῷ τινα δυναστείαν κατασκευαζόμενον**, οὐκ ἐλευθερίαν τοῖς πολίταις, Plut. *Vit. Brut.* 29); see further Dettenhofer 1992, 123-129 on Cassius' life and character. Antony, as Cicero makes clear repeatedly throughout the *Philippics* and as Plutarch remarks in his life, had a reputation for avarice, lust, and excess.

In particular, Gellius' focus on the horse's color calls attention to his earlier description of the horse in this chapter (*eum equum fuisse dicunt magnitudine inusitata, cervice ardua, colore poeniceo, flora et comanti iuba...*, 3.9.3). Yet, this marker indicates a further parallel for this passage, as it looks to the earlier discussions of color at 2.26, a chapter which is linked intratextually to its surrounding chapters, and which plays a central role in this didactic unit of the *NA* discussed in the previous chapter.⁵⁵ In fact, Gellius' description of the color appears indebted to Fronto's earlier observations:

Nam 'poeniceus,' quem tu Graece φοίνικα dixisti, et 'rutilus' et 'spadix' poenicei συνώνυμος, qui factus <e> Graeco noster est, exubertaniam splendoremque significant ruboris, quales sunt fructus palmae arboris non admodum sole incocti, unde spadici et poeniceo nomen est: σπάδικα enim Dorici vocant avulsum e palma termitem cum fructu.

For 'poeniceus,' which you said was φοῖνιξ in Greek, and 'rutilus' and 'spadix,' a synonym of *poeniceus*, which we adopted from the Greek, all mean a rich, shining shade of red, such as that of the fruits of the palm tree when they have not yet been fully ripened by the sun. From this *spadix* and *poeniceus* get their names, for in Doric, they call a branch that has been torn from a palm tree along with its fruit a σπάδιξ. (*NA* 2.26.9-10)⁵⁶

The parallel description of the color and its names are emblematic of two approaches to reading and the use of knowledge that Gellius has demonstrated in earlier anecdotes. The verbal echoes invite the reader to juxtapose the different uses of the same knowledge, much as the architecture of the final chapters of Book Two invited similar reflection. However, here the paraphrase is more direct, and Gellius explicitly calls attention to it (*sicuti dixi*) by highlighting his own previous statements. Such a form of self-citation

⁵⁵ Chapter 2, pp. 153-156.

⁵⁶ According to the lemma of 2.26, this color description is the last item to be discussed in that chapter, much as the reuse of this material appears in the final position in 3.6. While in 2.26 the interlocutors continue at length for more time, Gellius makes use of the fact at the end of his discussion of the horse to call attention to this particular detail, integrating his earlier learning into his act of reading (and perhaps correcting the lack of such information in Gavius Bassus and Julius Modestus). In the latter example, Gellius correctly applies the information he has heard, rather than introducing the material purely for epideictic effect.

across chapters is relatively rare throughout the *NA*, and its presence here demands comparison between the two.

Additionally, the detail of the palm branch has greater resonance in its second instance, given the wondrous weight-resistant properties of its wood described at 3.6. On the one hand, the color links the horse and the palm tree as *mirabilia* of the same nature, and the reintroduction of the palm contextualizes the *equus Seianus* further in the discussion of Roman military virtue, bounded at either end by the reference. The account of the horse, and the final detail about its coloration, serves to bring this sequence to a close, with the Greek word for the palm, φοῖνιξ, perhaps evoking the Carthaginians once again as Gellius gestures back to the discussion of the palm-wood at 3.6, even as he directs his reader back to 2.26.⁵⁷ The horse, which I have suggested is representative of the avarice and ambition that lead Romans to subvert their own *virtus* by deploying it against the *res publica*, serves to complete this short set of ruminations about the proper public conduct, especially in military contexts, by offering a set of counter-examples to the Roman Leonidas of 3.7, Quintus Caedicius, who was himself a tribune rather than a king or other leader of the state. In contrast to Dolabella, Cassius, and Antonius, who all

⁵⁷ Gellius' obvious silence with regard to Pliny's attestation of the same material regarding the palm tree may play a role in the connection with Favorinus earlier. Pliny discusses palm trees and their wood at two points in the *HN*: 16.223, where he includes the detail about the remarkable strength of the wood in a discussion of building materials, and 13.26-50, which focus on the cultivation of the palm throughout the Roman world. He remarks that trees, when they are unable to bear fruit, are called eunuchs (*nullo intus pomi ligno quamdiu sunt novellae, ob id spadonum accepto nomine*, 13.38), and further notes that the most famous palm is that reserved for the kings of Persia and housed at Babylon in the Garden of Bagoos, the Persian word for eunuch (*clarissimae omnium, quas regias appellavere ob honorem, quoniam regibus tantum Persidis servarentur, Babylone natae uno in horto Barou; ita vocant spadones*, 13.41). The close connection between the tree and eunuchs may be suggestive of a broader connection with Favorinus, possibly borne out further by Lucian's speaking name for Favorinus in his *Eunuchus*, Βαγώας. Though Gellius has avoided discussing Pliny here, it is possible that he is playing upon the connection found there; Gellius is not averse to critiquing Pliny and his practices without directly mentioning the earlier author, as Howley 2011, 85-96 aptly demonstrates. Such an interpretation would insinuate Favorinus into the developmental fabric of the book all the more deeply, as well as offer an additional explanation of the role of the palm tree within the broader program of the third book.

went east to further their ambitions and ended as ruined men, the tribune Caedicius and his selfless act of sacrifice stands as a paradigm of Roman *virtus* in the face of his Punic opponents.

What effect, if any, does Gellius' recall of this information have on its earlier appearance? In its earlier context, Fronto introduces the name of the color *poeniceus* and its supposed etymology in an effort to demonstrate to Favorinus the range of color vocabulary in Latin. His exposition illustrates the assimilation into Latin of several Greek loanwords, incorporating them fully with Latinate morphology, even as the dialogic frame artificially creates a dichotomy between Greek and Latin (as well as between the approaches of Gellius' two central authority figures, Fronto and Favorinus). Although the chapters includes this comparative assessment of Greek and Roman methodologies, in 2.26 the discussion is almost entirely focused on philology, centering on the meanings of color words and their broader application to Latin literature. This approach is echoed in Gellius' own coda describing the *equus Seianus*, which represents an explicit assertion of his intellectual authority and a demonstration of philologically inspired reading in action, in contrast to Gavius Bassus and Julius Modestus, who only discuss the *equus* as something marvelous to behold instead of considering its implications. Additionally, the comparative judgments about Greeks and Romans can be read back onto Favorinus and Fronto's discussion at 2.26, anticipated in part by Gellius' pronounced preference for Fronto's linguistic methodology in 3.9. Just as Roman virtue is held up against Greek vices in the unit of chapters to which the *equus Seianus* belongs, this antithesis reverberates back through Fronto and Favorinus' debate on color. By repeating this detail and explicitly calling the reader's attention to the allusion to 2.26.9-

10, Gellius brings these examinations of Roman virtue and Hellenism, and Favorinus' expertise, into dialogue; he implicates the earlier discussion into a broader debate of the moral authority of the latter, assigning philology a significant role in the negotiation of this discourse, as Keulen has noted.⁵⁸

Thus, by means of this direct indication of material treated earlier, Gellius reintroduces the color discussion in order to demonstrate one manner of redeploying that material in a new inquiry. By flagging this allusion with a direct cross-reference, he invites the reader of the *NA* to recognize the earlier passage and then to reconsider its implications for the discussion of the *equus Seianus*, while at the same time inviting the reader to reread 2.26 with his new knowledge and to reintegrate that new knowledge into the original discussion. Indeed, it also primes the reader to keep the end of the Book 2 in mind as he continues to read Book 3, and to be alert for any other repurposed material in the chapters to come. In fact, Gellius will reintroduce such material imminently, in 3.10. The recall of 2.26 and its discussions has an additional function in the broader structure of Book 3. It brings the first half of the book, with its thematic preoccupations on Roman and Greece, to an end before its center point, allowing for a shift of focus beginning in 3.10. At this point, Gellius reintroduces Varro, who becomes a central figure in the remainder of the book, and who represents a competing tradition of reading and applying knowledge to the one which Gellius champions.

At 3.10, Gellius presents Varro's investigations into the powers of the number seven; although he interrogates the numerology which he found in Varro, his main interests in the excerpts he cites are time and the progression of nature. He begins by

⁵⁸ See esp. Keulen 2009, 120-126 for philology as a tool of satire, largely at Favorinus' expense.

quoting Varro's claim that the *septentriones* have seven stars: '*is namque numerus*' inquit '*septentriones maiores minoresque in caelo facit, item vergilias, quas πλειάδας Graeci vocant*' (3.10.2). Just as the previous chapter redeployed knowledge from Gellius' didactically structured Book 2, information on the *septentriones* (2.21-2) is repurposed here and attributed to Varro, connecting with the previous book end as well as employing the same citation practice as 3.9. Gellius continues from the *septentriones* to the division of the sky into its major sections and poles, to the zodiac and the seasons, all of which are governed by the number seven. All forms of astronomical phenomena are shown to operate in hebdomads, with Gellius particularly interested in the measurement of time (3.10.6) as well as the development of the children in the womb, and taking pains to illustrate the divisibility of each into units of seven. He focuses largely upon the development of humans, concluding the chapter by citing several items that, in his estimation, Varro fails to convincingly discuss (*haec Varro de numero septenario scripsit admodum conquisite. Sed alia quoque ibidem congerit frigiduscula*, 3.10.16). These last elements are all man-made, rather than originating in nature or the natural growth of men (the seven wonders of the world, the *ludi circenses*, the Seven against Thebes), and Gellius disapproves of Varro's argumentation there: these elements appear far more coincidental than the mystical, natural elements divisible into seven. The principal concern falls upon age and time, including the mythical past as represented by Homer and Herodotus (3.10.11).

A similar set of questions, as well as sources, emerge in the following chapter, 3.11, in which the relative ages of Homer and Hesiod are debated. The first book of Varro's *Hebdomades*, the principal source of the previous chapter, is offered as a

corrective to Accius' *Didascalici* and argues that Homer and Hesiod were coevals. Additionally, Gellius draws from Varro an epigram which the antiquarian assigned to Homer as support for the poet's homeland. Accius' authority is depicted here as inferior to that of Varro, much as the dramatist was a less authoritative source in the discussions of Plautine authenticity at 3.3.9. His arguments here, focused on Homer's apparent assumption that his audience would already know Peleus and the Cyclops through Hesiod, fail to pass muster in the face of the epigraphic evidence that Varro cites. An alternate account of Homer's home is then provided by Aristotle, though given Varro's evidence, Gellius appears to lend more credence to the antiquarian's explanation. The debate over Homer's birthplace was a common subject of discussion throughout the Greek tradition and especially throughout the Imperial period, and authors often attempt to present Homer in their own image.⁵⁹ Through this topic, Gellius engages with the broader Greek philological concern with Homer's origin and its impact on his poetry in addition to the more standard historical fare of dates and ages. Such arguments for the various regional interpretations of Homer's origin were frequently based on interpretations of Homer's own words, akin to the approach utilized by Accius in arguing for Homer's acquaintance with Hesiod's poetry.⁶⁰ However, this discussion of Homeric philology can refract back upon Accius' earlier assessment of Homer's birthplace. Given the poet's license of composition noted by the ancient commentators, Accius'

⁵⁹ Imperial discussions of Homer's birthplace: *Anth. Pal.* 16.292-299, Lucian *Ver. hist.* 2.20, Pausanias 10.24, *Certamen Homeri et Hesiodi*, [Plut.] *Vit. Hom.* 11.2, the other *Lives* of Homer collected by West 2003, and several other imperial attestations collected at Jones 1986, 55 n. 45. See also Kim 2010, 164-168. On the earlier tradition, see Graziosi 2002, 51-89.

⁶⁰ The trope is detectable in Pseudo-Herodotus' *Vita*; for parodic versions, cf. *Ath.* 4.45 and *Heliod. Aeth.* 3.13-14. On the approach generally, which is visible at least as early as the historians and Plato's own explanations of Homeric poetry, Kim 2010, 24-30, 165-167.

interpretation of the sequence of Homer and Hesiod fails to account for such poetic innovation and lacks critical depth.⁶¹ The attempted negotiation of the Homeric problem is based on a faulty interpretation of the Homeric verses, in stark contrast to Varro's approach, grounded in documentary evidence.

In these transitional chapters, Gellius reestablishes Varro as an antiquarian authority within Book 3, with expertise in both the numerological to the philological domains. The effect of recalling the discussions in Book 2 reinforces this authoritative position, as Gellius there appealed to Varro's linguistic expertise in support of his own discussions on philological topics. These two citations of Varro introduce the scholar and his authority on an expanded range of material; in particular, Gellius portrays him at 3.11 as a paradigm of reasoned inquiry, in contrast to other authors like Accius that fall into the trap of arguing solely from Homeric verses, as Greek scholars were portrayed as doing throughout the latter stages of Book 2. In this way, Gellius employs Varro as a cipher for Roman scholarship, and in so doing he reinforces the dichotomy between Greek and Roman approaches that have been introduced in the preceding unit in Book 3 (3.5-3.9), transferring them from the historical to the natural philosophical (3.10) and literary (3.11) spheres. Perhaps most importantly for the intellectual narrative of the book, so to speak, these chapters reestablish in the reader's mind Varro's multiple levels expertise at this transitional point in the book. His presence will continue to be amplified and interrogated over the remainder of the book, including references back to his appearances as an authority on Roman culture (3.2), literature (3.3), and more esoteric

⁶¹ The scholiasts, adopting a common ancient critical pose, frequently draw attention to inconsistencies within Homer, as well as innovations in tradition among the later poets. Aristarchus argues that such inconsistencies, chronological and otherwise, found throughout the Homeric corpus ought not to be scrutinized too closely, and suggests that poets should be granted license to operate within the rules of poetry rather than logic (e.g. schol. HMQR *Od.* 3.71); on such poetic license, see Nünlist 2009, 174-184.

material including the meanings of numbers and their application in nature (3.10). Each of these methodologies and the claims that they produced are interrogated in the coming chapters, as Gellius questions the consistency of Varro's work across several genres; these texts appear to be in conflict as Gellius presents them in *NA* Book 3, and in the latter stages of the book he provides one approach to reconciling the conflicts, namely, his integrated approach to resolving questions by interacting with different texts.

Varro's Voice: 3.14, 3.2, 3.16 and time

In the preceding chapters, Gellius has developed Varro as source to be exploited in his own antiquarian endeavor, and whose authorizing presence lends weight to the information contained in the *NA*. However, in the latter stages of Book 3, what were represented earlier as quintessentially Roman concerns about the nature of time reappear, and with them Varro and his authority as a scholar of Roman identity. However, even as he cites Varro for the information he provides, Gellius produces tensions between the different genres of his output; by putting passages into dialogue Gellius prompts the reader of the *NA* to meditate on Varro's strength as a source in different contexts. Gellius attempts to exploit perceived tensions between these authorial voices in different genres, treating his source with a subtle irony that requires the full engagement of the *NA*'s readership.

If the power of numbers acts as a major factor in determining the authority of Gellius' various sources in 3.10-11, the numerological approach is merged with the philological when discussing the proper way to describe half of a book, among others, in

NA 3.14. Following Varro,⁶² Gellius declares that it is wrong to speak of reading *dimidium librum* or *dimidiam fabulam*, and that the common practice of using these forms is in error, just as it is wrong to say that *dimidiatum sextarium* was poured out of a vessel (3.14.1-2). The difference lies in what is being described: ‘*dimidiatum*’ *ergo nisi ipsum, quod divisum...* ‘*dimidium*’ *vero est, non quod ipsum dimidiatum est, sed quae ex dimidiato pars altera est* (3.14.6-8). The distinctions drawn echo the etymological concerns introduced in 3.12, where, in a similar fashion, Gellius introduces Nigidius Figulus to determine whether *bibax* or *bibosus* properly means *bibendi avidus*. Use of the -*osus* suffix is restricted to the mimes of Laberius while -*ax* is far more frequent, as Gellius notes, and he draws a distinction between the two suffixes, with the former being applied properly to the concrete noun and the latter to the verb (3.12.3). Gellius is keenly aware of the philological distinction between such nominally or verbally derived adjectives, and he demonstrates his sensitivity to these contemporary tendencies, which unsupported by archaic usage, both in his discussion of Laberius as well as his selection of sources to explore the distinctions between *dimidius* and *dimidiatus*.

Gellius quotes Lucilius to support the distinction made in the Varronian etymology, offering two passages describing halved objects and one on the division of time:

Iam in vicesimo manifestius ‘*dimidiam horam*’ dicere studiose fugit, sed pro ‘*dimidia*’ ‘*dimidium*’ ponit in hisce versibus:

tempestate sua atque eodem uno tempore et horae
dimidio tribus confectis dumtaxat eandem
ad quartam.

In the twentieth book he carefully avoids saying ‘*dimidia hora*’ more clearly, but uses *dimidium* in place of *dimidia* in these verses:

⁶² The actual source of this fragment, fr. 423 Funaioli, is uncertain, and Funaioli lists it under the heading *nominum communium*. Given the subject matter, one would assume the text belongs to one of the grammatical works, though the nature of the paraphrase does not make this certain.

In its own season and at the very same time and
when three and a half hours have passed and
again at the fourth hour. (NA 3.14.11)

The rule established is then applied to Plautus, both for a concrete object as well as the day:

In *Menaechmis* autem ‘**dimidiatum diem**’, non ‘**dimidium**’, in hoc versu:
dies quidem iam ad umbilicum dimidiatus mortuust.

In the *Menaechmi*, however, he says “*dimidiatum diem*,” not “*dimidium*,” in this line:
Indeed the day has already been halved to its navel and has perished. (NA 3.14.16)

The interpretation of the halved day and its transference to a Plautine discussion neatly parallels the sequence of thought presented by Gellius early in the book, moving from his examination of the reckoning of days to the authenticity of the plays attributed to Plautus between 3.2 and 3.3. The structure of the discussion throughout 3.14 broadly echoes the sequence of citations in 3.2-3: both begin with Varro, include an appeal to poets for support (Vergil, 3.2.14-15; Ennius, 3.14.5, and Lucilius, 3.14.10-11), and then use these citations and investigations as vectors for approaching Plautus.⁶³ Despite the parallels in citation, the goals of each inquiry are distinct: instead of focusing on the plays’ authenticity, which is not in question, Plautine diction helps to prove Gellius’ broader claims about the proper interpretation of *dimidius* and *dimidiatus*. These plays, with their value as witnesses to correct archaic usage a given, serve instead as evidence for Gellius to marshal in his discussion of proper diction.

⁶³ The ending of the chapter may participate in the same dialogue with the earlier parts of the book as well: 3.14.17-18 cites Cato *Agr.* 151.3 on the appropriate depth to plant cypress seeds (*dimidiatum digitum*), and then cites Cato once again describing a method of immolation by the Carthaginians (*Item M. Cato de Carthaginiensibus ita scripsit: ‘homines defoderunt in terram dimidiatos ignemque circumposuerunt, ita interfecerunt,’* NA 3.14.19 = Cato fr. 193 Malc.). Though the context appears to be different, the timbre seems to be similar to that of the Caedicius episode related at 3.7, with the Carthaginians as a significant military opponent directing violence at (most likely) the Romans. However, the connection here, with the exception of the author, is far from certain.

The parallel constructions of these two explorations reflect the recurrent interest throughout the *NA* in reapplying similar material in different contexts and with different purposes; in fact, while the sequence of citations are parallel, 3.2-3 and 3.14 demonstrate an inverted approach to the same set of literature, in which linguistic propriety can serve to validate the authenticity of a text and vice versa. The inversion is not only a demonstration of Gellius' diverse reading and linguistic competence, but additionally stands as a teaching moment within the *NA* thanks to the structural and citation-based similarities with the earlier chapters in the book. When read together, these passages demonstrate a linguistic flexibility for the audience to appreciate as well as emulate, with Gellius modeling the intellectual dexterity afforded by his critical reading practice.

More to the point, should the reader detect the structural allusion to the earlier references to Varro and Plautus, he may examine the passages together, and in so doing he may recognize an inconcinnity between the philological conclusion of 3.14 regarding *dimidius/dimidiatus* and Varro's own usage earlier at 3.2. Early on, Gellius quotes Varro as saying that, under the Umbrian system of days, if someone were born on the Kalends, his birthday would be a "half-Kalends" and what was left of the day after midday ('*dies eius natalis videri debebit et **Kalendarum dimidiarum** et qui est post Kalendas dies ante horam eius diei sextam*'). However, as Gellius concluded at 3.14.6-8, *dimidius* is only properly applied to a part of the divided whole rather than the divided thing itself ('*dimidium*' vero est, non quod ipsum dimidiatum est, sed quae ex dimidiato pars altera est). The evidence drawn from Lucilius and Plautus show that time is better discussed in terms of *diei dimidiati*, and Varro seems to violate the rule he established in his earlier discussion, with proper usage demanding *Kalendarum dimidiatarum*. In leaving this

reading ambiguous and not correcting Varro, Gellius allows his reader to apply the philological learning just gained and to reflect upon the references in further detail. These citations then participate in the broader educative program of the *NA*, furnishing the reader an opportunity for the application of 3.14's philological lesson to 3.2, while also establishing Gellius' linguistic authority and offering an implicit challenge to Varro's.

These citation patterns and structures, designed to provoke reflection and to teach the reader while articulating the relationships between the discrete components of the book, recur in 3.16, by far the longest chapter in Book 3, which discusses the length of a woman's pregnancy and which incorporates several previously cited texts. Joseph Howley discusses this chapter in detail, focusing on the various stages of arriving at a satisfactory answer through investigation and research; while this chapter represents an excellent (indeed, a pregnant) case study in Gellius' approach to resolving a question and his habits of mind, my focus here will be primarily on his prosaics and habits of composition.⁶⁴ Particularly noteworthy is the chapter's structure: it stages its inquiry twice, repeating several of its sources across the two halves. However, the juxtaposition of the sources in each half creates problems for their authority, especially that of Varro.

After noting the *communis opinio* of philosophers and doctors about the length of pregnancy (rarely in the seventh month, never in the eighth, and more frequently in the ninth and tenth months), Gellius cites Plautus' *Cistellaria* and notes that Phanostrata gives birth in the tenth month after being raped (3.16.2). However, this subject is drawn from Menander's *Plocio*, as Gellius notes, and he gives the corresponding passage before observing that Caecilius Statius, in his translation of the *Plocio*, includes the eighth

⁶⁴ Howley 2011, 152-162, to which this analysis is indebted.

month as a possibility that Menander had omitted (3.16.4). In spite of this change, Gellius suggests that Caecilius has not been irresponsible in his translation of the Greek original; rather, Caecilius wrote with the support of learned authorities, including Varro and Aristotle (*eam rem Caecilium non inconsiderate dixisse neque temere a Menandro atque a multorum opinionibus descivisse M. Varro uti credamus facit. Nam mense nonnumquam octavo editum esse partum in libro quarto decimo rerum humanarum scriptum reliquit*, 3.16.5-6). This is not the first appearance of the Latin translation and the Greek original side by side, as they form the core of the synkrisis at 2.23, where the close debt of the former play to the latter is explored at length.⁶⁵ Additionally, the chapter effectively summarizes Gellius' aesthetic values as applied to translation, as well as a particular method of comparative judgment that informs his translation practices and evident as early as the first book of the *NA*.⁶⁶ There, Gellius initially forms aesthetic judgments upon the two texts, with the Greek original clearly coming off the better:

Cum legimus eas, nimium sane displicent, quin lepide quoque et venuste scriptae videantur, prorsus ut melius posse fieri nihil censeas. Sed enim si conferas et componas Graeca ipsa, unde illa venerunt, ac singula considerate atque apte iunctis et alternis lectionibus committas, oppido quam iacere atque sordere incipiunt, quae Latina sunt; ita Graecarum, quas aemulari nequiverunt, facetiis atque luminibus obsolescunt... sed enim postquam in manus Menander venit, a principio statim, di boni, quantum stupere atque frigere quantumque mutare a Menandro Caecilius visus est! Diomedis hercle arma et Glauci non dispari magis pretio existimata sunt.

When we read these things, they weren't too displeasing, but also seemed to have been written with a clever sort of charm, such that you would think there could be nothing that could surpass it. But if you should place together the Greek originals from which those come and compare them, and you look at individual passages and read them together carefully and with attention, how exceedingly common and cheap do they appear to be; thus they are overshadowed by the charm and brilliance of those of the Greeks, which they are unable to rival... For after Menander came into my hands, immediately from the beginning, good gods, how dull and flat and how different

⁶⁵ Jensen 1997, esp. 368-378; Holford-Strevens 2003, 198-200; Gunderson 2009, 142-143. On the technique of comparison generally in Gellius, see Vardi 1996, 502-509.

⁶⁶ Among others, *NA* 1.8, 2.23, 2.27, 3.16, 9.9, 10.22, 11.4, 11.16, 12.1, 13.27, 17.10, 17.20; Vardi 1996, 504 provides a list of loci in which Gellius compares literary works with their models. On translation in Gellius more generally, see Gamberale 1969; Beall 1997, esp. 219-226 which presents Gellius' own translations side by side with their originals; McElduff 2013, 176-185.

from Menander did Caecilius appear! By Hercules, the weapons of Diomedes and Glaucus were not valued at more different a price. (NA 2.23.1-3, 7)

However, by the end of the chapter, even as he acknowledges the deficiencies of Caecilius' version when faced with the Greek original, Gellius' critical approach is more balanced and rationalized: he can appreciate the merits of the Latin, while observing that the sophistication of Menander's verses is unmatched (2.23.22). In particular, he enumerates two major faults of the Latin *Plocio*: first, Caecilius omits passages of Menander which would have added life and naturalism to his own play, but instead introduces elements of farce (2.11-12).⁶⁷ Second, and related to the first point, Caecilius lacks realism in rendering his characters (2.23.19-21).⁶⁸ The failing of the *Plocio* is not in its Latin (*neutiquam videntur ingrata ignavaque*, 2.23.22), but rather in Caecilius' ability to replicate the excellence and sense of naturalism that Menander brought to his characters.

The failings of the Latin *Plocio* are apparently inverted in the discussion of parturition at 3.16: here, it is Menander that is guilty of omission, while Caecilius was not thoughtless in making his translation from the Greek by supplementing it with more detail (3.16.5). On this one point, in fact, the fullness of Caecilius' exposition possesses a naturalistic overtone, supported as it is by the authorities of Varro and Aristotle. Though Gellius proceeds to articulate the original cause of the debates surrounding birth in the eighth month (attributing it to an ambiguity in Hippocrates, who claims that an eighth-

⁶⁷ *quae Menander praeclare et apposite et facete scripsit, ea Caecilius, ne qua potuit quidem, conatus est enarrare, sed quasi minime probanda praetermisit et alia nescio qua mimica inculcavit et illud Menandri de vita hominum media sumptum, simplex et verum et delectabile, nescio quo pacto omisit...*

⁶⁸ *hi omnes motus eius affectionesque animi in Graeca quidem comoedia mirabiliter acres et illustres, apud Caecilium autem pigra istaec omnia et a rerum dignitate atque gratia vacua sunt... ad horum autem sinceritatem veritatemque verborum an adspiraverit Caecilius, consideremus...*

month birth simultaneously does and does not exist), the comparison of the two passages as sources here cannot but draw on the earlier juxtaposition and its conclusions. In contrast to his ability to depict naturalistic characters and in spite of his expertise in human matters (*humanarum opinionum vel peritissimus*, 3.16.3), Menander passes over the full range of potential months then inserted by Caecilius, which demonstrates a more scientific approach to the question than the single line cited that has been cited suggests was present in Menander. In this regard, the Latin *Plocio* appears to present a more naturalistic outlook than the Greek original, in spite of its realistically depicted characters and emotions.

Yet, is there any further relation between Gellius' earlier thoughts on Caecilius' additions to his translation of the *Plocio*? The reappearance of the comparison of Caecilius and Menander at 3.16.3-5 invites reevaluation of the earlier commentary of 2.23 in a reader who has proceeded sequentially and has thus already encountered Gellius' comparison of these plays. Though he claims that Caecilius' translation is supported by the authority of learned men and is not incorrect, there is still tension with the earlier critique concerning Caecilius' insertions into Menander's original (*alia nescio qua mimica inculcavit*, 2.23.12), while leaving out lines which contributed to the overall naturalism and style. Though ancient authorities support the claims of births in other months than that mentioned by Menander, the supplements in Caecilius' version at first appear to defy belief to the extent that one would believe the translation to be careless; indeed, they could be read as farcical elements introduced into the text. The ultimate source of the confusion concerning the eighth month, Hippocrates, was considered perplexing and required commentary, and likewise initially appears as absurd given its

paradoxical statement (ἔστιν δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν τὰ ὀκτάμηνα). By reading the two passages against the authority of natural philosophers and the ancient medical tradition, however, Gellius demonstrates one method of resolving the tensions between the two *Plocio* versions. Instead of the aesthetic judgments made at the beginning of the *diiudicatio locorum* of 2.23, the broader program of reading, and the critical perspective that such acquaintance with ancient literature brings, enables an engagement with the texts that is predicated not upon a guttural response to artistry, but a rational reply grounded in learning. This attitude towards the text follows the direction gestured at briefly near the end of the earlier comparison, with Gellius suggesting not that Caecilius fails as a composer of Latin, but simply pales in relation to his source as a writer of the human experience. However, not all of his insertions are misguided or otherwise buffoonish—even if the effect is intended to be humorous—as the authorities on the question of parturition make clear; the later mirror-image of the synkrisis becomes then a more mature reflection on the successful critical engagement with texts and their value as part of a broader argument.

That Varro is introduced in order to support Caecilius' reference to seventh- and eighth-month births is also designed to prompt reflection, given the extensive Varronian discussion on the magical properties of the number seven, of which chapter a portion is dedicated to the division of human gestation into hebdomads (3.10.7-8). He stresses that no child is viable if born before the seventh month (*ante mensem septimum neque mas neque femina salubriter ac secundum naturam nasci potest*), and that children will be born naturally at the beginning of the fortieth week (or hebdomad). His later assertions that children can be born in the eighth and eleventh months, from the fourteenth book of the

Rerum Divinarum (that is, at the end of the second hebdomad), are in turn attributed to Aristotle, rather than the numerological approach which has no authority as strong supporting it. Although methodologically at odds, both of these discussions obsessively investigate natural development and numerical limits, including time.⁶⁹ The two-fold appearance of Varro offers another stream of evidence to enter into Gellius' discussion, even if it is distantly alluded to (and, in fact, to a degree at odds with the later words attributed to Varro and supported by Aristotle). In recapitulating Varro's thoughts on the length of gestation and omitting the earlier discussion of sevens, the narrative of inquiry at 3.16 demands the involvement of his reader in negotiating the question—Varro elsewhere claims that children are born after nine months, and by confronting the reader with these contradictory passages Gellius asks the reader to reconcile these conflicting views, as he did in discussion of *dimidius* and the division of days. This question, related to the gap between the two attestations of Varro, becomes a central theme in the development of Gellius' inquiry, as we shall see.

After his comparison of the two versions of the *Plocio*, Gellius returns to antiquarianism and its interaction with Latin literary material in an attempt to locate the source of the confusion surrounding birth in the eighth month. The Romans did not believe births in the eighth month impossible, but far more likely in the ninth and tenth months, and the names of the Fates allude to this fact (3.16.9-11): *Parca* (derived from *partus*, according to Varro), *Nona*, and *Decima* (based on the two months in which children may be born safely). Caesellius Vindex offers a similar interpretation, though his understanding is based on mistakenly reading *Mortam* for *Moeram* in Livius Andronicus,

⁶⁹ Henry 1994, 1923-1924.

much to Gellius' consternation: *sed homo minime malus Caesellius 'Mortam' quasi nomen accepti, cum accipere quasi Moeram deberet* (3.16.9).⁷⁰ Caesellius' failure here seemingly derives from his inability to reconcile Livius' *Odyssey* with the intent of the original Greek; Gellius and his audience are by this point better-equipped to recognize such mistakes and work around them than Caesellius, who is frequently belittled by Gellius for his philological failings.⁷¹ As Howley has noted, the elements discussed thus far are all part of the intellectual program of inquiry espoused throughout the *NA*, with the first part of the chapter (3.16.1-11) consisting of the authorial persona's attempts to resolve contradictory statements within the sources pertaining to the topic at hand. The cluster of citations that are investigated, with their clear echoes of other structures and comparisons throughout the preceding books, participate in a broader program of inquiry as separate sections of the text interact with one another. Though the two versions of the *Plocio* offer conflicting evidence for the question of pregnancy at hand, the reader's interpretation of them cannot but be influenced by the earlier analysis of the comparative merits of each play. The repeated patterns of quotation create tension, much in the way that Gellius attempts to resolve the disagreement between his various sources, leaving the reader to explore the resonances of the two units.

The chapter shifts in approach after the etymology of the Fates from reconciling these disagreements between Gellius' textual sources concerning the natural development of gestation to anecdotal evidence. Gellius reports that he read an imperial decree in which the emperor Hadrian, after his own research, declared that a child could be born in

⁷⁰ Howley 2011, 156. On the etymological considerations, see Cavazza 2004, 74-76.

⁷¹ Holford-Strevens 2003, 167-168; Howley 2011, 94-95. For Caesellius Vindex' poor reputation, cf. 2.16, 6.2, 11.15, 18.11, 20.2.

the eleventh month (*praeterquam quae scripta in libris legi, hoc quoque usu venisse Romae comperi*, 3.16.12). Gellius himself becomes the authoritative source by locating this anecdote in his research, for what has metamorphosed in to a legal debate; the abstract considerations of natural development now have very real, human, legal stakes.⁷² After noting that decision Gellius contradicts it with a reference to Varro: in one of the Menippean satires, the *Testamentum*, Gellius had encountered a clause from a mock-will that disinherited a posthumous child born in the tenth month, while also accounting for the possibility of a child in eleventh. Varro cites Aristotle once again as an authority for this claim: ‘*Si quis mihi filius unus pluresve in decem mensibus gignantur, ii, si erunt ὄντοι λύρας, exheredes sunt; quod si quis undecimo mense κατὰ Ἀριστοτέλην natus est, Attio idem, quod Tettio, ius esto apud me*’ (3.16.13 = Varro fr. 543 Bücheler).⁷³ Gellius gravitates towards the explanation of a peculiar idiom (*Attio idem, quod Tettio*) despite the legal focus of the chapter, and in so doing inserts himself as a philological authority necessary for the explanation of the phenomenon. Perhaps more importantly, he has restaged the question of Varro’s authority by introducing a second work that appeals to Aristotle: he presents the Menippean satire as an equivalent to Varro’s antiquarian works in terms of its weight for this discussion as a result of the structural parallel and the shared appeal to Aristotle’s authority, with the effect of calling into question the merits of

⁷² Cf. Howley 2011, 157.

⁷³ Gellius appears to read the passage unironically and does not reflect on the presumably comic nature of the satiric performance here, though as Keulen 2009, 46-51, 58-65 notes he frequently seems to manipulate his own self-presentation in ways that suggest his full awareness of the Menippean mode. The citation and apparent naïveté, I suspect, on the one hand deliberately sets himself as less critical than he has initially depicted himself to be throughout his investigation in this chapter (given his failure to detect Varro’s probable irony). The posture becomes self-ironic, aware of the problems between comparing Varro’s serious scholarship and his serio-comic writing, linked solely as they are by the appeal to Aristotle. However, the choice of the *Testamentum* creates more interesting tensions as a result of its place in the overall structure of the argument that have implications for our reading of Pliny and his authority at the end of the chapter.

each for the inquiry at hand. While Gellius was able to resolve the conflict between the comic sources in the first part of 3.14 by citing Varro, his own experience and reading becomes necessary for the new, likely disingenuous, context. If the first half of 3.16 appeals to the authority of other works, Gellius mirrors the earlier construction of the chapter while amplifying his own authoritative role in the second half in a kind of *variatio*. The focus has moved from the purely hypothetical, natural realm into the legal affairs of men, a domain in which Gellius' word possesses more weight because of what he has learned from his earlier inquiries. Even as he addresses similar themes, instead of offering the readings of others at this stage Gellius inscribes himself in the authoritative role as exegete.

This authority manifests itself in Gellius' explanation of lines from Homer's *Odyssey* (11.248-230), rather than Livius Andronicus', in which he interprets Neptune's assertion to Tyro after he had raped her that she would give birth in a year, only for the pregnancy to last for twelve months. Gellius asks why Homer has written something in contrast to the common belief, first consulting *grammatici* in vain before asking Favorinus, who explains that this is an issue of translation (*sed Favorinus mihi ait περιπλομένου ἐνιαυτοῦ non 'confecto' esse 'anno,' sed 'adfecto,'* 3.16.17). His literary interpretation is supported by Cicero's own usage of *adfectus* (3.16.19), and illustrates that the limits on the period of gestation are more fluid than the confused theoretical sources seen earlier. This interpretation suggests the mistaken belief of the *communis opinio*, and Gellius returns to Hippocrates in an attempt to resolve the question; rather than providing only the comment on children born in the eighth month, which was the origin of the earlier confusion, he finds that Hippocrates did indeed answer this question

by noting the inclusion of a general range in addition to the specific length, and Gellius interprets the passage appropriately and lucidly (3.16.20-21). The difference between the two explanations lies in the manner of reading: Gellius' own interpretation, drawing on the fuller context of the discussion, applies his philological interests as well as his parallel investigation in the first half of the chapter in order to arrive at a satisfactory and authoritative analysis.

After interpreting Hippocrates' statements, Gellius then appends a final anecdote in which the question of birth months was particular pressing: a court case in Rome questioning whether parents could claim the *ius trium liberorum* although their third child was an eighth-month birth and still-born. The legal context of the second half of the chapter is reaffirmed by Gellius as the driving force for his investigations, and the application of his learning parallels not only his initial exploration of the question in 3.16, with its clear structural resonances, but also represents an inversion of his assessment of Varro at 3.10, where the antiquarian's evaluations of the magical powers of the number seven are considered to be lacking in relation to human affairs. In fact, as I noted above, 3.10 is disproportionately given over to topics of natural phenomena, including gestation; when Gellius turns to Varro's examples of the number seven in human contexts, he derides these examples, summarizing his consternation for them in a single sentence (*sed alia quoque ibidem congerit frigidiuscula*, 3.10.16). In spite of the authority with which he speaks on natural phenomena and his vast personal learning (3.10.17), Gellius suggests that Varro is unsatisfactory as a source for practical legal matters.

Gellius' use of Varro and his focused application in the human realm of what he has learned through his investigations represents a structural inversion of the earlier

chapter; a similar reversal occurs over the course of 3.16, as Gellius becomes by the end the authoritative exegete for his reader of both Greek natural philosophy and its practical application to Roman law. Gellius positions his authorial persona as the mediator between both of these areas for the reader, and he provides a model for successfully incorporating abstract Greek learning into a practical Roman application. Instead of the appeal to authority on the natural topics in question, Gellius interrogates his sources and explores the conflicts between them in order to arrive at a satisfactory answer which can then be applied to the legal contexts with which he frames his narrative. This stands in contrast to his selective representation of Varro, who relies on Aristotle as an authorizing figure throughout the discussion; the weight of Aristotle's opinion is to an extent eroded thanks to the lack of direct quotation, and Varro's own authority is challenged in part because he relies on the appeal to a Greek authority to justify his claims. Instead of such reliance, Gellius demonstrates one way to reach a satisfactory answer beyond the appeal to authority at a remove: by explicitly presenting his source texts and demonstrating his process of reading them, he has provided a model methodology, which is reinforced by the prosaic relationships of these chapters. The structural correspondences between each of the arguments are designed to problematize Varro's authority and methods of research while allowing Gellius to represent his own superior abilities and process. These repeated structures bring Varro's own statements into contact, requiring the reader to navigate through the disagreement in much the same way that Gellius demonstrates reading several authors comparatively to arrive at a resolution of the conflicts between them. The *NA* stages these intratextual interactions for the reader, allowing them to flex their

interpretative muscles as part of the active reading practice encouraged throughout the text.

After establishing his methodological superiority and arriving at an informed, critical solution to the legal problem that motivated his investigations, Gellius offers one final instance of reading as a coda that once again recalls the earlier pattern of the chapter. He read in Pliny the Elder some details on gestation that would appear to be beyond belief (*extra fidem*, 3.16.23), and as a result directly quotes the *HN* (7.40-42). There, Pliny asserts that Masurius Sabinus offers evidence for a praetor upholding the legal rights of an heir born in the thirteenth month on the grounds that there was no set period of pregnancy (*quoniam nullum certum tempus pariendi statutum ei videtur*). This anecdote appears in roughly the same position as Hadrian's court decision at the end of the first half of the inquiry and comes to the opposite conclusion as the emperor, representing an example of the errors one may make if he does not read carefully and widely in forming a judgment.⁷⁴ However, in terms of structure of the whole chapter, the passage more closely parallels Gellius' introduction of Varro's Menippean *Testamentum* which was introduced, like Pliny, as something which Gellius had read after recalling a legal dispute; these two structural parallels suggests that the two ought to be interpreted together.⁷⁵ Not only is the interpretation offered by Pliny incorrect—a product of insufficient investigation and hasty compilation—the reader is prompted to consider the passage as on the same footing as Varro's Menippean: if read on the surface level, it is a

⁷⁴ Howley 2011, 161, following Gunderson 2009, 183, also stresses the marginal role that Pliny actually plays in terms of actual gynecological knowledge.

⁷⁵ Pliny's passage on gestation (*HN* 7.38-40), much like that of Varro, is apparently based in large part on Aristotle, given the close parallels, perhaps an attempt to reinforce the connection between the two passages.

poor representation of scholarly endeavor predicated upon a blind appeal to authority. Perhaps a more sophisticated, and uncharitable, solution sees Gellius equating Pliny's endeavor to nothing more than a farce of scholarship; after all, Pliny includes fantastic details including the fact that yawning during birth and sneezing after intercourse are both fatal to the child (*'oscitatio in nixu letalis est, sicut sternuisse a coitu abortivum'*, 3.16.24 = Plin. *HN* 7.42). Gellius offers no other comment on the passage, and his earlier stance that certain of Pliny's claims were beyond belief seems to apply. Pliny's account is likened to a satiric reinterpretation of acquiring knowledge, packaged together in such a way as to elicit laughter at its absurdity and undercutting the weight of Pliny's words in order to present him as nothing more than a conduit for others' incorrect thoughts. In either case, the structural echoes of the chapter create problems for Pliny; Gellius, by contrast, remains an authoritative guide for his audience.

A Question of Character: Favorinus' Return in 3.19

As I have previously mentioned, Favorinus looms large as a presence throughout the third book, even though he only appears by name twice after the first chapter, of which he and his philological skills are the focus (3.3.6 and 3.16.17). Gellius reintroduces Favorinus in the final chapter of the book, in which the sophist initiates an investigation of the etymology of *parcus* as a form of symposiastic entertainment; in so doing, Gellius frames the narrative progress of the book with the controversial sophist in a ring composition and, in circumscribing the book with his presence, emphasizing the sophist's interpretative importance for the book. This compositional choice challenges the reader of Book 3 to come to terms with the appearances of Favorinus over the course of the book, and to integrate his previous scenes into their interpretation of not only 3.19, but of

the character himself. Indeed, the chapter shares several other links with the rest of the book that further suggest reading within the context the broader set of discussions at play throughout Book 3: the distinctions between Greek and Roman linguistic authority, avarice and unmanliness, and the connection of these two broader dichotomies.

The scene of 3.19 begins in a typically Gellian fashion—while at dinner at Favorinus’ house, a slave happened to read out the etymology of the word *parcus* given by Gavius Bassus in his *De Origine Verborum et Vocabulorum*. The title of the book recalls the discussions of analogy derived from Nigidius Figulus at 3.12, where the distinction between *bibax* and *bibosus* hinges explicitly on the distinction between *vocabula* and *verba* (3.12.3). Though apparently little more than a transitional chapter in its context, situated between the discussions of Homer and Hesiod’s ages and Demosthenes abandoning philosophy for rhetoric, Gellius’ articulation of the grammatical principle outlined by Nigidius is both prospectively and retrospectively significant. As we have seen, Gellius introduces this distinction between nominally- and verbally-derived adjectives in order to prime the reader for his exploration of the uses of *dimidius* and *dimidiatus* in 3.14, where understanding the lexical forms, as explicated by Nigidius, is necessary to interpret the implications of his discussion of Varro’s usages correctly. The discussion looks backwards as well, however, thanks to the citation from Laberius that constitutes Gellius’ example. He quotes a line of the mime *Salinator* to illustrate the contrast between such nominal and verbal forms: *non mammosa, non annosa, non bibosa, non procax* (3.12.4). There appears to be an implicit contrast made between the Nigidian approach (subsequently adopted by Gellius) and its illustration in Laberius with an earlier discussion of comic language, namely Favorinus’ delight at a

Plautine line highlighting the defects of prostitutes in the *Nervularia*: *scrattae*, *scrupedae*, *strittivillae*, *sordidae* (3.3.6). The parallelism in construction and the opposition in content between the two descriptions, with the former describing an apparently virtuous woman and the later stressing the vices of prostitutes, signal a contrast between the two approaches, which is further borne out in the choices of citation that are reflective of the different linguistic tastes and expertise of Favorinus and Gellius. These debates over linguistic authority from early in the book are activated by the dichotomy drawn between the verses, and the connection draws the reader's attention to this connection between Favorinus, Plautus, and the grammatical attitudes of Nigidius. The renewed presence of this nexus is carried through into 3.19, where the presence of Favorinus and his attempts at etymology are problematized by the implications of Gellius' earlier discussions, even as Favorinus takes the starring role as corrector to Gavius Bassus' faulty attempts.⁷⁶

That is not to say that Gavius Bassus himself is without fault: though he is cited several times throughout this book, his explanations are not unquestioned.⁷⁷ His *commentarii* were introduced to discuss the color of the *equus Seianus*, though it is unclear how much of that account is derived directly from him beyond his claim of autopsy at the end of the chapter and its lack of actual description of the horse's color (3.9.8); and the *commentarii* are deployed once again at 3.18 as an incorrect example of an explanation of the origin of the term *senatores pedarii*, where Bassus suggests a

⁷⁶ Compare the implications of the use of *penus* in 4.1.6, which, as Keulen 2009, 129-130 suggests, is an allusion to Plautus' own usage in the *Pseudolus* that was cited by the grammarians as an early example of *penus* shifting from the neuter to the masculine.

⁷⁷ Gavius Bassus is cited in 2.4, 3.9, 3.18, 3.19, 5.7, and 11.17; of these, Gellius himself accepts Bassus as an unchallenged authority only at 5.7, for the etymology of *persona*. However, even this instance may be problematic, as the etymology presented so cleverly (*lepide mi hercule et scite*, 5.7.1) appears strained, particularly given the similarities between this etymology and that presented by Favorinus at 3.19.5.

distinction between those who have held curule magistracies and those who have not (3.18.3-4). After offering this possibility, Gellius immediately introduces Varro's Menippean Ἰπποκύων as an alternate, and possibly superior, branch of evidence, in which the antiquarian observes that the term refers to those not yet afforded the rank of senator by the censors but nevertheless possessed voting rights, having served as elected officials (3.18.5-7); the senatorial call to order seems to lend support to this interpretation, in spite of its satiric source (3.18.8). The chapter concludes with a verse of Laberius attesting to the form, and the observation that the form is occasionally corrupted. The streams of information brought together here are suggestive, with Gavius Bassus utilized alongside comic traditions; like the earlier complication of Varro's own voice earlier as a result of the use of his Menippean, seriocomic, works in the same breath as his scholarly endeavors, Gellius clouds the figure of Gavius Bassus and his authority, which here is reduced to the level of lower genres. His *commentarii*, though offering one alternative which Gellius leaves his reader to choose between as the correct explanation of the *senatores pedarii*, are left in competition with mime and satire, implicitly questioning the gravity of a rival miscellaneous work to the *NA*. Moreover, the position of this chapter within the book, immediately preceding Favorinus' rebuttal of the etymology of *parcus*, significantly primes the reader to question the authority of Gavius Bassus in much the same fashion as Favorinus' intellectual position has been complicated as a result of his association with comedy as a philological device.

With these tensions in mind, then, Gellius pits Gavius Bassus against Favorinus in a battle of wits. The process of undermining the former has already begun in the previous chapter, leaving him open to the objections which Favorinus will raise to his etymology.

Bassus' explanation of the word sounds suspiciously close to that of the comic type of the miser (*ita homo tenax parvoque contentus omnia custodita ac recondite habet sicuti arca*, 3.19.2). The abundant presence of Roman comedy and mime throughout the book anticipates the presence of this trope, as does the introduction of Timon of Phlius, namesake of the prototypical miserly, and his satires on of the high prices spent on books by Plato and Aristotle at 3.17.⁷⁸ The reintroduction of the theme of *avaritia*, along with the presence of a name that conjures up the world of comedy, which was so critical for much of the early discussion throughout Book 3, recalls this theme for the reader in preparation for the etymological interpretation in 3.19. When Favorinus begins his rebuttal, then, his own words are cast in a comic tinge: '*superstitiose*' inquit '*et nimis moleste atque odiose confabricatus commolitusque magis est origine vocabuli Gavius iste Bassus, quam enarravit*' (3.19.3). Favorinus' description, when combined with the obvious overtones of the miser-type contained in the first etymology, suggests reading Gavius Bassus as akin to a comic poet: each of the verbs articulating the origin given by Bassus can express composition, with the compound force implying a more wholesale fabrication of the meaning out of the stock character. Given how Gellius has mixed Bassus' voice with that of Varro's satiric persona and Laberius' mimes in the previous chapter, such an interpretation could be a ready one for the reader. His continued objection at the contrivance of the explanation (*res commenticias*, 3.19.4) only serves to reinforce its artificiality.⁷⁹ The distinction drawn up, between what is less and more

⁷⁸ Keulen 2009, 123 (with n. 23) notes that the connection may be reinforced by Gellius' knowledge of an Atellane farce *Parcus* by Pacuvius which is cited at 17.2.8, and suggests some similarities with Apuleius' portrayal of the miser Milo at *Met.* 1.21.5-6.

⁷⁹ For Keulen 2009, Favorinus' indignity is more suggestive of the claims about his own life, "rejecting some as false, and accepting others as 'nearer to the truth'" (123).

probable, is compounded by the comic strain throughout the chapter, with Favorinus dismissing Bassus' interpretation on these grounds (*cur non probabilius videatur; quin potius... quod simplicius veriusque est*).⁸⁰ Favorinus is left to offer an explanation grounded in reality rather than comic abstraction; however, the sophist's own philological attitudes are contaminated by his preference the farcical and comedic, as Gellius has alluded to throughout the book, which leads to the de-gendering of *parcus* in his subsequent explanation which on the one hand rings hollow as a more probable solution, and on the other represents a satirical inversion of grammatical gender and the transference of Favorinus into the object of the joke.

Wytse Keulen in particular has argued for a strong satire of Favorinus in this chapter, and he has highlighted several explicit intratexts between the first and last chapters of the book, drawing attention to these references and the use of philology as a satirical device.⁸¹ In particular, he notes that in the final chapter of the book presents a reoccurrence of *avaritia* and its lack of manliness, with Favorinus taking center stage in the inquiry. He calls attention to a usage of *parcus* earlier at 3.1.12—a seemingly explicit attempt to link the two chapters in thought and argument. The enthusiasm (and vehemence) with which Favorinus engages with the origins of the word implicates his own reputation of avariciousness, which Keulen believes is alluded to elsewhere

⁸⁰ Probability is an important critical feature, especially for ancient literary scholars, dating back to at least the time of Aristotle (*Poet.* 1451a36-38); cf. Plut. *De audiendis* 18a-b. The idea is especially applied to characters and emotions, rather than other considerations, and the idea ultimately goes back as far as Plato (e.g. Pl. *Ion* 540b2-e9, Arist. *Poet.* 1454a21-23, Plut. *De audiendis* 18d); on the history this notion, see Pohlenz 1965, 1.100-139. Even if this approach based on etymology and its probability seems promising, nevertheless for Quintilian etymology, which he pairs with analogy, is the weakest authority in guiding a speaker, and he criticizes the approaches of Varro and others which overindulge in the use of such fanciful etymology (*Inst. Or.* 1.6.32-38).

⁸¹ Keulen 2009, 120-126.

throughout the *NA*.⁸² Additionally, he reads the emphasis on probability in the various proposed etymologies as a kind of metacommentary on the various controversies that followed the sophist throughout his career. He further notes that much of Favorinus' attempt to resolve any question of the meaning of the word acts as a form of metacommentary upon Favorinus himself, with his description of *parcus* both implicating him in the stereotypical depiction of the miser while at the same time alluding to his own problematic sexuality by using neuter pronouns and particles to describe the word's "deficiency."⁸³ At the end of the book, then, Gellius reapplies the trope of the first chapter, in which avarice led to unmanliness, by presenting the word for an avaricious man, *parcus*, as ambiguously gendered and deficient in manliness.⁸⁴ This analysis offers a compelling example of Gellius' subtle philological approach in action as well as linking two thematically important chapters in Book 3.

At the end of the book, then, Gellius' teacher and friend, the ostensible honorand given his pride of place at 3.1, is left in a paradoxical moment, triumphing over Gavius Bassus within the narrow context of 3.19, yet undermined as a comic target by Gellius

⁸² One of the central arguments made by Keulen is that Gellius offers numerous ironic or implied challenges to Favorinus' authority throughout the *NA*; on Favorinus generally, see Keulen 2009, 97-134 (for the double-edged portrait of the sophist in Book 3, see esp. 113-189). While insightful in the main (in particular, I follow his analysis of Favorinus' character development over the course of Book 3, which fits within the general intellectual narrative I have outlined here), Keulen potentially goes too far in attempting to see Gellius undercutting Favorinus at every turn even as he champions his intellectual prowess; Holford-Strevens 2009 in particular presents a serious challenge to the portrait that is presented, and finds many of the contemporary allusions identified by Keulen to be "overly convoluted," either imperceptible to the reader or else too slight as to be intended. To be sure, there are moments where such satire can be felt, and Gellius does appear to have fun at his mentor's expense throughout the work; caution is nevertheless required in seeing Gellius as treating Favorinus entirely with subversion and irony, rather than as a figure in whose protean nature there might be something worth emulating. Cf. above, Introduction, p. 13-14.

⁸³ Keulen 2009, 125.

⁸⁴ Keulen 2009, 126.

within the scope of the entire book.⁸⁵ Gellius manipulates this plurality of frames of reference, allowing on the one hand a short reading of the development of an idea or a character, as here in the case of Favorinus; yet, the careful reader interacting with the whole of the book will access a range of other material that must be brought to bear here. Read in isolation, 3.19 is a focused chapter in which an intellectual hero of Gellius debunks the incorrect etymology of *parcus*.⁸⁶ Favorinus is given the last word, and his proposal, aside from the slight awkwardness of his explanation of the word's gender at the close, seems to be accepted by Gellius without comment. Gavius Bassus appears to have been too clever in attempting to establish an etymology, made up whole cloth (*confabricatus commolitusque*) rather than relying on probability as an adequate basis for his explanation, as Favorinus ultimately does.

The rest of the book complicates this tidy picture, as we have seen. Gellius creates a sequence of tensions and comic inversions in the final chapter that come to the surface when read alongside the connections between Favorinus' etymological practice. Their authority is explored throughout the book, and in the final comparison of the two, both of their voices are undermined by the controlling presence of Gellius' authorial persona and the interactions of the various citations throughout Book 3; in Gavius Bassus' case, this is particular true of his treatment at 3.9, where Gellius disdains him as interested solely in *mirabilia* and not the lessons that can be learned from them. Additionally, the tension between the first chapter, with Favorinus' discussion of *avaritia*, and the sophist's

⁸⁵ On the placement, see Holford-Strevens 2003, 35-36; cf. Gunderson 2009, 171-172.

⁸⁶ Favorinus is frequently depicted performing similar displays of correcting the otherwise wrong or overzealous, including *grammatici*: 1.10, 3.1, 3.19, 4.1, 8.14 (according the surviving lemma), 12.1 (a wife who does not breastfeed her own children), 13.25, 17.19, 18.7 (debating Domitius Insanus). Cf. the checklist of Favorinus' appearances in the *NA* assembled at Baldwin 1975, 21-28.

etymology for *parcus* is compounded by the broader set of tensions throughout the book between Greek and Roman, Favorinus' authority against Gellius', and how to approach text. In one brief moment of philology, Gellius manages to activate all of the levels of characterization running throughout the book to create a different set of paradoxes around Favorinus than the set that he himself so famously espoused: he is ironically an avaricious man attempting to impose his own definition of who exactly is avaricious; he changes and obfuscates the grammatical gender of the word as his own gender remains ambiguous; and he attempts to profess with authority on Latin grammar despite a flawed conception of Latin etymology, while evincing a vice that has been established as prototypically Greek and diminishes his authority as a Roman. By the end of the third book, Gellius has usurped some of the intellectual authority that he had allotted to Favorinus, and setting the stage for the completion of this transition at the beginning of the fourth book.

NA 4.1 represents a similar scene as 3.19, in which Favorinus interrogates a *grammaticus* about the appropriate grammatical gender of the word *penus*, only for Gellius to undermine Favorinus' refutation by appealing to authoritative Latin philological texts.⁸⁷ After being addressed by an unknown, and thoroughly foolish, *grammaticus* while waiting for the morning *salutatio* of the emperor, Favorinus adopts a Socratic posture and asks the young man to further explain his claims about *penus* (namely that it can be declined in several different genders) by defining what the word means (4.1.3-6). In fact, Favorinus shows little interest in the original claims about the mutability of *penus*' gender, perhaps a veiled reference to his own purported

⁸⁷ On the scene generally, especially its satiric valences, see Keulen 2009, 87-94, 126-134.

hermaphroditism, as well as moving forward from the linguistic gender trouble in 3.19.⁸⁸ The boaster cannot answer the question effectively, attempting to deflect by claiming that he is no philosopher and thus is not concerned with precise definitions; Favorinus counters by providing a meaning of the word from Vergil, as well as the proffering the definition given by Quintus Scaevola (4.1.14-18).

So far, Favorinus has appeared to play the game correctly, using both literary and scholarly sources in his attempt to expose the foolishness of the *grammaticus*. However, Gellius' coda introduces two authors that expand on the meaning given to *penus*, including Aelius Catus' *Reprehensa Scaevolae Capita*: by citing an author correcting Scaevola, Gellius himself corrects Favorinus. Indeed, the rebuke implied in a citation apparently intended to fill out the reader's understanding of the word picks up Favorinus' own closing retort to the unnamed *grammaticus*: "it is no less disgraceful for Roman citizens who speak Latin not to indicate a thing with its proper word than it is not to call a man by his own name" (*'quoniam civibus Romanis Latine loquentibus rem non <suo> vocabulo demonstrare non minus turpe est, quam hominem non suo nomine appellare,'* 4.1.18). If by failing to provide a proper definition for *penus* the *grammaticus* has diminished his own claims to a Roman identity, that Favorinus is only able to provide a partial definition in need of supplementation by Gellius suggests that the same is true of him as well. Although he is cast as a Socratic figure in the mold of the *Theaetetus*, and is intelligent enough to expose the failings of the *grammaticus*, nevertheless Gellius depicts Favorinus as caught between this Greek posture and an insufficiently developed Roman

⁸⁸ Keulen 2009, 88, who observes that the confused gender of the noun is addressed by grammarians including Donatus. Moreover, as he notes, the pun on *penus/penis* is likely alluding to this same nexus of Favorinus' biological sex, bringing the two into dialogue.

identity. While his expertise in both Latin and Greek is admirable, over the course of Book 3 Gellius began to offer challenges to Favorinus' polymathic intellect that come to a head at the transition point between 3.19 and 4.1. The sophist may be able to recognize and expose the inadequacies of foolish pretenders to knowledge, but he is nevertheless caught between the two identities which he attempts to claim for himself. As Gellius' treatment of Greek and Roman identities and their accompanying habits of mind over the course of Book 3 illustrates, they are not concomitant; although Favorinus' protean intellect is deserving of emulation, nevertheless he does not successfully demonstrate the proper balance between these two traditions for Roman citizens—this can only be obtained through the lessons in approaching literature and history that Gellius represents.

Conclusion

Over the course of the third book of the *NA*, several of Gellius' recurring concerns surface, particularly the authority of both his contemporaries and his written sources. These concerns are borne out in several distinct units, all of which are ultimately linked to one another thematically and textually. The first five chapters, 3.1-5, introduce many of the elements of content which will feature prominently throughout the remainder of the book, including the reckoning of days (3.2), the philological applications of Plautus (3.3), and, through the person of Favorinus, an extended reflection on Roman *virtus* (beginning in 3.1 and resumed in 3.4-5). These elements are further elaborated in the second core unit of the book, 3.6-10, in which Gellius presents several examples of Greek and Roman virtues, reflecting on the comparative merits of each. An additional feature introduced early on is the authority of Varro, whose voice is repeatedly manipulated

throughout the book by Gellius. This theme is prominent in the latter stages of the book, most clearly at 3.16, which looks back to the earlier patterns of citation and structure. By mimicking the earlier citations, Gellius manipulates Varro's voice in such a way that Gellius himself is left as the real intellectual authority underlying the entire endeavor of the *NA*. Like Varro, Favorinus looms large as an influence throughout the book, but the power of his intermittent presence is undercut by his use as a framing device, with his own attitudes at the outset of the book standing in stark contrast to his philological inquiries at the end of the book. The meditations on what it is to be Roman, both in terms of masculinity as well as thought, highlight throughout the course of the book Favorinus' own problems of masculinity as well as his authority, even as Gellius constantly refers to him as a teacher and source. These various tensions are part of the broader aesthetic design of the *NA*, and careful attention to the miscellany's prosaics, keeping in mind the role of the active reader, is reflective of a method of engagement with the text that accesses these deeper reflections on the role of the Roman intellectual. Gellius' audience is only able to emulate the paradigm established throughout Book 3 by becoming active readers of the sort which Gellius attempts to cultivate in displays such as 3.16. By weaving a network of interrelations into the third book, Gellius is able to explore the different elements of what for him make up Roman identity, in contrast with the impractical Greek philosophers and sophists he frequently encounters, and to hold up his own persona as an ideal model of the meeting of the intellectual and the political for his reader.

CHAPTER 4

GELLIUS AND MODELS OF GENTLEMAN SCHOLARSHIP: PLINY, TACITUS, AND SENECA

Introduction

Reading Gellius' work in a linear fashion, as I have suggested in the previous chapters, more frequently than not contradicts the randomized conceit of the *NA* so proudly declared in the Preface. Rather, Gellius has offered a model of scholarship and intellectual engagement throughout his work that rewards critical engagement, rather than the casual reader who reads select chapter solely on a topic of interest. Indeed, the complex system of (self-)citation which abounds throughout the work ensnares the reader into the web of the *NA*, then educates him by inculcating the scholarly habits of mind that are prized by Gellius. At the same time, it implicates the audience in the literary game of cat and mouse played throughout the work, mapping which authorial voice, whether his own, that of his explicit sources, or an admixture of both, Gellius brings to the fore at any given point in the polyphony of his text. Negotiating the dissonances becomes part of the lesson, as well as part of the pleasure, of reading.

While Gellius' direct quotations often evoke the world of Roman antiquarian thought and have been considered as important sources for *scholarship* in the Antonine period, the far subtler *literary* intertextual relationships he crafts are often left by the wayside. Modern scholars have begun to consider Gellius' particular relationships with those works that he explicitly evokes, such as the *Historia Naturalis* of Pliny the Elder or

the *Epistulae Morales* of Seneca the Younger, though they rarely look beyond these figures.¹ That Gellius does not devote extended space to authors of the Neronian period or later save, Seneca at NA 12.2 and the exception of writers considered scholars like Pliny the Elder or Suetonius, is attributed first and foremost to his taste for archaism, as well as a general distaste for authors later than the Augustan period.² Despite this attitude, however, he shows affinities with several authors of the Trajanic period that are often overlooked by scholars seeking to unravel the intertextual fabric of the *NA*, most notably to Pliny the Younger and Tacitus.³

Both of these writers provide paradigms of literary output in the imperial context in which they successfully manage to balance their *negotium* with their sophisticated writings, and I suggest that Gellius has incorporated their perspectives into his own project and the persona he attempts to construct throughout the *NA*. If the traditional scholarly understanding of Gellius and his attitudes towards Imperial literature indicates an avowed archaist disinterested in much of Roman literature after the end of the Republic, this chapter asserts the value in reading the *NA* as part of continuity that includes the major works of Trajanic prose.⁴ Such a reintegration into the Latin literary

¹ Rust 2009, 105-198; cf. Howley 2011, 65-119.

² Holford-Strevens 2003, 276.

³ Plutarch is an oft-cited model, given his explicitly miscellaneous works and the prominence of the Greek thinker throughout the *NA*. Howley 2011, 65-119 in particular draws attention to Gellius' use of the literary critical tradition, in particular on methods and virtues of reading, exemplified in Quintilian and in Plutarch. Comparisons with other Second Sophistic authors are generally scarce. Connections with his contemporaries Fronto and Apuleius are more well-established: Marache 1952, 203-217 paints a picture of Gellius as a partisan of Frontonian aesthetics, while Holford-Strevens 2003, 22-26 elaborates the hypothetical intertextual relationship between the two, suggesting mutual use and interdependence.

⁴ As noted previously (see Introduction, pp. 13), Keulen 2009 is an obvious exception. His project of recognizing irony and humor throughout the *NA* is predicated upon reading the text against the background of Second Sophistic literature, in addition to the broader Roman intellectual tradition; by integrating Gellius into the literary narrative of the Second Sophistic, rather than interpreting him solely within the context of Roman scholarly writings, as is often the case in handbooks of Latin literature.

history is to an extent invited by the parallels that Gellius constructs between his work and the *Epistles* of Pliny the Younger in particular; more importantly, though, by recognizing Gellius as writing with the broader tradition of imperial prose, we can begin to appreciate in greater detail his strategies of self-representation, as well as to elaborate the context of his literary techniques and their intellectual background. Indeed, the intratextual methodology that has been developed over the previous chapters helps to illustrate the connections with Gellius and his predecessors more clearly if we approach Gellius' *commentarii* by reading thematically linked cycles in the work, in addition to the more immediately connected chapters. By focusing on narrow thematic units, Gellius' overlap with his Trajanic predecessors can be articulated most clearly

In this chapter I examine Gellius' relationship with several Latin prose authors of the previous generation with a view towards reintegrating the *NA* into the broader history of Latin literature. I begin with an analysis of the one extended critique of Seneca and his literary merits within the *NA* (12.2), which treats a letter of Seneca from a book of the *Epistulae Morales* that is nowhere else attested (Book 22) and draws heavily and most clearly on the anti-Senecan polemics of Fronto and Quintilian. I argue that in his analysis Gellius has selected citations for Senecan viewpoints that echo the discussions of Tacitus' *Dialogus*, and in fact the narrative structure of the work is paralleled in the course of Gellius' discussion. On the one hand, this chapter represents, in miniature, a sustained challenge to the excesses of Neronian Latin rhetoric as represented by the *Dialogus*; at the same time, it serves as a demonstration of Gellius' ability to reconfigure the Latin literary critical tradition and allow Seneca's own words to expose his failings as both a stylist and a model for intellectual development.

Next, I examine further subtle resonances of Tacitus in the *NA*; I propose that his radical reinterpretation of the role of intellectuals under the principate provides a counterpoint to Gellius and the more liberal times under the Antonines. Nevertheless, an anxiety about the propriety of speech and rhetoric pervades both authors, as well as a concern for the proper place of silence within the principate. By exploring the resonances between the authors in their attitudes towards intellectual and public speech, I suggest that these affinities offer a window into Gellius' own views on the political sphere, which are traditionally downplayed.⁵ In contrast to others who may strive to advance in society, Gellius appears content to avoid the dangers faced by intellectuals in Tacitus' works.

Last, I conclude by considering the role played by Pliny the Younger throughout the *NA*. Much as Pliny's *Epistles* are a collection that has been artistically arranged by its author, I argue that Gellius adapts the literary model of the *Epistles* for his own collection, in which complex intratextual relationships abound and may offer a model for Gellius' own prose poetics. I then consider a further debt to the *Epistles* in the depiction of villa scenes in both authors. The villas of the *NA* are rare (1.2, 17.10, 18.10), but frequently offer meditation on Roman identity and the role of the elite intellectual, in large part because of their function as spaces of intellectual pursuit. In connecting Pliny's depictions of his life at his own villas with similar scenes in the *NA*, I argue Gellius presents himself as a peer of Pliny's, moving in similar circles and engaging in a parallel intellectual life. Both sets of villa scenes are a meditation on what it means to be a Roman intellectual, and Gellius has in Pliny a ready model upon which to draw. Further, in

⁵ Holford-Strevens 2003, 295-297 does not comment on any potential political activity other than Gellius' role as a private *iudex*; Keulen 2009, 193-235 overstates the case for a politically involved Gellius in arguing that Gellius is attempting to establish himself as an ideal imperial counselor; Gunderson 2009 elides this aspect of Gellius completely from his portrayal.

dissociating himself from Seneca's villas in the *Epistulae Morales*, he distances himself from the Senecan stylistic canon as well as the Senecan moral framework, as discussed earlier in the chapter.

Each of these case studies approaches Gellius' relationship with canonical imperial prose authors concerning whom he is otherwise silent. The absence of authors whom modern classicists consider canonical is often remarked upon with some consternation.⁶ Gellius is nothing more than an archaist single-mindedly focused upon an emerging canon of Republican "classical" authors, according to such readings.⁷ However, the absence of direct citation or naming of these authors does not conclusively prove Gellius' lack of acquaintance with their intellectual and literary habits, nor does it imply his disinterest in reading them. Indeed, "[w]hat Gellius says is no guide to what he does."⁸ Gellius' silence is no indication that he is not in conversation with authors of the Trajanic period or earlier, or at the very least aware of his standing in the literary tradition within which he is writing. It is hard to imagine as well-read a Roman as Gellius is to be completely ignorant of the major authors of the preceding generation; it remains to

⁶ Knapp 1897, 134 expresses the author's great shock that, for all his apparent learning, Gellius ignores all of the canonical literary figures after Vergil; he names Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, Livy, Juvenal, Quintilian, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, Martial, and Statius as authors conspicuously absent from the *NA*, though as I suggest throughout this chapter the presences of Quintilian, Tacitus, and Pliny are far stronger than he recognizes. Holford-Strevens 2003, 208-209 comments on Gellius' taste in oratory, noting that while not entirely devoted to early Republican rhetoric at the expense of Cicero and Caesar, he nevertheless demurs from quoting speeches of orators with a more modernist bent, even as he cites their poetry (as in the case of Calvus, e.g.). Likewise, Holford-Strevens 2003, 209 remarks upon Gellius' apparent silence on post-Vergilian poets in accordance with the literary tastes of his time (with n. 65 arguing against several possible reminiscences of Ovid in the *NA*).

⁷ Vessey 1994, 1867.

⁸ Holford-Strevens 2003, 35, with reference to the apparent reordering and structuring of the *NA* despite his explicit claims to the contrary and attempts to preserve the appearance of a chance order. Gunderson 2009, 273 builds on this remark by suggesting that the nature of the text itself is a better indicator of what Gellius has done than any particular claims the author may make about his own work. This latter claim is important in understanding the place of authors not explicitly named within the text.

recognize his affinities with these figures instead of eliding them from an interpretation of the *NA*. To that end, the explorations in this chapter suggest a means of approaching Gellius' attempt at situating his own work against his predecessors, even if he is silent about them. By reasserting the importance of authors such as Pliny and Tacitus within the *NA*, a fuller picture of Gellius' self-representation becomes manifest, as well as his views on the intellectual culture of his time. In analyzing Seneca the Younger's place within the *NA*, we are upon more solid ground given the direct citations of his *Epistulae Morales* at 12.2 (though, curiously, is our only source for the now-lost Book 22, from which his citations derive). In what follows, I argue that Gellius' ridicule of Seneca and his stylistic values demonstrates awareness of the broader anti-Senecan polemic tradition: indeed, Gellius evokes elements of these traditions in refashioning his own attack on the philosopher, reflecting his full acquaintance with the critical tradition.

Gellius and the Reception of Seneca—A Case Study of Imperial Literary Criticism

While no other author after Vergil appears in the *NA* with the exception of scholarly writers, Seneca the Younger in particular comes in for scrutiny as a proponent of a uniquely pernicious form of rhetoric, grounded in *sententiae* and thoroughly abandoning the models of the Republican age such as Cicero. While Gellius sets up Seneca as a straw man representative of the excesses of Neronian Latin prose and systematically dismantles his worth for contemporary students, Gellius keeps in mind Tacitus' own assault on the same literary movement in his *Dialogus*. In assailing Seneca, he chiefly cites passages of Seneca's *Epistulae Morales* (*EM*), all of which have close parallels to discussions in the *Dialogus* and which activate those critiques for the reader.

Seneca is allowed to prove his own unsatisfactory nature for teaching students through his own words, even as Gellius makes use of Tacitus as a final nail in Seneca's coffin. In this diatribe, Gellius is playing within a polemical tradition that is well-established in his time;⁹ however, his reconfiguration of the different strands of attack reflect his own creative reinterpretation of this tradition.

At 12.2, Gellius performs an extensive critique of Seneca the Younger's philological skills and taste. Focusing narrowly on Seneca's stylistic evaluations of Ennius, Cicero, and Vergil, Gellius lambasts his predecessor in particular for his focus on trivial elements and an ultimate failure to appreciate the style of Republican orators (*levi futtilique iudicio fuit*, 12.2.1em). Gellius opens his attack on Seneca by enumerating the two camps of readers, those who find him to be a trifling author of no real consequence and those who, while conceding his stylistic inadequacies, acknowledge him as a not unlearned authority on the material contained in his works (12.2.1). The first group argue that Seneca was deficient in both *elegantia* and *iudicium*, stress that "his language seemed vulgar and hackneyed, his subject matter and his opinions characterized either by a foolish and hollow hostility or by trifling and legalistic sophistry" (*oratio eius vulgaria videatur et protrita, res atque sententiae aut inepto inanique impetu sint aut levi et causicidicali argutia, eruditio autem vernacula et plebeia nihilque ex veterum scriptis habens neque gratiae neque dignitatis*, 12.2.1). This contrasts with the attitudes of Seneca's supporters who note that, in spite of his lack of *elegantia*, Seneca was knowledgeable of his material and, significantly, "did not lack seriousness and a dignity

⁹ Holford-Strevens 2003, 276; Dominik 1997, 65 observes that Gellius, along with Fronto, "loathed Seneca" in an attitude typical of his time.

that was not unclever in excoriating the faults of his times” (*ei non deesse... in vitiis morum obiurgandis severitatem gravitatemque non invenustam*, 12.2.1).

Though he does not endeavor to pass sweeping judgments on Seneca as an author, instead preferring to hone in on and to critique several discrete stylistic analyses, by foregrounding the general debate Gellius presents his own discussion of Seneca’s *iudicium* as part of the wider concerns about the literary tradition. In particular, his deprecation of Seneca’s style (*oratio*) as having a pleader’s cleverness (*causidicalis argutia*) invokes the Latin critical and historical tradition as a backdrop, with Tacitus’ *Dialogus de Oratoribus* a significant presence.¹⁰ There, *causidici* are introduced at the outset as contemporary rhetorical figures who do not deserve the title of *orator*, which Tacitus reserves exclusively for those from earlier generations (*neque enim ita appellamos nisi antiquos, horum autem temporum disertis causidici et advocati et patroni et quidvis potius quam oratores vocantur*, Tac. *Dial.* 1.1).¹¹ Likewise, Maternus, in describing the golden age of rhetoric and poetry during his response to Aper’s first speech, observes that no legal speaker ever held as much as honor amongst gods or kings as poets did (Tac. *Dial.* 12.4), stressing that poetry is the source of eloquence (*haec eloquentiae primordia*,

¹⁰ The text here is problematic, as *causidicali* is Vogel’s conjecture for the fraught MSS reading of *quasi dicaci* (or *quasi dicacis*); the conjectured adjectival form, accepted by most modern editors, occurs only at Fronto *Ep.* 4.5.3.4 in a similar discussion of defective style (*sed ego orationibus his perlectis paululum misere scripsi, quod aut Lymphis aut Volcano dicarem: ἀληθῶς ἀτυχῶς σήμερον γέγραπται μοι, venatoris plane aut vindemiatoris studiolum, qui iubilis suis cubiculum meum perstrepunt, causidicali prosum odio et taedio*) and here as a conjecture. If the conjecture is correct, the usage here reflects both Gellius’ awareness of contemporary literary-critical discourse and their evolution, as well as the broader critical tradition, entering into dialogue with Quintilian and Seneca, among others including Tacitus. *Contra* see Holford-Strevens 2003, 277 n. 73, proposing that Fronto *Orat.* 2 (*dictabolaria, immo dicteria potius eum quam dicta confingere*) confirms the mss. reading *quasi dicaci*.

¹¹ *causidicus* in the imperial period has an almost exclusively negative connotation (“pleaderly” rather than the rhetorically polished speeches of early *advocati* such as Cicero), and the term frequently appears in contexts satirizing or denigrating inadequate rhetoric (e.g. Petr. 46, Mart. 2.64, 4.8, Juv. 7.148). See *ThLL* s.v. *cau(s)idicus* iii.703.77-704.39.

haec penetralia). This dichotomy, reinforced throughout the *Dialogus*, effectively serves as the framework for Gellius' repudiation of Senecan criticism, and other Tacitean elements intrude into this critique.

The attack on Seneca in 12.2 is conducted in the main through direct quotation of the *EM* with limited editorial analysis or interjection on the part of Gellius, save for his harsh description of Seneca's pronouncements, with which he disagrees and to which he chooses to draw critical attention. The choice of passages from this letter is especially marked, as I suggest throughout this discussion—while Gellius (unlike modern scholars) had the entirety of this letter available, he nevertheless selected a series of quotes that evoke a particular nexus of criticism of Seneca's style and his attitude towards canonical literature.¹² Gellius thus introduces one such passage on Cicero and the Senecan objection that Cicero went out of his way to illustrate his reading of Ennius by suggesting that Seneca claimed this “most stupidly” (*addidit insulsissime*, 12.2.6). Gellius then continues, albeit scornfully, to cite Seneca's apology for Cicero and his incorporation of Ennian verses into his prose: “and then that trifling man apologizes for Cicero's errors and says that ‘this is not a fault of Cicero, but of his time; it was necessary that these things be said, when those verses were being read’ ” (*atque ibi homo nugator Ciceronis erroris deprecatur et ‘non fuit’ inquit ‘Ciceronis hoc vitium, sed temporis; necesse est erat haec dici, cum illa legerentur,’ ” 12.2.8*). The passages quoted by Gellius echo other

¹² To be sure, the tradition to which Gellius alludes in his attack on Seneca need not require the passages he has cited to evoke Tacitus to be marked—that Gellius would single out these particular elements for criticism is itself meaningful and worth remarking upon. However by considering these passages alongside their potential Tacitean intertexts, I aim to offer a potential avenue for recognizing Gellius' use of earlier literature that is not cited by name. It may be objected that the Senecan passages quoted in this discussion are not themselves allusions to Tacitus' discussions in the *Dialogus* expressly because they are quotations rather than the words of Gellius himself. However, the passages that Gellius quotes have been selected to be part of his argument here—in effect they have become his words—and this choice opens up the possibility that he has excerpted these particular lines because of their evocative nature.

critiques of scholarly readings of Cicero and Ennius preserved in the extant *EM* at 108.32-3: there, Seneca deprecates the philologist's recognition of Ennian models for Vergil's poems, as well as pardoning archaisms in Cicero's writing as a product of contemporary tastes.¹³ Gellius' snide comment at Seneca's expense, calling him a *homo nugator*, signals his lack of respect for the Senecan judgment that he is reporting, even as he does not linger on the evaluating Seneca's opinion.¹⁴

Yet, the claim that Cicero was only following the custom of his time and thus is freed from the stylistic fault is significant, given the parallels offered by Aper's second speech in the *Dialogus*. As he sketches out an archaeology of Latin oratory, Aper notes that even in the archaic period of rhetoric, "the form and character of oratory must change with the condition of the time and the diversity of aural taste" (*cum condicione temporum et diversitate aurium formam quoque ac speciem orationis esse mutandam*, Tac. *Dial.* 19.2).¹⁵ Similarly, he notes that he will not attack Mesalla Corvinus for falling short of

¹³ *Eosdem libros cum grammaticus explicuit, primum [verba expresse] 'reapse' dici a Cicerone, id est 're ipsa,' in commentarium refert, nec minus 'sepse,' id est 'se ipse.' Deinde transit ad ea quae consuetude saeculi mutavit.... Deinde Ennianus colligit versus et in primis illos de Africano scriptos... Felicem deinde se putat quod invenerit unde visum sit Vergilio dicere "quem super ingens / porta tonat caeli." Ennium hoc ait Homero [se] subripuisse, Ennio Vergilium.*

¹⁴ While Gellius employs the collocation *homo nugator* several times throughout the *NA* (11.8.4, 15.2.2) and *nugator* has a rich tradition of being applied to relatively insignificant characters (or figures whom the speaker wishes to represent as such) dating to Plautus and continuing through Cicero (cf. *OED* s.v. *nugator*, 1), this use of *nugator* may be more marked if it is understood to allude to a fragment of an unidentified tragedy of Ennius, preserved by Festus, in which the speaker deprecates his target in a manner similar to Gellius: *illic est nugator nihili non nauci homo* (Enn. *trag. ades.* fr. 202 Jocelyn). Gellius would thus be deploying the strategy of introducing Ennian material into his prose in order to attack Seneca, an illustration of why Cicero might have included such verses in his own writing rather than as a means to not have wasted his time in reading Ennius ('*Aput ipsum quoque*' inquit '*Ciceronem invenies etiam in prosa oratione quaedam, ex quibus intellegas illum non perdidisse operam, quod Ennium legit,*' 12.2.6).

¹⁵ As noted by Mayer 2001, 149, adaptation to the changing tastes is likewise held up by Quintilian (*Inst.* 12.10.2, 12.10.45) and contrasts with the narrative of decline that Aper's opponents in the *Dialogus* offer, which are in line with conventional portrayals of Roman literary history. Dominik 1997, 62-65 remarks upon several parallels between Seneca's own attitudes towards the mutability of style and that of Aper, especially the former's claim that style has no fixed rule but changes with the custom of the time (*Ep.* 114.13: *oratio certam regulam non habet: consuetudo illam civitatis, quae numquam in eodem diu stetit, versat*). Cf. Levene 2004, 179 (with n. 59), who observes that this change in tastes is not purely aesthetic, in

the contemporary standards of style “because it is not his fault that he demonstrates less the brightness and ebullience of our own time; for we see how full either his soul or his talent was with discernment” (*nolo Corvinum insequi, quia non per ipsum stetit quo minus laetitiam nitoremque nostrorum temporum exprimeret; videmus enim quam iudicio eius vis aut animi aut ingenii suffecerit*, Tac. *Dial.* 21.9).¹⁶ For Aper, the fault in lacking the aesthetic elevation and stylistic features praised by his contemporaries lies not with Corvinus, but rather is representative of the defective taste of the period in which Corvinus was active.

Aper then attempts to paint Cicero as aligned with his paradigm of the modernity of language, noting that unlike his contemporaries Cicero preferred the novel style of his time (*ad Ciceronem venio, cui eadem pugna cum aequalibus suis fuit quae mihi vobiscum est: illi enim antiquos mirabantur, ipse suorum temporum eloquentiam anteponebat*, Tac. *Dial.* 22.1). In spite of his superiority in his own time, however, Aper casts doubt on the suitability of Cicero as a model for contemporary orators, citing in particular the elements of archaic writing still present in his orations (22.3-23.4) in a similar vein to Seneca’s criticisms of Cicero and his use of Ennius in his speeches and philosophical writings (*NA* 12.2.6-8). An important consideration developed by Aper in his second speech in this regard is the manner in which the modern orator formulates his own style, responding to the aesthetics of his predecessors (18.1-2) as well as recognizing that in his time poetic innovation is demanded by the audiences of prose (*exigitur enim iam ab oratore etiam*

spite of Aper’s peroration praising the intermixing of different genres as a stylistic virtue of his day, but a subtle allusion to the role played by the shifting politics of the Principate in dictating aesthetic tastes.

¹⁶ Mayer 2001, 160 stresses that the emphasis on the brightness of contemporary style, with its allusion to Cic. *De or.* 1.81 and the suggestion that brilliance of style is inherently unsuited to forensic oratory, here represents a subversion of the modernist position advocated by Aper.

poeticus decor, non Acci aut Pacuvi veterno inquinatus sed ex Horati et Vergili et Lucani sacrario prolatus, 20.5).¹⁷ He concedes the cross-pollination of literary forms as a necessity to modern rhetoric while rejecting the use of antique poetry and other models as part of aesthetic development. As the learning of the audiences improved and their desire for more cultivated speech increased, the necessity of such intermixing became more pronounced and elevates the sophistication of contemporary rhetoric, on Aper's analysis.¹⁸

That Seneca voices several similar objections to Cicero as those that Aper raises as part of his defense of modernity is suggestive of an implicit connection between the two lines of argument. While it is obvious from his treatment of Seneca throughout the chapter that Gellius fundamentally disapproves of the critical stance adopted by the Neronian author, as anyone as invested as Gellius himself was in the appreciation of Republican literature like would, how the reader is to treat Aper and his defense of contemporary rhetoric in the context of the *Dialogus* is less certain. By calculating the date of Cicero's death and its implication for whether he should be considered ancient (17.1-5), Aper both introduces near the beginning of his speech the historical context of rhetoric, as well as locating their own discussion of rhetoric in a particular historical moment. In so doing, he positions his second speech to offer a serious, systematic defense of contemporary taste that is temporally conditioned (even if he does not himself

¹⁷ Levene 2004, 174-175.

¹⁸ As Levene 2004, 178 suggests that Aper and Maternus both interpret literary history as dictated by evolving aesthetic tastes and criteria, with borrowings and stylistic debts conditioned by both authors' and audiences' own readings. If Maternus is principally interested in linking historical circumstances to the suitability for poetry and rhetoric, Aper in contrast acknowledges the various literary forms that can coexist at any given time and the ways in which they may enrich one another. He introduces into the discussion the concept that style is mutable and will develop over time, and the framework that he proposes attempts to take into account these changes.

take the next step and examine the historical causes for these reasons).¹⁹ His assessment of Cicero, while noting that Cicero was observing the taste of his own period, likewise objects to his perceived adherence to archaic forms of style and observes that Cicero's early speeches are not free of these particular vices (*nam priores eius orationis non carent vitiis antiquitatis*, 22.3). These facets of his orations in particular make Cicero's work unsuitable for emulation in contemporary forensic training, Aper suggests, and exhorts the brightness and stylistic richness represented in the oratorical skills of Maternus and Secundus (24.3).

In Gellius' lampoon, it is curious that Seneca dismisses the introduction of Ennius' poetry as a ploy of Cicero to restrain the very brightness of his style (*Ciceronem haec ipsa interposuisse ad effugiendam infamiam nimis lascivae orationis et nitidae*, NA 12.2.9). Seneca also claims, according to Gellius, that Vergil himself introduced elements of Ennian poetry into his own verses in order to ensure that his audience would be able to recognize elements of old poetry and thus appreciate Vergil's work all the more (*ut Ennianus populus adgnosceret in novo carmine aliquid antiquitatis*, 12.2.10). This detail about Vergil's practice reinforces what has become apparent in Seneca's attitude toward Cicero: that in these authors, Ennius only appears as a nod to the tastes of contemporary

¹⁹ Goldberg 1999 presents a strong rebuke to scholars content to read Aper uncritically and simply going through the motions of defending contemporary rhetoric in order to provide a foil for his interlocutors to refute; in particular, he highlights that this expected rebuke never arrives (237), and that the intertextual relationship constructed between Aper's speech and that of Antonius at Cic. *De or.* 1.263 is suggestive that Aper's argumentation ought to be read seriously (233-235). Similarly, Levene 2004, 172-179, reads Aper's speeches as part of a larger, integrated approach to literary history developed by Tacitus across all of his interlocutors' speeches in the *Dialogus*. This approach has precedent in Walker 1960, 151-152, citing Nettleship's claims that for Tacitus, rhetoric is an expression of culture and social health; and Williams 1978, 42-48, arguing for Aper's assertions about the relativity of stylistic taste as part of Tacitus' general narrative of decline throughout the *Dialogus*, even if, following Ciceronian models, he is speaking on behalf of a position that he does not himself support. Syme 1958, 108-109 sees Aper as a proxy for Regulus and the oratory he represents; however, he would have been too close to Tacitus' day to appear in the *Dialogus* safely.

audiences. Gellius, however, disagrees with this criticism and its attendant rejection of mixing old and new in the works of Cicero and Vergil; he presents these arguments as fundamentally flawed throughout these citations. Additionally, this dismissive attitude of Seneca contrasts with the literary archaeology constructed by Aper in the *Dialogus*. While both Seneca and Aper oppose the use of archaic models for modern oratory, the latter concedes the utility of integrating genres; Seneca on the other hand is resistant to Cicero's and Vergil's use of Ennius, writing it off as mere attempts at placating their audiences, and is accordingly lampooned as foolish by Gellius as a result.

Gellius takes his own critique of Seneca one step further, however. After drawing attention to what he believes a feeble joke on the part of Seneca (12.2.11), Gellius ironically claims that Seneca is worthy of the study of young men on the basis of his attempted humor (*dignus sane Seneca videatur lectione ac studio adolescentium*, 12.2.12). After citing another witticism originating in Seneca's works, Gellius then drops the veneer of sarcasm and delivers a coup de grace, implying that the negative facets of Seneca's work and style are deleterious to the education of young men and thus ought to be left by the way:

Benene hoc? Sane bene; sed adolescentium indolem non tam iuvant, quae bene dicta sunt, quam inficiunt, quae pessime, multoque tanto magis, si et plura sunt, quae deteriora sunt, et quaedam in his non pro ἐνθυμήματι aliquo rei parvae ac simplicis, sed in re ancipiti pro consilio dicuntur.

Isn't this well said? Very well said; but things that are well said do not so much benefit the nature of young men as things that are poorly put damage their nature, and so much more so if the bad things are the majority, and if some bad thing is said, not as an enthymeme about some small and trivial matter, but as advice in a matter of discernment. (NA 12.2.14)

Given Seneca's prominence as a litterateur among certain figures of his day, as noted at the outset, Gellius takes care to emphasize the dangers inherent in the kind of sophistry represented by Seneca. This attack is part of a broader invective tradition targeting

Seneca and his stylistic excesses, best represented by Quintilian, as we shall see. Moreover, even though he here attributes this joke about avarice and the insatiable desire for wealth to Seneca (*‘Quid enim refert, quantum habeas? multo illud plus est, quod non habes,’* 12.2.13), the same sentiment has already been offered by Gellius, in his own voice as well as Favorinus’, at 9.8. There, Gellius notes that it is only the rich man who feels in need of more possessions: *multis egere qui multa habeat, magnamque indigentiam nasci non ex inopia magna, sed ex magna copia; multa enim desiderari ad multa, quae habeas, tuenda* (9.8.1). Further, he cites Favorinus’ own attempt at expressing this opinion succinctly at the end of one of his speeches (*hanc sententiam memini Favorino inter ingentes omnium clamores detornatam inclusamque verbis his paucissimis*, 9.8.3). While Gellius thus is elsewhere in agreement with the general sentiment expressed by Seneca and appreciates his phrasing and its brevity here, he stresses the difference between this joke and his critical attitudes towards Cicero and Vergil. Though this form of philosophical maxim is appropriate for advancing the simple Stoic precepts contained in these observations on wealth, Gellius considers the form itself to be a hazard to the student attempting to learn stylistic discernment and taste. Seneca’s treatment is especially pernicious to young minds because it presents a series of decontextualized readings in a manner unsuited to the topic. He argues that although Seneca aims to couch his judgments on earlier writers in a pithy manner that might appeal to his audiences or be appropriate in an exclusively philosophical setting, nevertheless he lacks merit in terms of content—and it is this pairing that is especially harmful for young men, especially given the claims of Seneca’s adherents who support his authority. Gellius excoriates his predecessor’s taste in literature, dismissive as it is of

authors whom Gellius admires, and frames his critique as a defense of educational standards that are grounded in an appreciation of archaic and classical Latin literature.

As I have noted, in singling out Seneca for critique as he does, Gellius follows the lead of Quintilian, writing near the end of Domitian's reign. In his consideration of which authors of the Latin canon ought to be read by the student of rhetoric, Quintilian addresses Seneca last, among the authors writing on philosophical topics. He begins his discussion by claiming that he does not so much hate Seneca, as many think, but rather believes that his writings are a pernicious influence on young students.²⁰ Quintilian's main objection is Seneca's attitude towards his literary predecessors, whom he frequently disparaged out of concern that his own style, which radically diverged from these authors, would fail to be appreciated by partisans of earlier literature (*potioribus praeferri non sinebam, quos ille non destiterat incessere, cum diversi sibi conscius generis placere se in dicendo posse quibus illi placerent diffideret*, 10.1.126). Young men only manage to imitate (poorly) Seneca's faults, Quintilian continues, before conceding that Seneca was not without virtues, chiefly the breadth of his learning and of his corpus (*ingenium facile et copiosum, plurimum studii, multa rerum cognitio... tractavit etiam omnem fere studiorum materiam*, 10.1.128), as well as his moralizing philosophical stance (*multae in eo claraeque sententiae, multa etiam morum gratia legenda*, 10.1.129). In spite of these virtues, though, his tendency towards the epigrammatic and sententious results in a prose style unsuitable for students (10.1.129-130). Quintilian concludes his assessment before moving on to a discussion of *imitatio* with the observation that those who have fully

²⁰ *Ex industria Senecam in omni genere eloquentiae distuli, propter vulgatam falso de me opinionem qua damnare eum et invisum quoque habere sum creditus. Quod accidit mihi dum corruptum et omnibus vitiis fractum dicendi genus revocare ad severiora iudicia contendo : tum autem solus hic fere in manibus adolescentium fuit.* (Quin. Inst. 10.1.125).

developed their critical faculties should read Seneca not least as an exercise discerning the good from the bad, for while there are admirable elements of Seneca's corpus, they are often couched in a precious, and ultimately pernicious, style (10.1.131).

Quintilian's assessment of Seneca's style shares several elements of Gellius', albeit narrower, critiques offered at NA 12.2. While Quintilian appears to fall into the second group of critics mentioned by Gellius (those who consider Seneca not entirely without intellectual merit but nevertheless possessing a corrupt style, 12.2.1), both authors identify two chief faults: Seneca's style is overly reliant on pithy *sententiae* which, though attractive, often express inappropriate ideas, and Seneca often provides criticisms of his literary betters that may seduce young readers away from appreciating foundational members of the Latin canon such as Cicero and Ennius. Indeed, the entirety of Gellius' discussion aims to emphasize Seneca's faulty opinions of previous literature, summed up briefly by Quintilian in his claims that Seneca slandered archaic styles in order to support his own (*cum diversi sibi conscius generis placere se in dicendo posse quibus illi placerent diffideret*, 10.1.126). Similarly, Gellius and Quintilian both concede that Seneca occasionally contains edifying content, but that all too frequently his precious style detracts from any potential benefit which might be derived. Gellius' criticism of Seneca, then, closely follows the tradition of Quintilian's own influential assessment.²¹ Quintilian especially is concerned with students and their vain attempts to emulate Seneca's style, which resulted in adopting its failings into their own writing (*placebat propter sola vitia, et ad ea se quisque dirigebat effigienda quae poterat*, 10.1.127). This

²¹ Quintilian in particular sought to fight against the rise of modern rhetorical practice and sought a reversion to earlier Ciceronian models, as evinced by his canon, and which was the presumed topic of his lost *De causis corruptae eloquentiae*; cf. Dominik 1997, 51-53.

anxiety concerning *imitatio*, which is to be the next subject of conversation for Quintilian, is further reinforced in this passage through Quintilian's own imitation of Seneca: as Yasuko Taoka has argued, much of the content at *Inst.* 10.1.125-131 draws directly on Seneca's own discussion of Maecenas' defects as a writer at *Ep. Mor.* 114, as well as incorporating a Senecan-style *sententia* at the end of his assessment.²² In drawing attention to Seneca's own thoughts on *imitatio*, Quintilian subverts Seneca by using his own ideas against him by echoing Seneca's own wish that Maecenas had more responsibly employed his talents (*Ep.* 114.4; *Inst.* 10.1.131). Gellius takes this rhetorical strategy one step further—instead of alluding to the *Epistulae Morales*, he goes straight to the source and quotes Seneca's own words in order that their lack of judgment be manifest. Both authors share disdain for Seneca's potential impact upon young students, and employ similar tactics to undermine his authority.

The particular set of educational objectives that Gellius concludes his discussion with and which Quintilian similarly represents likewise appear in the *Dialogus*, in which a full speech, that of Messala, is dedicated to the exploration of the then-contemporary Roman educational paradigm, to which he attributes the decline of Roman oratory and the superiority of the *disertiores antiqui*. Messala contrasts the home life and initial rearing of Roman children, stressing that infants are handed over to Greek slaves of base character,²³ a far cry from the virtuous Roman *matronae* who reared the Gracchi or Caesar. At this stage of life, the young are bombarded by negative influences that detract from their focus, directing them instead towards intellectually degenerate activities and

²² Taoka 2011, esp. 126-131.

²³ Tac. *Dial.* 29.1: *At nunc natus infans delegatur Graeculae alicui ancillae, cui adiungitur unus aut alter ex omnibus servis, plerumque vilissimus nec cuiquam serio ministerio accommodatus.*

media such as the theatre and gladiatorial contests: *iam vero propria et peculiaria huius urbis vivia paene in utero matris concipi mihi videntur, histrionalis favor et gladiatorum equorumque studio: quibus occupatus et obsessus animus quantulum loci bonis artibus relinquit?* (29.2-3). Messala proceeds to the schooling of young men, bemoaning the decline in serious application to the study of ancient literature and history that inevitably results from an upbringing that has devolved from the Republican standard (*nec in auctoribus cognoscendis nec in evolvenda antiquitate nec in notitia vel rerum vel hominum vel temporum satis operae insumitur*, 30.1). Instead, students desire to move directly to the lessons of the *rhetores* (30.2), focusing on the narrow oratorical fields taught by these figures and ignoring the broader training of the Republic, citing in particular the paradigm offered by Cicero in the *Brutus*.²⁴ After arguing for the importance of philosophy (and implicitly the moral virtue derived from it) for the budding orator, Messala concludes that modern education, blinkered as it is by its reliance on the unreal situations presented in the rhetorical manuals and schools, prevents students from reaching any height of eloquence as a result of its systemic impracticality (33.3-6). In contrast, the idealized system of education Messala advocates requires close attendance to eminent orators and statesmen as they go about their forensic careers as examples after which students would mold themselves (34.1-7). This depiction of the

²⁴ It is unclear precisely how seriously to take the claims of Messala here, given the manner in which he holds up the imagined ideal training of an orator posited by Cicero in the *Brutus* and the *De oratore* as if it were a real curriculum that was employed by numerous young men throughout their education. Furthermore, Messala complains that the practical elements of being introduced to early life that are inherent to the Ciceronian model are no longer followed in the present day; however, this is directly at odds with the frame of the work, in which Tacitus explicitly says that he had learned oratory and legal matters by attending to Aper and Secundus (*Dial.* 2.1). On these problems, see Luce 1993, 19-21; cf. Mayer 2001, 182 and Levene 2004, 183-185.

Republican educational system, as Levene has suggested, reflects the necessity of both literary as well as practical models of excellence for students to emulate.²⁵

Messala stresses the breadth of old education on both levels, holding up good practical models to follow as a cornerstone in addition to reading broadly and applying all walks of literature and learning for the student's betterment. Philosophical thinking is an essential element that will improve, and thus ought to be incorporated into, the young orator's style, much in the way that Messala claims Cicero applied his philosophical education. Hence Cicero and his pedagogical model are held up as exemplars, with the orator himself singled out for the breadth of his learning and scholarship; as a result of this breadth, the true orator can speak persuasively and with authority on any topic.²⁶ Careful and diverse reading of literary and philosophical models enables the young student to speak with authority on any topic; the practical training afforded by proximity to the leading speakers of the day, though, mediates these other influences. By spending time in the forum, young men observed what elements of style in the speeches of their models are approved of and which not: their own practical experiences exposed them to the full range of styles and thus guided them in their development (34.4). The accessibility of both literary and practical models for the orator provides an ideal(ized)

²⁵ Levene 2004, 185: "whereas the earlier speakers [of the *Dialogus*] had largely treated literary influences and aesthetic development as independent of society, Messala argues for the essential interrelation of the two; it is only in societies of particular sorts that particular literary influences are present and are seen as appropriate models for the writer." The importance of taste being at least partly conditioned by societal pressures is consonant with Aper's earlier arguments that aesthetic valuations shift over time, thus offering a more developed theory out of the scaffolding provided in the earlier speech.

²⁶ Tac. *Dial.* 30.5-6: *ex multa eruditione et plurimis artibus et omnium rerum scientia exundat et exuberat illa admirabilis eloquentia; neque oratoris vis et facultas sicut ceterarum rerum angustis et brevibus terminis claudiur, sed is orator qui de omni quaestione pulchre et ornate et ad persuadendum apte dicere pro dignitate rerum, ad utilitatem temporum, cum voluptate audientium possit.* As observed by Mayer 2001, 183, the passage is a careful reworking of Cicero's own words at *De or.* 1.20, as part of the broader demonstration of the Ciceronian ideal in what is to follow.

model for the educational development of the young man, founded on an understanding of the great Republican figures of old.

The concerns voiced by Messala in the *Dialogus* resonate with several of those voiced by Gellius in his attack on Seneca, whom Gellius considers a faulty model for the education of young minds. While initially claiming to have no interest in passing judgments about Seneca's merits generally at the outset of the chapter, Gellius lampoons Seneca's attitudes towards the archaic Latin literary tradition. After citing a jibe, mentioned above, in which Seneca claims that those who enjoyed the Ennian verses on Cethegus would even admire the couches of a certain Sotericus (NA 12.2.11), Gellius can no longer hold back his indignation: *dignus sane Seneca videatur lectione ac studio adolescentium, qui honorem coloremque veteris orationis Soterici lectis compararit quasi minimae scilicet gratiae et relictis iam contemptisque* (12.2.12). His attack upon Seneca's assessment hinges on the failure to appreciate fully the grace of early Latin, betraying a flawed (to his mind) understanding of the Latin tradition. Moreover, by demonstrating disdain for one of Gellius' preferred authors, Seneca is cast as a figure who has not sufficiently appreciated the great literary models of the past, which effectively renders his opinions on this literature invalid. He does provide practical philosophy which benefits the education of the young in a manner of which Gellius approves, as the observations at 12.2.14 imply, and Gellius does agree with the subset of people whom he cites at the outset who believe that, for all of Seneca's deficiencies stylistically he is not entirely without knowledge nor does he excoriate the vices of his day without a certain charm. However, the failings of Seneca's literary criticisms, and especially the manner in which his writings would be able to infect the minds of adolescents, not only demonstrate that

he lacks depth of knowledge (or at least appreciation) of archaic literature, but also necessitate his removal from students' reading. The final conclusion of the chapter, in which Gellius stresses the damaging potential of Seneca's wit, reiterates this point, while also illustrating the overall danger of such turns of phrase if they conceal poor judgment or advice. Though Seneca is able to speak cleverly about a range of topics, it does not mean that that his example is practical for the young to follow. Gellius's assessment of Seneca is suggestive of Messala's rejection of an education that lacks serious study of literature, paired with practical models, and his ultimate repudiation of Seneca as all style and limited substance concurs with the anonymous critics he cites at the outset of 12.2. Gellius there claimed that he did not find it necessary to pass judgment on the work of Seneca as a whole (*mihi de omni eius ingenio deque omni scripto iudicium censuramque facere non necessum est*, 12.2.2): instead, Gellius allows the brief citations provided to undermine Seneca's authority and illustrate his ultimate inadequacy as a model for education, of which proper appreciation of Republican Latin literature forms an important part in the *NA*, as well as for Tacitus in the *Dialogus*.

In lampooning Seneca, Gellius has been judicious in his choice of passages, selecting only those that have clear parallel within the previous tradition. While he does follow in the footsteps of Quintilian's significant criticism, the fragments of the epistle preserved in *NA* 12.2 are evocative of critiques beyond that *Institutio Oratoria*, as I have suggested. Indeed, while Gellius shares an interest with Quintilian in establishing Seneca as a straw man who can expose his own deficiencies, he nevertheless quotes passages that resonate with the broader debate about the role of rhetoric and education staged in Tacitus' *Dialogus*. Among Antonine authors, this latter element is unique. In order to

highlight the singularity of Gellius' self-integration of the critical tradition, I conclude with a discussion of Gellius' contemporary and intellectual hero Fronto, which highlights several issues that fill in the gaps left by reading the *Dialogus* against this passage.

Fronto passes judgment on Seneca and his style in several letters addressed to Marcus Aurelius. In one letter, sent to Marcus while he was on holiday at Alsium (*De fer. Als.* 3), Fronto imagines Marcus reading the early Latin poets (Plautus, Accius, Lucretius, Ennius), as well as Cicero. However, Fronto's diction throughout this reverie reflects not the classicism of the earlier authors mentioned, but rather the rhetorical flourish of Seneca, as Fronto explains: *quid hoc verbi sit, quaeras fortasse; accipe igitur. Ut homo ego multum facundus et Senecae Annaei sectator...* (*De fer. Als.* 3.2). In the idyllic, albeit teasing, depiction of Marcus' intellectual pursuits during his retreat, Fronto parodies what he perceives as Senecan excesses of language and diction, with at least partial implication that the young emperor would be more drawn to literature sharing Seneca's style rather than the authors preferred by Fronto, a renowned archaist. In this regard, Fronto repeats the strategy of Quintilian, who parodied *Ep.* 114 and redeployed it against Seneca in his critique, and of Gellius, who quotes Seneca's own words because their failings are self-evident.

Seneca comes in for more sustained scrutiny in the letter conventionally titled *De orationibus*. In this letter, Fronto begins by instructing his pupil Marcus that the only thing that could tarnish his affection for his student would be if he were to neglect his rhetorical style (*qua causa claudat aliquantum amor erga te meus, si eloquentia neglegas*, 153, 9-10). Worse in his eyes would be if Marcus were to employ a hybrid style, merging elements from earlier, more severe authors such as Cato, and those of

Seneca. Using the metaphor of a tree onto which different, discordant, branches have been grafted, Fronto urges his pupil to avoid hybrid eloquence with a Plautine turn of phrase.²⁷ He then attacks Seneca for being overly full of *sententiae* (*neque ignoro copiosum sententiis et redundantem hominem esse*); the majority of these add little to the overall rhetoric of his work, in spite of their great frequency. Fronto mockingly responds to Marcus' hypothetic defense of Seneca's rhythm, claiming that like a man who catches olives in his mouth at a banquet, Seneca's works are only pleasing to children and are otherwise inappropriate (*ea re profecto pueri laudent, convivae delectentur, sed alter pudice pranderit, alter labellis gesticulatus erit*, 153, 3). If Marcus should object that there are things worth reading in his books, Fronto likens reading Seneca to the man who searches for silver coins in the sewer: in spite of the small bits of good that can be found, the whole experience of Seneca's works are distasteful.²⁸ After a lengthy interlude during which Fronto juxtaposes Lucan's and Apollonius of Rhodes' poems as exemplars of sententious and concise styles respectively, he suggests the Senecan style is especially dangerous because it seems to reflect reality (*tum praeterea multa sunt in isto genere dicendi sinceris similia, nisi quis diligenter examinat*, 157, 12-13).

Fronto's attacks on Seneca, while focusing primarily on diction, represent his style as a hazardous contagion that is to be avoided by readers lest it contaminate their *eloquentia*. In this regard, he shares the concern of Gellius and Quintilian that reading

²⁷ *Confusam eam ego eloquentiam cata<c>hannae ritu partim pineis nucibus Catonis, partim Senecae mollibus et febriculosus prunuleis insitam, subvertendam censeo radicitus, immo vero †Plautinotrato† verbo 'exradicitus' (153, 2). On the passage generally, see Henderson Jr. 1955, which examines in detail the force of several of Fronto's lexical choices, and which sees in the passage a recognition of the advances in rhetoric represented by Seneca in spite of their obvious inconcinnity with the earlier models esteemed by Fronto. Cf. Cavazza 1992, 105-106 and Rust 2009, 167-170.*

²⁸ *'At enim sunt quaedam in libris eius scite dicta, graviter quoque non nulla.' Etiamne laminae interdum argentiolae cloacis inveniuntur; eane re cloacas purgandas redimemus? (154, 11-13).*

Seneca can have deleterious effects on young students. He particularly aligns with Quintilian in his fixation on Seneca's sententiousness. Additionally, his concession that there may be potential good to be found in the Senecan corpus appears in the *NA*, and he is just as adamant in his belief in Seneca's corrupting effects. As Eleanor Rust suggests, both Gellius and Fronto deliberately set up weak straw man arguments on Seneca's behalf which they then dismantle with gusto; their invectives argue against the appealing nature of Senecan style and its potential to distract from earlier, superior, scions of Latin literature.²⁹ Fronto follows the strategy of Quintilian, offering an imitation of Seneca with tongue firmly in cheek, stopping short of Gellius' direct quotation. Nevertheless, all three authors see in Seneca and his advocacy for the supremacy of postclassical style a clear and present danger to proper rhetoric, and accordingly take steps to counter its potential influence. His critique, however, is lacking threads drawn from the *Dialogus* and echoed by Gellius, namely the spurious defense of Cicero's inclusion of Ennius on the grounds that it is in line with contemporary taste.

In aligning his critique of Seneca with Tacitus' criticism by characterizing his writing as *causidicalis argutia*, he draws on the earlier polemical tradition in order to support his own objections. Gellius integrates Tacitus' work, itself a response to Quintilian, as a source for Senecan critique in order to weave himself into a tradition of Roman literary criticism. Indeed, his mastery of the critical tradition is such that he is able to invoke precisely the right passages in order to evoke existing critiques of Seneca. He allows Seneca's own words to expose him as other figures are frequently left to do throughout the *NA*, and knowledge of Tacitus heightens the irony in Seneca's words. His

²⁹ Rust 2009, 171.

attitudes towards rhetoric prompted strong reaction from Quintilian and Tacitus, the latter of whom undermines the proponents of this rhetoric in the *Dialogus*. By calling attention to otherwise unattested passages from Seneca which present the same arguments as Tacitus' interlocutors, Gellius displays mastery of the critical tradition and inserts himself into this intellectual lineage.

In selecting lines from Seneca's *Epistulae Morales* that evoke argument from the *Dialogus*, Gellius distinguishes his own discussion from the similar challenges raised by Fronto and Quintilian. The question remains as to where Tacitus' critique in the *Dialogus* fits into Gellius' broader project. Each of these authors, as we have seen, vilifies the sententious style epitomized by Seneca, questioning its merits for education and seeing its impact as pernicious rather than salubrious. Much of Tacitus' criticism belongs to a broader reaction against the rise of the new rhetoric in the Neronian period, evident in Quintilian in addition to Fronto and the other Antonine archaists like Gellius. Whereas Gellius does not openly quote Tacitus' interpretations of the sort of rhetoric produced by Seneca, he nevertheless allows Seneca's own words to call attention to the critique of this style by Messala in the *Dialogus*. Tacitus's work becomes an implicit weapon used to deconstruct Seneca's own style and claims in 12.2, given the selective quotation of passages which have close correspondences to critiques presented in the *Dialogus*. Indeed, the selection of passages from Seneca that evoke the neo-Ciceronian model of rhetoric set forward in the *Dialogus* heightens the critique: Seneca's own words that reject Cicero and challenge his rhetorical skills nevertheless echo his style.³⁰ Gellius'

³⁰ Dominik 1997, 62, 65 observes the ironic challenge to Quintilian's canon of rhetoric implicit throughout the *Dialogus*; this style, so distinct from Tacitus' other more modernist writings, would nevertheless have met with Quintilian's approval and Seneca's disdain. Gellius appropriates this ironic stance and redirects it against a different target (Seneca) than Tacitus (Quintilian). In setting Seneca up as a straw man NA 12.2,

selectivity in quoting Seneca allows him to activate the broader tradition of critical authorities to support him in his own evaluation—his choice of passage is deliberate, opening the potential for reading the archaeology of Senecan criticism in the words of the author himself.

As I have illustrated in this section, Gellius is clearly more aware of the literary tradition of the principate than is normally acknowledged. While he does not explicitly name Tacitus (or Quintilian, for that matter) in constructing his invective against Seneca, the method of critique aligns him with the historian in choosing the Senecan passages that he does. If nothing else, by selecting lines that evoke the *Dialogus* and the discussions it contains, Gellius expresses an intellectual affinity with Tacitus centered on the shifting status of rhetoric in their respective times. This is not the only point of contact between the two on the subject of speech and rhetoric, and in the following section, I argue that Gellius has internalized several of the lessons that Tacitus teaches about the role of the intellectual and his eloquence in an imperial setting.

Gellius and Tacitus: The Sounds of Silence

While he is never mentioned by name in the *NA*, there are clear undercurrents of thought shared between Gellius and Tacitus. If in the previous section Gellius demonstrates knowledge of the stylistic critiques put forth in the *Dialogus*, in this section I investigate the affinities between the two on the power of speech in an imperial setting, especially with reference to the appropriateness and timeliness of speaking. For Gellius, knowing when to speak and when to remain quiet is an intrinsic element of the

Gellius places him into a *Zugzwang*: his words betray his stylistic failings, even as they evoke a Neo-Ciceronian model that he would himself oppose.

sociocultural system in which he participates—one generates cultural capital with a clever remark or reading, and loses it just as easily when exposed as a fraud, as happens so often throughout the text. Yet, he also provides glimpses of speech (or the lack thereof) in political contexts and its consequences. In Tacitus, the stakes are significantly higher, given the political climate of Domitianic Rome which he describes. However, several of the lessons he presents resonate with Gellius' own explorations of the proper role of speech in the Roman state, in particular those tied to intellectuals and philosophers, and these areas of overlap warrant exploration.

From an early stage in the *NA*, when to speak (and when to hold one's tongue) is a question fraught with challenges unique to the intellectual climate depicted throughout the text. Gellius is especially concerned with speaking out of turn when one's learning is not up to snuff. The encounter in the villa of Herodes Atticus at 1.2 represents at the outset of the *NA* a concern with speaking out of line, and this concern is addressed again as part of the Pythagorean curriculum at 1.9. As a matter of propriety, Gellius demonstrates individuals speaking at the incorrect time and paying the cost, in cultural capital, for their impudence. A significant lesson to learn from the *NA* is the value of being silent, *tacere*. Despite the frequent occurrence of comic scenes in which arrogant but incorrect figures are cut down to size, Gellius does not often explicitly discuss the merits of silence in these contexts, instead allowing the narrative to illustrate his point or otherwise introducing the topic into other examinations of *eloquentia*. Usages of *tacere* and its cognates, as well as *silere* and its cognates, often cluster in these contexts and

provide some insight into Gellius' attitudes about the relative merits of speech and silence.³¹

The value of keeping quiet is first meditated upon in detail during the explication of Pythagorean education in 1.9, as part of which one cultivates the ability to learn through listening during a period of mandatory silence; further, he states that such quietude is in fact the most challenging, albeit perhaps the most valuable, lesson of the Pythagorean curriculum (*ast ubi res didicerant rerum omnium difficillimas, tacere audireque*, 1.9.5).³² Needless garrulity is likewise held up as a vice by Gellius at 1.15 (*quam importunum vitium plenumque odii sit futilis inanisque loquacitas...*, 1.15.1em) with the support of numerous ancient authorities. There, he begins his invective by attacking those who speak without any restraint or attempt at reasoned discourse, instead letting their words carelessly flow out. Gellius instead advocates for controlled speech, governed by the heart and reason. In spite of this necessity, he argues that “you might see men bubbling over with words without any effort of judgment, but with so great and deep security that when they are talking they seem not to realize that they are speaking” (*sed enim videas quosdam scatere verbis sine ullo iudicii negotio cum securitate multa et*

³¹ Forms of *tacere* appear a total of thirty-eight times, including quotations of other authors; of these references, fifteen occur across six chapters in book 1, and six in four chapters of book 11. *Silentium*, *silere*, and compounds appear eleven times in total, of which four usages appear in close proximity to instances of *tacere*.

³² For Plutarch, silence fits into his educational curriculum in a similar manner. It is the first stage of learning to interact with rhetoric, after an introduction to philosophy has been completed, as being able to receive material properly is the first step to providing an adequate reply (ἐν δὲ τῇ τοῦ λόγου χρεῖα τὸ δέξασθαι καλῶς τοῦ προέσθαι πρότερόν ἐστιν, ὥσπερ τοῦ τεκεῖν τὸ συλλαβεῖν καὶ κατασχεῖν τι τῶν γονίμων, *De recta ratione* 38e). In fact, by listening carefully, the young man is able to recognize good and bad arguments, while internalizing the positive elements in to his own speech, for which reason Plutarch suggests that restrained and polite silence befits young men learning rhetoric: Πανταχοῦ μὲν οὖν τῷ νέῳ κόσμος ἀσφαλὴς ἐστὶν ἡ σιωπὴ... ὁ δ' ἐγκρατῶς καὶ μετ' αἰδοῦς ἀκοῦειν ἐθὶ σθεῖς τὸν μὲν ὠφέλιμον λόγον ἐδέξατο καὶ κατέσχε, τὸν δ' ἄχρηστον ἢ ψευδῇ μᾶλλον διεῖδε καὶ κατεφώρασε, φιλαλήθης φανείς, οὐ φιλόνηκος οὐδὲ προπετής καὶ δῦσερις (*De recta ratione* 39c-d).

profunda, ut loquentes plerumque videantur loqui sese nescire, 1.15.2). Eloquence is not the same as loquacity but originates in the discernment of the rational mind. Cicero (1.15.5-8), Cato (1.15.8-10), and Sallust (1.15.18) all support this view, suggesting that the man who speaks without thought does nothing more than prattle on without any foundation in wisdom, and in so doing betrays his own ignorance. Sallust in particular provides an important source for Gellius' discussion: he reports Valerius Probus' interpretation of Sallust's diction, drawing a distinction between *loquentia* and *eloquentia*, with the latter suggesting the discretion that is lacking in the former (1.15.18).³³ Gellius sees in numerous Republican sources a model of silence which conveys authority and demonstrates seriousness of thought, providing a stark contrast to the sorts of pseudo-intellectuals whom he often encounters throughout the *NA*.

This distinction can be seen in action in Gellius' attempted definition of the Greek πολυπραγμοσύνη at 11.16. Rather than saying aloud his first instinct (*negotiositas*), he pauses to reflect on the various semantic valences of the Greek. Thinking quietly to himself, Gellius ultimately attempts to explain the term for an acquaintance by unpacking the concept into a phrase, recognizing that there is no direct translation in Latin

³³ The reading *loquentiae* in Sallust is only recorded in the *recentiores*, with most other manuscripts preserving *eloquentia* (Cavazza 1985 ad loc. and Marache 1967 ad loc. both suggest that it appears in at least one manuscript of Sallust). The apparent distinction between the two seems to be fluency with words in the case of *loquentia* (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.69, *Or.* 138.3, Quint. 9.1.44, Plin. *Ep.* 5.20.5, *NA* 5.9.5) in contrast with the proficiency in speaking that derives from *ars grammatica* in the case of *eloquentiae*. This comparison parallels the dichotomy between *facundia* and *eloquentia*, with the former representing an innate talent for words allowing fluent speech, and the latter signifying practiced, learned skills at speaking properly; for Quintilian (12.3.9), *facundia* is the natural foundation upon which the scientific study of rhetorical excellence, *eloquentia*, can be constructed. On the relationship between the two, see Bettini 2008, 344-350. Though *facundia* possesses this positive valence, it is nevertheless problematized throughout the *NA*: it is often characteristic of Greek rhetoric (1.2.1, of Herodes Atticus; 1.3.11, of Theophrastus; 1.15.3, of Odysseus; 3.7.1, of Greeks in general; 5.10.7, of Protagoras' sophistic work; 7.8.2, of Apion; 9.2.1, of Herodes Atticus; 13.1.6, of Demosthenes; 14.1.32, of Favorinus; 15.2.2, of Plato; 17.10.8, of Pindar), and is occasionally attributed to poets (e.g. 1.21.5, Lucretius). Though he occasionally describes his own interactions with his friends in this way (18.3.4), these only occur in Greece during the Saturnalia. It is notable, then, that near the end of the work Gellius attributes the quality to the otherwise well-respected rhetorician Antonius Julianus in two *commentarii* (18.5.1, 19.9.2, 19.9.7).

(*quamobrem, cum diutule tacitus in cogitando fuisset, respondi tandem non videri mihi significari eam rem posse uno nomine et idcirco iuncta oratione, quid vellet Graecum id verbum, pararam dicere*, 11.16.6).³⁴ Upon hearing Gellius' abortive first efforts at explaining the meaning of the word, his interlocutor immediately misinterprets πολυπραγμοσύνη as a virtue.³⁵ Gellius ultimately corrects him (though not before calling him ignorant, *opicus*), excusing his ignorance by noting that the description was unclear. The juxtaposition between Gellius' thoughtful reply and his interlocutor's immediate boorish reply emphasizes a contrast in approach: an intellectually gifted man will pause to reflect quietly before speaking, while the ignorant man will voice the first thoughts to come into his head.³⁶ When confronted with matters that require deep thought, silence is a clear virtue, in contrast to speaking before fully understanding the topic at hand.

Silere and *silentium* both appear several times in Gellius in a manner which accords closely with this first survey of *tacere*. He notes that in spite of the challenges intrinsic in the practice, the Pythagorean initiates become learned because of their enforced silence before moving on to trying their hand at writing (*esse iam coeperant silentio eruditi*, 1.9.5). Silence is appropriate not only for the students of Pythagoras'

³⁴ Even though Gellius uses forms of *curiosus* throughout, he does not appear to be aware of Apuleius' calque, *curiositas*; while Cicero uses the latter a single time to suggest eagerness for learning (Cic. *Ad Att.* 2.12.2: *sum in curiositate* ὀξύπειρος), the word only becomes frequent starting in Apuleius, who appears to have coined the word as a Latin translation of Plutarch's πολυπραγμοσύνη (cf. *ThLL* s.v. *curiositas*). Gellius does see *curiosus* as a positive, referring primarily to carefully done intellectual work, in contrast to the intrusiveness normally assigned to πολυπραγμοσύνη; see Leigh 2013, 56-58.

³⁵ Such haste is a failure in critical appreciation, as noted by Plutarch, *De recta ratione* 38f: ταῖς μὲν οὖν ὀρνισι τὰς ὑπηνεμίους λοχείας καὶ αἰ ὠδῖνας ἀτελῶν τινων καὶ ἀψύχων ὑπολειμμάτων ὀχείας λέγουσιν εἶναι τῶν δ' ἀκούειν μὴ δυναμένων νέων μηδ' ὠφελεῖσθαι δι' ἀκοῆς ἐθισθέντων ὑπηνέμιος ὄντως ὁ λόγος ἐκπύτων "ἄκλειτος αἰδηλὸς ὑπαὶ νεφέεσσι κεδάσθη."

³⁶ To an extent, the scene stages *both* figures acting improperly—Gellius' interlocutor seizes upon the first definition he hears without pausing to reflect, while Gellius himself offering a poorly formulated answer rather than thinking the question through its entirety. Even if we interpret both figures as at fault in their respective ways, the contrast between the two is pronounced: Gellius at least attempts to pause and reflect, while his interlocutor boldly presumes his understanding of Gellius' reply.

school, though; Gellius cites Musonius Rufus at 5.1, noting that the appropriate reaction to any philosophical discourse that the listener has found praiseworthy is not an excess of words but silence (*admirationem autem, quae maxima est, non verba parere, sed silentium*, 5.1.5): even if the listener has an emotional reaction to what he hears, he should remain quiet while experiencing those emotions which are brought on by hearing the philosopher speak (*et perhorrescat neccesse est et pudeat tacitus et paeniteat et gaudeat et admiretur*, 5.1.3). The audience's quietude, even if the passions are roused by what is said, represents a stronger reaction to what was heard, simultaneously more profound and more introspective. In spite of the intellectual traits bound up in quiet, Gellius does suggest that there are some contexts in which this silence is not appropriate. Drawing on Varro's Menippean satire *Nescis Quid Vesper Serus Vehat*, he notes that moderation in speaking is a necessity for any successful banquet: '*nec loquaces autem*' inquit '*convivas nec mutos legere oportet, quia eloquentia in foro et apud subsellia, silentium vero non in convivio, set in cubiculo esse debet*' (13.11.3). Rather than cast *silentium* as an intellectual trait here, by attributing it to the *cubiculum* as opposed to the *eloquentia* of the forum Gellius suggests that it belongs in the private sphere rather than the public. He elaborates, claiming that the topics of conversation should be the sorts of things which you are not at liberty to talk about when engaged in civic business ('*de quibus in foro atque in negotiis agendis loqui non est otium*,' 13.11.5). The *convivium* is thus constructed as a liminal space between the *silentium* of the private house and the *eloquentia* required in the public spaces of the forum, and requires an intermediate level of discourse.³⁷ Silence is not necessary among friends at the banquet, which is, after all, a

³⁷ As Gowers 1993, 24-25 notes, the *convivium* is a setting at which Roman behavioral standards are relaxed from their public displays of austerity, and as a result banqueting scenes are often used for more

place for speaking and reading collectively; nevertheless, not all speech is conducive to preserving the genial atmosphere desired of the *convivium*, and a degree of restraint is necessary to foster an enjoyable environment between friends.

Gellius frequently includes restraint as a positive trait to be sought in friends. He offers Ennius' characterization of Servilius Geminus as a paradigm for good friendship, specifically of the inferior party towards a man of rank and import (*finiturque ingenium comitasque hominis minoris erga amicum superiorem*, 12.4.1em).³⁸ Ennius articulates an idealized image of Servilius as a Roman intellectual who provides good counsel to his patron; the characteristics that make Servilius a good *amicus minor* strongly echo the intellectual values which Gellius espouses throughout the *NA*: in his paraphrase to introduce the description, Gellius calls attention to the qualities which make Servilius a good confidante: in addition to possessing tact, geniality, and a good knowledge of history, he exhibits both restraint and propriety in his speech (*qua linguae parsimonia, qua loquendi opportunitate*, 12.4.1), as well as the ability to keep secrets (*quantaque servandi tuendique secreti religione*)—in short, he possesses all the traits suited to

bawdy or humorous works. Quintilian singles out the Saturnalia and the *convivium* (which has personal license) as the appropriate context for humor and lower stylistic registers (6.3.16, on which see Gowers 1993, 28). However, Roman banqueting does reinforce social hierarchies and standards, especially if conducted in public, as was increasingly common in the imperial period with the introduction of *convivia publica*; see Donahue 2004, 9-10, 67-70, noting particularly the connection between imperial sponsored feasting and their place in the narratives of decline and excess.

³⁸ Wytse Keulen has suggested that this passage is heavily implied by Gellius' last sentence to be autobiographical even though Ennius hides behind an historical façade (*Stilonem dicere solitum ferunt Q. Ennium de semet ipso haec scripsisse picturamque istam morum et ingenii ipsius Q. Ennii factam esse*, 12.4.5), and is intended to be programmatic for the work as a whole, with Gellius adopting the idealized image of the *amicus minor* as part of his own self-presentation; see Keulen 2009, esp. 215-221. While intriguing, in the absence of the beginning of the Preface and the lack of any direct discussion suggests this claim is unlikely to be true. Indeed, the parallels between Gellius on silence and Tacitus' intellectuals who attempt to involve themselves in imperial affairs indicate the opposite.

removing anxieties from his *amicus maior*. Each of these passages is echoed in the Ennian passage itself, with his restrained speech receiving special emphasis:

*suavis homo, facundus, suo contentus, beatus,
scitus, **secunda loquens in tempore**, commodus, **verbum
paucum**, multa tenens antiqua, sepulta vetustas
quae facit et mores veteresque novosque tenentem,
multorum veterum leges divumque hominumque ;
prudentem qui dicta loquive tacereve posset...*

An agreeable man, charming, self-content, happy,
learned, **saying the right thing at the right time**,
sparing of words, knowing much of antiquity, a deep charm
which leads him to know customs both old and new,
a prudent man who could tell or be silent about things that were said... (NA 12.4.4 = Enn.
Ann. 280-285 Skutsch)

This portrayal contains several of the intellectual qualities prized by Gellius throughout, and focuses on the discretion of Servilius, who is depicted as a wise, eloquent counselor prudent enough with his words to be trusted by his patron. His contentment is likewise emphasized: without any avarice or rapaciousness underlying his personality, he becomes a thoroughly trustworthy confidant. Further, Ennius' own introduction characterizes Servilius as a figure equally at home in leisurely intellectual contexts as well as in the business of state.³⁹ In this Ennian representation, then, two important features of Gellius' program may be identified, combined in the person of Servilius: his ideal Roman (reader) effortlessly combines *negotium* and *otium*, wit and circumspection. Silence becomes a prized feature, especially for the *amicus minor* of high-ranking individuals who actively participate in the affairs of state, as well as in social contexts where the ability to converse politely and provide only reliable, and relevant, wisdom is paramount. A

³⁹ NA 12.4.4 (Enn. ann. 268-272 Skutsch, with his emendation *consilium partit* for *comiter inperit*):
...quocum bene saepe libenter
mensam sermonesque suos rerumque suarum
consilium partit, magnam cum lassus diei
partem fuisset de summis rebus regundis
consilio indu foro lato sanctoque senatu.

similarly deft hand can be seen at work at 1.3, in which the sage Chilo manages to appear not to abuse his authority in the trial of a friend: he secretly votes against his friend (*ipse tacitus ad condemnandum sententiam tuli*, 1.3.6) while convincing the other judges to vote for acquittal, thus doing his duty as both a friend and a judge.⁴⁰ In spite of this solution, Chilo's silent condemnation wracks him with guilt because he persuaded others to act in a manner contrary to that which he perceived best for himself. Though expedient, such silence is not unproblematic, especially as it relates to politics, in which context Gellius provides a more finessed version of the virtues of reticence.

Near the end of the first book, Gellius offers a corrective to Chilo's silent manipulation of the legal system by in the story of Papirius Praetextatus, a young boy whose mother attempted to pressure him to reveal what had been discussed in the Senate that day (1.23). Although he initially replied that it was not permitted for him to report what had been discussed (*puer respondit tacendum esse neque id dici licere*, 1.23.6), his mother's interest was piqued because of his reticence (*mulier fit audiendi cupidior; secretum rei et silentium pueri animum eius ad inquirendum everberat*, 1.23.7) and she persisted in asking until Papirius was forced to resort to a clever deception in order to prevent her from asking further: he claimed that the topic of debate was whether for one husband to have two wives or vice versa. When his trick came to light in the Senate the next day, he was praised for his cleverness and allowed to continue attending Senate

⁴⁰ As Gunderson 2009, 245-249 notes, although the chapter begins with this anecdote, Gellius seems far more interested in using this episode as a springboard to discuss the citations of Theophrastus and Cicero which follow. The lemma, however, privileges Chilo, and the conflict between these voices suggests that each portion of the chapter is significant for understanding the whole of Gellius' intended lesson about friendship and political responsibility. Keulen 2009, 229-233 discusses the chapter in the context of friendship and Gellius' self-representation, and gives no attention to Chilo other than an aside in which he notes the source that spurred Gellius' interest in the topic. Both see a connection to 14.2, in which Gellius seeks an absolute rule by which to pass his own judgment in a case of conflicting interests.

meetings although he was underage as a product of his discretion; as a result of this privilege, he was granted the cognomen Praetextatus. The honors bestowed upon Papirius are all the more remarkable because of his young age, given that he conducted himself in a manner expected of an elder of the Roman state.

As Gellius relates the story, each of the two elements of praise is noteworthy. First, Gellius remarks that, when Papirius' ruse was related to the senators, they praised Papirius for his loyalty and his cleverness, *senatus fidem atque ingenium pueri exosculatur* (1.23.13). Though the verb can be used to show fondness or admiration, Gellius only uses *exosculari* to signal praise of a specifically rhetorical nature, as the only other usage of the word in the *NA* suggests.⁴¹ At the end of 2.26, following the debate on Latin and Greek color terminology, Gellius reports that Favorinus "admired [Fronto's] rich knowledge of matters and the elegance of his words" (*scientiam rerum uberem verborumque eius elegantiam exosculatus*, 2.26.20). In contrast to other Latin authors, for whom the verb typically describes the physical act of kissing, in the *NA* Gellius uses *exosculari* in this transferred sense to express deep admiration for rhetorical skill, even if a large component of that *ingenium* consists of speaking sparingly, as in the case of Papirius. Instead, *exosculari* in Gellius echoes Herodes Atticus' words to Favorinus, cited by Philostratus, implying his strong desire to hear the sophist's eloquence once more.⁴²

⁴¹ The only other author to use the verb with this meaning is the Elder Seneca (*contr.* 1.2.17): *Marullus... hanc adiecit sententiam quam solebat mirari Latro, immo, ut ipse aiebat, exosculari*. Though used in Apuleius, Fronto, and Suetonius, in these authors *exosculari* always has a corporeal sense; cf. *TLL* v.1593.13-64 s.v. *exosculor*. The lone attestation for the meaning of *exosculari* as admire or praise in an author other than Gellius is Macr. *Sat.* 1.6.25, which passage is itself a direct, unattributed, quotation of Gellius' own discussion that has been integrated into Macrobius' narrative.

⁴² Philost. *VS* 490: Ἐπιτηδείατος μὲν οὖν Ἡρώδῃ τῷ σοφιστῇ ἐγένετο διάσκαλόν τε ἡγουμένῳ καὶ πατέρα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν γράφοντι· "πότε σε ἶδω καὶ πότε σου περιλείξω τὸ στόμα;" The remark appears to allude to Aristophanes fr. 581, preserved at Dio *Or.* 52.17 (ὁ δ' αὖ Σοφοκλέους τοῦ μέλιτι κεχρισμένου / ὥςπερ καδίσκου περιέλειχε τὸ στόμα).

Gellius' paraphrase of the anecdote (he explicitly notes that he did not have the original to hand when he wrote, 1.23.2) stresses the importance of how Papirius deployed both silence and inventiveness, culminating in the praise of the young man.

The language thus emphasizes the rhetorical creativity of his solution, while at the same time noting that of all the underage men he alone retained the right to be present during Senate business, as well as his cognomen, as a result of his judiciousness: *ob tacendi loquendique in aetate praetextae prudentiam* (1.23.13). In Papirius Praetextatus, Gellius has a ready paradigm for young, politically involved men and their behavior. In tricking his mother, Papirius demonstrates the oratorical *ingenium* necessary to participate successfully in the state's affairs, while his ability to discern when to speak and when to remain silent are recognized by the Senate as the traits of an older, upstanding Roman man. His mother, on the other hand, demonstrates precisely the opposite set of traits, lacking restraint and instead becoming all the more intrigued at her son's silence when she presses him on what affairs were under consideration by the Senate. When Papirius tells her his lie, she immediately leaves to tell other *matronae* what was under consideration; her inability to maintain the secrecy of what her son had told her results in a throng of *matronae* arriving at the *curia* the following morning, ludicrously wailing and pleading that women be allowed two husbands rather than each man two wives. The mother has overstepped the bounds of her societal role and allowed her curiosity to get the better of her, paired with her own inability to know when she ought to be quiet. She suffers from the related vices of *loquacitas*, in that she cannot discern the appropriate time or manner at which to speak, and *polypragmosyne* (cf. 11.16), to the extent that she exceeds her place and instead aims to meddle in business

that does not concern her. Despite being older, she thus suffers from several feminine faults are depicted as particularly imprudent relative to her young son, who emerges in the anecdote as a model Roman male with his own *cognomen*. The examples of the value of silence form a pair that represents the opposite ends of the spectrum, gendering silence and portraying it as the virtue of the Roman male.

If the story of Papirius Praetextatus and his mother provides Gellius the opportunity to depict the *moral* value of silence with relation to the state, the Greek orators Demosthenes and Demades introduce its *monetary* worth at NA 11.9-10.⁴³ There, Gellius relates an anecdote, attributed once to each, in which the orator boasts of receiving ten times the amount for staying silent that a tragic actor did for performing. While in 11.9 the anecdote is simply reported and assigned to Demosthenes, in 11.10 Gellius complicates its context by providing a speech in which the anecdote was used. Gaius Gracchus cited Demades in his speech *qua legem Aufeam dissuasit* against those people who were silent in the debate about raising taxes. He claims that those who speak for and against the law are in the pocket of Nicomedes or Mithridates respectively, but that those who are silent are the most dangerous of all, for they have accepted bribes from both sides (*qui autem ex eodem loco atque ordine tacent, hi vel acerrimi sunt; nam ab omnibus pretium accipiunt et omnis fallunt*, 11.10.4). He likens their conduct, which both sides misinterpret, to Demades' remarks to a well-paid tragic actor:

“mirum tibi videtur, si tu loquendo talentum quaesisti? ego, ut tacerem, decem talenta a rege accepi.” item nunc isti pretia maxima ob tacendum accipiunt.’

⁴³ The quote is attributed to Demosthenes in the immediately preceding chapter (‘*at ego plus*’ [Demosthenes] inquit, ‘*accepi, ut tacerem,*’ 11.9.2); on the relationship between the two chapters and the role of Demosthenes, see above, Chapter 2, pp. 135-136.

“Does it seem amazing to you, if you acquired a talent by speaking? I received ten talents from the king in order that I hold my tongue.” So too now do those men receive a very great price for remaining silent.” (NA 11.10.6)

The example here offers an alternative view of the statesman’s silence. In contrast to Papirius, whose reticence was considered virtuous, Gellius depicts leading Roman statesmen’s decision to remain quiet as a sign of corruption and greed. The overt implication is that such avarice ought not to affect the decision making of the senatorial classes, nor should they place their own financial gain ahead of the interests of the state.⁴⁴ The contrast is especially pronounced here between the Romans and the Greeks, for whom accepting such bribes seems not only commonplace but in fact deserving of boasting. Both Demades and Demosthenes in the previous chapter flaunt the monetary price of their silence, while failing to recognize its true cost, namely their integrity.

This is not the first time that such greed has been vilified in the NA, as Gellius has previously attacked it at length at 3.1. There, the delicate negotiation of Sallust’s claim that *avaritia* produces effeminacy produces tensions with its prime discussant Favorinus, whose greed was notorious and whose ambiguous sexuality the gendered discussion evokes. Gellius finds himself unable to speak when called upon to discuss the passage (*vix ego haec dixeram cunctabundus...*, 3.1.5), perhaps recognizing the potential dangers of exploring the topic in front of his teacher Favorinus and electing to save face.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Keulen 2009, 266-267 argues that passages such as this and the analysis of Cato’s *pro Rhodiensibus* at 6.3 allude to the reinvigorated role of the Senate under Marcus Aurelius after its decreased strength under Antoninus Pius, as attested in the *Historia Augusta*. He suggests that Gellius’ harsh treatment of the senators here and elsewhere are part of a politically-oriented program in which he alone is capable of “offer[ing] authoritative *consilium*, based on the classical example of the perfect Roman statesman, who serves both national and international interests” (267). This is too strong a reading of the dynamics at play: while Gellius certainly presents Cato as an ideal orator and statesman deserving of emulation, his interests in these chapters are less oriented towards giving explicit political counsel rather than constructing an idealized vision of the politically invested, intellectually engaged member of the Roman Imperial elite.

⁴⁵ Keulen 2009, 121 reads Gellius’ halting reaction thus. The choice of form, *cunctabundus*, may here be marked and suggestive of a more malicious reading. This verbal form itself is relatively rare (on forms

Favorinus himself ultimately engages with the topic with the result that he cannot help but implicate himself; in remaining quiet, Gellius neither offends his teacher nor looks foolish were he to have provided a poor answer. Favorinus' weak concluding deflection, however, leaves him no better than when he started the discussion. That he is the dominant interlocutor in the episode reinforces this connection between *avaritia* and effeminacy. Moreover, Favorinus' status as neither truly Roman nor Greek plays into this characterization as well, with his foreignness lending itself to non-Roman greed. All of these implications are activated by the reference to Demosthenes and Demades in Gracchus' speech—in accepting bribes for their silence instead of speaking their minds

ending in *-bundus* generally, see NA 11.15; for a linguistic discussion of each extant usage, see Pianezzola 1965); Apuleius uses the word not infrequently to mean hesitating (*Flor.* 2.10, *Met.* 8.5, 11.12, 11.27) and Livy similarly employs the word neutrally (6.7.2, 33.8.2); cf. *ThLL* s.v. *cunctabundus*. However, Tacitus uses the word twice in marked contexts. First, in the *Historiae*, the legate Tettius Iunianus removed himself from the conflict of the civil war by alternately hastening preparations and hesitating depending on the reports of the war (*nec deinde civili bello interfuit, per varias moras susceptum ad Vespasianum iter trahens et ex nuntiis cunctabundus aut properans*, 2.85.2); this hesitation appears in line with the stalling tactic which Gellius employs (Pianezzola 1965, 221 claims the semantic sense is the same in Gellius and the usages in Tacitus). The second attestation is more telling: the only situation in which Tiberius is depicted as dynamic and assertive in his actions after the death of Augustus, only hesitating to speak when before the senate (*sed defuncto Augusto signum praetorii cohortibus ut imperator dederat; excubiae arma, cetera aulae; miles in forum, miles in curiam comitabatur. litteras ad exercitus tamquam adepto principatu misit, nusquam cunctabundus nisi cum in senatu loqueretur*, *Ann.* 1.7.5); as Syme 1958, 410 notes, in describing Tiberius' action after the death of Augustus, Tacitus "shows the new ruler in actual and open exercise of the essential powers of the Principate" even before he had been officially confirmed as the new *princeps*, and his hesitation is part of a strategy to have the Senate confirm his importance to the state. The episode of Tiberius' accession is much remarked upon, in particular its relationship to the depiction of Tiberius as constantly dissimulating: see Syme 1958, 410-411, 424-425; Woodman 1998, 40-69, with extensive bibliography of other modern discussions of the passage (on 1.7 in particular, 53-59); Seager 2002, 627-629 critiques several aspects of Woodman's reading of 1.7.1-5, though ultimately agrees with its conclusion. In the latter of the Tacitus passages, the historian portrays Tiberius' hesitation in assuming the authority of the principate after the death of Augustus publicly, while employing the various trappings of *imperium* outside of the presence of the Senators. His own *cunctatio* is intended to gauge the reactions of the senators to his accession as *princeps*, or else to manipulate those senators into willingly installing him in that role; in either case, his caution has as its end his investiture with authority. May something similar be implied, on a much smaller and less politically significant scale, in the manner which Gellius hesitates to answer Favorinus? By casting himself as a Tiberius-figure in this discussion, he allows Favorinus to demonstrate his own failings as a result of his (mis)reading of Sallust, which in turn serves to invest Gellius with intellectual *auctoritas* as the narrator of the scene who has recognized the implications of what is said. Such an interpretation of the scene is cynical, with its sinister Gellius dissembling and allowing Favorinus to betray himself; but this description of his inaction, with its possible connection to Tacitus' Tiberius, allows the reader to recognize similarity in behavior between the two.

and defending the state against external threats, the senators who are attacked show themselves to be neither men nor Romans. They allow themselves to be ruled by their own *avaritia*, betraying their status as virtuous Roman men. Silence with corrupt motivations, especially in the political realm, is as pernicious to the individual as it is to state.

Though choice individuals can through their silence attempt to damage the state, nothing appears more hazardous than the *consensus tacitus*. Law is particularly susceptible to its destructive impulses, as Gellius makes clear on several occasions, including 12.13.5. After asking the grammarian Sulpicius Apollinaris for his advice on the meaning of *intra Kalendas*, Sulpicius replies that though he may speak with authority, nevertheless the meaning of words frequently changes over time as a result of common usage. Indeed, he suggests, even the law may lose its meaning because of popular neglect: *non enim verborum tantum communium verae atque propriae significationes longiore usu mutantur, sed legum quoque ipsarum iussa **consensu tacito** oblitterantur*. At least in part, the law erodes when the populace is silent, whether out of malice or simple illiteracy (which itself is, for Gellius, a form of malice).⁴⁶ Laws, like words, lose their meaning when learned men are silent in the face of the ignorance of others, with both *leges* and *verba* forgotten. A similar phenomenon may be observed at 11.18.4, where the laws of Draco are allowed to lapse because of silent consensus, *tacito inlitteratoque*

⁴⁶ Cf. Gunderson 2009, 81: “The unwritten unwrites with the silent consent of illiteracy... Similarly, the unspoken unwrites in 12.13.5, where laws again lose their meanings: *consensu tacito oblitterantur*. This same legal association is also leveraged in a metaphorical passage: the fundamental elements of filial piety are effaced and abolished when children are handed over to wet nurses (*oblitteratis et abolitis nativae pietatis elementis*; 12.1.23). The breast-feeding chapter is reaching a political crescendo.”

Atheniensium consensu oblitteratae sunt, rather than any official act of the *boule*.⁴⁷ The Athenians elected to ignore the letter of the law, reflecting an evolution of the legal tradition to suit their contemporary needs which was predicated upon misinterpreting their cultural tradition, as well as introducing an etymological play: they could not understand its letter because of their illiteracy/lack of reading (*inlitterato*).⁴⁸ Gellius returns to the *consensus tacitus* in one of the last extant chapters of the work, 20.10, in which he restages his earlier interaction with Sulpicius, replacing his learned teacher with

⁴⁷ Gellius focuses in particular on the laws related to theft: while he does note that the laws appeared to be too harsh (*videbantur impendio acerbiores*, 11.18.4), he juxtaposes Draco's laws with the approach to thieves in the Twelve Tables, which offers a range of punishments depending on the legal status of the thief and whether or not he was caught in the act. The Romans too have allowed this early legislation to lapse, and the composition of the chapter suggests the parallel between the Roman and Athenian legal systems, with the equation of the Twelve Tables and Draco's laws. While the focus of the chapter appears to be on the punishments of thieves in the two legal traditions, Gellius nevertheless appeals to several jurists and Cato the Elder in establishing a definition of theft (*furtum*); he agrees Masurius Sabinus' definition that a thief is a person '*qui alienam rem adtrectavit, cum id se invito domino facere iudicare deberet, furti tenetur.*' Item alio capite: '*qui alienum iacens lucri faciendi causa sustulit, furti obstringitur, sive scit, cuius sit, sive nescit*' (NA 11.18.20-21). Gellius qualifies this definition by referring to his earlier claims that one need not handle that which is to be stolen, but it should be considered theft if it enters the mind (*sed meminisse debemus secundum ea, quae supra scripsi, furtum sine ulla quoque adtrectatione fieri posse sola mente atque animo, ut furtum fiat, adnitente*, 11.18.23). This definition of theft seems not so much to apply to the theft of actual objects, but has more in common with the discourse of plagiarism in antiquity. Pliny the Elder in the preface of the *HN* attacks authors whom he has caught in the act lifting passages from other authors without attribution (*scito enim conferentem auctores me deprehendisse a iuratisimis ex proximis veteres transcriptos ad verbum neque nominatos*, pr.22), almost certainly alluding to the formula *deprehendere in furto* to describe a theft caught in the act (itself a category which Gellius notes in his description of the Twelve Tables, *furem, qui manifesto furto pressus esset*, NA 11.18.7); see McGill 2012 49-50, who also cites Gaius' definition of the phrase (*Inst.* 3.184). Accusations of *furta* in the sense of plagiarism are also leveled by Martial (e.g. 1.53, 1.66, 1.72; cf. 10.102, 11.94; see further McGill 2012, 94-103); and both Terence (*Ad.* 12-14) and Virgil (*Vit. Verg.* 44-46) became targets of similar accusations. This account of the punishments for theft, especially for *manifestum furtum*, thus may be colored by the rhetoric surrounding plagiarism in antiquity, even if Gellius needs no reason for discussing the laws other than his own genuine interest in Roman law (see generally Holford-Stevens 2003, 294-301; Howley 2013 interprets Gellius' interest in the jurists as part of a broader strategies for understanding Latin language and Roman culture) and the comparison of Greek and Roman cultural systems. To see implicit in this chapter the discourse of plagiarism, which is closely tied to problems of attribution in collected literature in Pliny and Martial, aligns with the problematized reading of those who have allowed punishments for such *furta* to lapse (cf. Gunderson 2009, 81). If Athenian laws were too excessive, Roman practice strikes an appropriate balance, especially given the moral valence spelled out by Gellius—even considering theft is tantamount to the act itself (Morgan 2004, 195, 203, who sees in the act of discussing laws related to theft the construction of a set of standards of appropriate behavior and punishment).

⁴⁸ Gunderson 2009, 81; Keulen 2009, 107 n. 27 observes the further play between *inlitteratoque* and *oblitteratae*.

an anonymous grammarian. After the grammarian refuses to help Gellius identify the meaning of the legal phrase *ex iure manum consertum*, in spite of its appearance in Ennius, he investigates for himself the legal sources. In these, he discovers that though the Twelve Tables prescribe laying hands on objects upon which a litigant is making a claim in the presence of a praetor, as the empire grew this practice fell into disuse: *institutum est contra duodecim tabulas **tacito consensu*** (20.10.9). Both points which Sulpicius had warned Gellius about are evident here: not only has the unnamed grammarian, who initially pleads his inability to help because he knows about the poets rather than the law, failed to interpret Ennius and provide even an etymological understanding of the phrase as Sulpicius had attempted, but a law derived from Rome's foundational code has been ignored tacitly over time as contemporary custom has dictated.

The form of neglect represented by *consensus tacitus* appears at first benign: it is suggested to be a natural process (laws, like language, change over time in accordance with the fashions and habits of the day), and Athenian abandonment of Draco's laws is at first blush perfectly sensible; laws suited to a bygone era when their severity was necessary can be allowed to lapse when their harshness is no longer called for. However, Gellius' examples suggest that this *consensus* is symptomatic of a broader cultural illiteracy, as a result of which languages and mores can degrade. The opening chapter of Book 20 suggests as much: there, Sextus Caecilius claims that any obscurities in the laws of the Twelve Tables are owed entirely to the ignorance of those who were unable to understand them (*'Obscuritates... non adsignemus culpae scribentium, sed inscitae non*

adsequentium, 20.1.5).⁴⁹ These latter examples pointedly demonstrate the hazards of collective (cognitive) silence for both state and intellect. Both language and law decline at Rome when the learned do not speak up for them, with the result that scholarship and the *res publica* both transform into something new. Gellius sees silence as a virtue of the prudent and intellectually inclined, but he also demonstrates the potential faults of this stance. To be silent may demonstrate thoughtfulness and a measured desire to mull over a complicated issue; however, too much quiet can represent a fundamental danger to the state, whether or not such reticence is self-serving. Quiet may serve the interest of the learned in that it enables them to ponder; but failing to speak up at the right time allows the world around them to change into something in which their learning, though necessary, has been effaced.

Implicit in Gellius' invocation of these antiquarian and other considerations is their applicability to fashioning well-educated Romans who would be at home in the affairs of state. His principal concern in addressing each of these examples, especially those that relate directly political involvement such as the senators in the account of Papirius Praetextatus, is the appropriate role of intellectual activity and its application to the state. The story serves as negative exemplum of thirsting for knowledge, and the young boy behaves decorously by remaining quiet even as his mother demonstrates her insatiable desire for inappropriate knowledge. Similarly, if groups elect to let archaic laws slip into obscurity, Gellius' objection is not that the laws have been allowed to fall by the wayside but that contemporary Romans have lost sight of their origins; this is linked to their lack of learning (suggested by the etymological play between words like

⁴⁹ Gunderson 2009, 80.

illiteratus and *oblitteratus*). Silence is closely linked to mental activity across Gellius' discussions of silence, figuring prominently in intellectual scenes in which he himself takes part like the discussion of translating *πραγμοσύνη* (11.16), and inscribing into the text at an early stage as an appropriate aspect of the young man's education. In this regard, silence is held up as a virtue because it is a sign of reflective and serious character; this moral rectitude is quintessentially Roman, as the Republican exempla cited by Gellius demonstrate, and the intellectual habits to which it is linked are thus incorporated into his evolving definition of an ideal Roman citizen.

Treating silence as a virtue evidently draws on the Republican Latin tradition, as constructed by Gellius: his examples are firmly grounded in references to Republican literature and history, a reflection of a time when the idealized form of gentleman-scholars were able to freely operate in the Roman state. The anxieties surrounding such collective silence, however, are rooted in the literature of the imperial age, with a principal source being Tacitus. His experience under the Flavians heavily influenced his views of the principate and the place of the senatorial classes under the evolving imperial system. Whether or not his statement that "you can think what you feel and say what you think" (*rara temporum felicitate ubi sentire quae velis et quae sentias dicere licet*, Tac. *Hist.* 1.1) is in fact true or intended to offer a paradigm for the new emperors to follow,⁵⁰ freedom of speech, and the willingness to exercise it, is a contentious issue in the imperial context. The semantic force of silence in Tacitus is complex and multifaceted;⁵¹ frequently, though, speech (or the lack thereof) appears in contexts of imperial

⁵⁰ As suggested by Wilson 2003, 533.

⁵¹ For a study of the semantics of *tacere*, *silere*, *reticere*, and others throughout Tacitus' oeuvre including frequency lists for the various words, see Strocchio 1992.

interaction, emphasizing how restricted language has become. Tacitus' own concerns resonate throughout Gellius' anxieties for his own time, as well as the role of intellectual activity in the Antonine age. In spite of his attempted return to Republican ideals, Gellius still recognizes tensions in his contemporary scene.

Much as at the beginning of the *Histories*, at the outset of the *Agricola* Tacitus acknowledges that only after the downfall of Domitian is it possible to publish works, such as the *Agricola*, that required some range of freedom of expression. He observes that the new order is far from the Domitianic environment of censorship populated with *delatores*, and suggests that in that context, the criminalization of discourse would lead to forgetting *exempla* and, implicitly, what it means to be Roman: *adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere* (Tac. Agr. 2.3).⁵²

Only with the removal of this regime is Tacitus able to speak freely, once he is in a setting in which his silence is not being enforced. The close connection between being able to speak and its effect on (cultural) memory is emphasized throughout the *Agricola*, honing in on the issue of Agricola's own memorialization.⁵³ Tacitus returns to this point in the brief encomium which appears at the end of the work, in which he reinforces the concept that Agricola is now able to live on through his laudatory opus, rather than being passed over in silence and forgotten (Agr. 46). In this regard, Tacitus' interests parallel

⁵² The pointed use of *tacere* at the end of this paragraph is perhaps suggestive of the author himself, with the implication then being that it is only through Tacitus, rather than speech the open freedom of speech, that Agricola will be remembered. Such etymological play with Tacitus' name is employed by other authors (notably Sidonius Apollinaris *Ep.* 4.22.2), and, I feel, is implied in several of Gellius' more pointed usages of the verb.

⁵³ The connection between memory and speaking dates at least to Cicero; cf. Cic. *Acad.* 2.2: *quam fuisse in Themistocle, quem facile Graeciae principem ponimus, singularem ferunt; qui quidem etiam pollicenti cuidam se artem ei memoriae, quae tum primum proferebatur, traditurum repondisse dicitur oblivisci se malle discere, credo quod haerebant in memoria quaecumque audierat et viderat.*

Gellius' own concerns with the willful suppression of laws that he sees as connected to the particular iteration of Roman identity that he advances throughout the *NA*.

The most striking situations of silence in Tacitus' corpus, though, are those involving the *princeps* and the political scene at Rome. Tiberius' conduct towards the senate is emblematic of the silence imposed by the imperial establishment upon the broader Roman intellectual and senatorial classes.⁵⁴ After an episode of violence which erupted in the theatre, the tribune of the plebs Haterius Agrippa used his veto to prevent the investiture of the praetors with the authority to flog the actors. Asinius Gallus sternly rebukes him in the senate, while Tiberius notably remains silent: *intercessit Haterius Agrippa tribunus plebei increpitusque est Asinii Galli oratione, **silente Tiberio, qui ea simulacra libertatis senatui praebebat*** (Tac. Ann. 1.77.3). The reason for this silence, Tacitus claims, is that Augustus himself had previously decreed that actors would be immune from such lashings, and that it would be blasphemous for Tiberius to contradict the previous emperor (*divus Augustus immunis verberum histriones quondam responderat, neque fas Tiberio infringere dicta eius*, 1.77.3). While the stated reasoning for Tiberius' silence, namely his deference to his predecessor, may be suggestive of the relationship between Tiberius and Augustus' rule before him, Tacitus' gloss on its function deserves note.⁵⁵ In holding his silence, Tacitus suggests, Tiberius offers the appearance of

⁵⁴ Syme 1958, 420-430 addresses the veracity of Tacitus' portrayal of Tiberius, noting that it is ultimately in line with Suetonius and Cassius Dio; in dealing with the historical nature of Tiberius' accession, he suggests that it "marked a restoration of the Republic more genuine in many respects than that proclaimed and enacted by his predecessor" (427), and emphasizes Tacitus' attraction to the emperor as a character who was himself quick-witted, even though his most prominent trait (*dissimulatio*) ultimately proved to be destructive for the state. Walker 1960, 17-18 notes the constant looming presence of Tiberius throughout all the books during which he is alive and the extent to which it is a Tacitean invention intended to infuse Books 1-6 with a sense of dread reminiscent of the era.

⁵⁵ On the episode's depiction of the relationship between Tiberius and Augustan precedent, see Cowan 2009, 183-190 with reference to the previous discussions on the topic.

fostering debate and free speech in the senate, although the very existence of a *princeps*, much less his presence at the debate, renders this freedom inert. The justification of Tiberius' non-response which follows, namely that he would not speak against the *dicta* of Augustus, further suggests a corruption of authority; Tacitus himself glosses the supposed rationale, distancing Tiberius and his motives from the explanation provided.⁵⁶ Rather, senatorial freedom is reduced to a shadow of its previous form under the Republic, with Tiberius manipulating the senate into providing the response which he himself desired.

On the other hand, Tacitus also provides a clear example of the role of silence in the depiction of the Stoic Thrasea Paetus, one of the members of the Stoic opposition to Nero. Tacitus describes Thrasea's prosecution and subsequent suicide, drawing particular attention to the speeches given by Cossutianus Capito and (especially) Epirus Marcellus against him. At Nero's instigation, Capito and Marcellus both attack Thrasea primarily for his persistent absence from the senate and his retreat from political life under Nero's reign (16.22.1-2); Marcellus goes so far as to declare Thrasea's silence a form of treason: *contra instituta et caerimonias maiorum proditorem palam et hostem Thrasea induisset... facilius perlatturos singular increpanti<s> v<oce>m quam nunc silentium perferrent omnia damnantis* (16.28.2). The core of the prosecution, then, rests on vilifying the Stoic withdrawal from political life as an overt method of criticizing the emperor and the imperial establishment.⁵⁷ Although Thrasea remained detached from the political realm and maintained his peace as a means of channeling his energies into things classed as

⁵⁶ Indeed, the justification may be that provided by Haterius, and Tiberius merely offers his silent assent; on this reading, see Cowan 2009, 189-190.

⁵⁷ Wilson 2003, 538.

good by the Stoics, nevertheless his political inaction is manipulated by Marcellus into a form of open revolt. Thrasea's confidants offer conflicting advice on answering the charges brought against him. While part encourage him to remain at home in his home, detached from the tribulations in store there, some of his friends in fact urge him to appear in the Senate to face the charges, suggesting that even if he should meet his end as a result, he would become a notable *exemplum* for his courage rather than perish in silence (*sin crudelitati insisteret, distingui certe apud posteros memoriam honesti exitus ab ignavia per silentium pereuntium*, 16.25.2). From their perspective, silence is a cowardly act rather than one of treason, the choice of an individual resigned to his political fate. Ultimately, Thrasea was forced to take his own life, having fallen victim to a paradoxical decision: his choice to remain silent, in accordance with his Stoic beliefs, on the one hand removed him from being a political threat, yet it was his very silence that was refigured as the strongest condemnation of his actions.⁵⁸

However, Thrasea is not an unproblematic figure in Tacitus' narrative: indeed, his among his first appearances in the text (13.49) warrants disapproval.⁵⁹ For as much as his opposition to Nero is to be admired, nevertheless his failure to oppose tyranny successfully appears to have engendered much disdain from Tacitus.⁶⁰ On one level, such failures make the situation worse for all those that remain under the tyranny, justifying Tacitus' hostility. Among the central faults that led to this execution was his dedication to his philosophical beliefs and his own personal vanity, especially remarked upon by

⁵⁸ Wilson 2003, 540-541.

⁵⁹ Walker 1960, 229-230 argues strongly that Thrasea is among the most sternly critiqued characters in the entirety of the *Annales*.

⁶⁰ Walker 1960, 230.

Tacitus after Thrasea had successfully roused the senators to side with him in assigning a lighter punishment to the praetor Antistius, who stood accused of writing libelous poems against the emperor: *sueta firmitudine animi et ne Gloria intercideret* (14.49.3). The combination of self-interest and dedication to Stoicism in preference to the good of the state draws Tacitus' ire, with an implication that Thrasea is not the heroic figure he might appear to be in taking a stand against Nero.

Marcellus later clashes with Thrasea's son-in-law Helvidius Priscus at the advent of Vespasian's reign in a debate over the selection of a delegation to welcome the new emperor (*Hist.* 4.5). Helvidius, in his arguments against the inclusion of Marcellus, openly declares that the new *princeps* ought not to be counseled by those who had attacked his friends such as Thrasea. Indeed, Helvidius argues that the surest tool for the effectual operation of the imperial government is for men similar to the now-deceased Thrasea to be *amici* of the *princeps*. On the other hand, those like Marcellus who do not know how to be moderate in their speech have no place in counseling the new emperor: *nullum maius boni imperii instrumentum quam bonos amicos esse. satis Marcello quod Neronem in exitium tot innocentium impulerit: frueretur praemiis et impunitate, Vespasianum melioribus relinqueret* (*Hist.* 4.7). Implicit in the argument is that the qualities of restraint and moderation embodied by Thrasea are most suited to being an efficient imperial counselor as opposed to the *delator* Marcellus. Despite Helvidius' plea, Marcellus is able to carry the day and becomes a member of the delegation. His manipulation of Stoicism reduces the adherents of the philosophy to political dissenters, even when they attempt to remove themselves from the political sphere. The attitudes expressed by Helvidius resound with airs of nostalgia for the Republic, or at least for an

early form of the principate in which the *princeps* remained a *primus inter pares*;⁶¹ however, Marcellus' reply depicts the new reality of senatorial relations with the *princeps*. Though he claims that he sees no reason why old traditions should cease to be observed, he nevertheless expresses his admiration of the past while recognizing the contingencies of the contemporary world (*se meminisse temporum, quibus natus sit, quam citatis formam patres avique instituerint; ulteriora mirari, praesentia sequi*, Tac. *Hist.* 4.8.2). The implication underlying Marcellus' speech, then, is that the role of the senators as imperial *amici* has eroded to the point of nonexistence.⁶² Despite the quarreling over who will assume the role, the ability to have any true influence in a Republican sense is illusory. Moreover, there is no longer any role to be played by Romans who are actively involved in philosophical or other intellectual pursuits.

What points of contact emerge between the portrayals of silence in Gellius and Tacitus? Both authors understand the value of judicious silence in their respective contexts, though Gellius' own articulation remains fundamentally optimistic. While he confines his advice on silence and its appropriate usage principally to personal, intellectual contexts, he nevertheless is aware of its value as part of a broader sociopolitical system. He recognizes the ambivalence of Demosthenes' and Demades' silence and the hazards intrinsic in citizens remaining quiet in contexts which would demand their participation; this anxiety echoes the tensions that emerge throughout Tacitus' portrayal of senatorial activity under the principate. If Gellius recognizes silence as either cowardice or treason, for Tacitus holding one's peace becomes a tactic of

⁶¹ Haynes 2003, 123-124.

⁶² Haynes 2003, 164.

survival. Yet, if silence could help to preserve an individual's life, as the principate warps the language of the Republic into a new system of discourse in which words gradually lose their original meanings, it becomes an act which carries the same significance as speech.⁶³ Language loses its semantic force as a result of the pressures of censorship from the imperial establishment, and the collective silence of the senatorial classes allows for this metamorphosis; Gellius likewise warns of the same phenomenon occurring when allowed to by the *consensus tacitus* with laws as with language (11.18, 20.10). Such dangers stray close to the image of imperial rhetoric presented throughout Tacitus, an author for whom the actions of the collective are frequently pernicious to the extent of allowing the throngs to have their way.

In order to avoid a recurrence of the imperial dystopia depicted in Tacitus, Gellius cautions against a silent status quo and instead provides a model of active, candid speech which casts the intellectually inclined senatorial class as an essential cog in the Antonine imperial machinery. The function of speech in the context of imperial interactions highlights the contrast between the two authors, namely their conception of imperial *amicitia* and the ideal qualities of the *amici minores* of the *princeps*. The model proposed by Gellius is thoroughly steeped in the Republican code of conduct represented by Ennius' image of Servilius Geminus, in which the lesser friends of Roman elites busy themselves with the affairs of state.⁶⁴ While Tacitus alludes to the existence of such a

⁶³ On the transmutation of language in Tacitus' discourse, see Syme 1958, 196, drawing on the connections between Tacitus and Thucydides' descriptions of *stasis*, in which language breaks down; O'Gorman 2000, 14-22 further develops this point in connection with irony throughout the *Annales*. On the distinction made between *vocabula* and *verba*, see Haynes 2004, esp. 33-43.

⁶⁴ Keulen 2009, 217-218 stresses the sympotic elements of the depiction of Servilius and sees in them a connection to the intellectual program advocated throughout the *NA*, particularly in the dining context, conversations on a range of topics, and the general conviviality reflected in the jesting included in the depiction. He reads further into the passage the "programmatic element of psychological training" and

model, his portrait of Eprius Marcellus and his various successes serves only to emphasize the depths to which the supposed *amici*, now flatterers and *delatores*, have fallen. The model offered by Gellius, hearkening to an idealized Republican era, suggests the prominent role which the judicious gentleman scholar could play (and indeed would have been expected to).

What do these points of contact tell us about Gellius' interest in the politics of his day? In the *NA*, there are subtle warnings of the hazards of silence in the political sphere, though Gellius is largely disinterested in participating himself in such matters. Indeed, even in addressing the *amici principis* and proper role of an imperial counselor, Gellius shies away from asserting his own role in this respect. However, Gellius does recognize several of the failings of the *consensus* in earlier generations as linked to failures in the senators' habits of mind, in particular their inability to deploy learning and speak at the appropriate times, as well as losing sight of their Roman identities. Antiquarian learning offers a range of exempla that illustrate the suitable behavior for Romans involved in politics, including the judicious use of silence. In contrast to the examples of Demosthenes and Demades, who each took significant bribes to betray the interests of their state and who appear closer to the sycophantic senators throughout Tacitus, Gellius provides models of Roman virtue drawn from archaic literature and learning that are closely bound to old ideas about Roman identity. Unlike Greeks willing to betray the *polis* in the name of *avaritia*, politically active Romans ought to study their traditions more intently, since when they forget or otherwise do not read such antiquarian material

likens the relationship between Servilius and his *amicus maior* to that between Gellius and his reader. While Keulen posits perhaps too strong a correlation between Gellius and the idealized role of the *amicus minor*, the resonances between the two are suggestive of the potential model underlying Gellius' own depiction of the active intellectually driven statesman under the Antonines.

(*oblitteratus/inlitteratus*), their connection to proper Roman values have disappeared. Philosophy has limited application in this respect, as in the case of Thrasea, whose strict adherence to Stoic principles was one cause of his ultimate downfall despite his otherwise moral character. On this reading, silence is becomes a key element in negotiating these thematic overlaps between Gellius and Tacitus, and these points of contact suggest one response to the hazards of losing touch with the Republican roots of Rome. If Tacitus depicts an image of the degradation of Rome under the *principes* as a warning, Gellius represents one attempt to remember that lesson and offer a diplomatic solution for the learned Roman and the imperial establishment, which was not going anywhere, to coexist with mutual benefit.

At home with Pliny: Gellius and Pliny the Younger's Villas (and Seneca)

In the previous sections, I have argued for a reading of Gellius that is more closely situated within the literature of the preceding generations, in particular with the work of Tacitus. An additional strongly felt, if understudied, presence within the *NA* is the *Epistles* of Pliny the Younger. In fact, while Pliny the Younger is nowhere cited in the *NA*, several of the dominant thematic strands of his letters come to the surface throughout Gellius' work as part of the authorial persona that he creates for himself. As part of the imperial establishment, as well as a litterateur in his own right, Pliny offers a model for Gellius to emulate or adjust as needed to establish his own authority as a member of the Roman literary elite. While the artfulness of Pliny's collection has only in the last ten years come to be appreciated in full, with the multiple interconnections between the various letters demonstrative of an underlying aesthetics closely germane to that of the

miscellany,⁶⁵ Gellius sees in Pliny a kindred spirit whose work can offer avenues of personal, as well as literary exploration. In particular, Gellius chooses to inscribe connections between Pliny's works and his own in order to elicit the Trajanic author in his role as the creator of a prose collection as a programmatic model. Moreover, and perhaps more significantly, Pliny is a figure in whom Gellius sees a reflection of himself, a member of the Roman elite situating himself between *otium* and *negotium*, and exercising his cultural knowledge during his times of *otium*.

First, to return to the patterned ordering at the beginning of Book One of the *NA*, the employment of such careful patterning is deliberate, and is in fact programmatic for the rest of the work, as I have suggested.⁶⁶ Indeed, such a technique does have a precedent in the letters of Pliny the Younger, just as Gellius' declaration of an *ordo fortuitus* is mirrored in Pliny's own claims about his chance ordering. These chapters of Gellius can be compared with a striking example of this deliberate ordering occurring in the so-called *Paradebriefe* that opens Pliny's collection.⁶⁷ These letters, 1.1.-1.8, are themselves echoes of Horatian techniques in the first book of the *Odes*, in which the first nine poems set Horace's poetic agenda. Pliny's technique, then, is an attempt to position himself on the same footing as Horace, and to imbue his prose letters with poeticism and artistry. Gellius, in alluding to Pliny's compositional techniques at the outset of his own work, thus adopts a similar posture, layering his work with such artistry in order to elevate it beyond the level of a mere miscellany. In this way, he stakes a claim to high

⁶⁵ Most notably Henderson 2002a, Gibson and Morello, eds. 2003, Marchesi 2008, Gibson and Morello 2012; see also Hoffer 1999, Barchiesi 2005.

⁶⁶ See above, Chapter 2, pp. 161-175.

⁶⁷ See above, Chapter 2, p. 175 n. 90.

literature for his work. By utilizing a strategy which Pliny himself used to show the literary qualities of his work, so too does Gellius seek to underscore the literary nature of the *NA* and cast himself as one of the intellectual elites in the Antonine period, establishing a literary spirit for his work. Gellius distances his own miscellany from the numerous similar texts noted in his Preface (pr.6-9), and he challenges his reader by means of his complex techniques of composition to engage with his *NA* on the level of a higher literary form rather than simply a reference work intended as a shortcut to culture. Gellius situates himself in the broader literary tradition by reusing and reinterpreting earlier techniques.

Gellius reinforces these connections with Pliny throughout the *NA*, strengthening the relationship between the two as elite Roman males working in the same literary and social milieux. While Gellius may appropriate literary techniques and motifs employed by Pliny the Younger, as in the case of the opening of the first book, the description of several villa scenes take apparent cues from Pliny's own descriptions throughout the *Epistles*. Gellius describes three prominent scenes set at villas throughout the *NA*, which I will sketch out briefly here before turning to the points of contact with Pliny's own descriptions.

The most prominent villa in the text is the estate of Herodes Atticus at Cephisia, which appears at the very beginning of the work at *NA* 1.2. Gellius describes Herodes' villa at Cephisia as an idyllic paradise in which to relax, socialize, and escape the oppressive heat of the Greek summer:

atque ibi tunc, cum essemus apud eum [sc. Herodem] in villa, cui nomen est Cephisia, et aestu anni et sidere autumnii flagrantissimo, propulsabamus incommoda caloris lucorum umbra ingentium, **longis ambulacris et mollibus**, aedium positu refrigeranti, **lavacris nitidis et abundis et collucentibus totiusque villae venustate aquis undique canoris atque avibus personante.**

And there at that time, when we were with him at his villa, which was called Cephisia, both in the heat of the summer and under the burning sun of autumn, we were accustomed to stave off the inhospitable heat through the shade of huge groves, **long and soft walkways**, the cool setting of the buildings, **the bright pools both abundant and shining, and the charm of the whole villa resounding everywhere with sonorous waters and singing birds.** (NA 1.2.2)

The physical description of the villa is repeated more briefly in its second appearance at 18.10, while Gellius is there during his convalescence from a fever; he again calls attention to the abundance of light and water, as well as groves that spot that estate (*in Herodis C.V. villam, quae est in agro Attico loco, qui appellatur Cephisiae, aquis et luci, nemoribus frequentem, aestu anni medio concesseram*, NA 18.10.1). Little other attention is given to the appearance of the villa in either circumstance, though the activities of the place take center state. In 1.2, Gellius depicts himself and his fellow students witnessing Herodes Atticus exposing a young Stoic who lacks mastery of Epictetus' teachings, while in 18.10, Taurus ridicules the *medicus* that tends to Gellius' illness yet does not understand the distinction between a vein and an artery (18.10.5). In both instances Gellius has encounters with Greek learning that prompt him to learn new material, as well as sparking him to independent inquiries after the fact. Additionally, after returning from Greece to Italy, Gellius visits the villa of an unnamed friend of Favorinus, where the latter had been staying (17.10). Gellus says nothing of the villa beyond the fact that it was in Antium, and that Favorinus was there during the summer (*Favorinum philosophum, cum in hospitis sui Antiatem villam aestu anni concessit*, 17.10.1). However, this becomes the scene of an extensive comparison of Pindar and Vergil's description of Mount Aetna erupting; Favorinus comments in detail on the qualities of both, comparing the passages side by side ultimately praises Pindar as the superior poet.⁶⁸ In each of these scenes, it is evident that Gellius sees villas as a location of learning pursued during

⁶⁸ On this particular translation and the relative judgments, see Gamberale 1969, 147-155; Vardi 1996, 506-510.

leisure; however, the intellectual authorities represented in each case are Greek—indeed, each of Gellius’ main Greek preceptors (Herodes, Favorinus, Taurus) is featured in his own villa scene and represents one branch of the educational program of the *NA*.

These villas, in particular Cephisia, share several similarities with those of Pliny the elder, as Wytse Keulen has discussed.⁶⁹ Despite their different social and geographical settings, the similarity of the descriptions of Herodes’ villa in 1.2 and the descriptions of Pliny’s villas in the *Epistles* is evident. These parallels in structural features as well as the activity which takes place in each location suggest an implicit contrast between the Greek or Roman values embodied by each location. Gellius exploits a tension between the two sets of depictions: while there are clear similarities between Pliny’s and Herodes’ villa, the Greek site of learning lacks balance between *otium* and *negotium* (despite the explicit evocation of Herodes’ political role as a *vir consularis* at the opening of the chapter), as opposed to the villas of Pliny which serve as retreats for quiet thought and business even during festivals such as the Saturnalia. It is worth noting that Pliny participates in an imperial tradition of ecphrases of luxurious villas, including those of Statius, Martial, and Seneca, all of whom use the villa to explore Roman wealth and literary culture.⁷⁰ While the traditional interpretation of these texts situates them against Roman moralizing about excess, Gellius and Pliny both read the villa primarily as a refuge for literary and intellectual production, and the contrasts between the two offer

⁶⁹ While Keulen 2009, 274 does not discuss in detail the connections between the two authors and their villa scenes, he does note that “[v]arious elements of Herodes’ villa in Gellius resemble Pliny’s rhetorical descriptions of luxurious villas, which not only display the owners’ material wealth but also represent, symbolically, ‘factories of literature,’ places that embody literary and political ideals.”

⁷⁰ Statius: *Silv.* 1.3, 2.2, 3.1; see Nauta 2002, 193-326, Dewar 2014, 40-49. Martial: 3.58, 4.57, 4.64, 5.71, 10.30, 10.51; see Nauta 2002, 161-162, Dewar 2014, 36-39. Seneca: *Ep.* 55, 86; see Henderson 2005, Dewar 2014, 51-54, and my own discussion below.

two models of intellectual life and the cultivation of Roman values. Although Gellius situates himself in an explicitly Greek environment during his formative years, the presence of Pliny's alternate model underscores his account and challenges the *auctoritas* of Herodes even at his first introduction in the *NA*. Similarly, in a letter addressed to Caninius Rufus, Pliny describes a villa at Comum in *Ep.* 1.3 as follows:

Quid agit Comum, tuae meaeque deliciae? quid sub urbanum amoenissimum, quid illa porticus verna semper, quid platanon opacissimus, quid euripus viridis et gemmeus, quid subiectus et serviens lacus, quid **illa mollis et tamen solida gestatio, quid balineum illud quod plurimus sol implet et circumit**, quid triclinia illa popularia illa paucorum, quid cubicula diurna nocturna?

How are things at Comum, your and my delight? What of that most pleasant place outside the city, of that portico where it is always spring, densely covered with plane trees, the emerald canal, the low-lying lake that feeds it, **how is that soft and nevertheless firm walkway, that bath which so much sun fills and surrounds**, how are the dining rooms both for the many and for the few, how are the bedchambers for day and night? (Plin. *Ep.* 1.3.1)

Both villas possess soft walkways, prominent groves, and well-lit areas. The idyllic setting of both comes to the fore in the descriptions, and both provide a refuge from the heat of the summer. While these elements are to an extent standard in villa descriptions (the villa is often depicted as a *locus amoenus* and a bright, airy retreat from the *urbs*), in both the function of the villas as places of learning is pronounced: Gellius achieves this by enacting a scene of learning in the chapter, while Pliny explicitly casts his Laurentine villa as a refuge for his personal work and study, even in times of *otium* such as the Saturnalia:

Procoeton inde et cubiculum porrigitur in solem, quem orientem statim exceptum ultra meridiem oblicum quidem sed tamen servat. In hanc ego diaetam cum me recepi, abesse mihi etiam a villa mea videor, magnamque eius voluptatem praecipue Saturnalibus capio, cum reliqua pars tecti licentia dierum festisque clamoribus personat; **nam nec ipse meorum lusibus nec illi studiis meis ostrepunt**.

Next door there is an anteroom and a bedroom that stretches out towards the sun, which the room catches as it rises and retains beyond midday even though the light is at a slant. When I set myself into this room, I seem even to myself to be elsewhere than my villa, and I take great delight in it especially at the Saturnalia, when the rest of the house resounds with festive shouting in the manner of the license of those days; **for I myself do not interfere with the amusements of my household, nor do they interfere with my studies**. (Plin. *Ep.* 2.17.23-24)

Pliny's Laurentine villa especially represents a retreat from legal affairs and the business of managing his estate, as well as from his social obligations during the Saturnalia; this point is reinforced given the letter's role in the second book of the *Epistles*, in which it provides a counterbalance to the heavy emphasis on *negotium* and *officium* throughout the book, especially 2.11 and 2.12.⁷¹ As Pliny retreats further and further into his villa over the course of the letter, he arrives at an inner sanctum where he cannot be disturbed from his *studia* and may devote himself to the literary activities of which the *Epistles* are representative.⁷²

Pliny's description of the villa additionally provides some insight into his own values and motivations. The Laurentine villa (and Pliny's Tuscan villa at 5.6) is largely devoid of people including slaves, with the exception of the revelers at the Saturnalia and a brief mention of the quarters for freedmen and slaves at 2.17.9, and little furniture is mentioned beyond the bookcase at 2.17.8.⁷³ It embodies several contradictions, with its louder, more public spaces oriented towards leisure and its private retreats in which Pliny could focus upon his literary efforts. One defect which Pliny calls attention to is that his villa lacks running water (2.17.25), an element present in Caninius Rufus' estate at

⁷¹ Gibson and Morello 2012, 218-219. They note in particular the similarity between 2.11-12 and 2.17 in terms of total words (at 1,084 and 1,086 words respectively, they are the two longest sets of letters in Book Two), and suggest that the length of both requires these letters to be read in light of one another: "[t]ogether they give a full portrait of the two sides of Pliny's life: preoccupation with legal affairs versus the leisure of the Laurentine villa."

⁷² Pliny elsewhere dabbles in other genres and forms of literature, including poetry (e.g. 4.14, 5.3, 7.9 8.21, 9.16, 9.24; cf. Hershkowitz 1995). Ash 2003, esp. 221-225 suggests that Pliny's historical letters are an attempt to practice certain models of historiographical writing in miniature, and Freudenburg 2001, 215-234 suggests that Pliny writes martyr stories and other depictions of tragic figures in the imperial past as miniaturized epic narratives, in a manner akin to Juvenal. Cf. Gibson and Morello 2012, 78-79. Gellius' own chapters can be read in a similar fashion, with the different forms of discussion each a kind of miniaturization of the different genres they represent (symposiastic literature, epistolography, dialogue, commentary, etc.); see Beall 1988, 128-129, 143; Rust 2009, 147-149.

⁷³ Gibson and Morello 2012, 216.

Comum and Herodes Atticus at Cephisia (NA 1.2.2); in spite of its idyllic nature, Pliny's estate lacks some of the more luxurious elements of other villas. Indeed, he explicitly states at the outset of the letter that the villa is not opulent, though by no means cheap (2.17.3). For all that the villa has to recommend it, Pliny's favorite location is the secluded set of rooms in which he can read and work undisturbed—a location explicitly intended not as a place of conviviality despite the shared leisure that is most frequently represented there. The villa embodies several key aspects of Pliny's literary self-portrait, particularly the distinction between *otium* and *negotium*, and it becomes effectively a mirror of its owner.⁷⁴ Unlike Herodes' villa, which is a sight of social learning and intellectual pursuits, Pliny's is effectively divided between work and leisure, tastefully albeit modestly decorated, and devoted to the production of literature.

Pliny returns to his Laurentine villa in the brief last letter of Book Nine (thus, the last of the letters not addressed to the emperor Trajan), which reconfigures the villa as the site of Pliny's legal affairs. In response to his addressee Fuscus Salinator's inquiry about how Pliny spends his winters at Laurentum, he offers an image radically different from that of the relaxation of 2.17.⁷⁵ He works late into the night on upcoming court cases, and

⁷⁴ The conflation of the villa and the man (or at least the memory of the man) is a typical theme of Roman moralizing literature, including several of Seneca's epistles, among others; see Bodel 1997, 7-17, 20-26 (noting the role of tombs on villa grounds as important factors for the elision between owner and structure). Bodel 2012, 56-59 traces the evolution of this moralizing strand, focused on the broader significance of villas and agriculture for Roman culture, in Republican accounts of villas. Bergmann 1995, 408-409 calls attention to the highly stylized nature of the letters and their description, including the recognition that the villa letters (as *ecphrasis*) belong to a self-conscious tradition of description, and accordingly the villas become "monuments of the man;" Gibson and Morello 2012, 216-217 suggest that the "omission and emphases [of particular elements of the villa] create a very particular image of the owner: a man who stands unimpeded in our full view, unconcerned with the mundanities of daily life, and the epitome of good taste yet never extravagant. The approach can be extended to the very details of the houses which Pliny chooses to emphasize or reveal...."

⁷⁵ The letter additionally serves as sequel to 9.36, which is likewise addressed to Fuscus and provides an overview of Pliny's relaxation and his daily regimen during the summers at his villa. On the letter and other

he curtails his social activities and reading in order to focus on his work: *si agendi necessitas instat, quae frequens hieme, non iam comoedo vel lyristae post cenam locus, sed illa, quae dictavi, identidem retractantur, ac simul memoriae frequenti emendatione proficitur* (9.40.2). This contrast with the leisured existence of 2.17 (and the letter's partner, 9.36) rounds out the portrait of Pliny and his villa: although Pliny's activities that have been shown to his reader up to this point emphasize the villa as a site of recreation and literary production. Though Pliny believes that his fame will come through literary enterprise rather than his legal career (and his place alongside Cicero and Seneca as one of the canonical Latin epistolographers has borne this out),⁷⁶ in order to produce the letters that will preserve his memory for future generations he must find a balance between his legal duties and his writing—this balance is ultimately afforded to him by his villa.

In both the Gellian and Plinian contexts, the villa is the site of the exercise of knowledge; but the evocation of Pliny's villas, with their balance between hard and soft, as well as the emphatic point that the villa in Pliny has room for work and study, casts the Greek cultural authority of Cephisia, embodied by leisure and *mollitia*, in an ambiguous light.⁷⁷ In directing his reader to Pliny as an alternate model, Gellius provides a proper Roman cultural model in opposition to the soft, seductive Greek villa of Herodes.

examples of *diaetae* in the *Epistles*, see Henderson 2002a, 11-14, 147-148; O'Sullivan 2011, 82-83; Gibson and Morello 2012, 117-118, 121-123, 205-206; and below, pp. 333-337.

⁷⁶ On Pliny's connections with the Ciceronian tradition of epistolography especially, see Marchesi 2008, 207-240. Cf. Hoffer 1999, 21-27.

⁷⁷ Keulen 2009, 278-279; Johnson 2010, 108-109. Keulen extends the depiction of Herodes villa to be an embodiment of Herodes himself, and notes additional parallels between the Gellian description of the villa and Quintilian's description of sights and sounds that distract the mind from its duty (*Inst. Or.* 10.3.24). In this regard, Gellius problematizes Herodes and his site of Greek learning as things that distract from proper Roman behavior rather than furnishing an appropriate venue for exercising learning.

Furthermore, Keulen has noted the parallels between the description of Cephisia itself and the manner in which Philostratus describes the literary style of Herodes.⁷⁸ On this reading, the villa becomes a literary extension of Herodes himself.⁷⁹ If Pliny emerges as a model of a Roman writer embodying an ideal of balance between *otium* and *negotium*, as the description of his Laurentine villa suggests, Cephisia can only be a corrupting place given its profusion of distracting *otium*.⁸⁰ This is not to say that Herodes and Cephisia are to be completely vilified: as a consular, prominent literary figure of his day, and Athenian citizen, he represents a cultural hybrid that appeals to Gellius intrinsically. Cephisia appears in the *NA* as a site of Gellius' student years; it is there that he practices many of the intellectual habits he will ultimately bring with him back to Rome and reintegrate into the idealized intellectual life that he espouses throughout the work. Greek learning, which abounds at Cephisia, can be put to the service of Roman *negotium*.

Indeed, Pliny reinforces the need for the villa to be a location of *otium* and *studium* early in the collection in the letter addressed to Caninius Rufus quoted above (*Ep.* 1.3), in which he urges Caninius to utilize the villa as a retreat from his business and instead devote himself to his studies: *Quin tu (tempus enim) humiles et sordidas curas aliis mandas, et ipse te in alto isto pinguique secessu studiis adseris? Hoc sit negotium tuum hoc otium; hic labor haec quies* (1.3.3). Pliny pushes his friend to transform

⁷⁸ Keulen 2009, 275-276 with n. 28.

⁷⁹ Bodel 1997, 5-6 observes that the Romans of the principate recognized the villa as reflection of his moral character.

⁸⁰ André 1966, 535 interprets Pliny the Younger as successfully reincorporating Ciceronian and Catonian morals and anxieties about the nature of *otium* and the fear of lost time while at his villa; Leach 2003, 147-149, 157-164 argues that Pliny redefines *otium* as *luxuria*, and stresses that it affords cultural capital.

working the land and *negotium* into the *otium* of writing and his intellectual pursuits.⁸¹ By divorcing himself from his agricultural and other financially oriented business, Caninius will be free to pursue a life focused on reading and writing, with all of the benefits that accompany those activities. Villas offer an escape from affairs of state and business, though they are not simply luxurious retreats at which to enjoy excess; rather, in the portrait offered by Pliny, they ought to afford the Roman man the opportunity to engage his intellect and combine *otium* with *negotium*. Ultimately for Pliny, the highest function of the villa is literary production and the pursuit of a particular form of lettered life, as his own pleasure at being left to his *studia* during the Saturnalia at *Ep.* 2.17.24 evinces.⁸² In offering villas as such “factories of literature,” to use Stanley Hoffer’s term, Pliny situates the production of his own letters in precisely the environment that he describes in his villa letters.⁸³ The conclusion of the collection of non-imperial letters, 9.40, demonstrates that the villa was not only a place of leisure, though: throughout the winters he spent there, Pliny prepared legal cases late into the night, in spite of the absence of such business in 2.17. While he grudgingly engages in the *negotia* and *officia*

⁸¹ Dewar 2014, 58, who suggests that the verb used (*adseris*) configures Caninius’ public duties as a kind of slavery from which he must escape at Comum by retreating into intellectual pursuits, with the ultimate collapse of *negotium* and *otium* together a similar challenge to the traditional Roman *mores*. Cf. Hoffer 1999, who likewise emphasizes the tension between slave and free throughout the brief letter, in addition to recognizing in the letter the value distinctions drawn between the profits derived from working the land and the literary enterprise (and its accompanying immortality) which Pliny praises and sees as the highest purpose of villas for the wealthy Roman; see esp. 38-42.

⁸² Whitton 2013, 250, understands 2.17 as echoing the brief discussion of 1.3 with Pliny and his villa recast in the central role; if we read the two letters together, it becomes evident that Pliny sets himself up as an exemplary literary figure for his friend Caninius to emulate.

⁸³ As noted by André 1966, 472-482, already for Horace the villa is a location of literary production and is closely connected by the poet to his work as a result of the *otium* afforded by the place. Bodel 2012, 53-54 recognizes Cicero’s instrumental role in establishing the villa as the site of “honorable *otium*” within the literary tradition drawn upon by Pliny.

at Laurentum, he nevertheless strikes a balance between these and the writing of literature at his villa, and his self-image while at the villa embraces this balance.

As I have suggested thus far, Gellius keenly feels the influence of Pliny the Younger as a writer of miscellaneous literature and an exemplar of a particular kind of Roman virtue, situated between intellectual pursuits and political activity. However, both Gellius and Pliny wrote in the wake of Seneca's *Epistulae Morales*, and it is worth considering briefly what, if any, influence Seneca may have had on Gellius, in particular vis-à-vis his depiction of villas and their representation of intellectual activity. All three authors play within the same literary tradition concerning villas that dates back to Republican Latin, and it is instructive to see how Gellius elects to interact with each of these representatives of this literary discourse.⁸⁴ Seneca devotes two prominent letters to ecphrases of villas, *Ep.* 55 and 86, on the villas of Servilius Vatia and Scipio Africanus respectively, as well as a third, *Ep.* 12, to his own suburban villa.⁸⁵ The two ecphrastic letters both fixate upon the moral representation of the villa's owners based on the physical structures themselves. Vatia's villa near Baiae, described at *Ep.* 55, goes to great lengths to depict the retirement of Vatia into his leisured existence at his villa as a kind of death. Seneca notes from the beginning of his description that Vatia himself was renowned for his wealth and for being a man of leisure (*ille praetorius dives, nulla in alia re quam otio notus*, 55.3), and that every time he passes the house he remarks to himself that Vatia is entombed inside (*numquam aliter hanc villa Vatia vivo praeteribam quam ut dicerem, 'Vatia hic situs est,'* 55.4) in contrast to the praise of his lifestyle lavished upon

⁸⁴ On the literary depictions of villas in Cato, Cicero, and Varro and their function as meditations on Roman identity, see Bodel 2012.

⁸⁵ These letters appear designed to be read together, and are done so convincingly by Henderson 2004.

him by the majority of men. In contrast to *otium*, he situates philosophy as requisite for the good life (55.4), and suggests that the man who retreats into seclusion in order to seek his own pleasures leads no real life at all (55.5). With this prologue on Vatia's way of life complete, Seneca turns to the villa itself: though he can vouch for few details, he highlights the two grottoes in the villa, as well as a grove of plane trees bisected by a small stream (*platanona medius rivus et a mari et ab Acherusio lacu receptus euripi modo dividit*, 55.6) which flows into a fishpond intended for providing food for the estate (*alendis piscibus, etiam si adsidue exhauritur, sufficiens*). The most notable feature of the villa is its location in close proximity to Baiae, where it enjoys year-round the benefits of the place while keeping out its failings—the site of the villa is well-suited to an old man's leisure (*in quem otium suum pigrum iam et senile conferret*, 55.7). However, in spite of all of the amenities Vatia has attempted to provide for the place and its conduciveness to *otium*, Seneca claims that the villa can bring no peace of mind (55.8).

Several of the features of the villa and the details about them are shared with the description of Caninius Rufus' villa at Comum (Plin. *Ep.* 1.3), especially the plane grove and river, already noted above as an idyllic setting though used for the wrong reasons, in Pliny's view.⁸⁶ Seneca's ecphrasis of Vatia's villa, even as it is light on specific details of much of the house, paints both man and building with the same brush. The setting is ideally constructed for Vatia to waste away in his senility—the house becomes the tomb he dies in—and the sufficiency of the villa avoids discomfort at the expense of a complete withdrawal from public life (one of Seneca's first objections to the villa and its

⁸⁶ The two letters are compared by Henderson 2004, who calls attention to the reconfiguration of Vatia's into a milder Plinian critique as he cautions his friend to avoid the indolence of someone like Vatia; see 84–86. The setting almost invariably recalls that of Plato's *Phaedrus*, with its elements of seclusion and leisure as an idealized sit for philosophical discussion.

owner, 55.4). Seneca thus uses the villa as a satiric tool to wield against Vatia, his misguided form of Epicureanism, and his retreat from official duties and the business of Rome.

Seneca's own homecoming at his family villa, as described at *Ep.* 12, offers a different view of an old man's villa. As he arrives at his suburban villa, Seneca remarks, he finds the estate in disrepair, fails to recognize his childhood playmate, and must come to terms with both his and the estate's age (12.1-3). Though little space is given over to a description of the villa itself, Seneca notes that a plane grove was in particularly bad shape (12.2); but for him, the villa is more a metonym for his own advancing years. As he notes at the outset, when observing that a building collapse on the estate could be chalked up to the age of the place, what does this mean for his own life (*quid mihi futurum est, si tam putria sunt aetatis meae saxa*, 12.1)? The bulk of the letter then forms an extended meditation on the merits of old age and the movement of time, in which Seneca calls attention to what he perceives to be the best way to live in old age. The villa becomes a way for him to come to recognize his own life and character, and he concludes by remarking upon the necessity of philosophy for preserving his remaining years, as he remarks to Lucilius.

The final villa discussed at length in Seneca's *Epistulae Morales* is that of Scipio Africanus at *Ep.* 86. At the outset he remarks that he considers the estate the tomb of the great man himself (*sepulchrum esse tanti viri suspicor*, 86.1) much like Vatia's villa was to be his living tomb. However, unlike Vatia, Scipio used his villa as a retreat from public life out of necessity and for the good of the state (86.3)—his seclusion becomes a service

for Rome, rather than a retirement to a home designed for him to die in.⁸⁷ Of the villa itself, Seneca suggests its rustic, archaic simplicity merged with the military character of the man: a simple perimeter wall, several towers defending the manor, a water tank (which could supply an army, *cisternam aedificiis ac viridibus subditam quae sufficere in usum vel exercitus posset*, 86.4), and a small, dark bath. The style of this bath jars with modern tastes, as no light is let in (the contemporary taste, 86.8), and it is lacking in modern decoration (86.9-10) and focused solely on hygiene. As Seneca notes, his contemporaries mock Scipio's bath for not being able to produce the extremes of heat in modern baths, as well as for the lack of windows designed to fill the rooms with light; the occupant is a far cry from the effete Romans mentioned by Horace in his *Sermones*, as Seneca observes. He concludes his discussion by recounting the lessons he learned from the current proprietor of the estate on the transplanting of trees, including a lengthy series of citations from Vergil's *Georgics* (86.14-21).

The entirety of the letter draws attention to the groundwork laid in the earlier villa letters of the collection—Scipio's villa, with its lack of *luxuria*, represents the antithesis of Vatia's deceptively attractive estate. Just as Vatia's villa represented his own character, so too does the militarism of the villa of the conquering hero Scipio, with its battlements and arrow-slits for windows.⁸⁸ On the other hand, the extensive concluding section, with its focus on the arboriculture, gestures at the opening of *Ep.* 12 and the

⁸⁷ The contrast is anticipated by Seneca before either of the letters, in the description of Baiae and its environs in *Ep.* 51. As part of his diatribe there, Seneca explicitly claims that the old morals of Scipio were reinforced by his exile at Liternum rather than at Baiae, which softens men (51.11): *severior loci disciplina firmat ingenium aptumque magnis conatibus reddit. Literni honestius Scipio quam Baias exulabat: ruina eiusmodi non est tam molliter collocanda.*

⁸⁸ Again foreshadowed by *Ep.* 55.11: *Illi quoque ad quos primos fortuna populi Romani publicas opes transtulit... extruxerunt quidem villas in regione Baiana, sed illas imposuerunt summis iugis montium: videbatur hoc magis militare, ex edito speculari late longeque subiecta.* Cf. Henderson 2004, 105-107.

description of Seneca's dying trees which he had planted at his estate. The possibility of renewal implied by the placing of new trees at the villa by its current owner, and the memory of Scipio which persists in the estate in spite of the number of hands it has passed through, offer one avenue for Seneca's own memory to be preserved (a clear source of anxiety for him earlier). Scipio's villa provides a counterexample to the failings of Vatia's living tomb—a monument to his folly in spite of the popular belief in how fortunate his retirement at Baiae was—while at the same time serving as a paradigm for Seneca's self-fashioning. Villas are the men who live in them and assimilate their philosophical and moral codes into the buildings. They are embodiments of (personal) philosophy, rather than sites of the production of literature and leisured intellectual pursuit, as they are for Pliny and Gellius. Accordingly, Seneca positions the philosophy according to which people lead their lives as the path to immortality, as opposed to literary pursuit.

Although villas derive their meaning as monuments from a different source in Seneca, nevertheless several of the features which are problematic in both Pliny and Gellius appear in Seneca as well, especially at Vatia's estate at Baiae. Pliny and Gellius both recognize the value of the villa as a tool for exploring the owners of these estates, even if the estate is owned by the narrator. Though they see the literary merits of the moralizing approach taken by Seneca, these latter two nevertheless distance themselves from the sort of philosophizing approach to the villas in the *Epistulae Morales*; although a villa may represent the ethos of its owner, in both Gellius and Pliny villas serve a different function. Both authors recognize their value as part of the display of *otium* and the accompanying literary activity allowed by such leisure, in contrast with the strongly

negative depictions of Vatia's exceedingly leisured retirement and estate. Though Gellius introduces some philosophical elements into his discussion of the activities at Herodes Atticus' villa, including the refutation of the young Stoic which forms the core of the action at *NA* 1.2, his description of Herodes' estate is more in line with Pliny's narratives of his own villas than those of Seneca. The activities he situates there likewise share their literary focus with Pliny, and in both the villa becomes a site of literary engagement, as well as fostering a particular identity derived from the collective *otium* of those at the villa. Gellius does not depict Cephisia as the location of the production of his work (though its appearance so early on suggests some degree of importance for the work as a whole), and to an extent conflates the more luxurious elements of the estate with Herodes, nevertheless he takes cues in the description of the estate from Pliny rather than from Seneca. Cephisia does not reach the extremes of Vatia's estate at Baiae, and instead appears in line with the Plinian villas, with the result that Gellius situates himself in a similarly intellectual, literary milieu. Gellius' relationship with Pliny's villas, as well as the broader tradition of villa literature, enables him to connect himself with his predecessor, and accordingly the world of literary fame which Pliny represents.

Throughout the *NA*, then, Gellius alludes to Pliny's own literary activity as a parallel to his own. Such intertexts are part of a broad strategy of self-representation by which Gellius actively inserts himself into the world of the literary elite as embodied by Pliny the Younger. Beyond the villas and their descriptions, he even represents his own daily life in the manner of Pliny's ideal, which is most openly expressed in the programmatic opening letter of Book 3 of the *Epistles*. Pliny describes a recent interaction with Vestricius Spurinna, whom he explicitly states he wishes to emulate in

his old age (3.1.1), and who is held up as an *exemplum* for an older elite male to follow (3.1.12). Spurrinna's daily regimen is divided between physical and intellectual activities: in the morning he engages in moderate or passive exercise, such as a carriage ride and a short walk (3.1.4), as well as more vigorous activity in the afternoon. Interspersed with the physical activity are various intellectual activities: there may be conversation after the walk, or even the reading of a challenging text; later in the day Spurrinna engages in more pleasurable reading or composition of Latin and Greek lyrics (3.1.7). The day is rounded off by a dinner amongst friends, with literary readings intended to provide entertainment and delight to the gathering (3.1.9). Such *otium* is, in Pliny's eyes, the reward for Spurrinna having successfully discharged his political obligations: *nam ille quoque, quoad honestum fuit, obit official, gessit magistratus, provincias rexit, multoque labore hoc otium meruit* (3.1.12). The leisure activity that Spurrinna engages in is not only a marriage of elite culture and knowledge, though, but also an exercise in *varietas*, as Pliny artfully portrays his ideal elite figure.⁸⁹ The regimen is idealized by Pliny for the manner in which it balances *otium* and *negotium*, and especially for its ability to allow Spurrinna to have succeeded throughout his imperial career.⁹⁰ In Spurrinna, Pliny provides paradigm, both for leading one's life as well as for Book Three as a whole centered on the balance

⁸⁹ A notion more fully developed by Johnson 2010, 36-38, where he maps out the pattern of Spurrinna's day and notes that it is somewhat akin in composition to a poetic book, with clear chiasmic alternations between physical and mental. The life that an ideal elder statesman leads is clearly mirrored by the artistry of composition of the letter, and similar representations of intellectual activity appear in Gellius as well.

⁹⁰ Henderson 2002a, 62. Pliny himself comments on his own routine and attempts to balance his writing with his career in the imperial system early on in the *Epistles* at 1.9.3-4. There, he decries the daily hustle and bustle of life in the city and the release afforded to him by his Laurentine villa, thus allowing time for his literary endeavors. On the letter, see Hoffer 1999, 111-118. Pliny himself will borrow elements of the depiction of Spurrinna in describing his statue (*Ep.* 3.6), including references to the age of its subject, the material of the statue, and others; see Henderson 2002a, 162. The model offered by Spurrinna is juxtaposed with that offered by Pliny the Elder at 3.5, where the single-mindedness of the latter is gently criticized, especially given the affinity of Pliny the Younger's own self-representation with the model given by the former; see below, p. 333 n. 94

between political and intellectual life, which echoes his own concerns throughout the *Epistles*.

Pliny reprises the themes of this letter near the end of the collection, 9.36, with himself recast as the ideal intellectual figure. The description of his days at his Tuscan villa mirrors those of Spurinna: writing followed by driving and walking in the morning (9.36.1-3); oratorical reading, followed by exercise and a bath, then dinner with a small group including some literature to be read aloud (3-4); and last, a final walk with others who are able to offer him a range of conversation. With regard to his after-dinner walk, Pliny stresses that his companions are capable of holding a conversation: *mox cum meis ambulo, quorum in numero sunt eruditi. Ita variis sermonibus vespera extenditur* (9.36.4). Unlike the account of the older Spurinna, who has retired from public life and no longer needs to engage in *negotium*, Pliny acknowledges the more pedestrian elements of his day, noting that *datur et colonis, ut videtur ipsis, non satis temporis, quorum mihi agrestes querulae litteras nostras et haec urbana opera commendant* (Ep. 9.36.6). There is a balance to his days between the physical and the intellectual, and between *otium* and *negotium*, with the latter providing Pliny impetus to take up the former (just as the desire to spend his days in intellectual activity provides him the motivation to dispense with tedious *negotium*, much as Spurinna did earlier). In fact, there is a symmetry to Pliny's day, with his evening walk complementing his solitary morning outing—in the morning, he is able to exercise his body while preparing for the day to come, while in the evening he may then exercise both body and mind.⁹¹ As it is represented in these models,

⁹¹ O'Sullivan 2011, 82-83.

Pliny depicts the place of the elite under the Roman Empire as a sequence of intellectual activities interspersed between their business.

Likewise, Gellius has these models in mind as he recalls episodes of his intellectual activity throughout the *NA*. In 11.3, a discussion about the various meanings of the particle *pro*, he sets the stage by describing his leisure activity:

Quando ab arbitriis negotiisque otium est et motandi corporis gratia aut spatiamur aut vectamur, quaerere nonnumquam aput memet ipsum soleo res eiusmodi parvas quidem minutasque et hominibus non bene eruditis aspernabiles, sed ad veterum scripta penitus noscenda et ad scientiam linguae Latinae cumprimis necessarias: velut est, quod forte nuper in Praenestino recessu vespertina ambulatione solus ambulans considerabam, qualis quantaque esset particularum quarundam in oratione Latina varietas.

When I have leisure from court cases and business affairs and I either walk or ride for the sake of exercising my body, sometimes I am accustomed to think to myself about small and indeed trivial points that might be ignored by men who are not well-educated, but are necessary for understanding thoroughly the writings of the ancients and for knowledge of the Latin language: for example, when by chance I was taking my evening walk alone recently in my retreat at Praeneste I began to ponder the nature and the amount of variation of certain particles in Latin speech. (*NA* 11.3.1)

Like Pliny, during his free time from his legal obligations Gellius takes small bits of exercise, such as the after-supper stroll described here. Just as in Pliny's descriptions of the ideal activity for the elite, Gellius takes refuge from the work of the day in philological consideration on a relaxing walk, pairing the exercise of the elite with the intellectual activity that they are the only adequate participants in, as Gellius suggests in his description of these questions as *res... hominibus non bene eruditis aspernabiles*. Gellius combines philology, an important practice given the values espoused throughout the *NA*, with a typically Plinian elite leisure activity; in so doing, he likens the intellectual activity of miscellaneous composition with an aristocratic milieu. Additionally, he explicitly notes that he is taking this walk alone: while Spurinna's solitary walk occasionally included reading and Pliny's was an opportunity for social interaction paired with intellectual pursuit, Gellius' walk offers a more personal moment of intellectual

practice and exercise, albeit one of the same nature as Spurinna's and Pliny's.⁹² Similarly, such minute philological considerations are again conjoined with elite practices in *NA* 10.25, in which Gellius considers the various words for different kinds of weapons while taking passive exercise in his carriage, as he says at the outset: *telorum iaculorum gladiatorumque vocabula, quae in historiis veteribus scripta sunt, item navigiorum genera et nomina libitum forte nobis est sedentibus in reda conquirere, ne quid aliarum ineptiarum vacantem stupentemque animum occuparet* (10.25.1). Much as Gellius closely associates his ambulation with philology, so too does he closely link the carriage ride with a memory exercise focused on consideration of archaic vocabulary.

In both sets of circumstances, Gellius participates in the same kind of leisure activities as his kindred figure Pliny and expands upon each exercise by incorporating an intellectual element that is closely bound to the project of the *NA*. Such parts of the ideal daily regimen of the elite, literarily inclined figure as presented in Pliny recur throughout the chapters of the *NA*. Indeed, the numerous scenes of banquets that include learned discussion, such as 2.22, 3.19, 9.9, 19.7, and perhaps most clearly 18.2, one of the chapters on the festivities at the Saturnalia, share features of the scenes in which literature is read over dinner in Pliny, and the desire for mental activity to be incorporated into *otium* is reflected in these particular contexts. Indeed, even as the Saturnalia is a time for revelry, Gellius sees in it an opportunity to reinforce his intellectual development, celebrating the festival with reading and learning: *Saturnalia Athenis agitabamus hilare prorsum ac modeste, non, ut dicitur, remittentes animum—nam 'remittere' inquit*

⁹² As O'Sullivan 2011, 89 notes, being alone does not seem to take into account the presence of any slaves as part of the group, and Spurinna would almost certainly have had *lectores* present, were he reading on his walk. Gellius likewise may have had slaves present, as Pliny the Elder was seen to have always have on hand to read and take notes, but the discussion in the *NA* focuses on Gellius' thought process rather than the production of the chapter or the reading of his source material, for instance.

Musonius ‘animum quasi amittere est’—sed demulcentes eum paulum atque laxantes iucundis honestisque sermonum inlectionibus (18.2.1).⁹³ Leisure and intellectual business go hand in hand for Gellius, as the festival provides an opportunity to read and play mental games with friends. Similarly, Pliny distances himself from his household’s revelry during the Saturnalia while at his Laurentine villa, instead preferring to use the opportunity to focus on his *studia*.

Rather than consigning his intellectual minutiae to the realm of pedantry, in framing these moments of inquiry as elements of elite thought and interaction within a tradition represented by the scenes of physical engagement paired with intellectual activity in Pliny the Younger, Gellius instills in his own scenes a strong taste of the elite culture. Indeed, Gellius looks to Pliny the Younger as a model both in his descriptions of villas as sites of *otium* and literary production, and in the idealized habits of intellectual life which are interspersed throughout the *NA*. He alludes to these particular places, gatherings, and activities in order to shape his own persona in the text as a participant not only in the pervasive intellectual culture of his time. Unlike the pedants and intellectual pretenders whom he constantly depicts being cut down to size, Gellius presents himself as both an authoritative source of knowledge and a member of the learned elite, an effect compounded by his careful composition and awareness of the miscellaneous variety of

⁹³ A trip to the baths during the Saturnalia begins the same way (18.13.1): *Saturnalibus Athenis alea quadam festiva et honesta lusitabamus huiuscemodi: ubi conveneramus conplusculi eiusdem studii homines ad lavandi tempus, captiones, quae sophismata appellantur, mente agitabamus easque quasi talos aut tesserulas in medium vice sua quisque iaciebamus*. On the Saturnalia in the *NA* (and these scenes in particular), see Gunderson 2009, 135-140; Howley 2011, 50-51. Keulen 2009, 278 with n. 33, sees in *remittere* an echo of Quintilian (who juxtaposes the word with *intendere*) and suggests that the description of Herodes’ villa at 1.2 belongs more firmly in the world of the former; Keulen emphasizes that the reference to Musonius “draws attention to the thin line between intellectual relaxation and reprehensible frivolity” (278 n. 38). He implies heavily that Gellius’ friends understand what side of the line to remain on at their celebration of the Saturnalia whereas Herodes does not.

his own work, much as Pliny is self-conscious in his own arrangement. Though it may perhaps be a stretch to say that the two are equals given their similarity in approach, Gellius certainly sees Pliny as a model for how to construct a miscellaneous prose collection, and as a result repeatedly and consciously portrays himself as a reflection of the ideals espoused by Pliny in his *Epistles*.

If Gellius goes to some lengths to align himself with the portrait of Pliny the Younger which emerges from the *Epistles*, it is worth examining one final point of contact between them: namely, the testimony for the life and literary habits of Pliny's uncle, Pliny the Elder. Gellius sees in the depiction of Pliny the Elder as a fundamentally uncritical miscellaneous compiler a foil for his own habits of mind.⁹⁴ As Joseph Howley has demonstrated, at *Ep.* 3.5 the Younger Pliny provides an image of Elder Pliny which emphasizes his bookish acquisitiveness, as well as his industrious efforts of excerption. Several of the aspects described, including the conjunction of Pliny the Elder's imperial service and his scholarly activity (3.5.7), stand in contrast to another elder statesman present in *Epistles* Book Three, Vestricius Spurinna (3.1), but significantly they resonate with Pliny the Younger's own self-presentation as a fastidious worker even in ostensible leisure time (reflected especially in his time at his own villa in *Ep.* 3.17).⁹⁵ With regard to

⁹⁴ Plin. *Ep.* 3.5; see Howley 2011, 113-116. Both Henderson 2002a and Howley take the portrait of Pliny the Elder as a form of teasing praise; in light of its parallels with the portrait of Pliny in Gellius, one can hardly take exception with this interpretation of the letter. For the portrait of Pliny contained therein, which is generally repeated in the scholarship on Pliny the Elder, see more generally Henderson 2002b (who stresses the connections to *Ep.* 3.1); Murphy 2004, 3-10; Beagon 2005, 32-33. Carey 2003, 5-7 stresses that this portrayal of Pliny has been one of the most influential sources for his reputation as a scholar in the modern world: "[h]ere Pliny is cast, not as the dynamic man of action and firsthand witness of natural phenomena who appears in the letter to Tacitus, but the archetypal armchair scholar, an omnivorous consumer and processor of knowledge" (5). Howley 2011, 114 n. 191 observes that this claim is applicable to all Roman scholarship and is "a transparent reflection... rather than a careful construction" of Pliny's work.

⁹⁵ On the implicit dichotomy established between Spurinna and Pliny the Elder in the *Epistles*, see Henderson 2002a, 75-81; Henderson 2002b, 260-268.

his literary output, the portrait of the Elder Pliny stresses his personal emphasis on reading for the sake of excerption (*nihil enim legit quod non excerperet*, 3.5.10) and the great energy he spent in compiling his encyclopedic work. Pliny's every waking moment of *otium* is dedicated to his scholarly endeavors (3.5.8), and he even employs a sedan chair so that he will be able to read while being carried around at Rome (3.5.15).

The Elder Pliny is able to conflate *otium* with *studium*, and moreover turns the process of textual interaction into textual production, as observed by John Henderson.⁹⁶ A brief comment near the end of the letter serves to reinforce this connection, as Pliny the Younger calls the attention of his addressee Baebius to his uncle's learning and effort, while stressing that for all that he has been seen to have read and written, he appears not to have read and produced enough, given his overwhelming work ethic (3.5.18). Even here in this appraisal, Baebius' surprise ought to hinge on the paired act of reading and writing: for however much he *did* read and write (*quantum legerit quantum scripserit*), it is astounding that he did not write *more* (*nec scripsisse satis nec legisse*)—the two acts are virtually inseparable. Just as Pliny the Elder's act of reading is ultimately analogous to his composition, the man himself is subsumed into his books in the letter, which begins with an index of his works standing in as his curriculum vitae (Younger Pliny even casts himself as the index, *fungar indicis partibus, atque etiam quo sint ordine scripti notum tibi faciam*, 3.5.2). With the index of his works playfully inserted at the start, the biography of the Elder Pliny here metamorphoses the man into his literary activity and

⁹⁶ Henderson 2002a, 88-90. The sense of reading being conflated with writing is most clear at 3.5.10-11: *Post cibum saepe (quem interdiu levem et facilem veterum more sumebat) aestate si quid otii iacebat in sole, liber legebatur, adnotabat excerbatque. Nihil enim legi quod non excerperet; dicere etiam solebat nullum esse librum tam malum ut non aliqua parte prodesset. Post solem plerumque frigida lavabatur, deinde gustabat dormiebatque minimum; mox quasi alio die studebat in cenae tempus. Super hanc liber legebatur adnotabatur, et quidem cursim.*

output;⁹⁷ and as the letter takes the form of the index affixed to the *Historia Naturalis*, the textualization of both uncle and nephew is playfully achieved (while the Younger Pliny is then cast as an heir to the Elder Pliny in terms of his compilation and organizational method). Pliny the Younger then sets himself in contrast with his uncle implicitly, a comparison which he disavows at the end of the letter: in contrast to his uncle, Pliny has no time for the same levels of *studium* given his obligations to friends and the state (3.5.19). Rather than devoting himself entirely to the work of reading/writing, Pliny the Younger must find a balance between his literary endeavors and his imperial business—after all, who could compare with the industry and brilliance of his uncle?

However, although in the *Epistles* there is explicit praise in the description of Pliny the Elder as the reader/writer/compiler *par excellence*, there is an important contrast with the ideal figure of the reader imagined by Gellius. As discussed previously, Gellius objects to the lack of a goal in reading, in contrast to Pliny the Younger's description of his uncle, who could find something of use in any book he picked up (*dicere etiam solebat nullum esse librum tam malum ut non aliqua parte prodesset*, *Ep.* 3.5.10). Gellius himself lampoons this sort of attitude in a veiled takedown of Pliny and his compilatory process at *NA* 9.4, and more explicitly at 10.12, where he openly chastises Pliny for including impossible marvels that he has excerpted uncritically as part of his reading.⁹⁸ That Pliny is able to find something useful in any text is not a virtue, but rather a grave sin according to the program set forth in the *NA*. Pliny the Elder, based on

⁹⁷ Henderson 2002a, 89-90; Henderson 2002b, 273-274. In both, Henderson stresses the empathy which casting himself as the index triggers for Pliny the Younger and the resonances of this depiction throughout modern classical scholarship.

⁹⁸ For a detailed reading of *NA* 9.4 and 10.12 as negative examples of textual interaction, see Howley 2011, 65-101.

the portrait given by his nephew, is an exemplary reader and copier of the excerpts of others; however, Gellius attempts to expose a failure of the persona that has been established in the *Epistles*, as well as in the veneer of learning which envelops Pliny's activity. In lacking critical thought as he reads in spite of his constant textual engagement, Pliny is unable to produce either a uniformly valuable work as opposed to a compendium of good and bad thought, or a worthwhile model of Roman intellectual life. This latter point stands in particular contrast to Gellius and his demonstrations throughout the *NA* of the practical use of knowledge and memory in the absence of his books.⁹⁹

Moreover, though Gellius does not explicitly attack him for it, he would certainly agree with the subtle criticism of the Elder Pliny by the Younger, namely that he was focused on his reading and writing at the expense of his civic duty, despite being prefect at Misenum. In fact, Gellius elides this balance between political and literary activity from his depiction of Pliny the Elder in setting him up as a straw man against which to position his own miscellaneous project. Rather, the image which he paints is that of a kindred spirit to the Younger Pliny's own self-portrait at the end of the letter, where Pliny presents himself as endeavoring to find a balance between his social, political, and literary obligations. Gellius' duties as a *iudex* often come to the surface throughout the *NA* (and indeed provide the motivation for several of his inquiries, as at 12.13 and 14.2), and he also appears in social contexts in which his literary mettle is put to the test. The depiction of Pliny the Elder in the *NA* calls attention to the acquisitiveness of his reading habits and problematizes his authority as a miscellaneous writer, while amplifying the mild critique present in Pliny the Younger's brief biographical sketch. Both become

⁹⁹ E.g. 1.23, 3.16, 10.25, 10.26, 10.27, 16.1, 17.2, 19.7, among others. Cf. Howley 2011, 106-110.

comparanda for Gellius: but when given the choice between the two Plinies as a model for his project and himself, he has a clear preference for the Younger.

Conclusion

While Gellius rarely mentions authors of the Neronian Age or later by name throughout the *NA*, the authors of the Trajanic period represent significant models of prose style to whom Gellius looks for inspiration and, in the case of Seneca, foils. In particular, Tacitus and Pliny both provide different avenues for approaching the literary enterprise in the context of the principate. Pliny the Younger, with his designs on immortality through his *Epistles*, offers a paradigm of miscellaneous prose composition which Gellius can readily emulate. Indeed, Gellius situates his own descriptions of villas and regimens of mental activity within a tradition represented by Pliny in an effort to align his own project with an idealized milieu of Roman intellectuals. If Gellius goes out of his way to position himself in opposition to Pliny the Elder's encyclopedic endeavor, he nevertheless sees in Pliny the Younger a kindred spirit: his own work, like the *Epistles*, presents scenes of an intellectual and literary life that form one half of an idealized Roman elite behavior. If the *Epistles* can be read as reflective of Pliny's own aspirations for higher achievement, in both literary and political terms,¹⁰⁰ Gellius' engagement with the discourse of villas and of habits of life indicate the aims of his own self-representation. The *NA* is a miscellany with a literary purpose and design, rather than the regimented, if supposedly uncritical, collection of Pliny the Elder. Gellius represents himself as a master of several genres, at least in terms of his reading, and his inquiries

¹⁰⁰ See Henderson 2002a, 15-20, and 2003, 120-124; Myers 2005, 114-120; Gibson and Morello 2012, 217.

into various texts become miniatures in much the same way that Pliny the Younger incorporates diverse genres such as history, epigram, and epic into his epistolography.¹⁰¹ Most strikingly, reading the *Epistles* is akin to reading a miscellany, with different topics juxtaposed or connected across books; the entirety of the collection must be read to fully appreciate its textual dynamics, even as each letter is also designed to appeal to readers approaching it in isolation.¹⁰² In Pliny's letter collection, then, Gellius has a model for miscellaneous composition, as well as the self-portrait he constructs throughout the *NA*.

In contrast to Pliny, whose utility for conceptualizing the *NA* as a whole is more readily apparent, his contemporary Tacitus is a relatively muted presence throughout the work. Tacitus offers a source for interpreting aspects of Gellius' understanding of speech and rhetoric in the principate, even if he is never explicitly cited throughout the *NA*. Although he writes at a time at which the relationship between the senatorial class and the *princeps* was far more cordial than in those times which Tacitus details (indeed, roughly half a century after Tacitus declared that he was finally living in a time when one could speak one's mind), Gellius nevertheless recognizes the Tacitean lessons about the role of speech in imperial society. Their meditations on silence and its function in the political sphere in particular evince several close parallels in thought, and reflect a similar outlook, even if Tacitus recounts a time of deeper anxiety, in which speech and silence

¹⁰¹ For Gellius as a writer of miniatures, and the preponderance of this literary form in his time, see Steinmetz 1982, 280-288; Beall 1988, 128, 143; Anderson 1994, 1836-1840; Rust 2009, 147-149. Cf. above, p. 317 n. 72.

¹⁰² See Gibson and Morello 2012, 234-264. Their description (235) of Pliny's readers might easily describe the reader of the *NA*, as they claim that Pliny's miscellaneity welcomes readers approaching the text to different degrees, including the "first-time reader... who might be tempted, by the text itself, or by the indices which may have been systematically attached to each book, to take an anthologizer's approach;" a reader systematically reading each letter in sequence; and a reader who returns to letters seen previously and recognizes entirely new valences to those letters in light of material that was encountered later in the collection.

both could spell certain doom for a senator. Gellius further draws on Tacitus' work as a literary critic in his evaluations of Seneca the Younger, and in so doing aligns his own intellectual project with the critical responses of the previous generations. The shared reactions of the two, including their nostalgia to varying degrees for a time before the principate, further suggests a connection between the two writers. While Gellius was not of the same political rank as Tacitus, he nevertheless sees in the earlier historian and critic a paradigm for exploring the transformed imperial rhetoric, and he represents his thought as part of the same response to the pressures of the principate (ignoring, of course, Tacitus' own impressionistic style which deviates far from the Republican models idealized by Gellius).

Gellius' preference for Pliny and Tacitus as models is at the considerable expense of Seneca the Younger, whose *Epistulae Morales* would appear at first blush to represent a clear precursor to Gellius' own enterprise and whose role as an imperial counselor establishes him as an elite figure for emulation. Indeed, Seneca's work is included among the list of rejected titles in the Preface of the *NA* (pr.9). Gellius' own claims about Seneca and his failings, closely echoing Messala's objections in the *Dialogus* to the contemporary rhetoric which Seneca represents, are centered around Seneca's refutation of Gellius' preferred models such as Cicero. The preciousness of Senecan style makes it an appealing, albeit corrupting, target of admiration for the younger generations, and as such it has no place in the idealized intellectual program of the *NA*. In spite of these failings, however, Gellius concedes Seneca's success at moralizing, and his use of the tropes of Seneca's villa epistles signals an appreciation of at least these elements of his oeuvre. Yet the *Epistulae Morales* are set aside as a model for the *NA*, at least in part

because of the difference in focus. Although the two share several *bêtes noires*, including philosophers and other intellectuals who focus on minutiae or other trivial facts, Seneca and Gellius differ fundamentally in their programs: Seneca sets out to provide a paradigm for training the philosopher and nurturing the ethical faculties of his interlocutor (and audience), whereas while philosophical education is also important for Gellius, his goal is not to prepare his reader's mind for philosophical endeavors. Rather, like Pliny the Younger's *Epistles*, Gellius' *NA* represents a life of letters, recognizing in these endeavors the means to preserve a particular avatar. Gellius chooses to align himself with Pliny and Tacitus, who both used their literature as a vehicle for expression and a means to channel their intellectual energies under the principate, and attempts to create for himself a similar degree of literary permanence despite his limited political power.

CONCLUSION

“The present writer, for what it is worth, does not share the dismissive, often condescending view of Gellius; but that is a personal judgment. It is admitted, however, that, for most, the ‘Attic Nights’ are not to be imbibed in large and undiluted doses. The form in which they are cast makes that a mistake. Rather they are to be sipped and savoured without haste, even laboriously, over a long period. Drunk ἄμυστος, any inebriating effect tends to breed moroseness or exhaustion. Above all, we should not pay heed only to what ‘information’ they may contain but more to the manner of its rehearsal, to Gellius as a writer with a title to consideration as such.” (Vessey 1994, 1868)

Reacting against the typical impulse to see Gellius as an author to be cited rather than read, D. W. T. Vessey urged readers of the *NA* to recognize its author as exactly that—a creative figure in his own right. However, for all that he proposes that the *NA* is a literary product worth reading, he denies the work any real artistic unity, instead reverting to traditional views of a collection of discrete *commentarii*.¹ Recent monographs and theses have taken up this challenge, and a picture of Gellius as a sophisticated, and explicitly literary, author has begun to emerge more clearly in modern scholarship. Yet, even in the midst of a minor scholarly renaissance, the *NA* of Aulus Gellius remains curious as a work of literature. If Gellius rejects other miscellaneous collections as models in the Preface, what are his inspirations and objects of emulation? In which ways does the work intersect with the Latin literary tradition, in light of its silence on most authors after Vergil? Given his abandonment of the sympotic models offered by more

¹ Vessey 1994, 1868: “The organization into *commentarii* (*commentationes*) prevents the ‘Attic Nights’ from being one work, in the sense in which unity is commonly understood.... A reader can be satisfied and take pleasure wherever he chooses to browse. Any one *commentarius* may be taken in isolation; as there is no development or structure, they may be studied as chance dictates.”

obviously literary miscellanies such as Plutarch's *Quaestiones Conviviales*, what methods does Gellius bring to bear in his take of the increasingly sophisticated form of miscellany? What practices does Gellius use in configuring his *commentarii* that allow them to be interpreted together as a literary unity, rather than disjointed and diffuse essays connected solely by their shared author? These questions have been the ultimate inspiration of this thesis.

According to the interpretation advanced in this study, the *NA* is a paradoxical text. From the outset, it declares its disordered, random state yet introduces a table of contents that codifies its order. It openly disdains literary artistry in the same breath that it introduces competing voices from within Greek and Latin literature that openly challenge the reader to recognize this very artistry. Perhaps most importantly, it aligns itself with subliterate traditions of encyclopedic and other technical writing that presume a reference-oriented method of reading. At the same time, it advertises a critical approach that invites the audience to understand the disparate parts of the whole acting in concert to further the author's intellectual program. In fact, Gellius goes out of his way to distinguish his work from other miscellanies with which he feigns kinship: he has collected the material within the *NA* with discernment, in contrast to his Greek analogues (pr.11), and, unlike authors such as Pliny the Elder, who in his prefatory epistle eschewed entertainment in favor of practicality (*HN* pr.13), he preserves the enjoyment inherent in researching and reading (pr.14-15). If Gellius encourages his audience to read the *NA* in a fashion more akin to a poetry book or miscellaneous prose collection, such as books of letters, than other miscellanies, the question arises of how Gellius actively encourages

such readings within the *NA*, and the ways in which this approach produces meaning absent if the *commentarii* are read in isolation.

In this dissertation, I have argued that Gellius, in composing the *NA*, encourages multiple approaches to reading his work, and invites his reader to interrogate his work with a critical eye, making connections between the *commentarii* and resolving the dissonances between them. Gellius models this reading method throughout the work in his depictions of his own reading practices and those of his intellectual heroes (Favorinus, Antonius Julianus, etc.). Such a practice, based upon the comparison of texts in order to recognize subtle differences between them, enables the reader to obtain a more complete understanding of each individual element. Moreover, the composition of the text encourages the serious reader to utilize this active reading practice while reading the *NA* itself, reflecting on why Varro apparently contradicts himself on the proper construction of *dies dimidiati* (3.2 and 3.14), the differences in meaning of *obnoxius* (6.3 and 6.17), or the evolving roles of his cast of characters and texts throughout the work. By approaching repeated citations, words, and motifs, it becomes possible to elaborate Gellius' deeper preoccupation with fashioning a Roman intellectual identity within the context of the second century—although an archaist, Gellius is fundamentally concerned with Roman literature and the benefits that reading it can bring, if only it is done properly. Moreover, if the conventional narrative of Latin literature posits a decline during the Antonine period save for Apuleius, I have instead argued that Gellius represents a point of innovation within Latin literary history. In borrowing techniques of composition from poetry and Latin epistolography, Gellius represents an attempt to refine the miscellany into a literary form capable of exploring Roman identity in the Antonine age, the

intricacies of which can only be appreciated when the *NA* is read in light of the critical approaches I have detailed.

How was this innovation in miscellaneous literature received? In one of the first instances of Gellius' reception, and one of the last miscellaneous texts from antiquity, Macrobius' *Saturnalia*, Gellius is apparently rejected as a model. Indeed, Macrobius' text strictly speaking is closer in form and function to Athenaeus or Plutarch: a collection of banquet episodes, connected through an overarching narrative schema, yet presenting a wide array of largely disjointed information. In the Preface of the *Saturnalia*, though, the *NA* occupies an important position: Macrobius disavows haphazard structuring, instead presenting as programmatic digested information that is able to overcome the appearance of randomness.² Macrobius engages with Gellius as he attempts to craft his own miscellaneous project, as the preface to the *Saturnalia* is rife with numerous unattributed quotations and references to Gellius' own Preface. He reappropriates Gellius' own words from the *NA* and uses them against him; *disparilitas* is to be avoided, and material should be ordered so as to promote the intellect.³ In contrast, he claims Seneca as an alternative

² Macrobius is particularly interested in the corporeal metaphors, seeing the text as a whole that operates together in harmony rather than a disjointed collection on the order of the *NA*; on the metaphors of the body and the digestion of material, see Gunderson 2009, 259-261. On the connection between the two, see also Rust 2009, 198-205.

³ Macr. Sat. pr.2-3: *sed ago ut ego quoque tibi legerim, et quicquid mihi—vel te iam in lucem edito vel antequam nascereris—in diversis seu Graecae seu Romanae linguae voluminibus elaboratum est, id totum sit tibi scientiae supellex et quasi de quodam litterarum peno, siquando usus venerit aut historiae quae in librorum strue latens clam vulgo est aut dicti factive memorabilis reminiscendi, facile id tibi inventu atque depromptu sit. Nec indigeste tamquam in acervum conguessimus digna memoratu, sed variarum rerum disparilitas, auctoribus diversa, confusa temporibus, ita in quoddam digesta corpus est, ut quae indistincte atque promiscue ad subsidium memoriae adnotaveramus, in ordinem instar membrorum cohaerentia convenirent. Compare NA pr.2-3: nam proinde ut librum quemque in manus ceperam seu Graecum seu Latinum vel quid memoratu dignum audieram, ita quae libitum erat, cuius generis cumque erant, indistincte atque promisce annotabam eaque mihi ad subsidium memoriae quasi quoddam litterarum penus recondebam, ut, quando usus venisset aut rei aut verbi, cuius me repens forte oblivio tenuisset, et libri, ex quibus ea sumpseram, non adessent, facile inde nobis inventu atque depromptu foret. Facta igitur est in his quoque commentariis eadem rerum disparilitas, quae fuit in illis annotationibus pristinis, quas breviter et indigeste et incondite <ex> auditionibus lectionibusque variis feceramus.*

model: be like the bees and gather what is useful from each flower, he urges his children (Sat. pr.5-10), in a passage that replicates Seneca *EM* 84.2-10 with slight ellipsis and reframing.⁴ Macrobius is interested in rearticulating material found elsewhere into new contexts that cohere, that are digested together—his perspective stresses moving from one order to another. For all that he parrots Seneca, though, he returns to Gellius: his collection will bring delight even as it edifies, just like the *NA* (*in quibus... invenies plurima quae sit aut voluptati legere aut cultui legisse aut usi meminsse*, Sat. pr.10). Macrobius appropriates Gellius' critique of Greek miscellanists overflowing with minutiae (*NA* pr.11) and turns it into a virtue; indeed, for Macrobius, the effort in locating these hidden gems is what promotes learning (Sat. pr.11).⁵ He caps his translation of Gellian passages by ending his preface by incorporating into this new context one of the *commentarii* of the *NA*, 11.8; he has taken what he has learned from Gellius and found a new (and likely to his mind, more pointed) use for the passage. However, in his attempts to reject Gellius' miscellaneous aesthetic and reincorporate the *NA* into his own project, Macrobius makes use of the miscellaneous reading habits encouraged by Gellius, even though he is resistant to the *NA*'s particular disordered aesthetic and frames his own work

⁴ De Rentiis 1998, 33-44 explores the use of the bee imagery in each author; in particular, she complicates the reuse by maintaining the frame of digestion introduced in Macrobius' critique of Gellius (and present in Seneca's letter itself), which invites a more sophisticated reading of Macrobius *qua* imitative author. Her reading is a reaction to and refinement of Pigman 1980, 6: "Macrobius conceives of imitation as a type of redistributive reproduction; for him making something different means setting it in a new context." While this claim is certainly true to a point, it denies Macrobius the degree of creativity which he demonstrates. See also Gunderson 2009, 262-263, Rust 2009, 202-203. Seneca is likewise fond of the corporeal and digestive metaphors for learning in *Ep.* 84 and elsewhere: see Henderson 2004, 46-48; Rimell 2013, 1-12 (on *Ep.* 86).

⁵ Again repurposing Gellius' own words about engaging with the *NA* intensively in order to derive intellectual benefit. Macr. Sat. pr.11: *nihil enim huic operi insertum puto aut cognitu inutile aut difficile perceptu, sed omnia quibus sit ingenium tuum vegetius, memoria adminiculator, oratio sollertior, sermo incorruptior*—*ni sicubi nos, sub alio ortos caelo, Latinae linguae vena non adiuvet*. Cf. *NA* pr.16: ... *sed eius seminis generisque sint, ex quo facile adolescent aut ingenia hominum vegetiora aut memoria adminiculator aut oratio sollertior aut sermo incorruptior aut delectatio in otio atque in ludo liberalior*.

as a Satunalian feast. He is more explicit in depicting the ways in which his topics are connected, in contrast to Gellius' embrace of multiple ways for the reader to relate different *commentarii* to each other.

Nearly a millennium after Macrobius, the *NA* was rediscovered by an enthusiastic audience: the Renaissance humanists.⁶ If earlier writers considered Gellius to be a ready stock of material from which they might collect appealing extracts to enliven their writing, scholars in fifteenth-century Italy saw Gellius as a kindred spirit and a model deserving of emulation.⁷ Indeed, Gellius' complete works were rediscovered at a time when note-taking and compilation were becoming dominant modes of scholarly activity (which in turn allowed for the reemergence of the miscellany as a scholarly and literary form), and this fortuitous alignment led to his favorable reception.⁸ Sicco Polenton, in his history of Latin literature completed in 1437, recognized the miscellaneous form of Gellius work and saw it as unproblematic; indeed, his description of Gellius' habits of composition is a close paraphrase of Gellius' own expression at *NA* pr.2-3, with the *ordo fortuitus* considered worthy of emulation.⁹ Later, Angelo Poliziano, in his *Miscellaenorum Centuria Prima* (1489) explicitly labeled Gellius and his random

⁶ On Gellius' *Nachleben* in fifteenth century Italy especially, see Grafton 2004, 318-330. Heath 2004, 282-317 sketches out the reception of the *NA* in fifteenth and sixteenth century France and its role in the intellectual invigoration of the French Renaissance.

⁷ Heinz Berthold has most prominently written about Gellius as a "Vermittler:" see Berthold 1980, 45-50 and Berthold 1985, 12-15; cf. Grafton 2004, 320-321.

⁸ Grafton 2004, 326; Blair 2010, 126-128.

⁹ *Scriptorum Illustrium Latinae Linguae Libri XVIII*, 8 pp. 221-222: *Libros vero A. Gellius exemplis ac rebus plurimis scite bonis plenos XX fecit... ordine vero haudquaquam certo, ut solen caeteri, sed fortuito pro eius arbitrio ac iure usus est. Nihil enim, u test apud Valerium Maximum atque Frontinum, certo sub duce ac signis locat sed vagus militat, quod, perinde ac librum quemquam seu Graecum seu Latinum in manus caperet aut quid memoratu dignum audiret, indistincte ac promiscue annotaret.*

ordering the source for his own methods of composition.¹⁰ Poliziano's commentary reconfigured several elements of Gellius' own commentary on his title in the Preface of the *NA*, reflecting a close acquaintance with and approval of his predecessor's techniques; Poliziano likewise arranged his chapters in such a way as to provoke thought in his readers.¹¹ Likewise Angelo Decembrio saw the *NA* as a model and incorporated Gellius' emphasis on themes of *otium* and its relation to literary and scholarly activity; however, he rejects the chance ordering: *cuius futuram seriem ut brevibus intellegas, seu ad opus A. Gellii noctium Atticarum seu potius ad Quintiliani institutionem oratoriam formatus est partium et librorum opportunitate eadem fere servata* (Decembrio *De Politia Litterraria* 1.3.1 p 148 Witten).¹² These authors, along with a great many of their contemporaries, saw Gellius as a model of style and scholarship, and to differing degrees imitated his work in their own. For all of their appreciation for Gellius' style and the chance ordering, however, their interest seems to rest primarily in *variatio* rather than in the marked juxtapositions that I have shown to be an essential component of the intellectual program of the *NA*. Though the humanists of the Quattrocento saw in Gellius an inspiration for their scholarly endeavors and the form of commonplace book that

¹⁰ Poliziano *Miscellaneorum Centuria Prima* preface: *at inordinatam istam et confusaneam quasi silvam aut farraginem perhiberi, quia non tractim et continenter, sed salutatim scribimus et vellicatim, tantum abest uti doleamus ut etiam titulum non sane alium quis quam Miscellaneorum exquisiverimus, in quis Graecum tamen Helianum, Latinum sequimur Gellium, quorum utriusque libri varietate sunt quam ordine blandiores.*

¹¹ For further parallels between the two, including a convincing discussion of Poliziano's incorporation of Gellius' compositional methods into the *Miscellaneorum Centuria Prima*, see Beall 1988, 225-231.

¹² Beall 1988, 231-232; Grafton 2004, 328.

would later emerge from their work, nevertheless these Renaissance authors are different from Gellius in aim, intellectual outlook, and literary intent.¹³

Gellius' admirers and imitators from antiquity through to the modern period have appreciated both style and his varied composition. However, even when his readership appears to be intimately acquainted with his habits of mind and his prescriptions for reading in the Preface, the manner in which Gellius has produced meaning thanks to the ordering of his *commentarii* has remained elusive. In this thesis, I have argued that the miscellaneity of the work, which provides it with much of the aesthetic appeal that has attracted audiences, situates the work within genres of literature that welcome simultaneously multiple forms of reading, such as poetry collections or epistolography; when read in light of these generic connections the *NA* emerges as kaleidoscopic, rather than encyclopedic. Throughout, I have elaborated a range of techniques, invited by Gellius himself in the Preface and in his other comments on reading throughout the work, which enable the reader to extract meaning from the interaction of the different parts of the text by recognizing Gellius' literary debt to these other forms of collected literature, and his place within the continuity of Latin literature, rather than interpreting him as a classical philologist *avant la lettre*. This approach enables scholars to recognize consistency in Gellius' treatment of the various constituent strands of his work. Citations, characters, and grammatical points all exist within their own intellectual realms, yet operate in a similar fashion within the compositional mechanics of the *NA*. In accepting Gellius' invitation to read both selectively and sequentially, as I have argued, connections between different texts, domains of knowledge, and culture become evident; by

¹³ Beall has reevaluated Gellius' reputation as a humanist, which has been in part inspired by the ready reception he found throughout the Renaissance; see esp. Beall 2004, 215-222.

recognizing the resonances and tensions that Gellius is able to produce, we are able to access more deeply his anxieties about intellectual and cultural authority. At the same time, the reader is able to detect cognitive narratives within the work, somewhat akin to Lucilius' education and the various thematic reoccurrences throughout Seneca's *Epistulae Morales*—these narratives represent a series of meditations on discrete topics, through which Gellius challenges his authorities, but also encourages the intellectual development of his reader.

This framework also clears a path to further our understanding of several essential, if understudied, areas of the text. Perhaps most obviously, with the techniques underlying Gellius' miscellaneous composition more clearly elucidated, a path is clear for further detailed study of the internal structure of the text. While I have suggested several areas in which the correspondences between the *commentarii* demonstrate that the structure of the *NA* is inherently meaningful (patterning akin to poetry books at 1.1-1.10, smaller sense units like 10.25-10.27), sustained study of these features may shed further light on Gellius' compositional techniques, as well as the aesthetics of prose collections in the Antonine period. Although I have offered several examples of the interaction of the lemmata and the contents that they describe, additional systematic investigation can shed light on not only their function in the *NA*, but also in the Roman literary environment more broadly. Moreover, by examining the work with this rubric of reading and engagement with text, we are in a better position to engage with Gellius' use of citations beyond *Quellenforschung*: the quotations throughout the text are chosen with care, and Gellius is not a slave to the sources which he cites. On one level, this should also serve to enhance our readings of the citations of Greek and Latin literature in the ancient period

from an intertextual perspective—not just as the precious excerpts of lost texts, but also as the deliberately chosen and integrated words of the quoting author. Although reading them as integral parts of their contexts may complicate our interpretations of these fragments, nevertheless their contextual meanings for an ancient audience represent a fruitful area of further of study. With a fuller understanding of the mechanics underlying the connections Gellius draws between his sources, we can approach his engagement with the Roman literary tradition, including his understanding of generic relationships or his points of contact with archaic as well as contemporary sources. This study should open possibilities for interrogating Gellius’ relationship with his literary predecessors in the previous generation, rather contemporaries such as Fronto and Apuleius alongside whom Gellius is most often compared. If we read Gellius within a continuous tradition of imperial literature rather than in relation to technical or subliterate works, we can refine our image of the development of a novel prose aesthetic; indeed, there may be profitable comparisons with Martial, Suetonius, and further intersections with Pliny the Younger, as well as Epictetus and Philostratus.

The recognition of the artistic elements within Gellius’ work and their contributions to his overall project help to illustrate several of his anxieties, as well as those of the intellectual culture of an Antonine world in which the ability to display one’s erudition was paramount. If the *NA* is a response to this impulse, to a mine in service of an individual’s need to locate on demand the ideal nugget of learning that may then be reused, then the enterprise is somewhat flawed given the aesthetic choice of disorder. Gellius instead aims to provide a blueprint for cultivating the set of reading abilities to become a sort of “breathing library,” versed in the canonical texts of Latin and Greek

literature.¹⁴ In composing the *NA*, Gellius is interested in many ways in reading itself, and he encodes within his work many approaches to engaging with literature. He accomplishes this aim by looking beyond the tradition of reference works to which the *NA* ostensibly should belong, incorporating the literary diversity of forms such as epigram, epistle, and prose essay into his own endeavor, including each genre's approach to reading and interacting with texts. If according to conventional narratives Latin literary culture is in decline over the course of the second century CE, replaced by a retreat into archaism among both Greeks and Romans in the midst of a dearth of contemporary quality, the *NA* represents an attempt at fashioning an innovative form of prose collection responsive to the intellectual concerns of his time, while remaining fully integrated into Latin literary tradition.

¹⁴ The phrase is used by the Eunapius in his *Lives of the Sophists* (456) to describe Longinus (the teacher of Porphyry, rather than the author of *On the Sublime*): Λογγίνος δὲ κατὰ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον βιβλιοθήκη τις ἦν ἄμψυχος καὶ περιπατοῦν μουσεῖον, καὶ κρίνειν γε τοὺς παλαιούς ἐπετέτραπτο, καθάπερ πρὸ ἐκείνου πολλοὶ τινες ἕτεροι. This passage, and the attendant metaphor, is discussed in depth by Too 2000.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Editions and Commentaries:

- Barigazzi, Adelmo, ed. *Galeno. Sull'Ottima Maniera d'Insegnare, Esortazione alla Medicina*. Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1991.
- Boldrer, Francesca, ed. *L. Iuni Moderati Columellae Rei Rusticae Liber Decimus: Carmen De Cultu Hortorum*. Pisa: ETS, 1996.
- Cavazza, Franco, ed. *Aulo Gellio: Le Notti Attiche*. Bologna: Nicola Zanichelli, 1985-1999.
- Citroni, Mario, ed. *M. Valerii Martialis Epigrammaton Liber Primus*. Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1975.
- Della Corte, Francesco, ed. *Svetonio: Grammatici e Retori*. Torino: Loescher Editore, 1968.
- Dobbin, Robert F., ed. *Epictetus: Discourses Book I*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Dover, Kenneth, ed. *Aristophanes: Frogs*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993.
- García Valdés, Manuela, Luis Alfonso Llera Fueyo, and Lucía Rodríguez-Noriega Guillén, eds. *Claudius Aelianus: De Natura Animalium*. Berlin and New York: De Gruyter, 2009.
- Heubner, H., ed. *P. Cornelii Taciti Libri qui supersunt*. Rev. ed. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1994.
- Hunter, Richard and Donald Russell, eds. *Plutarch: How to Study Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Kaster, Robert A., ed. *C. Suetonius Tranquillus De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995.
- Lindermann, Jens-Olaf, ed. *Aulus Gellius. Noctes Atticae. Buch 9: Kommentar*. Berlin: Weissensee Verl., 2006.
- Lindsay, W. M., ed. *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammata*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902.
- Marache, René, ed. *Aulu-Gelle: Le Nuits Attiques*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1967-1998.
- Marshall, P. K., ed. *A. Gellii Noctes Atticae*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Mayer, Roland, ed. *Tacitus: Dialogus de Oratoribus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Mayhoff, Karl. *C. Plini Secundi Naturalis Historiae Libri XXXVII*. Stuttgart: Teubner, 1967-1970.
- Mynors, R. A. B., ed. *C. Plini Caecili Secundi Epistularum Libri Decem*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963.
- Reynolds, L. D. *L. Annaei Senecae Ad Lucilium Epistulae Morales*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- Rodgers, R. H., ed. *L. Iuni Moderati Columellae Res Rustica*. Oxford: Clarendon Press,

2010.

- Sconocchia, Sergio, ed. *Scribonii Largi Compositiones*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1983.
- Sherwin-White, A. N., ed. *The Letters of Pliny: A Historical and Social Commentary*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.
- Skutsch, Otto, ed. *The Annals of Quintus Ennius*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985.
- Ullman, B. L., ed. *Sicconis Polentoni Scriptorum Illustrium Latinae Linguae Libri XVIII*. Rome: American Academy in Rome, 1928.
- van den Hout, Michael P. J., ed. *M. Cornelius Fronto Epistulae*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1988.
- West, Martin L., ed. *Homeric Hymns; Homeric Apocrypha; Lives of Homer*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003.
- Witten, Nobert, ed. *De politia litteraria: Angelo Camillo Decembrio*. Munich: K. G. Saur, 2002.
- Whitton, Christopher, ed. *Pliny the Younger: Epistles Book II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.
- Wilson, N. G., ed. *Aelian: Historical Miscellany*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Winterbottom, Michael, ed. *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutis Oratoriae Libri Duodecim*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970.
- Winterbottom, Michael and R. M. Ogilvie, eds. *Cornelii Taciti Opera Minora*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Secondary Literature:

- Alexander, Philip, Armin Lange, and Renate Pillinger, eds. *In the Second Degree: Paratextual Literature in the Ancient Near Eastern and Ancient Mediterranean Culture and Its Reflections in Medieval Literature*. Leiden: Brill, 2010.
- Ameling, Walter. "Aulus Gellius in Athen." *Hermes* 112.4 (1984): 484-490.
- Anderson, Graham. "Aulus Gellius: A Miscellanist and His World." *ANRW* II.34.2 (1994): 1834-62.
- André, Jean-Marie. *L'Otium dans la Vie Morale et Intellectuelle Romaine des origines à l'époque augustéenne*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1966.
- Ash, Rhiannon. "'Aliud est enim epistulam, aliud historiam... scribere' (Epistles 6.16.22): Pliny the Historian?" *Arethusa* 36.2 (2003): 211-225.
- Astarita, Maria Laura. *La Cultura Nelle Noctes Atticae*. Catania: Università di Catania Centro di Studi sull'Antico Cristianesimo, 1993.
- Astin, A. E. *Scipio Aemilianus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967.
- Axelson, Bertil. *Unpoetische Wörter: Ein Beitrag zur Kenntnis der lateinischen Dichtersprache*. Lund: H. Ohlssons boktryckeri, 1945.
- Baldwin, Barry. *Studies in Aulus Gellius*. Lawrence, KS: Coronado Press, 1975.
- Baraz, Yelena. *A Written Republic: Cicero's Philosophical Politics*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012.
- Barchiesi, Alessandro. "The Search for the Perfect Book." K. Gutzwiller, ed. *The New Posidippus: A Hellenistic Poetry Book*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. 320-342.
- Barns, John. "A New Gnomologium: With Some Remarks on Gnomonic Anthologies (I)." *CQ* 44.3/4 (1950): 126-137.

- Barwick, H. "Zwei antiken Ausgaben der Pliniusbriefe?" *Ph* 91 (1936): 423-448.
- Baumann, Mario. *Bilder schreiben : Virtuose Ekphrasis in Philostrats Eikones*. Berlin/New York : Walter de Gruyter, 2011.
- Beagon, Mary. *The Elder Pliny on the Human Animal: Natural History Book 7*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Beall, Stephen M. "Civilis Eruditio: Style and Content in the *Attic Nights* of Aulus Gellius." PhD. Diss. University of California, Berkeley, 1988.
- . "Translation in Aulus Gellius." *CQ* 47.1 (1997): 215-226.
- . "Homo Fandi Dulcissimus: The Role of Favorinus in the "Attic Nights" of Aulus Gellius." *AJPh* 122.1 (2001): 87-106.
- . "Gellian Humanism Revisited." *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*. L. Holford-Strevens and A. D. Vardi, eds. *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 206-222.
- Berthold, Heinz. "Aulus Gellius: Seine Bedeutung als Vermittler antiker Bildungs- und Kulturtraditionen." *WZ Halle* 29.3 (1980): 45-50.
- . "Interpretationsprobleme im Miszellenwerk des Aulus Gellius." *WZ Rostock* 34.1 (1985): 12-16.
- Bettini, Maurizio. "Weighty Words, Suspect Speech: *Fari* in Roman Culture." *Arethusa* 41.2 (2008): 313-375.
- Blair, Ann. *Too Much to Know: Managing Scholarly Information before the Modern Age*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2010.
- Bodel, John. "Monumental villas and villa monuments." *JRA* 10 (1997): 5-35.
- . "Villaculture." J. A. Becker and N. Terrenato, eds. *Roman Republican Villas: Architecture, Context, and Ideology*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2012. 45-60.
- . "The Publication of Pliny's Letters." I. Marchesi, ed. *Pliny the Bookmaker: Betting on Posterity in the Epistles*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. 13-108.
- Borthwick, E. Kerr. "Bee Imagery in Plutarch." *CQ* 41.2 (1991): 560-562.
- Bowie, E. L. "Greeks and their Past in the Second Sophistic." *P&P* 46 (1970): 3-41.
- Brachtendorf, Johannes. "Cicero and Augustine on the Passions." *REAug* 43.2 (1997): 289-308.
- Bradley, Mark. *Colour and Meaning in Ancient Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Broughton, T. Robert. S. *Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. 3 vols. New York: American Philological Association, 1951-1986.
- Bruster, Douglas. "Shakespearean Spellings and Handwriting in the Additional Passages Printed in the 1602 *Spanish Tragedy*." *Notes and Queries* 60.3 (2013): 420-424.
- Butler, Shane. "Cicero's *capita*." L. Jansen, ed. *The Roman Paratext: Frame, Texts, Readers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 73-111.
- Campanile, Domitilla. "Eliano e la sua *Varia Historia*." E. Amato, A. Roduit, and M. Steinrück, eds. *Approches de la Troisième Sophistique: Hommages à Jacques Schamp*. Brussels: Editions Latomus, 2006. 420-430.
- Carey, Sorch. *Pliny's Catalogue of Culture: Art and Empire in the Natural History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Cavazza, Franco. "Gellius the Etymologist: Gellius's Etymologies and Modern

- Etymology.” L. Holford-Strevens and A. D. Vardi, eds. *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 65-104.
- Currie, Sarah. “Poisonous Women and Unnatural History in Roman Culture.” M. Wyke, ed. *Parchments of Gender: Deciphering the Bodies of Antiquity*. Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1998. 147-167.
- De Rentiis, Dina. “Der Beitrag der Bienen. Überlegungen zum Beiengleichnis bei Seneca und Macrobius.” *RhM* 141.1 (1998): 30-44.
- Derrida, Jacques. *Dissemination*. Trans. Barbara Johnson. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981.
- Détienne, Marcel and Jean-Pierre Vernant. *Cunning Intelligence in Greek Culture and Society*. Trans. Janet Lloyd. Hassocks: Harvester Press, 1978.
- Dettenhofer, Maria H. *Perdita Iuventus: Zwischen den Generationen von Caesar und Augustus*. Munich: Beck, 1992.
- Dominik, William J. “The style is the man: Seneca, Tacitus, and Quintilian’s canon.” W. J. Dominik, ed. *Roman Eloquence: Rhetoric in society and literature*. London and New York: Routledge, 1997. 50-68.
- Doody, Aude. “Finding Facts in Pliny’s Encyclopaedia: The Summarium of the *Natural History*.” *Ramus* 30.1 (2001): 1-22.
- . “Pliny’s *Natural History: Enkuklios Paideia* and the Ancient Encyclopedia.” *JHI* 70.1 (2009): 1-21.
- . *Pliny’s Encyclopedia: The Reception of the Natural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Duff, Timothy E. *Plutarch’s Lives: Exploring Virtue and Vice*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.
- . “Models of Education in Plutarch.” *JHS* 128 (2008): 1-26.
- Dutsch, Dorota M. *Feminine Discourse in Roman Comedy: On Echoes and Voices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008.
- Faider, Paul. “Auli Gellii Noctium Atticarum Praefatio.” *Le Musée Belge* 31 (1927): 189-216.
- Fantuzzi, Marco and Richard Hunter. *Tradition and Innovation in Hellenistic Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Feeney, Denis. *Caesar’s Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007.
- Fitzgerald, William. *Martial: The World of the Epigram*. Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 2007.
- . “Interpreting Miscellany: Aulus Gellius’ *Noctes Atticae*.” Unpublished.
- Fögen, Thorsten. “The Implications of Animal Nomenclature in Aelian’s *De natura animalium*.” *RhM* 152.1 (2009): 49-62.
- Fohlen, Jeannine. “Recherches sur le manuscrit palimpseste Vatican, Pal. Vat. 24.” *S&C* 3 (1979): 195-222.
- Fontaine, Michael. “The reception of Greek comedy in Rome.” *The Cambridge Companion to Greek Comedy*. M. Revermann, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 404-423.
- Foucault, Michel. *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. New York: Vintage, 1994.
- Fraenkel, Eduard. *Plautine Elements in Plautus*. Trans. T. Drevikovsky and F. Muecke.

- Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Freudenburg, Kirk. *Satires of Rome: Threatening Poses from Lucilius to Juvenal*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Frischer, Bernard. "Inceptive *Quoque* and the Introduction *Medias in res* in Classical and Early Medieval Latin Literature." *Glotta* 61.3/4 (1983): 236-251.
- Gamberale, Leopoldo. *La Traduzione in Gellio*. Rome: Edizioni dell'Atene, 1969.
- Garcea, Alessandro. "Gellio, Il Bilinguismo Greco-Latino e i Nomi Dei Colori." *Il Plurilinguismo Nella Tradizione Letteraria Latina*. Ed. Renato Oniga. Rome: Il Calamo, 2003. 173-195.
- Genette, Gérard. *Paratexts: Thresholds of Interpretation*. Trans. Jane E. Lewin. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.
- Gibson, Roy K. "Elder and Better: The *Naturalis Historia* and the Letters of the Younger Pliny." R. Gibson and R. Morello, eds. *Pliny the Elder: Themes and Contexts*. Leiden: Brill, 2011. 187-205.
- . "Starting with the index in Pliny." *The Roman Paratext*. L. Jansen, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 33-55.
- Gibson, Roy K. and Ruth Morello, eds. *Re-Imagining Pliny the Younger (=Arethusa 36.2)*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Gibson, Roy K. and Ruth Morello. *Reading the Letters of Pliny the Younger: An Introduction*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- Gleason, Maud W. *Making Men: Sophist and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994.
- Goldberg, Sander M. "Appreciating Aperi: The Defence of Modernity in Tacitus' *Dialogus de Oratoribus*." *CQ* 49.1 (1999): 224-237.
- Goldhill, Simon. "The anecdote: exploring the boundaries between oral and literate performance in the Second Sophistic." W. A. Johnson and H. N. Parker, eds. *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. 96-113.
- Grafton, Anthony. "Conflict and Harmony in the *Collegium Gellianum*." L. Holford-Strevens and A. D. Vardi, eds. *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 318-342.
- Gratwick, Adrian S. "Sundials, parasites, and girls from Boeotia." *CQ* 29.2 (1979): 308-323.
- Graziosi, Barbara. *Inventing Homer: The Early Reception of the Epic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Gunderson, Erik. *Declamation, Paternity, and Roman Identity: Authority and the Rhetorical Self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- . *Nox Philologiae: Aulus Gellius and the Fantasy of the Roman Library*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009.
- Gruen, Erich S. *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992.
- Gutzwiller, Kathryn J. *Poetic Garlands: Hellenistic Epigrams in Context*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998.
- Habinek, Thomas. *The Politics of Latin Literature: Writing, Identity, and Empire in Ancient Rome*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998.
- Hankinson, R. J. "A Purely Verbal Dispute? Galen on Stoic and Academic

- Epistemology." *RIPh* 45.178 (1991): 267-300.
- . *The Sceptics*. London and New York: Routledge, 1995.
- Hansen, Dirk Ewe. "How Do Lexica Fit into a Work of Fiction." R. Ferri, ed. *The Latin of Roman Lexicography*. Pisa/Rome: Fabrizio Serra Editore, 2011. 13-29.
- Harris, William V. "Why Did the Codex Supplant the Book-Roll?" J. Monfasani and R. G. Musto, eds. *Renaissance Society and Culture: Essays in Honor of Eugene F. Rice, Jr.* New York: Italica Press, 1991. 71-85.
- Heath, Michael. "Gellius in the French Renaissance." L. Holford-Strevens and A. D. Vardi, eds. *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 282-317.
- Hershkowitz, Debra. "Pliny the Poet." *G&R* 42.2 (1995): 168-181.
- Henderson, John. *Pliny's Statue: The Letters, Self-Portraiture & Classical Art*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002. (=2002a)
- . "Knowing Someone Through Their Books: Pliny on Uncle Pliny ('Epistles' 3.5)." *CPh* 97.3 (2002): 256-284. (=2002b)
- . "Columella's Living Hedge: The Roman Gardening Book." *JRS* 92 (2002): 110-133. (=2002c)
- . "Portrait of the Artist as a Figure of Style: P.L.I.N.Y's Letters." *Arethusa* 36.2 (2003): 115-125.
- . *Morals and Villas in Seneca's Letters: Places to Dwell*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.
- Henderson, Jr., Charles. "Cato's Pine Cones and Seneca's Plums: Fronto p. 149 vdH." *TAPhA* 86 (1955): 256-267.
- Henry, Madeleine M. "On the Aims and Purposes of Aulus Gellius' 'Noctes Atticae'." *ANRW* II.34.2 (1994): 1918-1941.
- Heusch, Christine. *Die Macht der Memoria: Die „Noctes Atticae“ des Aulus Gellius im Licht der Erinnerungskultur des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 2011.
- Hinds, Stephen. *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Hirzel, Rudolf. *Der Dialog: Ein literarhistorischer Versuch*. 1895. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1963.
- Hodkinson, Owen. "Better than Speech: Some Advantages of the Letter in the Second Sophistic." R. Morello and A. D. Morrison, eds. *Ancient Letters: Classical and Late Antique Epistolography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 283-300.
- Hoffer, Stanley E. *The Anxieties of Pliny the Younger*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1999.
- Holford-Strevens, Leofranc. *Aulus Gellius: An Antonine Scholar and His Achievement*. 1988. Revised ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- . "Recht as Een Palmen-Bohm and Other Facets of Gellius' Medieval and Humanistic Reception." L. Holford-Strevens and A. D. Vardi, eds. *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 249-281.
- . Review of *Gellius the Satirist: Roman Cultural Authority in the Attic Nights* by Wytse Keulen. *BMCR* 2009.05.13 (2009). Accessed 26 March 2015. Stable URL: <http://bmcr.brynmawr.edu/2009/2009-05-13.html>.
- Horsfall, Nicholas. "Some Problems of Titulature in Roman Literary History." *BICS* 28 (1981): 103-114.

- Howe, Nicholas Phillies. "In Defense of the Encyclopedic Mode: On Pliny's Preface to the *Natural History*." *Latomus* 44.3 (1985): 561-576.
- Howley, Joseph A. "Intellectual Narratives and Elite Roman Learning in the *Noctes Atticae* of Aulus Gellius." Ph.D. thesis. University of St. Andrews, 2011.
- . "Why Read the Jurists? Aulus Gellius on Reading Across Disciplines." P. J. du Plessis, ed. *New Frontiers: Law and Society in the Roman World*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013. 9-30.
- . "'Heus tu, rhetorisce': Gellius, Cicero, Plutarch, and Roman Study Abroad." *Roman Rule in Greek and Latin Writing: Double Vision*. J. Majbom Madsen and R. Rees, eds. Leiden: Brill, 2014. 163-192.
- . *Aulus Gellius and the Narrated Mind at Imperial Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, forthcoming.
- Hunter, Richard. *Critical Moments in Classical Literature: Studies in the Ancient View of Literature and its Uses*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- Jacob, Christian. "Athenaeus the Librarian." *Athenaeus and His World: Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire*. D. Braund and J. Wilkins, ed. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000. 85-110.
- . *The Web of Athenaeus*. Trans. Arietta Papaconstantinou. S. F. Johnson, ed. Cambridge, Mass./Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies, 2013.
- Janan, Micaela. "*When the Lamp is Shattered*": *Desire and Narrative in Catullus*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1994.
- Jansen, Laura. "Introduction: approaches to Roman paratextuality." *The Roman Paratext: Frame, Texts, Readers*. L. Jansen, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 1-18.
- Janson, Tore. *Latin Prose Prefaces: Studies in Literary Conventions*. Stockholm: Almqvist and Wiksell, 1964.
- Jensen, Jens Peter. "Aulus Gellius als Literaturkritiker: Impressionist oder Systematiker? Versuch einer Aufstellung seiner literaturkritischen Werttypologie." *C&M* 48 (1997): 359-389.
- Johnson, Diane L. "Claudius Aelianus' *Varia Historia* and the Tradition of the Miscellany." Ph.D. thesis. University of British Columbia, 1997.
- Johnson, William A. "Constructing Elite Reading Communities in the High Empire." W. A. Johnson and H. N. Parker, eds. *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. 320-330.
- . *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Jones, Christopher P. *Culture and Society in Lucian*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1986.
- Kaster, Robert A. *Studies on the Text of Suetonius De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus*. Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992.
- Keitel, Elizabeth. "Principate and Civil War in the *Annals* of Tacitus." *AJPh* 105.3 (1984): 306-325.
- Kennedy, George. "Encolpius and Agamemnon in Petronius." *AJPh* 99.2 (1978): 171-178.
- Ker, James. "Nocturnal Writers in Imperial Rome: The Culture of *Lucubratio*." *CPh* 99.3

- (2004): 209-242.
- Keulen, Wytse. *Gellius the Satirist: Roman Cultural Authority in Attic Nights*. Leiden: Brill, 2009.
- Kim, Lawrence. *Homer between History and Fiction in Imperial Greek Literature*. Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010.
- Kindstrand, Jan Fredrik. "Claudius Aelianus und sein Werk." *ANRW* 2.34.4 (1998): 2954-2996.
- Knapp, Charles. "Archaism in Aulus Gellius." *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*. New York and London: MacMillan, 1894. 126-171.
- König, Jason. "Fragmentation and coherence in Plutarch's *Sympotic Questions*." J. König and T. Whitmarsh, eds. *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 43-68. (=2007a)
- . "Alciphron's Epistolarity." R. Morello and A. D. Morrison, eds. *Ancient Letters: Classical and Late Antique Epistolography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 257-282. (=2007b)
- . *Saints and Symposiasts: The Literature of Food and the Symposium in Greco-Roman and Early Christian Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012.
- König, Jason and Tim Whitmarsh. "Ordering Knowledge." J. König and T. Whitmarsh, eds. *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 3-39.
- Korenjak, Martin. "Le Noctes Atticae di Gellio : i misteri della παιδεία." *SIFC* 16.1 (1998): 80-82.
- Kretzschmer, Julius. *De A. Gellii Fontibus. I. De Auctoribus A Gellii Grammaticis*. Posen: Ludwig Merzbach, 1860.
- Langlands, Rebecca. "'Reading for the Moral' in Valerius Maximus: The Case of *severitas*." *CCJ* 54 (2008): 160-187.
- Leeman, A. D. *Orationis Ratio: The Stylistic Theories and Practice of the Roman Orators, Historians, and Philosophers*. 2 vols. Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1963.
- LeVen, Pauline. "Reading the Octopus: Authorship, Intertexts, and a Hellenistic Anecdote (Machon fr. 9 Gow)." *AJPh* 134.1 (2013): 23-35.
- Levene, D. S. "Tacitus' *Dialogus* As Literary History." *TAPhA* 134 (2004): 157-200.
- Ludolph, Matthias. *Epistolographie und Selbstdarstellung. Untersuchungen zu den 'Paradebriefen' Plinius des Jüngeren*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag, 1997.
- Marache, René. *La Critique Littéraire de Langue Latine et Le Développement du Goût Archaisant Au II^e Siècle De Notre Ère*. Rennes: Plihon, 1952.
- Marchesi, Ilaria. *The Art of Pliny's Letters: A Poetics of Allusion in Private Correspondence*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Maselli, Giorgio. "Osservazioni sui «lemmata» delle «Noctes Atticae»." *Orpheus* 14 (1993): 18-39.
- McDonnell, Myles. "The Speech of Numidicus at Gellius, N.A. 1.6." *AJPh* 108.1 (1987): 81-94.
- McElduff, Siobhán. *Roman Theories of Translation: Surpassing the Source*. New York and London: Routledge, 2013.
- McGill, Scott. *Plagiarism in Latin Literature*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

- 2012.
- Mercklin, Ludwig. *Die Citiermethode und Quellenbenutzung des A. Gellius in den Noctes Atticae*. *JbCIPh* Supp.² 3 Leipzig: Teubner, 1860. 635-712.
- Minarini, Alessandra. "Prefazione delle «Noctes Atticae»: Gellio fra Plinio e Seneca." *BStudLat* 30.2 (2000): 536-553.
- Momigliano, Arnaldo. "Ancient History and the Antiquarian." *JWI* 13.3/4 (1950): 285-315.
- Mommsen, Theodor. *Römische Forschungen*. 2 vols. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1864-1879.
- Morello, Ruth. "Pliny and the Encyclopaedic Addressee." R. Gibson and R. Morello, eds. *Pliny the Elder: Themes and Contexts*. Leiden: Brill, 2011. 147-165.
- Morgan, Llewelyn. "Natura narrator: Tullius Laurea's Elegy for Cicero (Pliny, *Nat.* 31.8)." S. J. Heyworth, P. G. Fowler, and S. J. Harrison, eds. *Classical Construction: Papers in Memory of Don Fowler, Classicist and Epicurean*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. 113-140. (=2007a)
- Morgan, Teresa. *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- . "Educational Values." L. Holford-Strevens and A. D. Vardi, eds. *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 187-205.
- . *Popular Morality in the Early Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. (=2007b)
- Murphy, Trevor. "Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*: The Prodigious Text." A. J. Boyle and W. J. Dominik, eds. *Flavian Rome: Culture, Image, Text*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2003. 301-322.
- . *Pliny the Elder's Natural History: The Empire in the Encyclopedia*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Myers, K. Sara. "Docta otia: Garden Ownership and Configurations of Leisure in Statius and Pliny the Younger." *Arethusa* 38.1 (2005): 103-129.
- Naas, Valérie. *Le Projet Encyclopédique de Pline L'Ancien*. Rome: École française de Rome, 2002.
- Nauta, Ruurd R. *Poetry for Patrons: Literary Communication in the Age of Domitian*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- Nettleship, Henry. "The Noctes Atticae of Aulus Gellius." *AJPh* 4.4 (1883): 381-415.
- Nisbet, R. G. M. "Tying down Proteus: The Limits of Ambiguity and Cross-Reference in Horace's Odes." S. J. Harrison, ed. *R. G. M. Nisbet: Collected Papers on Latin Literature*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995. 414-430.
- Nisbet, R. G. M. and Niall Rudd. *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book 3*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.
- Nisula, Timo. *Augustine and the Functions of Concupiscence*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012.
- Nünlist, René. *The Ancient Critic at Work: Terms and Concepts of Literary Criticism in Greek Scholia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.
- O'Donnell, James J. "Augustine's Classical Readings." *RecAug* 15 (1980): 144-175.
- Opsomer, Jan. "Favorinus versus Epictetus on the Philosophical Heritage of Plutarch: A Debate on Epistemology." J. Mossman, ed. *Plutarch and his Intellectual World*. Havertown: Classical Press of Wales, 1997. 17-39.

- O'Sullivan, Timothy M. *Walking in Roman Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Parker, Holt N. "Books and Reading Latin Poetry." W. A. Johnson and H. N. Parker, eds. *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome*. New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009. 186-229.
- Paulas, John. "How to Read Athenaeus' Deipnosophists." *AJPh* 133.3 (2012): 403-439.
- Petitmengin, Pierre. "Capitula païens et chrétiens." J.-C. Fredouille, M.-O Goulet-Cazé et al., eds. *Titres et Articulations du Texte dans les Œuvres Antiques. Actes du Colloque International de Chantilly 13-15 décembre 1994*. Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiennes, 1997. 491-507.
- Petrovicová, Katarina. "Membrorum corporis cohaerentia: Compositional Intentions of Macrobius' Saturnalia." *GLP* 22 (2007): 103-112.
- Pianezzola, Emilio. *Gli Aggettivi verbali in -bundus*. Milan: Sansoni, 1965.
- Pohlenz, Max. "Τὸ πρέπον: ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des griechischen Geistes." H. Dörrie, ed. *Max Pohlenz: Kleine Schriften*. 2 vols. Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1965.
- Porter, David H. *Horace's Poetic Journey: A Reading of Odes 1-3*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Prandi, Louisa. *Memorie storiche dei Greci in Claudio Eliano*. Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2005.
- Rawson, Elizabeth. *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985.
- Reynolds, L. D., ed. *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Richard, Jean-Claude. "Historiographie et histoire: l'expédition des *Fabii* à la Crémère." *Latomus* 47.3 (1988): 526-553.
- . "L'affaire du Crémère: recherches sur l'évolution et le sens de la tradition." *Latomus* 44.2 (1989): 312-325.
- Riggsby, Andrew M. *Caesar in Gaul and Rome: War in Words*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2006.
- . "Guides to the Wor(l)d." J. König and T. Whitmarsh, eds. *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. 88-107.
- Rimell, Victoria. "The Best a Man Can Get: Grooming Scipio in Seneca *Epistle* 86." *CPh* 108.1 (2013): 1-20.
- Ritschl, Friedrich. *Parerga zu Plautus und Terenz*. Leipzig: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1845.
- Roberts, Colin H. and T. C. Skeat. *The Birth of the Codex*. London: Oxford University Press, 1983.
- Robbins, Frank Egleston. "Tables of Contents in the MSS of Pliny's Letters." *CPh* 5.4 (1910): 476-487.
- Ross, D. O. *Backgrounds to Augustan Poetry: Gallus, Elegy, and Rome*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.
- Rust, Eleanor M. "Ex Angulis Secretisque Librorumque: Reading, Writing, and Using Miscellaneous Knowledge in the *Noctes Atticae*." Ph.D. Thesis. University of Southern California, 2009.

- Sandy, Gerald N. "West Meets East: Western Students in Athens in the Mid-Second Century A.D." H. Hofmann, ed. *Groningen Colloquia on the Ancient Novel: V*. Groningen: Forsten, 1993. 163-174.
- Santini, Piero. *L'auctoritas Linguistica Di Cicerone Nelle "Notti Attiche" Di Aulo Gellio*. Naples: Loffredo Editore, 2006.
- Santirocco, Matthew S. *Unity and Design in Horace's Odes*. Chapel Hill/London: University of North Carolina Press, 1986.
- Schmidt, Peter L. "Paratextuelle Elemente in lateinischer Fachprosa." J.-C. Fredouille, M.-O Goulet-Cazé et al., eds. *Titres et Articulations du Texte dans les Œuvres Antiques. Actes du Colloque International de Chantilly 13-15 décembre 1994*. Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiennes, 1997. 223-232.
- Schröder, Bianca-Jeanette. *Titel und Text: Zur Entwicklyng lateinischer Gedichtüberschriften. Mit Untersuchungen zu lateinischen Buchtiteln, Inhaltsverzeichnissen und anderen Gliederungsmitteln*. Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1999.
- Scipioni, Silvia. *I Codici Umanisitici di Gellio*. Rome: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2003.
- Schmitz, Thomas. *Bildung und Macht: zur sozialen und politischen Funktion der zweiten Sophistik in der griechischen Welt der Kaiserzeit*. Munich: Verlag C. H. Beck, 1997.
- Seager, Robin. "Tacitus, *Annales* 1.7.1-5." *CQ* 52.2 (2002): 627-629.
- Seidensticker, Bernd. "Zu Horaz, c. 1,1-9." *Gymnasium* 83 (1976): 26-34.
- Sharrock, Alison. "Intratextuality: Texts, Parts, and (W)holes in Theory." A. Sharrock and H. Morales, eds. *Intratextuality. Greek and Roman Textual Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000. 1-39.
- Sharrock, Alison and Helen Morales, eds. *Intratextuality. Greek and Roman Textual Relations*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Skard, Eiliv. *Sallust und seine Vorgänger. Eine sprachliche Untersuchung*. Oslo: A.W. Brøgger, 1956.
- Skeat, T. C. "Roll versus Codex: A New Approach?" *ZPE* 84 (1990): 297-298.
- Small, Jocelyn Penny. *Wax Tablets of the Mind: Cognitive Studies of Memory and Literacy in Classical Antiquity*. London/New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Smith, R. R. R. "Cultural Choice and Political Identity in Honorific Portrait Statues in the Greek East in the Second Century A. D." *JRS* 88 (1998): 56-93.
- Smith, Steven D. *Man and Animal in Severan Rome: The Literary Imagination of Claudius Aelianus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014.
- Sorabji, Richard. *Emotion and Peace of Mind: From Stoic Agitation to Christian Temptation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Stamm, Caroline. *Vergangenheitsbezug in der Zweiten Sophistik? Die Varia Historia des Claudius Aelianus*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2003.
- Starr, Raymond J. "Cross-References in Roman Prose." *AJPh* 102.4 (1981): 431-437.
- Steinmetz, Peter. *Untersuchungen zur römischen Literatur des zweiten Jahrhunderts nach Christi Geburt*. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982.
- Stevenson, Andrew J. "Gellius and the Roman Antiquarian Tradition." L. Holford-Strevens and A. D. Vardi, eds. *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 118-155.

- Stout, S. E. *Scribe and Critic at Work in Pliny's Letters: Notes on the History and the Present Status of the Text*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1954.
- . "The Origin of the Ten-Book Family of Pliny Manuscripts." *CPh* 53.3 (1958): 171-173.
- . "Pliny's Own Manuscript." *TAPhA* 98 (1967): 481-482.
- Swain, Simon. "Favorinus and Hadrian." *ZPE* 79 (1989): 150-158.
- , ed. *Seeing the Face, Seeing the Soul: Polemon's Physiognomy from Classical Antiquity to Medieval Islam*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.
- Syme, Ronald. *Tacitus*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1958.
- . *Sallust*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1964.
- Tansey, Patrick. "The Perils of Prosopography: The Case of the Cornelii Dolabellae." *ZPE* 130 (2000): 265-271.
- Taoka, Yasuko. "Quintilian, Seneca, *Imitatio*: Re-Reading *Institutio Oratoria* 10.1.125-31." *Arethusa* 44.1 (2011): 123-137.
- Teodorsson, Sven-Tage. *A Commentary on Plutarch's Table Talks*. Göteborg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis, 1989-1996.
- . "Principles of Composition in the *Quaestiones Conviviales*." J. A. Fernández Delgado and F. Pordomingo Pardo, eds. *Estudios Sobre Plutarco: Aspectos Formales. Actas del IV Simposio Español sobre Plutarco, Salamanca, 26 a 28 de Mayo de 1994*. Madrid: Ediciones Clásicas, 1996. 39-47.
- Too, Yun Lee. "The Walking Library: The Performance of Cultural Memories." D. Braund and J. Wilkins, eds. *Athenaeus and his World: Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire*. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000. 111-123.
- . *The Idea of the Library in the Ancient World*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Vardi, Amiel D. "Why *Attic Nights*? Or What's in a Name?" *CQ* 43.1 (1993): 298-301.
- . "*Diudicatio Locorum*: Gellius and the History of a Mode in Ancient Comparative Criticism." *CQ* 46 (1996): 492-514.
- . "Gellius against the Professors." *ZPE* 137 (2001): 41-54.
- . "Genre, Conventions, and Cultural Programme in Gellius' *Noctes Atticae*." L. Holford-Strevens and A. D. Vardi, eds. *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. 159-186.
- Vessey, D. W. T. "Aulus Gellius and the Cult of the Past." *ANRW* II.34.2 (1994): 1863-1917.
- Vogel, Theodor. "De Noctium Atticarum A. Gellii compositione." *Philologische Abhandlungun Martin Hertz zum sibzigsten Geburtstage von ehemaligen Schülern dargebracht*. Berlin: Wilhelm Hertz, 1888. 1-13.
- Von Albrecht, Michael. *Masters of Roman Prose: From Cato to Apuleius. Interpretive Studies*. Trans. N. Adkin. Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1989.
- Whitmarsh, Tim. *Greek Literature and the Roman Empire: The Politics of Imitation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.
- Wibier, Matthijs. "The topography of the law book: common structures and modes of reading." *The Roman Paratext*. L. Jansen, ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. 56-72.
- Wilkins, John. "Dialogue and Comedy: The Structure of the *Deipnosophistae*." *Athenaeus and His World: Reading Greek Culture in the Roman Empire*. D.

- Braund and J. Wilkins, ed. Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2000. 23-37.
- Williams, Gordon. *Change and Decline: Roman Literature in the Early Empire*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978.
- Winckelmann, Johann. *Letter and Report on the Discoveries at Herculaneum*. Trans. C. Mattusch. Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011.
- Woodman, A. J. *Tacitus Reviewed*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.
- Xenophontos, Sophia A. "Plutarch's Compositional Technique in the *An seni respublica gerenda sit*: Clusters vs. Patterns." *AJPh* 133.1 (2012): 61-91.
- . "Imagery and Education in Plutarch." *CPh* 108.2 (2013): 126-138.
- Yoder, Edward. "A Second-Century Classical Scholar." *CJ* 33.5 (1938): 280-294.
- Zanker, Paul. *The Mask of Socrates: The Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity*. Trans. A. Shapiro. Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.
- Zetzel, J. E. G. "Cicero and the Scipionic Circle." *HSCPh* 76 (1972): 173-179.