

Introduction

This article continues on a smaller scale the work of SCARDIGLI.¹ A brief introductory discussion of recent scholarship on the Roman Lives precedes annotated bibliography on each individual biography. Since SCARDIGLI covered the period before 1975 so thoroughly, I have included only works written since that year. Complete bibliographic citations for any works not fully identified in the 'Introduction' appear in the appropriate sections for the individual Lives.

In a recent review,² PELLING correctly hoped for a better balance between the then current scholarly emphasis on source criticism and other investigations. Most scholarship still centers on source criticism, or to put it another way, Plutarch's sources and not Plutarch's work. Nevertheless it is gratifying to note the substantial presence in this bibliography of works ranging well beyond those boundaries.

The Later Tradition. Scholarship on Plutarch's 'Parallel Lives' includes work on source and textual criticism, literary studies, social history, Plutarch's historical and biographical methods, his "Roman context", and some topics suggested by the Lives themselves (the calendar in 'Numa', CLOUD, HOLLEMAN and PICCIRILLI; *phibitiasis* in 'Sulla', AFRICA, KEAVENEY). It is the Roman Lives, however, that are almost always the focus when scholars discuss Plutarch's considerable influence on the later tradition.³ 'Cornelianus', 'Julius Caesar', and 'Mark Antony' have all been examined recently in connection with the eponymous Shakespearean plays (KHVEDELIDZE, YAMADA, and DAWSON and ETMAN, respectively). RUBINSTEIN took a broader view,⁴ and is clearly on to an important concept, since the Roman Lives' influence on the later tradition extends beyond Shakespeare's plays.⁵

Source and Textual Criticism. Most scholarship (a representative sample follows) still falls into this general category. Among other sources

¹ B. SCARDIGLI, *Die Römerbiographien Plutarchs*. Ein Forschungsbericht, München 1979.

² Review by C. B. R. PELLING, *JHS* 72 (1982) pp. 216-217 of B. SCARDIGLI, *Die Römerbiographien Plutarchs*. Ein Forschungsbericht, München 1979.

³ Another distinctive feature of scholarship on the Roman Lives is an understandable preoccupation with prosopography, particularly on the Republican-period Lives.

⁴ N. RUBINSTEIN, *Classical themes in the decoration of the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence*, *JWI* 50 (1987) pp. 29-43. "Plutarch's *De Viris Illustribus* inspired paintings of famous men from antiquity, commissioned in 1385 for the Audience chamber of the Palace of the Signoria. Imitation of Roman models emphasizes Florentine republicanism combined with pride in Florence's Roman past", *CML* 10 (1990) p. 234.

⁵ See V. UGALDE, on the influence of Plutarch's 'Brutus' on QUEVEDO's novel 'Vida de Marco Bruto', P. SPANN on the effect of 'Sertorius' on the drama of CORNEILLE, and G. B. EVANS on the relationship between 'Antony' and DRYDEN's portrayal of Charles II in 'Absalom and Achitophel'; also C. B. R. PELLING's introduction to his 'Life of Antony' (pp. 37-45) and B. SCARDIGLI, 'La Fortuna di Plutarco e le Vite,' included at the beginning of the recent Rizzoli editions of the 'Vite Parallele' (see individual Lives for specifics).

Critical Trends in Plutarch's Roman Lives, 1975-1990

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for the Roman Lives Plutarch used Fabius Pictor (COARELLI, VERBRUGGHE, 'Romulus'), Varro (VALGIGLIO, 'Romulus'; ZECCHINI, 'Fabius Maximus'), Fencstella (DELVAUX, 'Romulus'), Livy (EDLUND, 'Romulus'; CLOUD, 'Numa'; GAGÉ, 'Publicola'; CARAWAN, 'Marcellus'), Pliny (GRILLI, RICHARD, 'Numa'; ALFISI, 'Publicola'; MOIR, 'the Gracchi'), Polybius (EDLUND, 'Philopoimen'), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (PENA, 'Publicola'; BONJOUR, 'Coriolanus'; HARRINGTON, 'Antony'), Cassius Dio (DOI, LINDERSKY, 'Crassus'; HOMEYER, 'Cicero'), Appian (GABBA and SORDI, 'the Gracchi'; KEAVENEY and TWYMAN, 'Sulla'; HOMEYER, 'Cicero'), Cicero (MOLES, 'Crassus'; HUZAR, 'Antony'), Suetonius (DEBRUSSEN, JACKSON, 'Caesar'; BESSONE, 'Galba/Otho'), Sallust (REBUFFAT, 'Sertorius'), Asinius Pollio (PELLING, 'Caesar'), Velleius Paterculus (RICHARDSON, 'the Gracchi'; KEAVENEY, 'Marius'; WARD, 'Caesar'), Pactus (GEIGER, 'Cato Minor'), and Tacitus (JUCKER, PASCHOU, 'Galba/Otho').

Literary Studies. Since his Latin was not good, Plutarch did not cite Roman authors with anything like the frequency of Greek authors. For instance, he cites Horace once, and not in the 'Life of Antony' when it would be such a good touch. This relative lack of contemporary literature in many Roman Lives is one of the things that makes them different somehow from the Greeks, and means that opportunities for literary study are more limited. Still, SWAIN⁶ analyzed Plutarch's technique of character development, GEIGER⁷ his method of selection, BONJOUR his use of feminine symbolism in 'Coriolanus', and DE WET his dramatic presentation of the 'Life of Pompey', specifically how he builds to a dramatic climax, shading his description in such a way as to avoid diminishing it.

Social History. BRENK continued his work on Plutarch and religion in which he examined all the Roman biographies, but particularly 'Antony', 'Pompey', 'Brutus', and 'Caesar'.⁸ Other Lives too were mined for evidence of ancient religious attitudes⁹ as well as the position of women¹⁰ and other family relationships (see BETTINI and FRANCIOSI on the 'Life of Publicola').

Historical/Biographical Method. These studies concerned not only how Plutarch used his sources, but also why he wrote biographies and what

⁶ S. C. R. SWAIN, Character change in Plutarch, *Phoenix* 43 (1989), pp. 62–68 and *Idem*, Plutarch: Chance, providence, and history, *AJPh* 110 (1989), pp. 272–302.

⁷ J. GEIGER, Plutarch's Parallel Lives: the choice of the heroes, *Hermes* 109 (1981), pp. 85–104. Now also see P. DESIDERI, La formazione delle coppie nelle 'Vite' plutarchee, below in this same volume (ANRW II,33,6), pp. 4470–4486.

⁸ See F. E. BRENK, In mist apparelled. Religious themes in Plutarch's *Moralia* and Lives, *Mnemoseyne Supp.* 48, Leiden 1977, and now *Idem*, An imperial heritage: The religious spirit of Plutarch of Chaitroneia, in: ANRW II,36,1, hrsg. v. W. HAASE, Berlin – New York 1987, pp. 249–349.

⁹ ROMULUS (D. BRIQUEL, A. F. GRAFTON and N. M. SWERDLOW, and G. MARTORANA), 'Publicola' (J. GAGÉ), 'Camillus' (L. PICCIRILLI), 'Lucullus' (A. J. HOLLADAY and M. D. GOODMAN), and 'Sulla' (A. KEAVENEY).

¹⁰ 'Numa' (M. GRAS), 'Cato' (R. FIACELIERE), 'the Gracchi' (S. DIXON), 'Lucullus' (S. DIXON), 'Antony' (E. HUZAR), and 'Romulus' (A. PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ). See also F. LE COIS, Plutarque et les Femmes dans les Vies parallèles, Paris 1981.

effect he wished to achieve.¹¹ Individual Lives revealed plenty about Plutarch's methods,¹² but the Comparison has been recognized since the time of ERBE as one of the best places to examine Plutarch's method and technique since it was there that he would be relying least on his many sources.¹³ STADTER followed his examination of the Comparison with a study of the Lives' beginnings¹⁴; GILL, PELLING, and VAN DER VALK examined character development.¹⁵

Roman Context. It is essential to understanding Plutarch and his work that his own, Roman-dominated, but still Greek world be taken into account. PELLING¹⁶ and SWAIN¹⁷ studied Plutarch's "Roman context" from the same perspective as their analyses of the Comparisons (see above, 'Literary Studies'), namely that understanding Plutarch's works is greatly enhanced by understanding Plutarch the individual.

I. 'Romulus'

Editions and Commentaries:

Vidas paralelas, I: Teso – Rómulo, Licurgo – Numa, introd., trad. y notas por A. PÉREZ JIMÉNEZ, Biblioteca Clásica Gredos 77, Madrid 1985.

¹¹ C. B. R. PELLING, Plutarch's method of work in the Roman Lives, *JHS* 99 (1979), pp. 74–96 and *Idem*, Plutarch's adaptation of his source material, *JHS* 100 (1980), pp. 127–139.

¹² For 'Caesar', see C. B. R. PELLING, Plutarch and Canline, *Hermes* 113 (1985), pp. 311–329; see D. LARMOUR for 'Romulus'.

¹³ C. B. R. PELLING, Synkrisis in Plutarch's Lives, in: *Miscellanea Plutarca*, Quaderni del GFF 8, Ferrara 1986, pp. 83–96. P. A. STADTER (Plutarch's comparison of Pericles and Fabius Maximus, *GRBS* [1975] pp. 77–85) and S. C. R. SWAIN (Plutarch's Aemilius and Timoleon, *Historia* 38 [1989] pp. 314–334) both used a single pair of Lives to illustrate Plutarch's techniques of comparison. Cf. D. H. J. LARMOUR, Making Parallels: Synkrisis and Plutarch's 'Themistocles and Camillus', below in this same volume (ANRW II,33,6), pp. 4154–4200 and P. DESIDERI, La formazione delle coppie nelle 'Vite' plutarchee (above n. 7).

¹⁴ P. A. STADTER, The proems of Plutarch's Lives, *ICS* 13 (1988), pp. 275–295.

¹⁵ C. GILL, The question of character development. Plutarch and Tacitus, *CQ* n. s. 33 (1983), pp. 469–487; C. B. R. PELLING, Aspects of Plutarch's characterisation, *ICS* 13 (1988), pp. 257–274; M. VAN DER VALK, Notes on the composition and arrangement of the Biographies of Plutarch, in: *Studi in onore di A. Colonna*, Perugia 1982, pp. 301–337.

¹⁶ C. B. R. PELLING, Roman heroes and Greek culture, in: *Philosophia Togata. Essays on philosophy and Roman society*, ed. by M. GRIFIN and J. BARNES, Oxford 1989, pp. 199–232 and *Idem*, Plutarch and Roman politics, in: *Past Perspectives: Studies in Greek and Roman Historical Writing*, ed. by I. MOXON, J. D. SMART, and A. J. WOODMAN, Cambridge 1986, pp. 159–229.

¹⁷ S. C. R. SWAIN, Plutarch and Rome: Three studies, *Diss. Univ. of Oxford* 1987, and *Idem*, Plutarch's De Fortuna Romanorum, *CQ* n. s. 39 (1989), pp. 504–516. Now also see L. DE BROIS, The Perception of Politics in Plutarch's Roman 'Lives', below in this same volume (ANRW II,33,6), pp. 4568–4615 and J. BUCKLER, Plutarch and Autopsy below in this same volume, pp. 4788–4830.

- Vies, I: Thésée – Romulus, Lycurgue – Numa, texte établi et trad. par R. FLACELIÈRE, E. CHAMBRÉY et M. JUNEUX, Coll. G. Budé, Paris 1957.
- Le Vite di Tesseo e di Romolo, a cura di C. AMPOLO e M. MANFREDINI, Fond. Lorenzo Valla, Milano 1988.
- Bibliography:
- BIANCHI, L., Il magister Servio Tullio, *Aevum* 59 (1985) pp. 57–68.
 – Rom. 2.8 (and other examples): similarities in birth between Servius Tullius, and Romulus and Remus.
- BRENK, F. E., Tarpeia among the Celts. Watery romance from Sinylos to Propertius, in: *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman Hist.*, I, ed. by C. DEROUX, Coll. Latomus 164, Bruxelles 1979, pp. 166–174.
 – Rom. 17.7 – Prop. 4.4.
- BRIQUET, D., Les enfances de Romulus et Rémus, in: *Hommages à R. Schilling*, éd. par H. ZEHACKER et G. HENTZ, Coll. d'et. lat., Sér. scient. 37, Paris 1983, pp. 53–66.
 – Rom. 6 and 8 and the rest of the tradition: characterization of the founders of Rome.
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 – Rom. 20.6–7 and other sources: choice of the city site.
- COARELLI, F., Contributo allo studio del mito dei gemelli fondatori di Roma, *Sileno* 3 (1977) p. 221.
 – Rom. 2: also Diocles, Fabius Pictor, Promathion.
- COARELLI, F., La doppia tradizione sulla morte di Romolo e gli auguracula dell'Arx e del Quirinale, in: *Gli Etruschi e Roma. Incontro di studio in onore di M. Pallottino*, Roma 1981, pp. 173–188.
- DELVAUX, G., L'annaliste Fénéstella et Plutarque, *LEC* 57 (1989) pp. 127–46.
 – Rom. 12.3, 15.7, 16.6.
- EPLUND, I. E. M., Must a king die? The death and disappearance of Romulus, *PP* 39 (1984) pp. 401–408.
 – The apologetic tradition in Livy, Plutarch, and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.
- GRAFTON, A. T. and SWERDLOW, N. M., The horoscope of the foundation of Rome, *CPh* 81 (1986) pp. 148–153.
 – Rom. 12: the date of the foundation of Rome (cf. Solinus 1.18 and John Lydus 1.14).
- HALE, C., Plutarch on Romulus, *Pegasus* 28 (1985) pp. 7–9.
- LARMOUR, D. H. J., Plutarch's compositional methods in the *Theseus* and *Romulus*, *TAPhA* 118 (1988) pp. 361–75.
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 – Rom. 21.
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 – Development of the tradition: 'Romulus', 'Publicola', 'Numa'.

- POUCET, J., Préoccupations érudites dans la tradition du règne de Romulus, *AC* 50 (1981) pp. 664–76.
- PUTNAM, M. C. J., *Romulus tropaeophorus* (Aeneid 6.779–80), *CQ* n. s. 35 (1985) pp. 237–240.
 – Comparison of Rom. 16 with *CIL* 1.1², p. 189.
- TIFFOU, E., Notes sur le personnage de Romulus, in: *L'Italie préromaine et la Rome républicaine. Mélanges offerts à J. Heurgon*, II, Coll. Ét. franç. de Rome 27, Paris 1976, pp. 991–999.
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 – Numa 22 (and Pliny 3.184–87): a question of propaganda.
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 – Num. 18.1–2 on intercalation.

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 LUISI, A., *L'autorità di Catone il Censore nei riti e culti romani* (in margine a Livio 39, 8–20), *Inv.Luc.* 3–4 (1981–1982) pp. 161–186.
 PENA, M. J., *La tumba y los libros de Numa, Faventia 1* (1979) pp. 211–219.
 — Num. 22 and parallel passages: a question of staging.
 PICCIRILLI, L., *Cronologia relativa e fonti delle Vitae Licurgae et Numae di Plutarco*, in: *Studi Manni*, V, Roma 1979, pp. 1751–64.
 RICHARD, J.-C., *Sur les prétendues corporations numaïques: à propos de Plutarque, Num. 17.3, Klio 60* (1978) pp. 423–28.
 — Cf. *Pliny* 34.1.
 ROSEN, K., *Die falschen Numabücher*, *Polinik, Religion und Literatur in Rom 181 v. Chr.*, *Chiron 15* (1985) pp. 65–90.
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III. 'Publicola'

Editions and Commentaries:

- Vies*, II: Solon—Publicola, Thémistocle—Camille, texte établi et trad. par R. FLACELIÈRE, E. CHAMBRY et M. JUNEUX, Coll. G. Bude, Paris 1961.

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 ALFANI, E., *Le fonti dei censimenti romani in Plutarco e in Plinio*, *CSDIR 6* (1974) pp. 9–29.
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 — *Consulships of Publicola: 509, 508, 505 and 504.*
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 — Publ. 8–10: Publicola's connection with the goddess *Vicia Pota*.
 GAGÉ, J., *Vindicius en face des lieutenants consulaires*, *RD 55* (1977) pp. 613–625.
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IV. 'Coriolanus'

Editions and Commentaries:

- Vies*, III: *Périclès—Fabius Maximus. Alcibiade—Coriolan*, texte établi et trad. par R. FLACELIÈRE et E. CHAMBRY, Coll. G. Bude, Paris 1964.
Le vite di Alcibiade e di Coriolano, a cura di M. MANFREDINI e D. MUSTI, Fond. Lorenzo Valla, Milano 1983.
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 — 'Focuses on three of the Roman plays – Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra, and Coriolanus – and their main source, Plutarch, with which they share an interest in character. Shakespeare's interest in Rome itself, and the playwright's importance in moulding our ideas about the Roman world,' *CML 8* (1988) p. 192.
 BONJOUR, M., *Les personnages féminins et la terre natale dans l'épisode de Coriolan* (*Liv.* 2.40), *REL 53* (1975) pp. 157–181.
 — Cor. 33 ff. (*Livy* and *Dion. Hal.*): feminine figures symbolizing the native land.
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V. 'Camillus'

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- Vies*, II: Solon—Publicola, Thémistocle—Camille, texte établi et trad. par R. FLACELIÈRE, E. CHAMBRY et M. JUNEUX, Coll. G. Bude, Paris 1957.
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 — Major themes: relationship between Camillus and Mater Matuta.
 PICCIRILLI, L., *La componente alba di M. Furio Camillo*, *CCC 1* (1980) pp. 95–107.
 — On the tradition of Lucius Albinus, religious expert.

- RODRIGUEZ-ENNES, L., Realidad histórica y elementos legendarios en la 'seditio manliana', in: *Sodalitas*. Scritti in onore di Antonio Guarino, I, Biblioteca di Labeo VIII, I, Napoli 1984, pp. 35–74.
 — *Cam.* 27 and 36; trustworthiness of the tradition.

VI. *Fabius Maximus*

Editions and Commentaries:

- Vies, III: Pericles – Fabius Maximus. Alcibiade – Coriolan, texte établi et trad. par R. FLACELIÈRE et É. CHAMBRY, coll. G. Budé, Paris 1964.
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XX. 'Cato Minor'

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