

5

Sullan and Augustan historiography
Claudius Quadrigarius and Livy

The Texts:

Q. Claudius Quadrigarius (Sullan period)¹

... cum interim Gallus quidam nudus praeter scutum et gladios duos torque atque armillis decoratus processit, qui et viribus et magnitudine et adulescentia simulque virtute ceteris antistabat. is maxime proelio commoto atque utrisque summo studio pugnantibus manu significare coepit utrisque, quiescerent. pugnae facta pausa est. extemplo silentio facto cum voce maxima conclamat, si quis secum depugnare vellet, uti prodiret. nemo audebat propter magnitudinem atque inmanitatem facies. deinde Gallus inridere coepit atque linguam exertare. id subito perdoluit est cuidam Tito Manlio, summo genere gnato, tantum flagitium civitati accidere, e tanto exercitu neminem prodire. is, ut dico, processit neque passus est virtutem Romanam ab Gallo turpiter spoliari. scuto pedestri et gladio Hispanico cinctus contra Gallum constitit. metu magno ea congressio in ipso ponti utroque exercitu inspectante facta est. ita, ut ante dixi, constituerunt: Gallus sua disciplina scuto proiecto cantabundus; Manlius, animo magis quam arte confisus, scuto scutum percussit atque statum Galli conturbavit. dum se Gallus iterum eodem pacto constituere studet, Manlius iterum scuto scutum percutit atque de loco hominem iterum deiecit; eo pacto ei sub Gallicum gladium successit atque Hispanico pectus hausit; deinde continuo umerum dextrum eodem concessu incidit neque recessit usquam, donec subvertit, ne Gallus impetum icti haberet. ubi eum evertit, caput praecidit, torquem detraxit eamque sanguinolentam sibi in collum inponit. quo ex facto ipse posterique eius Torquati sunt cognominati.

¹ Fr. 10b, pp.207-210, Peter² = Gellius 9,13,7-19. On the character of later annalistic writing and on Claudius Quadrigarius in particular cf. E. Badian *Latin Historians* (London 1966) pp.18-20 and D. Timpe 'Erwägungen zur jüngeren Annalistik' *Antike und Abendland* 25 (1979) pp.97-119. On the development of the portrait in Roman historiography cf. M. Rambaud 'Recherches sur le portrait dans l'historiographie romaine' *Les Etudes Classiques* 38 (1970) pp.417-447 and W. Richter 'Charakterzeichnung und Regie bei Livius' in: E. Lefèvre-E. Olshausen (edd.) *Livius. Werk und Rezeption. Festschrift für E. Burck zum 80. Geburtstag* (Munich 1983) pp.59-80.

(...) when in the meantime a Gaul came forward, naked² except for a shield and two swords, and adorned with necklet and bracelets, who surpassed the rest in strength, size, youthful energy and manly virtue. As the battle was just at its height and both parties fought most heatedly, he began to signal with his hand to both that they should stop. The fighting was interrupted. After all was quiet, he at once shouts with a very loud voice that if anyone wants to fight it out with him, he should come forward. No one dared to on account of his enormous size and his barbaric appearance. Then the Gaul began to scoff and to stick out his tongue. Suddenly that cut to the quick a certain T. Manlius, who was of very noble family, to think that such dishonour should befall the citizenry, and that nobody should come forward from so big an army. As was said, he stepped forward and did not allow Roman bravery to be shamefully compromised by a Gaul. Girt with an infantry shield and Spanish sword, he confronted the Gaul. Accompanied by general anxiety, the encounter took place on the middle of the bridge before the eyes of both armies. They took their stands thus, as I have said already: the Gaul, as he had been taught, held his shield out in front and sang; Manlius relied more on his courage than on his training, struck shield against shield, and upset the Gaul's stance. While the Gaul is trying to take up his stand as before, Manlius again strikes shield against shield, and drives the man once more from his position. In this way he slipped under his opponent's Gallic sword and with his Spanish one cut open his chest. Then with the same stroke he immediately pierced his right shoulder and did not yield an inch, until he had brought him down, so the Gaul had no chance to strike a blow. As soon as he had laid him flat, he cut off his head, pulled the necklet off, and put the bloody spoil around his neck. On this account he and his descendants obtained the surname Torquatus.

Livy³ (59 B.C.-17 A.D.)

Dictator cum tumultus Gallici causa iustitium edixisset, omnes iuniores sacramento adegit ingentique exercitu ab urbe profectus in citeriore ripa Anienis castra posuit. pons in medio erat, neutris rumpentibus ne timoris indicium esset. proelia de occupando ponte crebra erant, nec qui potirentur incertis viribus satis discerni poterat. tum eximia corporis magnitudine in vacuum pontem Gallus processit et quantum maxima voce potuit 'quem nunc' inquit 'Roma virum fortissimum habet, procedat aedum ad pugnam, ut noster duorum eventus ostendat utra gens bello sit melior.' diu inter primores iuvenum⁴ Romanorum

² I.e. without armour.

³ 7,9,6 - 7,10,14. Text of C.F. Walters and R.S. Conway, vol. 2 (Oxford 1919); concordance by D.W. Packard *A Concordance to Livy* 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass. 1968).

⁴ On Livy's treatment of the *iuventus* as a warrior caste of the same age-group in archaic society cf. J.P. Néraudeau 'L'exploit de Titus Manlius Torquatus (Tite-Live 7,9,6-10). Réflexion sur la 'iuventus' archaïque chez Tite-Live' in: *Mélanges offerts à J. Heurgon* (Paris 1976) II pp.685-694.

silentium fuit, cum et abnuere certamen vererentur et praecipuam sortem periculi petere nollent; tum T. Manlius L. filius, qui patrem a vexatione tribunicia vindicaverat, ex statione ad dictatorem pergit; 'iniussu tuo' inquit, 'imperator, extra ordinem numquam pugnaverim, non si certam victoriam videam: si tu permittis, volo ego illi beluae ostendere, quando adeo ferox praesultat hostium signis, me ex ea familia ortum quae Gallorum agmen ex rupe Tarpeia deiecit.' tum dictator 'macte virtute' inquit 'ac pietate in patrem patriamque, T. Manli, esto. perge et nomen Romanum invictum iuvantibus dis praesta.' armant inde iuvenem aequales; pedestre scutum capit, Hispano cingitur gladio ad propiorem habili pugnam. armatum adornatumque adversus Gallum stolide laetum et – quoniam id quoque memoria dignum antiquis visum est – linguam etiam ab inrisu exserentem producunt. recipiunt inde se ad stationem; et duo in medio armati spectaculi magis more quam lege belli destituuntur, nequaquam visu ac specie aestimantibus pares. corpus alteri magnitudine eximium, versicolori veste pictisque et auro caelatis refulgens armis; media in altero militaris statura modicaque in armis habilibus magis quam decoris species; non cantus, non exsultatio armorumque agitatio vana sed pectus animorum iraeque tacitae plenum; omnem ferociam in discrimen ipsum certaminis distulerat. ubi constitere inter duas acies tot circa mortalium animis spe metuque pendentibus, Gallus velut moles superne imminens proiecto laeva scuto in advenientis arma hostis vanum caesim cum ingenti sonitu ense deiecit; Romanus mucrone subrecto, cum scuto scutum inum perculisset totoque corpore interior periculo volneris factus insinuasit se inter corpus armaque, uno alteroque subinde ictu ventrem atque inguina hausit⁵ et in spatium ingens ruentem porrexit hostem. iacentis inde corpus ab omni alia vexatione intactum uno torque spoliavit, quem respersum cruore collo circumdedit suo. defixerat pavor cum admiratione Gallos: Romani alacres ab statione obviam militi suo progressi, gratulantes laudantesque ad dictatorem perducunt. inter carminum prope modo incondita quaedam militariter ioculantes Torquati cognomen auditum; celebratum deinde posteris etiam familiae honori fuit. dictator coronam auream addidit donum mirisque pro contione eam pugnam laudibus tulit.

When on account of the Gallic onset the dictator had ordered a stop to the administration of justice, he made all those capable of bearing arms swear

⁵ W.D. Lebek *Verba prisca. Die Anfänge des Archaisierens in der lateinischen Beredsamkeit und Geschichtsschreibung* Hypomnemata 25 (Göttingen 1970 [Diss. Cologne 1964]) p.235 supposes that Livy was following Claudius Quadrigarius in choosing this expression.

the oath of allegiance, left the city with a mighty army, and set up camp on the bank on this side of the Anio. In the middle stood a bridge, which neither side demolished, so as to show no signs of fear. Numerous battles were fought for possession of the bridge and, as the relative strengths were uncertain, there was no way of telling who would take control of it. At that point a Gaul of unusual size stepped onto the unoccupied bridge and shouted as loud as he could: 'Come on then! The bravest man that Rome can now boast, let him come out to battle, so that the outcome of our duel may show which nation is better in war.' For long there was silence among the best of the Roman troops, since they were afraid to refuse the trial of strength and at the same time did not want to plunge themselves of their own accord into an exceedingly dangerous fate. Finally T. Manlius, son of Lucius, who had freed his father from the harassment of a tribune,⁶ goes from his post to the dictator. 'Commander', he says, 'without your order I should never wish to fight out of turn, even if I saw certain victory before me. If you permit, I want to show that monster, since it dances about so defiantly before the enemy standards, that I come from a family which threw the army of the Gauls down the Tarpeian rock.' To this the dictator replied: 'All credit to you for your bravery and sense of duty towards father and fatherland, T. Manlius. Go on and prove with the gods' help that what bears the name of Rome is invincible.' Then the other young men arm the youthful hero. He takes an infantry shield and girds himself with a Spanish sword well-suited for close combat. In full military dress they take him out to meet the Gaul, who foolishly exults and (since to the ancients this too seemed worthy of mention) even sticks out his tongue in mockery. Then they withdraw to their post and the two armed men remain alone in the middle, more in the manner of a public spectacle than of war. To the critical eyes of the spectators, they presented a very different sight. One was of unusually large physique, and resplendent with multi-coloured garment and painted weapons worked in gold. The other was of moderate size like a true soldier, and his weapons, being more practical than pretty, imparted only modest splendour to his appearance. Here was no singing, no dancing, no vain shaking of weapons, but a breast full of courage and silent anger. He had saved up all his wild defiance for the decisive combat itself. As soon as they had taken their places between the two fronts, while round about so many human hearts hovered between fear and hope, the Gaul pushed his shield forward with his left hand and, like a rock that tilts over, let a futile sword stroke come slashing down with a mighty crash on the armour of the approaching enemy. The Roman raised his dagger, struck his shield against the bottommost edge of the Gaul's shield, and, at great risk of being wounded, slipped with his whole body into the space between the enemy's body and his armour, then, striking repeatedly, he cut open his belly and loins, and brought down the enemy, who fell full length to the ground. He left the fallen corpse otherwise untouched, and robbed it only of the necklet, which he put, still blood-spattered, round his neck. Horror and admiration rooted the Gauls to the spot. The Romans came joyfully from their posts to meet their hero, shower him with congratulations and praise, and bring him to the dictator. Among

⁶ Cf. Liv. 7.4.

his comrades, who in soldier fashion came out with some rough and joking songs, was heard the name Torquatus. Thereafter it spread to his descendants as well and brought honour to the family. The dictator added the gift of a golden crown and praised the combat in the highest terms before the assembly.

A. Comparison of content

What are the features of Claudius Quadrigarius' narrative that do not recur in Livy? As Livy's account is on the whole more detailed, the omissions are all the more significant. The Gaul is not made to appear naked, but dressed in a colourful garment. Livy not only omits the beheading, but goes out of his way to stress that Manlius left the enemy untouched.⁷ Other primitive features are slightly modified: with Livy, sticking the tongue out requires an apologetic rider. He is also less explicit in stating that the hesitation of the Romans on being challenged was a disgrace to the citizen-body. We shall meet similar aesthetic and ethical considerations when dealing with Livy's additions.

He simplifies the description of the fight: Manlius uses his trick only once and not twice. As a result there is room for a futile sword thrust by the Gaul; however we lose Quadrigarius' careful contrast between the Gaul's acquired behaviour-pattern with its stereotype repetitiveness (*sua disciplina*) and the Roman's courage and creative presence of mind. We shall see next what Livy puts in place of this interpretation.

What does Livy add?⁸ His most important addition is a whole

⁷ That the necklet is nonetheless blood-spattered should not be taken too seriously, even though Livy only speaks of injuries to the lower part of the body. It is however typical.

⁸ Even if Livy is in part following another tradition here, the decision not to use Claudius would be characteristic of his approach, since he uses him often elsewhere. For use of another source see B. Sypniewska 'De Claudii Quadrigarii fragmentis ab A. Gellio traditis quaestiones selectae' in: *Charisteria Casimiro de Morawski* (Cracow 1922) pp.149-179, esp. 177ff.; M. Zimmerer *Der Annalist Qu. Claudius Quadrigarius* (Diss. Munich 1937) p.142 n.37; A. Klotz *PhW* 43 (1923) p.1035; K. Büchner *Römische Literaturgeschichte* (Stuttgart 1957) p.363 (= K. Büchner 'Interpretation' in: E. Burck [ed.] *Wege zu Livius Wege d. Forschung* 132 [Darmstadt 1967] p.380); and Néraudau p.685. However P.G. Walsh *Livy* (Cambridge 1961) pp.71, 151, 187 etc. ascribes the divergencies from Claudius without hesitation to Livy. As well as being more economical, this hypothesis is in the present case perfectly in keeping with Livy's attitude. The stylistic comparison that concerns us here is in any case independent of the question of sources. For a brief discussion of our texts see R. Heinze *Die Augusteische Kultur* (Leipzig 1933²; repr. Darmstadt 1960) pp.97-102 (= R. Heinze

scene. Whereas in Claudius the hero's decision is followed immediately by his stepping forward and by the duel, Livy inserts the question to the superior and his good wishes. In regard to content, Roman *disciplina* is thereby exemplified, and at the same time the act of the individual is formally designated as a vicarious feat on behalf of everyone, and furthermore as a demonstration of the divine care which makes Rome invincible. The formal significance of this inserted scene will be discussed later.

However Livy places yet another scene before the duel: the arming of the hero by the other young men. This 'dramatic chorus' then accompanies him onto the battle-ground also, which is explicitly compared to a stage. There is further picturesque action by this group at the end of the combat. Livy thus aims on the one hand at greater tension through retardation, and on the other at dramatic vividness⁹ by inclusion of animated groups.

Claudius had already captured the oppressive atmosphere before the fight by speaking of the spectators' anxiety. Livy adds hope to anxiety, and so elevates the fear into a state of expectant suspense. First however he compares the appearance of the two heroes; this too is done from the spectators' viewpoint (*aestimantibus*). By setting the noisy barbarian¹⁰ against the silently determined representative of the civilized nation, this *synkrisis* follows an epic topos that ultimately goes back to the start of the third book of the *Iliad*. In it Livy turns all externalities into a mirror of inward character: size, colourful garment and shining armour on one side, and on the other the average stature of a soldier and practical weapons. Whereas Claudius had drawn a comparison in terms of national psychology

'Interpretation' in: *Wege zu Livius* pp.378-379); K. Büchner *Röm. Literaturgesch.* pp.361-365 (= *Wege zu Livius* pp.380-382); A.D. Leeman *Orationis ratio* I pp.80-81; W. Richter (cited above n.1) pp.59-80. The present writer's lectures prompted a book by his student W. Schibel: *Sprachbehandlung u. Darstellungsweise in röm. Prosa: Claud. Quadr., Liv., A. Gellius* (Amsterdam 1971).

⁹ I. Borzsák 'Spectaculum. Ein Motiv der tragischen Geschichtsschreibung bei Livius und Tacitus' *Acta Classica Debrecen* 9 (1973) p.60 calls the passage from Livy in comparison to Claudius Quadrigarius 'a vivid spectaculum that is in every respect more rounded and convincing'. In addition he notes that Livy himself draws attention to the theatrical quality of the duel (10,6 *duo in medio armati spectaculi magis more, quam lege belli destituuntur*). P. Steinmetz 'Eine Darstellungsform des Livius' *Gymnasium* 79 (1972) pp.191-208 calls this kind of account 'picture-description' (200), and again 'description of a clearly visualized picture' (204). From a different angle J.P. Néraudau (cited above n.4) investigates Livy's tendency to create stereotypes.

¹⁰ Cf. also *belua* in Manlius' speech. The description of the enemy as a monster occurs only in the speeches of the first decade and is characteristically also absent from Claudius Quadrigarius; cf. B. Laggner *Untersuchungen zur Topologie in den Reden der ersten und dritten Dekade des livianischen Geschichtswerkes* (Diss. Graz 1972) p.21.

by confronting stereotype reactions with versatility and determination, Livy replaces this with an ethical approach that centres on the checking of passion and the greater concentration of strength resulting from it (*ferox*¹¹ is said of the Gaul, *ferociam distulerat* about the Roman). The consequent gain in typological significance is offset by a loss in detailed observation.

In Livy the fight itself is an encounter between two principles. Accordingly there is a strictly parallel arrangement with first a tremendous reverse for the Gaul, set off in epic manner by a simile, and then Manlius' victorious counter-attack. At this point the hero is significantly just called *Romanus*. By letting the Gaul attack first, Livy underlines the Roman's correctness; on the other hand Claudius' remark *animo magis quam arte confisus* will have struck him as putting too much emphasis on Manlius' lack of training. Livy has separated the actual comparison from the description of the fight; yet even the description is used to give sharper focus to a contrast he has raised to typological proportions.

The characteristic feature of Livy's account is that he subsumes all elements into the action and allows them to develop out of it.¹² The basic ideas that concern him are often introduced indirectly by being put into the mouths of his heroes or reflected in the spectators' minds. Accordingly he makes the name Torquatus come from the joking songs of the comrades that escort Manlius, while Quadrigarius is satisfied with just a dry statement. Fuller involvement of the dictator and the hero's companions invests the action with a deeper human interest. The highest authority in the state is consulted prior to the exploit, and also at the end it is the dictator who rewards Manlius and praises him.¹³

Concern for a smoothly flowing narrative, such as we note for example in the actions of the 'chorus', is combined with a technique of retardation and of building up tension over long stretches. Livy's

¹¹ On *ferox* and *ferocia* cf. J.H. Michel 'La folie avant Foucault; furor et ferocia' *Antiquité Classique* 50 (1981) pp.517-525, esp. 522ff.

¹² He also refers to a heroic exploit of Manlius related a little earlier (cf. 7.4). In Manlius' speech before the dictator a historical exemplum is brought into play: that of Manlius Capitolinus. Claudius' general reference to nobility (*summo genere gnatus*) is significantly turned by Livy into a vivid visualization. An instructive comparison with the account of Valerius Antias is made by T. Köves-Zulauf 'Zweikampfdarstellungen in der römischen Annalistik' in: *Actes du VIIe Congrès de la FIEC* 1 (Budapest 1983; publ. 1984) pp.447-451.

¹³ Richter p.71 and n.37 thinks that reward and decoration with a golden crown are Livy's own invention, although even he has to admit that both are normal practice as a concluding official act.

streamlining of the actual description of the fight is one aspect of his artistic curtailment of those elements that are interesting only from a material point of view.

B. Comparison of language and style

1. Claudius Quadrigarius

At first sight Quadrigarius' account seems very simple. Clauses are connected by means of demonstratives, relatives and parataxis, insofar as there is any connection at all. Word order is largely fixed: the sentence gets its unity from the initial position of the subject and the final position of the predicate. Dependent clauses that are subordinated to each other follow one another on the same principle as in official and legal language.¹⁴ On the other hand Quadrigarius is able to detach particular elements that he thinks important from the overall sentence and put them in front of the subject or after the predicate. This sets them off as independent units. In accordance with a familiar law of psychology, the unity of each sentence or separate section is underlined by the important words at the first and last positions in it, and at the centre as well with longer structures. Claudius sets himself relatively narrow limits: on the one hand the final position of the verb, and on the other the need for analytic linearity in order to avoid confusion in longer sentences. Yet within these limitations he succeeds in making the most natural word order also the one that is most convincing artistically.

The choice of vocabulary is appropriate and exact, and yet free of coarseness. One notes an unobtrusive concern with variation:¹⁵ *proelio – pugnantibus – pugnae – depugnare – congressio; conturbavit – subvertit – evertit; disciplina – ars*. Where exactly the same event is repeated, there is at least a change of tense (*percussit – percutit*).

Claudius goes beyond purely factual reporting and highlights emotion through initial position. In an explanatory addition he pays tribute to Manlius' exploit as a vindication of Roman *virtus*. Through further abstracts he underlines the differences between the acquired behaviour-pattern of the Gaul and the Roman's courage and creative presence of mind. The abstracts used in this connection throw light on each other thanks to antithesis (*sua disciplina – animo magis quam*

¹⁴ *Siquis secum depugnare vellet, uti prodiret.*

¹⁵ On the other hand the repeated *facta est* and *facto* (K. Büchner *Römische Literaturgeschichte* p.361) is not significant.

arte confisus) and make a discreet contribution to the author's personal interpretation.

Slight traces of an oral¹⁶ style are to be found in the parenthetical expressions already mentioned: *ut dico; ut ante dixi*. We know that previous scholarship was wrong to regard these as a mark of inelegance; on the contrary they are used in a structurally significant way¹⁷ to create hyperbaton.¹⁸ Archaic elements are also present in our text (cf. the accusative *duo*, the genitive *facies*, the ablative *ponti* and the genitive *icti*, the formation *cantabundus*, the construction of *quiescerent* without *ut* and the ethical dative *ei sub ... gladium successit*).¹⁹ Yet the overall impression is not one of deliberate archaizing. Nor have the 'poetical' features, which were heavily stressed by Wölfflin,²⁰ decisively affected the general tone (on *scuto scutum percussit* cf. note 11; on *pectus hausit*²¹ cf. Homer *Iliad* 14,517; there is also an epic ring to *summo genere gnatus* with its alliterative²² stress on the etymological relationship). The frequency of *atque*,²³ which was already preferred by Cato in elevated passages, is clear evidence that this is the language of historiography.

There are few 'rhetorical' devices in our text. We do however find

¹⁶ On 'oral' features in Claudius Quadrigarius cf. E. Wölfflin 'Die Sprache des Claudius Quadrigarius' *Archiv für lat. Lexikogr.* 15 (1908) pp.10-22, esp. 11. While Wölfflin recognizes (as he failed to do with Sallust) that here the historian is not writing in a deliberately 'vulgar' manner, he still does not distinguish clearly enough between *genus tenue* and features belonging to the 'elevated' style like *scuto scutum percussit*. This expression belongs to the sphere of the 'solemn oral style' that we have characterized on several occasions already.

¹⁷ A one-sided view in Norden I p.176: 'generally quite artless style'; similarly J. Marouzeau *RPh* 45 (1921) p.160.

¹⁸ *is, ut dico, processit* (hyperbaton in an important clause). So with *ita, ut ante dixi, constituerunt*.

¹⁹ On the archaisms in Claudius Quadrigarius cf. Wölfflin pp.12-15 and (better) Zimmerer pp.90-104. Lebek pp.238f. is (rightly) sceptical. There is also an archaic flavour to the use of the compound in the same sense as the uncompounded form (*conclamare* of one person); the same is true of the rather ponderous way of expressing temporal relationships: *cum interim; deinde continuo* (however we should not follow Zimmerer p.111 in speaking of 'tautology' here). The abl. abs. *utrisque pugnantibus* despite the subsequent dat. *utrisque* is also noteworthy. (The use of dative predicative participles is not very popular in prose before Cicero).

²⁰ Loc. cit. passim.

²¹ Cf. the passages quoted in Brink *ThLL* 6,3,14 (1938) 2573,61-2574,2, where the examples that all come from elevated prose and poetry are oddly ascribed to *sermo castrensis*. Nearer the truth is P. Maas *Archiv für lat. Lexikogr.* 12 (1902) p.546, although he gives no examples. On origin and use of the word cf. E. Pianezzola 'Haurio = ferio, perfodio. Un calco omerico mediato dagli scolii' in: *Scritti in onore di C. Diano* (Bologna 1975) pp.311-323 and Lebek pp.235f.

²² Cf. also in our text *concessu incidit neque recessit*.

²³ Cf. n.55.

the beginnings of an antithetic parallelism between the two heroes,²⁴ although the second element here is surprisingly continued as an independent sentence. The contrast too between 'Gallic' and 'Spanish' sword is not unintended, even though it will have sounded less artificial to a Roman than to us.²⁵ The unobtrusiveness of rhetoric in our text is also evidenced by the repetition of words from a preceding sentence, as in *donec subvertit - ubi eum evertit, or neminem prodire - is ... processit*; the device is close to *traductio (plokē)*. It should be noted how Quadrigarius tries to temper the archaic heaviness of the repetition through slight variation.

The overall impression is of a style that does not aspire to exclusive detachment from ordinary language, but attempts to combine dignity with lucidity and correct usage; given the stage of development that prose had then reached, this was a considerable achievement.²⁶ The pursuit of *gravitas* is seen for example in the absolute use of *quiescerent*.²⁷ Striking evidence for the combination of power and perspicuity is provided by the sentence structure we have identified: this is both self-contained and at the same time sets off the emphatic parts. While it is true that Claudius' narrative technique is linear and one-track, he still has a feeling for effective construction; thus he is able to accentuate dramatic moments by making the sentences especially short.²⁸ Klotz²⁹ notes that Quadrigarius postpones mention of certain external facts until they are relevant for the narrative. In our text this is the case with the retrospective statement in the ablative absolute that in the meantime the battle had progressed considerably. Similarly the bridge is only mentioned before the duel, and not when the Gaul first appears.³⁰ The concern with national and

²⁴ *Gallus sua disciplina scuto proiecto cantabundus; Manlius, animo magis quam arte confisus*.

²⁵ *Sub Gallicum gladium successit atque Hispanico pectus hausit*.

²⁶ The characterizations in Gellius are one-sided (13,29,2 *vir modesti atque puri ac prope cotidiani sermonis* and 9,13,4 *purissime atque inlustrissime simpliciter et incompta orationis antiquae suavitate*). The artistry is underestimated by P.T. Eden *Glotta* 40 (1962) pp.78-81. The 'strong formal interest' is rightly stressed by Zimmerer p.87. Borzsák p.60 emphasizes the 'unkemptness' of his style and sees in this not so much the artistic aims of Hellenistic historiography as the primitive reality of old Rome.

²⁷ Zimmerer p.109.

²⁸ E.g. *pugnae facta pausa est*. A certain expertise in the build-up of tension is also commended by W. Richter (cited above p.69 n.6) pp.772f. He also notices that Quadrigarius has moved a long way from Cato in the direction of *sermo purus*.

²⁹ 'Der Annalist Q. Claudius Quadrigarius' *RhM* 91 (1942) pp.268-285, esp. 269.

³⁰ The fact remains striking, even if the bridge was mentioned before the start of our text.

mass psychology also reveals a literary purpose.³¹

2. Livy

On a linguistic and stylistic level the text of Livy is rich and many-sided. In vocabulary and expression we note repeatedly how he refines or tones down his source. The drastic *linguam exertare* is replaced by just *linguam exserere* (and is further modified by an apologetic parenthesis added in advance).³² The young Romans' reluctance to expose themselves to danger is expressed in a discreet but rather artificial periphrasis: *praecipuam sortem periculi petere nollent*. A certain remoteness from everyday language is also to be observed in a vexatione *tribunicia* ('from harassment by a tribune of the people'). It is also in keeping with Livy's detached manner to use a noun phrase to sum up a situation: *exsultatio armorumque agitatio*.

However detachment and restraint are only one side of Livy's vocabulary. His efforts to achieve lively visualization on the other hand often bring him close to poetry. Thus *praesultare* is given in the dictionaries as occurring only in our passage. The poetic value of *pectus* and *mortales* has already been discussed in our chapter on Sallust.³³ The opening recalls epic: *pons in medio erat*;³⁴ the comparison of the Gaul to an overhanging rock has the same effect.³⁵ Two other features that bring to mind the liveliness of epic are the large number of direct speeches in Livy (these are completely absent in the Claudius passage), and the effort to achieve continuity in the narrative (here we should mention the accompanying role of the comrades before and after the battle, and above all the arming scene).³⁶ While the rather abundant expression *discrimen ipsum certaminis* suits the style of writing described above, in which noun

³¹ In *exornatio* Quadrigarius advanced beyond Valerius Antias according to Klotz p.269. There is no satisfactory treatment in Norden and Marouzeau (cited above p.94 n.17). Striking in this connection is the altogether favourable depiction of the enemy Gaul. The negative aspect of the noun *adulescentia* is avoided by the close connection with *virtus*, and all other unfavourable characteristics in the Gaul are absent; cf. Richter (cited n.1) p.65 and n.20.

³² See Lebek p.234 on *linguam exertare* and *linguam exserere*. The archaic *cum voce maxima* is also corrected: A.H. McDonald 'The Style of Livy' *JRS* 47 (1957) pp.155-172, esp. 168.

³³ See above pp.68ff.

³⁴ See the present writer's *Die Parenthese in Ovids Metamorphosen und ihre dichterische Funktion* Spudasmata 7 (Hildesheim 1964) p.182 with nn.225 and 226.

³⁵ Vergil uses *moles* of Polyphemus *Aen.* 3,656f.; for the rock in epic similes cf. *Aen.* 7, 586-590, *Iliad* 15,618-621.

³⁶ On the attempt to achieve epic continuity cf. F. Mehmel *Virgil und Apollonius Rhodius* Hamburger Arbeiten 1 (1940).

phrases are used to achieve detachment, it does also have an epic root, cf. e.g. *Iliad* 6,346 ἀνέμοιο θύελλα.³⁷

A further constituent of the elevated style are archaic devices such as duplication³⁸ (*armatum adornatumque*), religious formulae (*macte ... esto; iuvantibus dis*), and alliteration³⁹ (*pietate in patrem patriamque*); Livy uses this last one impressively, but not to excess.

Livy also has examples of the old-established use of *tractio* to combine sentences (*armant - armatum*). However he uses this device to achieve a special effect, because it no longer connects the next sentence, but the next but one. This very obvious method of connection is thus given a functional application as a bridge over inserted material.⁴⁰ The device can be varied by using a word with related meaning instead of a simple repetition: *porrexit - iacentis*. In this way Livy gives an impression of familiarity and novelty at the same time.

Livy's strong interest in moral philosophy is reflected in his vocabulary. The Gaul's impulsive behaviour is indicated by the adjective *ferox* and the ἀπαξ λεγόμενον *praesultat*. On the other hand the rationally controlled restraint of the Roman is expressed through transformation of the same words into nouns: *non exsultatio ...; omnem ferociam ... distulerat*. The choice of language reflects the achievement of an inner detachment.

Claudius had mentioned *virtus*; to this Livy adds the further term *pietas* and also the idea of Roman *disciplina* and *clementia*. The fact that these last two words are not actually used and that *pietas* and *virtus* occur only in direct speech (in the mouth of the dictator) is an indication that for all his anthropological and ethical interpretation Livy still tries to express as little as possible in abstract terms and as much as possible through real action. In Claudius *virtus* had been attributed, not just to the Romans, but also to the Gaul in the sense of 'manly strength' along with *vires* and *adulescentia*; Livy however restricts *virtus* to the Romans and attempts to give it a moral basis in

³⁷ *Bello melior* and related expressions belong to the elevated language of poetry and historiography; cf. E. Skard (cited above p.70 n.8) p.25, and also *ThLL* 2,9 (1906) 2098,2ff. (Sinko). On the basis of Lucilius 972 *bello bonus* (with alliteration; on this see Marx), Sall. *Iug.* 13,2 *bello melior* and repeated instances in Vergil, can we point to Ennius?

³⁸ Cf. also *gratulantes laudantesque*. On the accumulation of participles see Enn. *ann.* 103 V., Naev. 5 Str. Initially, prose is reluctant to accumulate present participles.

³⁹ Cf. also *armatum adornatumque; versicolori veste; armorumque agitatio; adventantis arma* (here the alliterative words are artificially juxtaposed; so with *spectaculi magis more; respersum cruore collo circumdedit*).

⁴⁰ Similarly (towards the end of the text) *ad dictatorem ... dictator*.

discipline, curbing of passion before the fight, and moderation in victory.

The dictator and the gods also play a new role in Livy. In Quadrigarius they had remained right in the background. He was concerned with narrative and only occasionally offered an interpretation, and then in abstract terms. Livy tries through his account to let the action interpret itself. Many of the features of his vocabulary that we have dealt with are ultimately related to this endeavour.

Let us now turn to word order. Livy goes further than Claudius in isolating important parts of the sentence: *tum eximia corporis magnitudine in vacuo pontem Gallus⁴¹ processit*. Here we have initial position of both the emphatic element and within it of the expressive adjective. And the same thing happens in final position: *utra gens bello sit melior*. Similarly emphasis (and nobility of expression) is the aim when normal word order is reversed in the terms used for the weapons: *pædestre scutum; Hispano ... gladio*.⁴²

Self-contained structures are created when the main idea encloses the reasoning behind it, which is given in the ablative: *nec qui poterentur incertis viribus satis discerni poterat*. In Livy as in Cicero, stress on the penultimate position in the sentence can produce 'fading' conclusions, that contribute to the peaceful tone of the narrative.⁴³ If beginning and end are accentuated, this kind of word order is often combined with asyndetic sentence connection: *proelia ... crebra; diu ... silentium*. In other cases there is a meeting of analogous or contrasting words where sentences join; so for example *auditum; celebratum*, or the two contrasting movements of the 'chorus' *producunt; recipiunt ... sese*. In what follows, the way sentences are connected will help us to appreciate the narrative structure.⁴⁴

⁴¹ On Livy's practice in putting the subject late in the sentence see L. Kühnast *Die Hauptpunkte der livianischen Syntax* (Berlin 1872) pp. 310f.

⁴² The normal order occurs e.g. 6,8,6 *scuto pedestri*; cf. 43,6,6 *scuta equestria*; 31,34,4; 38,21,13 *gladio Hispaniensi*. The initial position is naturally justified, if the particular type of weapon needs to be stressed. As there is going to be a hand-to-hand combat, this is the case with *Hispano gladio*. We should also note the frequent separation of a noun from its attribute: *Hispano cingitur gladio ad propiorem habili pugnam*.

⁴³ Cf. *adiuvantibus dis praesta; iustitium edixisset; sacramento adegit; castra posuit; indicium esset; crebra erant; discerni poterat; Gallus processit; silentium fuit; ad dictatorem pergat; victoriam videam; beluae ostendere; hostium signis; ex rupe Tarpeia deiecit; laudibus tulit* etc.

⁴⁴ On the need for a 'large-scale syntax' in narrative contexts see the present writer's contribution 'Zur Funktion der Tempora in Ovids elegischer Erzählung' in: *Ovid Wege der Forschung* 92 (Darmstadt 1968) pp. 451-467.

C. Narrative structure

1. Claudius Quadrigarius

In Claudius Quadrigarius we observe a whole series of devices for sentence connection, which are made to subserve the continuity of the narrative and the emphasis on turning-points. A demonstrative or relative is often used in the archaic manner (*is*;⁴⁵ *id*; *eo pacto*; *quo ex facto*). In addition temporal adverbs are important (*extemplo*, *deinde*, *subito*). Asyndeton is used to good effect on several occasions, as in the account of the pause in battle (*pugnae facta pausa est*). In fact a number of the sentences in our text that are attached asyndetically have a similar retarding function.⁴⁶

On the other hand it is demonstratives that introduce the description of how the Gaul first gave his signal, how Manlius came forward, and how he got close to his opponent. This device is not intended therefore to make particular stages of the action stand out from the overall context, and to set them in relation to each other; the aim is simply to connect an event closely with something that happens immediately before it. Thus sentence connection in Quadrigarius is not meant to highlight a larger narrative structure, but first and foremost to clarify the relationship to each other of immediately adjacent sentences. This of course is also true of the temporal adverbs, even if on occasion an effective structural element is saved up for the end: the victory over the Gaul is introduced with *donec*. However Claudius does not exploit the dramatic effect of having the main action in a subordinate clause, as a later writer would have done; instead he destroys it with a further subordinate clause. Before re-arranging this second clause,⁴⁷ one should bear in mind that Claudius is more interested here in presenting and explaining the battle tactics of the Roman⁴⁸ than in building up a big dramatic climax. That Quadrigarius is more concerned with the immediate context than with anything wider is also shown by his use of tenses⁴⁹ and by the fact that an antithesis which is at first made to run parallel gradually develops in its second half into an independent new

⁴⁵ On the other hand Livy actually avoids *is* on one occasion: *quem nunc ... Roma virum fortissimum habet, procedat ...*

⁴⁶ As in the account of the Romans' vacillation (*nemo audebat ...*), and also later: *scuto pedestri ...; metu magno ...*

⁴⁷ Sypniewska loc. cit.

⁴⁸ *Ne Gallus impetum icti haberet*.

⁴⁹ See below p. 101 n. 54.

sentence.⁵⁰ Where two sentences join, he often succeeds in producing brilliant effects of contrast. Besides the asyndeta mentioned already, we should note particularly the form he gives to a turning-point in the whole narrative: *neminem prodire. is ... processit*. What a telling contrast between *neminem* and *is*, and between insight (infinitive) and action (indicative)! To this we should add the powerful hyperbaton produced in the second half by *ut dico*.

Thus while Quadrigarius has a distinct feeling for drama and contrast and can even build up an impressive climax, his syntactic and stylistic devices merely serve as indicators for the immediate context: they are hardly meant to highlight larger structural relationships.

2. Livy

The preceding action is marked by the objective stylization in the historic perfect.⁵¹ The same is true of the conclusion, which gives the origin of the name Torquatus and the dictator's tribute. The background to the main action is indicated by sentences in the imperfect (*pons ... erat; proelia ... erant; nec ... poterat*). The introduction of each of the two heroes is strongly accentuated by means of *tum*.⁵² The main action begins in the historic perfect with the appearance of the Gaul. On the other hand Manlius' approach to the dictator and the subsequent arming scene, as well as the action of the companions before and after the duel, are all characterized as marginal episodes by the historic present. The comparison between the two heroes that precedes the duel is also in the present, although it gradually shifts to an elliptical form of expression and ends in a 'background tense'⁵³ (*distulerat*: pluperfect), which creates a sense of psychological depth.

Against this foil the main action starts, after further preparation in the form of an introductory temporal clause (*ubi constitere ...*) and an ablative absolute that captures the atmosphere. Livy then describes the action of the heroes in parallel construction; here stance and

⁵⁰ *Gallus sua disciplina scuto proiecto cantabundus; Manlius, animo magis quam arte confisus, scuto scutum percussit ...*

⁵¹ *Dictator ... castra posuit.*

⁵² *Et* has an important structural function before the comparison between the two heroes (*et duo ...*). Otherwise Livy avoids heavy paratactic sentence connection. *Inde* is unobtrusively put second in the sentence: *armant inde ... recipiunt inde ... iacentis inde ...*

⁵³ Terminology of H. Weinrich *Tempus; besprochene und erzählte Welt* (Stuttgart 1964).

gesture are always characterized in the ablative absolute and the decisive blow is reported in the historic perfect, which is then retained until the victor puts on the necklet.

The Gauls' dismay is again described in a background tense (pluperfect). The action of the comrades is in the historic present, which is suitable for plain description. Finally the naming and tribute are expressed in the perfect, which is appropriate for objective and weighty statements.⁵⁴

Our examination has shown that Livy uses paratactic means⁵⁵ of sentence connection to accentuate the overall structure, and that participial constructions⁵⁶ and subordinate clauses⁵⁷ (which he uses with more variety than Claudius) all form part of a firmly constructed whole owing its depth of perspective to deliberate resumption or suppression of specific linguistic and stylistic devices. The narrative style of Claudius Quadrigarius is rich in contrast, but flat; Livy surpasses it with the three-dimensional effect of a design which works through careful gradations and resumptive links.

⁵⁴ Claudius on the other hand uses changes of tense to achieve a sudden 'close-up' effect: *detraxit ... inponit* (sequel); *dum ... studet, percussit* (repeated action; at the same time variation of the preceding *percussit*); *facta ... est ... conclamat ... audebat*. Cf. J.P. Chausserie-Laprée (cited above p.59 n.29) pp.393ff.

⁵⁵ On the frequency of *et*, *-que* and *ac/atque* cf. J.B. Solodow *The copulative particles in Livy* (Diss. Harvard 1971; summary in *HSCP* 76 [1972] pp.303-305).

⁵⁶ We do not of course intend to belittle Claudius' achievement in extending the use of the ablative absolute (Wölfflin loc. cit.).

⁵⁷ The short speech of Livy's 'barbarian' alone contains no fewer than three subordinate clauses.

ARCA

Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs

23

**MASTERS OF
ROMAN PROSE
FROM CATO TO APULEIUS**

Interpretative Studies

MICHAEL VON ALBRECHT

Translated by **NEIL ADKIN**

1989

General Editors: Francis Cairns, Robin Seager, Frederick Williams
Assistant Editors: Neil Adkin, Sandra Cairns

ISSN 0309-5541

X FRANCIS CAIRNS