

**THE SEMANTIC DEVELOPMENT
OF SOME
ROMAN ETHICAL
CONCEPTS IN THE
SECOND CENTURY B.C.**

**BASED ON
CONTEMPORARY LITERARY
EPIGRAPHICAL AND NUMISMATICAL
EVIDENCE**

**BY
NICO VAN GYSEN**

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VOORWOORD

L.S.

Om na 'n loopbaan van 20 jaar as 'n wiskunde- en wetenskap-onderwyser terug te keer na die klassieke, is voorwaar nie 'n maklike onderneming nie. As mens bo-op die terugkeer in 'n nuwe land en 'n ander taal moet bewerkstellig word dit amper bo-menslik.

Dank sy die vriendelikheid van die departement van Onderwys, Kuns en Wetenskap kon ek egter 'n hele jaar ongesteurd aan my klassieke rehabilitasie arbei met as gevolg hierdie tesis.

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Die meeste erkentelikheid is ek egter verskuldig aan my vrou, sonder wie se aanmoediging en geduldige tikwerk hierdie verhandeling nooit sou voltooi gewees het nie.

Signed by candidate

Signature Removed

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INTRODUCTION

In almost any general study of Roman history, references can be found to the character of the Roman people. 'Roman character forms the explanation of their conquests, the justification of their empire. Roman character and its resultant code of behaviour influenced early Christian writers; Roman ethical concepts form the firm foundation of Western civilization.

Augustine used the Roman spirit of sacrifice for the common good as an example for the inhabitants of the City of God (1). Dante claims that the Roman people were ordained by nature for empire by foregoing their own advantage to secure the public safety of mankind. (2)

Many modern authors echo these sentiments : R.H.Barrow says : 'His virtues are honesty and thrift, forethought and patience, work and endurance and courage, self-reliance, simplicity and humility in the face of what is greater than himself.' (3) He even gives a 'catalogue of virtues' which Romans regarded as characteristically Roman throughout their history. Religio, pietas, officium, gravitas, disciplina, industria, virtus, clementia, mores maiorum are the character traits of the Roman people.

F.R.Cowell gives a much shorter list (pietas, virtus, gravitas) but he at least warns his readers that these are the virtues which Cicero regarded as typically Roman. Cowell regards them as symptoms of Cicero's enthusiasm for the good old days, and he adds: 'we have learnt in our own day that there are few more misleading imaginative exercises than that of generalizing about the supposed character of so large and complete an organism as a nation.' (4)

The purpose of this study is to investigate some of these concepts, their development and importance in early Roman sources. The approach will be ideogrammatic, but to make more general conclusions possible the group of concepts has to be fairly large and this of course means sacrificing depth for the sake of breadth.

With the exception of Polybius our historical sources are not contemporary and although perhaps reliable as far as facts are concerned, must be viewed with suspicion in their moral and ethical comments.

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- (1) Aug. De Civ. V
 - (2) Dante, de Mon. 2.5
 - (3) Barrow p. 11
 - (4) Cowell p. 16

Sallust's *Bellum Jugurthinum* is a valuable source for late second century history but his comments on Roman political ethics are undoubtedly tainted with much popularis-propaganda. Cicero has to be avoided for just the opposite reason. Therefore it is almost unavoidable that a study of second century ethical concepts must be more philological than historical, more concerned with context than with events.

Occasionally an author may explain the meaning of a word, directly such as Lucilius' poem on *virtus* or indirectly such as Plautus' wordplays, but in the large majority of texts the meaning of a word has to be found from its context and this in turn will lead to a large number of doubtful cases, where the meaning is not at all clear. Etymology may be of importance when the popular or real etymology influenced the meaning of a concept.

In the selection of the concepts for this study I excluded purely political and religious concepts and of the remainder I chose only these, which occur with sufficient frequency to give us some idea of development during the second century. This method of selection produced the following list :

FIDES
 FORTUNA
 GLORIA
 HONOR
 MOS
 PIETAS
 SALUS
 VIRTUS

and finally after some hesitation because of its scarcity and lack of abstraction *HUMANUS* and its derivatives.

Finally I decided to include Polybius' comments on Roman character, firstly because he is a second century source, secondly because of his firsthand knowledge of Rome and finally to serve as a control for conclusions to be drawn from the study of the above concepts.



Portrait of Man, 1st.
 Century B.C.
 Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Another aspect of the second century, Greek or rather Hellenistic influence, became a decisive factor not only in art, literature and philosophy but also in the Roman way of life. Ethical concepts, and more especially their semantic development, were not greatly affected by Greek influence until late in the century and the long gap in our sources separating the second century authors from the classical period. makes it almost

impossible to give a satisfactory explanation of the semantic contrasts between the two periods.

The second century B.C. is usually presented as the century of change from nationhood to world-empire, often as the century of Hellenization. Cicero prefers the idea of the last century of the good old days.

Livy on the contrary paints us a rather gloomy picture of the second century. The interludes between his descriptions of wars and battles show us a Rome, where the man in the street is unwilling to fight any more wars for a cause, which he does not regard as his own, where the contrast between the classes becomes explosive. He tells us about continuous bickering and jealousies between the senators; about the 'superbia' of the Roman conqueror, his barbarous cruelty, his maniacal lust for gloria, so that a general may cynically order the death of a few thousand prisoners or even allies, for the purpose of fulfilling the quota for a triumph.

The greed and corruption of generals such as Cn. Manlius Vulso, the repeated revolts of slaves (7000 killed in 185), the recurring actions against poisoning (3000 sentenced to death in 180), the 2000 prostitutes, which Aemilianus had to eject from the army camp at Numantia, the bribing of senators by Jugurtha show us a picture, quite different from the one which we find in Cicero's *De Republica*, *De finibus bonorum et malorum* or the *Somnium Scipionis*.

The action of the senate against the Bacchanalia, their decision on the books of Numa Pompilius, the struggle throughout the century about the *ager publicus*, are all examples of the 'Feuerwehr-Politik' of the aristocracy, their lack of any longterm policy, except their own interest. The *periochae* covering the period after the battle of Pydna are in this respect even more outspoken than the surviving books up to XLV.

To Livy of course, other than to Cicero, the second century does not represent the good old days. But on the whole the picture he paints of Roman character is far from attractive at least from our point of view. But in spite of much evidence to the contrary, we in the 20th century are still influenced by the idealizing popular tradition, a tradition which found its great impetus not so much in the renaissance as in nineteenth century classicism. The new concept of national states found its great inspiration in Roman history. Victorian imperialism found its example and justification in ancient Rome.

Cicero became the preceptor of large numbers of high school pupils not only for politics and philosophy but also for morals, ethics and even class-consciousness.

Enthusiasm for the classics was fostered in the schools by numerous reproductions of artists, such as Gérôme, Leighton and Tadema.

What better illustration of 'fides' than Poynter's centurion standing guard at Herculaneum? It is no great surprise that even today popular opinion tends to idealize Roman history and Roman character.

Through this study I hope to investigate for the second century B.C. and broadly speaking for the pre-Ciceronian period the origins of these ethical concepts and to answer some of the questions concerning the tradition of Roman character.

POLYBIUS ON ROMAN CHARACTER 5

Although Polybius' histories are of limited value for the semantological study of Roman ethical concepts, unless we want to compare these concepts with Greek equivalents, he is a too important 2nd. Century historian to altogether ignore in a discussion of 2nd. Century Roman ethics.

In the first few chapters Polybius explains the educational and philosophical value of the study of history "to bear with dignity the vicissitudes of fortune" and indicates the main theme of his "Universal history" (τὰ καθόλου) viz. "by what means, and under what kind of polity, almost the whole inhabited world was conquered and brought under the dominion of the single city". In the concluding chapter (1) he again mentions this question as the central theme of his book.

Polybius' answer to this cardinal question in his Histories is far from consistent and, although his theory of Anacyclosis is interesting to a student of political philosophy, his admiration for the Roman Μικτη causes him to disregard the fact that during his stay in Rome, the Roman Constitution was far from "mixed" and almost purely an aristocratic oligarchy.

Apparently Polybius realized that his Anacyclosis may serve as an explanation why Rome reached its peak as a phase in its political evolution but not why Rome conquered the οἰκουμένη in 53 years' time. Polybius (2) severely criticizes other Greek historians because they ascribe Roman success to mere chance, although he himself has to fall back repeatedly on Τύχη to explain Roman conquest.

Occasionally Polybius gives us a glimpse of a third and certainly more valid reason for the birth of the Roman empire : Roman character.

Polybius, as he himself repeatedly states, was too careful, too pragmatic a historian to lend himself easily to sweeping generalizations; on the other hand, as a foreigner in Rome he was in an ideal position to compare Roman character to that of other nations, and it is surprising that the remarks he does make about the peculiarities of the Romans are so few and indirect.

As a 2nd. century Hellenistic Greek and a firm believer in Universal as opposed to National History it is understandable that Polybius was not very interested in national differences and his theory of Anacyclosis is based on the assumption that history of nations or more accurately states was based on social and political evolution rather than on national character. Still Polybius made quite a few statements - some rather strong - on the character of the Roman people.

(1) Pol. 39.8
(2) Pol. 1.63

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Roughly we can divide these remarks into two groups : the first group of a - to Polybius - historical nature, are perhaps not of such great value for a study of 2nd. century ethics, because they deal with history before 200 BC and are based on the works of older historians such as Fabius, Philinus and Timaeus. On the other hand Polybius explains some of the events from the point of view of 2nd. century Roman concepts and these remarks are of importance.

The second group of texts are of contemporary nature and are Polybius' personal observations of Roman character traits as compared to those of Hellenistic Greece.

VALIDITY OF POLYBIUS.

Concerning the validity of Polybius' opinions on Roman public we must keep in mind, that he wrote primarily for a Roman public.

Polybius himself uses this fact as an argument for his strict adherence to the truth (1); of course the same argument makes it also probable, that some Roman political propaganda will be found. After all Polybius was a great admirer of Scipio Aemilianus and some deviations from the truth can be explained as propaganda in support of the Scipio-faction.

Gaius Flaminius receives the blame for the first step in the demoralisation of the people by dividing the territory of Picenum among Roman citizens. (2)
(τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τοῦ δήμου διαστροφῆς)

Marcellus is described as a coward shrinking in terror from the war in Spain (3) and redivision of land is one of the symptoms of the final degeneration of democracy. (4)
(... τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τοῦ δήμου διαστροφῆς)

Polybius' admiration for the members of the Scipio clan Africanus, Paullus, Aemilianus knows no bound and one receives the impression that Scipio Aemilianus is largely the product of Polybius's coldly calculating advise, complete with the statement of cost. (5)

Apart from this factional and oligarchic bias, Polybius

- (1) Pol. 31.22.8
- (2) Pol. 2.21.7-8
- (3) Pol. 35.4
- (4) Pol. 6.9
- (5) Pol. 31.28.11

judges Roman character from 2nd. Century Greek-Hellenistic point of view and his opinions can be expected to be influenced by this. E.g. praise for Roman integrity is affected by Greek corruption.

'ΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ - VIRTUS

There are remarkably few statements in the Histories concerning that traditional mainstay of Roman character : VIRTUS.

The majority concerns the VIRTUS of individuals, very few the valour of the people as a whole and even then Polybius expresses himself in rather vague and non-committal terms.

In the fourth century the Romans mastered the Latins
διὰ τε τὴν ἀνδρείαν καὶ τὴν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις
(1) ἐπιτυχίαν.

Shuckburgh (2) translates this : "By dint of valour and the good fortune which attended them in the field." At a first reading this passage looks like a rather meaningless figure of speech. Walbank (3) however, points out that in combination with the ἀνεπίστωτος of the previous sentence, Polybius explains this first step of Roman expansion as a combination of rational and irrational factors. Then ἀνδρεία must be regarded as the rational factor in Roman character, while ἐπιτυχία cannot be translated by the obvious though here rather meaningless "success" but must be connected with τύχη and translated as luck, chance or good fortune.

A much stronger and more definite statement concerning Roman character can be found in the summing up of the causes of the naval disaster near Camarina (4), where VIRTUS becomes foolhardy, and CONSTANCIA, headstrong-selfconceit. The words καθόλου, πρὸς πάντα, κατ'ἀνάγκην makes it a rather sweeping statement and (5) βία, ὄρμη and τόλμα are a reminder of Regulus' mistakes in a former chapter. (6). Walbank (7) points to the possibility of stoic terminology in this passage. The whole passage is written in the present tense although it concerns an occurrence of a century earlier. Polybius gives the impression, that he, at the time of writing, resented this Roman quality of knowing everything better and refusing to listen to advice, especially the closing words οἴονται δεῖν αὐτοῖς πάντα καιρὸν εἶναι.

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- (1) Pol. 1.6.4
 - (2) Shuckburgh Vol. 1. p.6
 - (3) Walbank p. 67
 - (4) Pol. 1.37.7
 - (5) Pol. 1.37.10
 - (6) Pol. 1.35
 - (7) Walbank p. 97

The year 252 saw a repetition of the Camarina disaster, more than a hundred and fifty ships being destroyed by a storm, giving Carthago command of the sea.

Both De Sanctis and Walbank (1) dispute Polybius or rather Philinus' accuracy, saying that both descriptions refer to the same storm : however, as a result, Polybius says, the Romans were in such terror, that, both at sea and on land, they showed *κτοίαν* and *δυσελπιστίαν* (2), although Polybius (3) tries to soften his criticism by adding *καίπερ ὄντες ἐν παντὶ φιλότιμοι διαφερόντως*.

In his final summing up of the first Punic War, (4) Polybius expresses his opinion that the Romans laid the foundations of their Empire *οὐ τυχῆ, καθάπερ ἔνιοι δοκοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων, οὐ δ' αὐτομάτους* but, as Walbank translates (5) by deliberately schooling themselves amid dangers (*λίαν εἰκότως ἐν τοιούτοις καὶ τηλικούτοις πραγμασίῳ ἐνασχῆσαντες*).

Polybius follows this praise of Roman toughness and valour with the question, why, at the time of his writing, the Romans find it impossible, though now masters of the world, to make the efforts similar to those of the First Punic War.

The promised answer to this question does not survive; it was probably intended to be one of the symptoms of Roman deterioration to fit in with his theory of *Anakyklosis*.

Finally (6) Polybius compares the two powers and comes to the conclusion that they were closely matched in other respects but *τούς γε μὴν ἄνδρας οὐ μικρῶ πολλῶ δὲ γενναϊοτέρους ἐν παντὶ Ῥωμαίους*.

Here Polybius refers to the individual courage of the Roman farmer-soldier as compared to the Phoenician mercenaries. Courage is perhaps not the best translation for *γενναῖος* where the original meanings of innate, natural nobility of the free Roman citizen is clearly implied.

Lastly (7) there is a mention of *ἀνδρεία* in Scipio's speech to his soldiers at New Carthage, where he rejects the assertion that the Romans could only defeat the Carthaginians in Spain with the help of the Iberians and declares that it was Roman valour alone.

Finally there is one and only one remark (8) concerning the contemporary concept of courage. Polybius states that in

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- (1) Walbank p. 101
 (2) Pol. 1.39.14
 (3) Pol. 1.39.7
 (4) Pol. 1.63.9
 (5) Walbank p. 129
 (6) Pol. 1.64.5
 (7) Pol. 11.2
 (8) Pol. 31.29.1

every country ἀνδρεία is the most important element of character of public life ἐν πάσῃ μὲν πολιτείᾳ μάλιστα δ' ἐν τῇ Ῥωμῇ. For this reason Scipio Aemilianus had to give his attention to establishing a name for himself in this respect. Courage has become an ideal rather than a reality, a political status symbol rather than a national virtue.

Reality was far removed from this ideal as we can read in Polybius' account of the fiery war (1) in Spain and the shameful fear of the new levies for this war, although Polybius clearly uses this paragraph as a dark background for the shining glory of his hero Aemilianus.

Summing up we can say that Polybius does not regard virtus as a special Roman character trait, although the virtus of the Roman soldier-farmer played an important part in securing the victory in the Punic wars, in Polybius' time virtus has become an important aspect of the Roman super-ego, well removed from the Roman real-self. Polybius nowhere compares Greek and Roman courage and he apparently does not regard it as a factor in the Roman conquest of Greece. Lastly Polybius seems to have a strong opinion of Roman Draufgängertum, although he does not describe this in terms denoting courage but rather implies ὑβρις especially where he refers to Roman peremptory foolhardiness.

F I D E S - Π Ι Σ Τ Ι Σ

The first case of Roman FIDES or rather lack of FIDES recorded by Polybius concerns the garrison of Rhegium. There are however so many versions of this story (Livy, XXXI, 29.30) (Dion. Hal. XX-4) (Zonaras VIII-6) (Paus. VI. 3.12) that Polybius' version (2) very possibly favours the Roman FIDES-concept, although it clashes with Roman support for the Mamartines in Messene in 264, who were in the same position as the Roman rebels in Rhegium.

Better evidence for Roman good faith we find in Polybius' praises for Roman integrity and freedom from corruption as compared to conditions in other states. (3). When he compares Roman and Carthaginian ἔθη καὶ νόμιμα regarding money transactions he says: "In the view of the latter nothing is disgraceful that makes for gain; with the former nothing is more disgraceful than to receive bribes and to make profit by improper means. For they regard wealth obtained from unlawful transactions to be as much a subject of reproach, as a fair profit from the most unquestioned source is of commendation. A proof of the fact is this. The Carthaginians obtain office by open bribery (δῶρα φανερώς διδόντες (4), but among the Romans the penalty for it is death."

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- (1) Pol. 35.4
 (2) Pol. 1.7.4
 (3) Pol. 6.56.1
 (4) Pol. 6.56.4

A very doubtful proof, because the leges de ambitu of 181 (1) and 159 (2) must rather be regarded as evidences of growing corruption in Rome.

Plunder by a victorious army often led to a disastrous reversal of fortune. Polybius (3) therefore greatly admired the absolute trust which Roman soldiers placed in each other, so that only part of the army was allowed to collect booty, while the rest was kept on standby. True to their oath the Romans had the habit to τηρεῖν τὴν πίστιν κατὰ τὸν ὄρκον ὃν ὀμνύουσι πάντες.

So great was the contrast between the Greeks and Romans with regard to integrity that occasionally this led to misunderstandings, e.g. a courteous interview (τῆς ἐντεύξεως φιλανθρώπου) between Philip and Flaminius gave rise to a suspicion of bribery; which was becoming widespread in Greece at the beginning of the second century. (ἤδη γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα τῆς δωροδοκίας ἐπιπολαζουσης καὶ τοῦ μηδένα μηδὲν δωρεὰν πρᾶττειν.) (4)

But Polybius immediately asserts, that this difference between Greeks and Romans was not so much a matter of national character as a difference of stage of development of the two peoples. Writing about events of half a century later he is not so sure of Roman integrity. (5).

In this text Polybius sees a clear cut connection between Roman expansion and moral deterioration.

Exceptions confirm this rule of a general breakdown of moral integrity and these exceptions are of course Polybius' paragons of Roman nobility : Aemilius Paullus and Scipio Aemilianus.

A pity that Polybius' promise to elaborate on this subject of integrity was not fulfilled - at least not preserved for posterity. (6)

M O S M A I O R U M .

In his sixth book (7) Polybius compares the constitutions of states and praises the powerful motivation for courage and self-sacrifice in the interest of the common good, provided by the laudationes and imagines at funerals and the respect for ancestors. As an example of ἡ ἐπ' ἀρετῇ φήμη Polybius tells the story of Horatius Cocles.

To the glory of the deceased is added the glory of the ancestors, whose imagines are also present. In the laudationes the successes and achievements of each one is recounted to serve as an inspiration to the living. (8).

- (1) Liv. 49.19
- (2) Liv. ep. 47
- (3) Pol. 10.16.6
- (4) Pol. 18.34.6
- (5) Pol. 18.35.1
- (6) Pol. 18.35.7
- (7) Pol. 6.53-9-10
- (8) Pol. 6.54.2

This custom, reserved for the members of the nobilitas (ἐπιφανῆς ἄνδρες) may be a mos in itself and Polybius' description of it is contemporary evidence of the reverence of the nobility for their ancestors, it is also evidence for the importance of gloria to the Romans but it is not proof of the importance of mos maiorum.

Perhaps it is one of the most striking features of Polybius' Histories that there is no mention at all of Roman conservatism; Roman ἔθη are repeatedly mentioned but the concept as such differs in no respect from the ἔθη of other peoples. Mores are subject to change, some are of ancient origin and others fairly recent, sometimes mos is a lex non scripta but in Polybius as with most authors of the second century mos follows Isidorus' second definition of longa consuetudo. (3)

Mos maiorum may be a handy description of the largely unwritten Roman constitution - it is certainly not an accurate term as far as second century authors are concerned.

G L O R I A - Φ Η Μ Η

Polybius uses a variety of words (φήμη, ἐπιγραφή, δόξα) for the (later Roman) concept of gloria. But we can say the same of 2nd. century Latin authors (fama, claritudo, cluero). It has been said that there was no concept in Greek corresponding to the Roman gloria at least not until the Hellenistic period.

Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that throughout the late Hellenistic world, which includes Rome, the concept of gloria developed rather late but that there is no evidence that it was a typically or even exclusively Roman ideal.

Wherever glory is mentioned with reference to Roman history, Polybius seems to regard it as a normal factor in human motivation - the only exception being the glory of ancestors. (see above).

That consuls are in a hurry to conclude a war before their term of office expires and for this reason sometimes make great mistakes is no doubt a typical Roman occurrence. Regulus, ἀγωνιῶν δὲ μὴ συμβῆ τὸν ἐπιπαραγινομένον στρατηγὸν ἐκ τῆς Ῥώμης φθάσαντα τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν τῶν πραγμάτων λαβεῖν, (1) acted as he did solely for the reason of getting the full credit for the victory. But Polybius did not see anything unusual in this and used a word, denoting the inscribing of conquered arms (ἐπιγραφή), which was a Greek and not a Roman custom.

Similarly the use of φιλοδοξία to indicate the dominating factor in Scipio's behaviour (2) does not give the impression of something typically Roman. Scipio only differs

(1) Pol. 1.31.4

(2) Pol. 31.29.12

(3) Isidorus Etym. II, 10.2

from the Romans in the method he used to fulfill his "ambition".

Again in describing the added glory of a triumph, Polybius only uses rather weak terms. (τὰς ἐπιτυχίας τῶν ἡγουμένων ἐκτραγῶδησαι καὶ συναυξήσαι).

(1)

The same applies to his statement concerning the gloria honorum (2) (ὅπερ ἐστὶ κάλλιστον ἀθλον ἐν πολιτείᾳ κάλλος καὶ γαθία). And elsewhere (3), he testifies that glory (τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῶν κατορθωμάτων ἐνδοξα) is a motive, which is exploited by most generals and kings. (οἱ πλείστοι τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῶν βασιλέων).

Μ Ε Τ Ρ Ι Ο Τ Η Σ Μ Ο Δ Ε Ρ Α Τ Ι Ο

The defeat of the Romans on the Peneus and the resulting endeavour of Perseus to make terms with Licinius, gives Polybius an opportunity to comment on another Roman peculiarity (ὁ δὲ τὸν γὰρ τοῦτο πάντῃ παρὰ Ῥωμαίους ἔθος) to be imperious in defeat and to be very moderate (ὡς μετριωτάτους) in victory (4). Although Polybius describes this moderation as a widespread trait of the Roman people, the occasion, a rather minor defeat of the Romans, does not give his statement much support and, writing so shortly after the complete destruction of Carthage and Corinth, where the Romans acted with a singular lack of μετριότης, this passage smacks of propaganda.

Π Α Ρ Σ Ι Μ Ο Ν Ι Α

The story of Aemilianus' generosity to his mother and aunts gives us evidence of Roman miserliness in money matters. These two passages are rather strongly worded and are obviously based on Polybius' own experience.

The first text (5) is the more explicit and the treble negative οὐδεὶς οὐδενὶ οὐδέν combined with ἀπλῶς makes this statement outspoken, although here again Polybius probably paints the background blacker than it is, to accentuate the shining example of his hero. The second text (6) refers primarily to the importance of interest on money to Roman capitalists. It is significant that Polybius here refers not to equites but to nobiles and uses words like ἀκρίβεια, λυσιτέλεια and μικρολογίας to describe the attitude towards money of Tiberius Gracchus and Scipio Nasica.

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- (1) Pol. 6.15.7
 (2) Pol. 6.14.9
 (3) Pol. 11.2.5
 (4) Pol. 27.8.8
 (5) Pol. 31.26.9
 (6) Pol. 31.27.11

Polybius somewhat spoils the idealized portrait of Aemilianus' ἐπὶ καλοκάγαθία φήμη by calculating the price Aemilianus had to pay (1) to establish a name for generosity. This passage seems to imply that Aemilianus acted on Polybius' advice, especially because the stress here seems to be on τὸ ὄφελιμον rather than on τὸ κᾶλον. Another example of stoic influence.

We only find one paragraph (2) commenting on Roman religiosity. Here Polybius expresses great admiration for Roman δεισιδαιμονία, which in his opinion συνέχει τὰ Ῥωμαίων πράγματα, in spite of the fact, that this "superstition" is a subject of contempt "to other people". But after praising the Romans for their attitude to the gods, he hastens, with typically Polybian ambiguity, to remark that that sort of thing would not be necessary in a state composed of wise men.

Here, as with Polybius' concept of τύχη, we find him, and perhaps with him many members of the Roman nobility, standing on the boundary between two worlds, two philosophies. More about this later.

Much more frequent and unequivocal is his comment on the deterioration of Roman morals. Polybius (3) sees the war with Antiochus as the direct cause of this and he mentions banquets, favourite youths, mistresses, extravagant expenditure as the symptoms of this ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον ὁρμή.

In the well-known text (4) where he discusses τύχη he warns that the steadily diminishing number of children in Greece is caused by the laziness of τῶν γὰρ ἀνθρώπων μὴ βουλομένων μήτε γαμεῖν μήτ' ἔαν γήμωσι, τὰ γινόμενα τέκνα τρέφειν. That the same tendency existed in Rome is proved by Q. Metellus' proposal of 133 (5) that every man should marry and also by Lucilius' frequent remarks on "fertilitas barbara" (6). The method of restricting the number of children was apparently according to lex XII tabb. (7), expositio, or selling children as slaves "trans Tiberim" (8).

T Y X H - F O R T U N A .

Polybius' approach to the concept of τύχη has been the subject of intensive study. The concept of Fortuna will

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- (1) Pol. 31.28.11
 - (2) Pol. 6.56.6
 - (3) Pol. 32.11
 - (4) Pol. 36.17
 - (5) Liv. 49
 - (6) Cic. Tusc. 11.36
 - (7) IV
 - (8) Cic. p. Caec. 34

be discussed in this paper and it may be interesting to compare Polybius' τύχη with the Fortuna of the 2nd. century Roman authors. Naturally the question arises whether Polybius can be regarded as a Roman, who wrote in Greek, or rather as a 2nd. century Hellenist, who lived in Rome among other Hellenists. Comparison of the concept of τύχη and Fortuna may throw some light on this question.

Von Fritz and Ziegler (1) both give a brilliant analysis of Polybius' concept of τύχη. The concept is very variable, far from consistent and sometimes downright contradictory. Fate, chance, fortune, coincidence, luck and even Providence are all possible translations.

Polybius as a good representative of Hellenistic enlightenment scorns the idea of a supernatural power bending the human race to its will. Roman success, he says, is not due to chance (2) neither is Scipio's success the result of good luck (3).

On other occasions (4) however Polybius is less rationalistic and Fortune is a fickle and unreasonable mistress, jealous (5) of success.

Polybius tries to give a logical explanation (6) by saying, that chance is what is beyond human control such as a sudden storm, an epidemic etc. As we have seen, low birth-rate does not belong to this category and it is useless to pray to the gods because it is caused by human egotism. Then he gives an example (7) of a case, which can be attributed to divine power: the successes of the Macedonians, when ruled by an usurper after having rejected the free constitution after Pydna. This seems to be a complete contradiction of the first statement that human foolishness must not be attributed to Fortune.

Von Fritz (8) suggests that Polybius' idea seems to be that human folly as such is the result of divine intervention, while the results of this folly must not be attributed to a divine power.

Similarly, Polybius says, Macedonian success in the fourth century can no more be ascribed to chance than the Roman success in the 2nd. century. But the fact that Macedonians and Romans had the necessary qualities at these times was not predictable and cannot be rationally explained but must be attributed to τύχη.

Polybius does not follow the strict logic of the rhetorical schools, where the explanation of the success of Alexander and later of the Romans was almost a set piece. Polybius was not a philosopher but underwent the influence of popular philosophical systems of his time and used their ideas and terminology without consistency and added his own conclusions and opinions.

(1) R.E. Polybios

(2) Pol. 1.63.9.

(3) Pol. 31.30.

(4) Pol. 1.86.7 - Pol. 2.4.3 - Pol. 38.18.8

(5) Pol. 39.8.2

(6) Pol. 2.7.1

(7) Pol. 36.17.13

(8) Mixed Constit. p. 393

THE SOURCES

THE LANGUAGE

For Latin the second century was a time of settlement and definition of a language, which for many centuries had developed quite naturally.

As in the development of many other languages two mainstreams can be easily recognized : one more aristocratic and conservative, the other popularizing, expressive and easily subject to change.

As a language of a technically and culturally undeveloped people, Latin retains a surprising number of Indo-European action-radicals such as lux, ops, pax, rex, frux, nex, dux and composites like praeses, coniux, particeps etc., many of which can only be traced back to Sanskrit or Celtic.

On the other hand there is linguistic evidence that the Roman aristocracy were not the direct successors of the Indo-European warrior chiefs.

Early Latin shows many traces of a non-Indo-European popularizing character. Most noticeable among these are the double consonants often used next to the original single : pappā or attā next to pater, nassus next to nasus. The radical leip-: fat which can be found in Sanskrit, Slavic, Baltic and Greek lipos (liparos) becomes lippus in Latin. Similarly gibbus, flaccus, broccus, siccus. Most of these words are expressives. Well known is the case of Iuppiter replacing Iupiter (dyeu - pater).

Many words indicating infirmities or actions show "popular" deviations from Indo-European radicals by insertion of -a : caecus, calvus, claudus, caedo, laedo, parco, spargo, carpo, scalpo, scando.

Other words were "popularized" by enlarging them and adding suffixes, often to such an extent that the original radical was hardly ever used and often disappeared from Latin altogether : Aveo, specio, cubo, capio were the ancestors of literally hundreds of derivatives.

By the beginning of the second century most of this development was already complete, although some tendencies such as the double consonant, the expressive use of derivatives, especially frequentatives, and lastly Hellenizing tendencies were still in full swing. But the natural development was slowed down and in the end altogether stopped by the conservative and archaizing tendencies of the patricians so that many of the changes mentioned above were resisted or even altogether abolished.

In addition we clearly see the ruling aristocracy and the lower classes, each pushing the emerging literature in opposite directions.

True to Cato's dictum : *Poeticae artis honos non est* (1) we see popular literature and, paradoxically, to a much greater extent aristocratic literature being created by foreigners of low origin : Celts, Libyans, Messapians, slaves, freedmen.

In this, for that time, enormous metropolis with an estimated million inhabitants (2), dominated by a small group of landed nobility, but populated largely by people of foreign extraction, *Koiné* was just as much a *lingua franca* as in the rest of the mediterranean basin.

In his comedies Plautus repeatedly expects his audience to know Greek for the understanding of his puns and word plays (3) and he uses so many Greek words without change and Latinizes so many others (*hilarus*, *opsonari*, *exotica*, *dolus*, *calamus*, *age*, *crepidula*, *podager*) that we must conclude that these Graecisms were not inventions of Plautus himself but just the spoken language of the Roman people.

Plautus often adapts his vocabulary to the class of the speaker; slaves use more obviously Greek words than freeborn; he is fond of parodying the archaic language of the nobiles(4) but much more often he exaggerates expressivism of proletarian language with comic effect. We find a host of frequentatives, and frequentatives of frequentatives : *coeptare*, *afflictare*, *paritare*, *minitari*, *essitare*, *vellicare*, *fodicare*, *scalpurrire*, *expetessare*.

Diminutives abound : (5)

Teneris labellis molles morsiunculae
Nostrorum orgiorum ----- iunculae
Papillarum horridularum oppressiunculae.

His alliterations, though frequent, are more often intended for expressive than for comic purposes.

In contrast to Plautus' realistic approach to the written language, the language of the nobiles and especially that of official documents, is of a sometimes startling conservatism.

This is clearly shown by a comparison of two inscriptions : the Edict of Aemilius Paullus (6) giving freedom to some Spaniards and in which we find for the first time the title of *imperator* for a Roman general, and the famous *SC de Bacchanalibus* (7)

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- (1) Gellius XI. 2
 (2) Meillet - *Langue Latine* p. 108
 (3) Pseud. 652 Aul. 201
 (4) Amp. 189
 (5) Pseud. 67
 (6) de Grassi 514
 (7) de Grassi 511

The first can be dated to 189 BC and the second to 186 BC, although the language of the latter is much more archaic than the former. Aemilius Paulus doubles consonants : essent, vellet, while the SC has esent, velet. Even more remarkable is the final d after a long vowel, which at the beginning of the second century had disappeared from Latin and cannot be found anywhere in the literature except for the monosyllables med, ted.

Aemilius Paullus does not use it : in turri Lascutana.

When the engraver of the SC adds the instruction, where it must be placed : in agro Teurano, the final d is not used but the text itself has preivatod, sententiad, coventionid and in one place the engraver even makes a mistake, writing magistratuo instead of magistratud.

Another form of official archaism can be found in the frequent etymological spelling of words; consoluerunt, exdeicendum, dismota. Most surprising is the word poplicod. The lex Acilia inscription of 122 BC still has publicus. In Meillet's opinion (1) there has never been a word poplicus; it was only an etymological way of spelling publicus.

The adjective of caput is capitalis. Because quom is more ancient than cum the SC de Bacchanalibus has the grotesque oquoltod in place of ocultod.

On the other hand it would not be fair to judge the language of the Roman nobility on epigraphic evidence alone. Much as one may appreciate the natural freshness of Plautus' language, it was not Plautus' but Ennius' Latin which became classical. The aristocracy preferred Latin purism while readily absorbing the Hellenistic spirit.

THE AUTHORS .

PLAUTUS

Of the second century literary sources Plautus' comedies dominate. Although only 21 of the 130 comedies known to antiquity (2) survive, they are the 21 which in Varro's grouping are regarded as the most authentic. They are the first complete surviving works in the Latin language and with their average length of 1000 verses, they form the vast majority of second century texts available to us.

Because his language, spelling and vocabulary do not always correspond with Cicero's and because of his predilection for scenes from "low life" Plautus has long been regarded as crude and primitive and the

(1) Meillet p. 122

(2) Gell. 3.3.11

the judgement of a more fashionable and polished author like Horace (1)

'gestit in loculos demittere'

can be countered by Horace's self comment (2)

'paupertas impulit audax ut versus facerem'

The only difference was that the two authors had different customers, and we can only be grateful that Plautus, unlike Terence or Horace, did not have to please patrons like Aemilianus or Maecenas, but wrote as the people spoke.

For this reason Plautus is undoubtedly the most valuable second century source of ethical concepts. Plautus, as a rule, uses abstract words sparingly and the concepts to be discussed in this paper are very unevenly distributed through his comedies. In this respect *Trinummus* is the richest and *Cistellaria* the poorest; so exceptionally poor, in fact, that this caused me to entertain some doubt about its authorship.

The chronology of the comedies has been and still is the subject of controversy. I tried to find some correlation between frequency of occurrence of the ethical concepts and some of the better substantiated dates of the comedies but found none. If anything the use of these words decreased with the advancing years. A study of Plautus' vocabulary may well throw some further light on the problem of dating his comedies.

Although Plautus shies away from abstract words he occasionally and with apparent relish indulges in long series of them, often a summing up of all kinds of bad things and sounding like a magic incantation :

Iram, inimicitiam, maerorem, lacrumas, exilium, inopiam
Solitudinem, stultitiam, exitium, pertinaciam (3)

and another soliloquy summing up the vitia resulting from amor : (4)

Insomnia, aerumna, error, terror et fuga
Ineptia stultitiaque adeo et temeritas
Incogitantia, excors immodestia
Petulantia et cupiditas, malivolentia
Inhaeret etiam aviditas, residia, iniuria
Inopia, contumelia et dispendium -----

In prayers abstract nouns abound :

Maximas opimitates opiparasque offers mihi :
Laudem lucrum ludum iocum festivitatem ferias
Pompam penum potationes saturitatem gaudium.

with three treble alliterations.

Plautus also expresses modern ideas about the gods, perhaps under the influence of Ennius' Euhemerism :

Etenim ille quous huc iussu verio Iuppiter
Non minus quam vostrum quivis formidat malum :
Humana matre natus, humano patre

(1) Epist. II, 1.175

(2) Epist. II, 2.51

(3) Merc. 845-6

(4) Merc. 25

Although he shows little respect for the established religion, he is a great moraliser : virtue is always rewarded and vice punished, especially when he speaks of the nobility as in the case of Amphitryo and Alcmena. (1)

Non ego illam mihi dotem duco esse, quae dos dicitur
Sed pudicitiam et pudorem et sedatum cupidinem,
Deum metum, parentum amorem et cognatum concordiam,
Tibi morigera atque ut munifica sim bonis, prosim bonis.

In spite of Greek influence and example Plautus' studies can hardly be said to have made Greece very popular in Rome. As Grimal puts it (2) : Ce que Plaute retient de l'Hellenisme tend, non pas à faire aimer et estimer la culture grecque, mais à en inspirer le mépris A cet égard, Plaute est bien le compagnon de ceux qui luttèrent, autour de Caton, pour maintenir, en face des tentations nouvelles, la 'pureté' du Latium.

C A T O

I doubt if Cato saw Plautus in this light. For a long time Cato has been regarded as the paragon of the old upright Roman, untainted by foreign demoralisation.

Cicero's de Senectute may have been the decisive factor in the origin of this traditional view; but like the language of the SC de Bacchanalibus, Cato's language is the voice of aristocratic reaction, trying to establish and, to a large extent, succeeding in creating an image of Roman national character to correspond with the newly started empire.

His austerity, his high morality, his Hellenophobia, his rusticity, his simple humility are not always supported by facts. Plutarch seems to be convinced that Cato received his first instruction in self-denial, Platonic dualism and mortification of the flesh from the Pythagoreans after the conquest of Tarentum. (3)

As a protégé of Fabius Maximus and an opponent of Titus Flamininus and Scipio Africanus, it is understandable that he disapproved of the enthusiasm of his opponents for Greek culture. Marrying Paullus' daughter and Aemilianus' sister apparently made no difference to his enmity for the Scipio-faction.

Plutarch did not share Cicero's high opinion of Cato : Cato was a bit too fond of self-glorification and bragging about his military achievements. (4)

(1) Amph. 839

(2) le Siècle des Scipions p. 96

(3) Plut. Cato Maior 2

(4) Plut. Cato Maior 14 - Livy XXXIV-15

Cato regarded farming only as a hobby, while his real income came from investments in commerce and industry. (1) His phobia for everything Greek was more a pose than reality. It did not prevent him from translating his "de Agricultura" from a Greek-Phoenician model or from introducing the basilica to Rome. His respect for Roman traditions did not include "pietas" for his military superiors, as his action against Acilius Glabrio proves (2) or his later policy of using legati as spies for the senate. (3)

And his high morality is disproved by his affair with a slave girl by which he scandalized his family.

Cato's surviving writings are remarkable in a negative way. He used abstract words as little as possible. His de Agricultura contains hardly any, while the surviving fragments of his speeches and writing are only of importance for the study of ethical concepts by the absence of most.

He is inclined to be a purist and prefers to use older words : claritudo, fama rather than gloria. Words like fortuna and honor he uses in their more concrete meaning : 'adversity, title' and he likes to qualify concepts of which he approves by adding "maiorum".

E N N I U S

The 600 surviving lines of Ennius do not give a true reflection of the great influence he has had on classical Latin and on the Hellenisation of Roman civilisation.

In Plautus we see reflected the voice of the plebs, in Cato that of reaction, but Ennius must be regarded as the representative of Roman, aristocratic "Aufklärung", that mighty Scipionic faction, which realized that as the conquerors of the world the Romans had to maintain their prestige by creating a national image of a people, just as civilized as the Greeks but with their own language, literature and traditions. Hellenism was readily absorbed but wherever possible covered by Latin words and Latin forms.

Ennius, to whom Latin was not even a second but a third language, performed this task admirably. With the single-mindedness, and the purism typical of a foreigner, he succeeded in moulding Latin, which, apart from the officialese of legal documents, had largely been only a spoken language, into a language of culture. True enough his innovations were not always acceptable: he sometimes exaggerates what little literary tradition he found in existence. Naevius' alliterations were eagerly accepted as typically Roman but Ennius' use of them is not always in the best of taste :

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- (1) Plut. Cato Maior 21
 - (2) Liv. XXXVII. 57. 14
 - (3) Grimal p. 99

O Tite tute tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti.

or even worse :

At tuba terribili sonitu taratantara dixit.

Remarkable is his use of alliterations, when he speaks of Roman subjects :

Accipe daque fidem foedusque feri bene firmum.

When he uses Greek words he faithfully follows the correct Greek spelling : Anchises, Aeacida, Musae and is not afraid to acknowledge borrowing from Greek.

Et densis aquila pennis obnixa volabat
Vento quem perhibent Graium genus aera lingua.

Even more successful Ennius was in adding Greek meaning to Latin words :

----- sophiam, sapientia quam perhibetur.

Although Ennius uses some of the concepts of this thesis sparingly and others - honor, salus - cannot be found at all in the surviving fragments, his use of mos, fides, virtus, gloria and fortuna is so definite and, compared to Plautus, so purposeful, that Ennius must be considered as a major source for the semantology of ethical concepts.

Between Plautus and Terence, in style as well as in time, we find Ennius' friend, the Celt Staius Caecilius. Of Plautus he retains the lyrical element in his comedies but in other respects he retains the Greek atmosphere of his models, perhaps under the influence of Ennius. Only a few of the 300 extant verses will be used in the discussion of the concepts.

Of Ennius' nephew Pacuvius only 430 lines survive, many of these badly mutilated. Some of the texts show this tragedian as a philosopher. Famous is the longer fragment on Fortuna.

T E R E N C E .

After Plautus, Terence is the most important author of the second century. His language can be regarded as that of the Roman nobility and hardly differs from that of the classical era.

He only uses Greek words where it is unavoidable. Frequentatives are only used by low class people and diminutives only to indicate small things. There is little of the exuberance of Plautus, his style is intellectual and his choice of words precise. Here we find for the first time a strictly logical construction of sentence and clauses, a regular sequence of tenses.

Cornelius Nepos points out the contribution made by C. Laelius to Heautontimoroumenos, and this leads us to the Scipionic circle, the subject of so much controversy and speculation.

True enough, the heterogeneous trio of authors around Scipio Aemilianus, Terence, Lucilius and Panaetius, may have exerted a far-reaching influence on Rome and even present day ideas and ideals. The evidence is just sufficient to be tantalizing. The questions raised are of the highest importance. How much of Panaetius do we read in Cicero? Did these intellectuals have any influence on Roman politics? Did the concept of *humanitas* originate in the Scipionic circle or is Cicero its creator? We only have Terence's six comedies and a few fragments of Lucilius, Laetius and Panaetius and a few dicta of Aemilianus himself. The concept of *humanitas* in connection with the Scipionic circle will be discussed *suo loco*.

After Terence, i.e. for the second half of the century, very little of Latin literature survives. Of Accius' 40 tragedies and praetextae we have only about 700 lines but enough to show the development of a Roman national style, more realistic and dignified and less ornate and emotional than their Greek examples. Accius did not belong to the Scipionic circle. His patronus was D. Junius Brutus.

Lucilius is different, he was the first poet from the nobility, the first satirist. His style and metre, equally spontaneous, rudely criticize everything from the lofty heights of the court of Aemilianus. Except for his famous fragment in which he defines "virtus" we find none of our concepts in his fragments.

More fruitful were some of the fragments of Titinius, a togata poet probably from the beginning of the century and Tullius towards the end of the century. L. Afranius was another contemporary of Aemilianus. Only 440 of his verses survive.

Of the second century historians, I could only make use of C. Hemina and L. C. Antipater (1) and of these only one fragment each.

The orators were not very useful sources either. I made use of fragments of Cato, Scipio Aemilianus, C. Sempronius Gracchus, Q. Caecilius Metellus and M. Aurelius Scaurus (2).

Both orators and historians were a class of men altogether different from the poets. In their style and choice of words they represent the Roman nobility, and although their language is, in the best of Roman tradition, a compromise between popularizing and archaizing traits, in the end they produced and set the final stamp on classical Latin, which with the equally miraculous Greek was to be and still is a never ending source of wonder to posterity.

I N S C R I P T I O N S .

The 1277 inscriptions in De Grassi's book (3) covering edicts, *senatus consulta*, lists of magistrates, signatures on artifacts, names of tourists, *tesserae*,

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- (1) H.W.G. Peter - *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae*
 - (2) Malcovati - *Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta*
 - (3) *Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae*

lots, graves, missiles etc. give us a very direct and contemporary view on the life of all classes of people. They show us their beliefs, their superstitions, their hopes, their loves and their hatreds. Many of the concepts of this thesis are shown as independent entities.

The inscriptions give us an almost statistical record of the popularity of the various cults. Hercules and Liber Pater seem to have a much greater following than many of the older gods, while Fortuna Primigenia must have been regarded as more important than Iove himself! Fides, Salus, Honor although respected were not half as popular.

Many of the inscriptions cannot be dated even approximately; others, containing names of magistrates, can be : I followed Degrassi for the chronology of the inscriptions and selected those which can be considered to be approximately second century.



Coin of Locri

Pistis crowning Roma

FIDES

We've seen how Polybius regarded the integrity, honesty, good faith of Romans as one national characteristic in which they differed from other people.

A third century coin from Locri shows a goddess Pistis crowning a female figure named Roma (1) and indeed fides Romana would best describe the relationship between Rome and its newly conquered territories. Walbank dates this coin shortly after 275. After the double treachery of Locri, the Pistis on the coin is either hypocrisy or it may reflect the Latin meaning of fides and stands for surrender. It is quite probable that at least in Italy pistis took on this meaning of fides. Polybius uses a Greek translation of the phrase 'se in fidem committere' (2)

ET Y M O L O G Y .

There seems to be little doubt that the verb *fidō* - *fidis* and the noun *fides* go back to the same stem: *bheidhō*, (Greek *peitho*) and is related to the Gothic *baidjan* and the old-Nordic *beida* : to force, to drive, to demand. The intermediate meaning to convince led via middle voice (*pepoitha*) to the meaning of belief, trust, good faith. Walde and Hofmann give as basic meaning "auf die sittliche Persönlichkeit sich beziehende Garantie". (3)

It is interesting to note that the widely accepted Roman etymology connects *fides* with *fidō* : '*fides appellata est ab eo, quia fit quod dicitur*'. (4)

2nd. Century Romans were highly etymology-conscious but there is no evidence that they were aware of this etymology, or if they were it did not influence the use of *fides*.

C U L T .

The cult of *fides* began in the early third century with a sanctuary on the Capitol (5).

Livy tells us that the priest offered an annual sacrifice with covered hands. We find the same symbolism back on a first century coin, where *fides* is also represented by a pair of covered hands. In their dealings with the unreliable Greeks on Delos, the well-organized Roman Community there found it necessary to build a temple for Pistis although this cult was unknown to the Greeks.

This early cult is an indication that *fides* as a concept developed at a very early stage and this is confirmed by the wide variety and meanings in the early

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- (1) Kraay- Greek coins 293, Walbank II, 332
 (2) Pol. III,30,1 and XX, 9.10-11
 (3) Lat.Etym.Wörterbuch p. 494
 (4) Cic. epist. 16.10.2
 rep. 4.7
 off. 1.23
 Aug. serm. 49.2 Isid. diff. 1-486
 (5) Latte p. 23

Roman literature.

S E M A N T I C S .

True to its Indo-Germanic etymology *fides* primarily denotes the correct ethical relationship of a lord to his subject, of a god to mortals : guardianship, overlordship, custody, *tutela*. The old formula for unconditional surrender : *committere se suaque omnia in fidem atque potestatem populi Romani*, describes this meaning best although it cannot be found as such in second century literature. A tessera inscription is our earliest example :

(I)N EIUS FIDEM OM(NES NOS TRADIMUS ET) COVENUMIS (1)

'We gave ourselves over to his care' does not express the meaning correctly. To take an example from Plautus:

Quid tu adolescentem, quem esse corruptum vides
Qui tuae mandatus est fide et fiduciae (2).

This of course is the main objection against most translations of *fides*. Words like faith, trust, belief, confidence all imply 'in another person or thing' while *fides* clearly denotes the attitude of the trusted person. The above line from Plautus can perhaps be best translated :

Who was entrusted to your faithful care

Simpler meanings of *fides* we find in :

Quae mihi esset commendata et meae fidei concredita
(3)

And using *fides* in malam partem :

Edepol fide adolescentem mandatum malae (4)

Terence uses *tutela* in combination with *fides* :

qui in tutelam meam
Studium suum et se in vostram commisit fidem (5)

That *fides* describes the attitude of a patronus to a *cliens* we find in the following :

Ego me tuae commendo et committo fidei
Te mihi patronam capio. (6)

and :

Thais patri se commendavit, in clientelam et fidem
nobis dedit se. (7)

- (1) CIL I 611.4 tessera hospitalis civitatis Fundanae scripta inter annos a. Chr. n. 222 et 152
(2) Trin. 117
(3) Cist. 245
(4) Trin. 129
(5) Hec. 53
(6) Eun. 886
(7) Eun. 1039

Fides has this same meaning of overlordship with the implications of good faith, responsibility, integrity etc. in the numerous invocations starting with pro :

Cicero's standard exclamation :

Pro deum atque hominum fidem

can also be found in Plautus (1) and in almost all second century authors, Ennius (2), Caecilius Statius(3), except Terence, while the expression

vostram ego imploro (obsecro) fidem

occurs even more frequently.

Mostly addressed to the gods in general :

Pro di immortales obsecro vostram fidem (4)

or to specific gods

Tuam fidem, Venus noctuvigilia (5)

Obsecro te, uterum dolet Iuno Lucina, tuam fidem (6)

All these are appeals to the mercy, the justice, of the beings, in whose custody, care, keeping the supplicant feels himself to be.

Ennius, as with his tria corda he does so often, likes to explain, to make sure that the correct meaning is understood :

per vos et vostrum imperium et fidem (7)

Myrmidonum vigiles, commiserescite

By stressing the idea of overlordship by a separate word he weakens the original meaning of fides. Similarly in :

Quod mihi meaque fide et regno vobisque Quirites

Se fortunatim feliciter ac bene vortat (8)

And in the following he again links fides et regnum

-----nulla sancta societas

Nec fides regni est. (9)

where societas seems to refer to the relationship between king and subjects.

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- (1) Epid. 580 - Curc. 694
 (2) Enn. Sat. 30
 (3) Statius, SRP 211, 269
 (4) Poen. 829, 899, 952, 965 Enn.var.18
 Men. 999, Amph. 1130
 Truc. 29.795, Most. 77.530.74
 (5) Curc. 196
 (6) Aul. 691
 (7) Enn.trag. 221
 (8) Enn.ann. 111
 (9) Enn.trag. 411

Most occurrences of *fides* in Plautus' comedies have the meaning of custody, overlordship, care. The prose-writers Cato and Sisenna do not use *fides* in this sense. Ennius knows this meaning but likes to elaborate on it. Terence avoids this meaning altogether except for one text (1) where the meaning could just as well be *bona fama*. For the second half of the century Accius uses *fides* twice but not with this meaning. Plautus is almost alone in using *fides* as an appeal to the gods. Must we come to the conclusion that this use of *fides* was restricted to the common people, while the more enlightened members of the governing classes avoided it? From Cicero onwards it comes into full use again!

While the first group of connotations imply a more or less permanent and general dependence, the second group denotes a specific and temporary dependence, but again includes the attitude to the dependent person in connection with an undertaking : good faith and from there the undertaking itself : promise, agreement, bargain.

When Tyndarus tells Hegio that he'll answer for the trustworthiness of Philocrates, Hegio agrees :

Mittam equidem istum aestumatum tua fide (2)

'Well then, I'll send him when we have a price on your good faith.' After which they agree to a price of twenty *minae* on this undertaking.

Some confusion arises with certain translators, who keep thinking in terms of the post-Ciceronian *fides* as '*actio sive facultas confidendi*'.

Ait, si fidem habeat se iripraepositum tibi
 Apud me, ac non id metuant ne ubi acceperim
 Sese relinquam, velle se illam mihi dare.
 Verum id vereri. (3)

Betty Radice (4) translates : 'He says he'd be willing to do so if he could be sure he came first with me and wasn't afraid I should leave him once I had her, only that is what he is afraid of' And another translator (5) puts it : 'if he felt certain'. What Thraso wants is an assurance from Thais, that she is not interested in Phaedria (6).

Clearer examples are :

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- (1) Andria 290
 - (2) Capt. 351
 - (3) EUN 139
 - (4) The Brother and other plays p. 34
 - (5) The complete Roman drama
 - (6) Thesaurus s.fides

Cum illo perdidero fidem (1)
Si servat fidem (2)

where the meaning is clearly to break or to keep a bargain. Promises by a master to a slave have no legal standing, in Plautus' comedies a common complaint :

Scio, fide hercle erili ut solvent inpudicitia opprobri
Nec subigi queantur unquam, ut pro ea fide habeant
iudicem. (3)

Fidem dare : to give a solemn promise occurs in the SC de Bacchanalibus with a few synonyms

NEVE POSTHAC INTER SED CONIURA (SE NEV)E COMVOVISE
NEVE CONSPONDI SE NEVE COMPROMESISE. VELET NEVE
QUISQUAM FIDEM INTER SED DEDISE VELET. (4)

Plautus explains the expression fidem dare :

Si fidem modo das mihi, te non fore infidum.
::Do fidem tibi, fidus ero, quisquis es (5)

Interesting is the exchange of words between Philocomasium and Sceledrus in Miles Gloriosus :

Lege agito : te nusquam mittam, nisi des firmatam
fidem

Te huc, si omisero, intro ituram :: Vi me cogis,
quisquis es.

Do fidem, si omittis, isto me intro ituram quo iubes::
Ecce omitto :: At ego abec missa :: Muliebri fecisti
fide (6)

with an amusing wordplay and switch of meaning of fides.

Both Ennius and Pacuvius use fides in the same manner :

Accipe daque fidem foedusque feri bene firmum (7)

with a typical Ennian tautology.

The verb nuncupare adds solemnity to Pacuvius' verses:

Extemplo Aegisthi fidem
Nuncupantes conciebunt populum (8)

and Accius is the first to speak of a breach of faith:

Fregisti fidem (9)

Fides and ius iurandum are often combined. Here is an example, one of quite a few scathing comments on the

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- (1) Pseud. 877
(2) Pseud. 519
(3) Pers. 19
(4) Degrassi II p.16
(5) Rud. 941
(6) Mil. 453
(7) Enn. Ann. 33
(8) Pacuvius TRF 140
(9) Accius TRF 227

integrity of lenones !

Is leno, ut se aequom est, flocci non fecit fidem
Neque quod iuratus adulescenti dixerat. (1)

Similarly Terence writes : quem neque fides neque ius iurandum (2) and Cato : neque fidem neque ius iurandum neque pudicitiam multi facit (3). Combined with ius iurandum one would translate : Undertaking, promise but with pudicitia this could just as well be honesty.

The third group of meanings is based on the character traits by which a person can be trusted, such as reliability, trustworthiness and honesty:

Quamquam ad ignotum arbitrum me adpellis, si adhibebit
fidem
Est ignotus notus; si non, notus ignotissunt (4)

Betty Radice translates : 'if he is on the level' (5)
and Mr. Chase : 'if he's an honourable man.' (6)

Fides comes even nearer to the meaning 'conscience' :

Nam ego amicum hodie meum
Constigabo pro commerita noxia
Invitus, ni id me invitet ut faciam fides (7)

Both Terence and Plautus comment on the fides lenonia (8)

leno ego sum :: scio :: at ita,
ut usquam fuit fide quisquam optima
licet leno sum, tamen non fide lenonia
utor, sed promissi fidem praestabo (9)

Their female colleagues were equally notorious, The following text gives us a connection between fides and the in the second century non-existent gravitas.

omnes sunt lenae levifidae
Neque tippulae levius pondust quam fides lenonia (10)

Finally fides often has the much wider meaning of reputation, good name often combined with res to indicate earthly possessions : Megadorus asks Euclio for his daughter in marriage and first refers to his family, his good name and his conduct :

Dic mihi, quali me arbitrare genere prognatum::Bono::
Quid fide:: Bona:: Quid factis ? (11)

-
- (1) Rud. 47
(2) Ad. 306
(3) ORF 8.3
(4) Rud. 1030
(5) The Rope and Other Plays p. 135
(6) Complete Roman Drama I p. 886
(7) Trin. 27
(8) Rud. 1836
(9) Ad. 161
(10) Pers. 243
(11) Aul. 212

Cato uses *fides* in this sense when he speaks of *fides maiorum* and *Sisenna* : *mulierem missa fide ac pietate* (7) *propter amoris nefarii lubidinem obstitisse* (1).
Ennius combines *fides* with *res* :

Ille vir haut magna cum re set plenus fidei

He may not be rich but he certainly has a good reputation.

Well known are the following verses of Terence :

----- homo antiqua virtute ac fide
Haud cito mali quid ortum ex hoc sit publice.
Quam gaudeo ubi etiam hujus generis reliquias
Restate video ! (2)

This is the only occurrence of *fides* in Terence, which could be translated as reputation or repute, and even here one may wonder if integrity and honesty or honour would not be a better translation.

In the *Mostellaria* Plautus inserts *fides* in a series of other virtues :

Res, fides, fama, virtus decusque (3)

The later meaning of *res et fides* as money and credit does not occur in the second century. *Fides* in the meaning of 'belief in', 'faithfulness to' is unknown for this time and in this sense is first used by Cicero and Caesar.

The concept as such expresses a duty to those who depend on us and not the other way round. *Fides* does apply to the keeping of an agreement with the implication of mutual dependence (*accipe daque fidem*).

With the exception of one place in Ennius, Plautus is the only author using, rather often, *Fides* as the name of a goddess :

O Fides alma apta pennis, et ius iurandum Iovis (4)

and in the Prologue of *Casina*, which was probably written about 150 BC by some unknown poet :

Salvere jubeo spectatores optimos
Fidem qui facitis maximi et vos Fides (5)

All other occurrences of *Fides* are in *Aulularia* :
Euclio hides his gold in the temple of Fides:

Nunc hoc mihi factumst optimum, ut te auferam
Aulam, in Fidei fanum : ibi abstrudam probe.
Fides, novisti me et ego te : cave sis tibi,
Ne tu immutassis nomen, si hoc concreduo
Ibo ad te fretus tua, Fides, fiducia (6)

(1) HRR 278.12
(2) Ad. 437
(3) Most. 120

(4) Enn.Trag. 410
(5) Cas. 1
(6) Aul. 582
(7) ORF p.27

When he finds the pot gone he complains

Fide censebam maxumam multo Fidem
esse : ea sublevit os mihi paenissime. (1)

Plautus probably only introduced a temple of Fides, in which to hide the gold, as an opportunity for his usual wordplay. He certainly did not copy this passage from a Greek example. We do not know how important or popular the goddess Fides was in Rome; her position was in that respect undoubtedly inferior to that of Fortuna.

Only one second century cippus carries the name Fide, and this is one of a collection of 14 found in Pisaurum, each carrying the name of a different God. (2)

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- (1) Aul. 667
(2) Degrassi I. 14

FORTUNA

Polybius' Tyche, we've seen, was a variable concept. He uses the word in many different meanings and without much consistency. In most instances he just uses tyche as part and parcel of the idiom of his time but sometimes he gives the matter some thought. He divides human failure into three categories :

1. the result of human shortcomings, which we must not call tyche
2. events beyond the control of man : weather, sickness etc. This is tyche : chance.
3. events due to the direct intervention of the divinity. This is Tyche, the most important sphere of action of Zeus.

But in most other instances Polybius paints us a rather sombre picture of Tyche as relentless, inexorable, unreasonable fate against which man is helpless and which he just has to bear patiently.

What idea of fortuna did second century Latin authors have and how does it compare with the Greek Hellenistic Tyche ?

ETYMOLOGY

Augustine does not waste much time in his criticism of the goddess Fortuna. How can somebody so arbitrary be a goddess? How can so many bad things come from a divinity ?

Quo modo ergo dea Fortuna aliquando bona est, aliquando mala? fortuna vero, quae dicitur bona, sine ullo examine meritorum fortuito accidit hominibus et bonis et malis, unde etiam Fortuna nominatur. (1)

Isidorus explains fortuna in a similar way (2). Neither intends to give an etymology and before Augustine none of the authors even bothers to explain the etymology of fortuna. To them the connection between fors and fortuna was obvious.

Modern etymology derives fors from ferre, which apart from its meaning to carry is related to a wide (3) family of Indo-Germanic words : Gothic bairan : to bring forth - modern : bairn, born, Afrikaans : gebeur, gebore. There is even a theory making Fortuna a goddess of birth; this would perhaps explain why Fortuna and Mater Matuta are occasionally mixed up.

In any case fors means chance, and Fortuna must be regarded as a popularizing extension of fors.

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- (1) Aug. Civ. 4.18
 (2) Isid. orig. 8.11.94
 (3) Walde Hofmann I. p. 483- p. 534

C U L T

Cicero has left us a description of a statue of Fortuna (1) :

Iuppiter puer qui lactans cum Iunone Fortunae in gremio sedens mammam adpetens castissime colitur a matribus.

Well known is the statue from Chiusi in the museum in Florence : a mother with a tightly swaddled baby on her lap. Etruscan influence is unmistakable.

The cult of Fortuna goes back to legendary times. Ovid and Plutarch place the first temple in the time of the kings. (2). The oldest evidence has been found in Praeneste and Antium. Most inscriptions from Praeneste are dedicated to Fortuna Divo fileia Primogenia. (3)

In Kurt Latte's (4) opinion the Primogenia does not refer to a Greek myth that Fortuna is the elder daughter of Zeus but only that Tyche was then regarded as the most important sphere of action of Zeus. Fortuna Iovis filia was probably preceded by a Fortuna Iovia, who again must have been an ancient goddess of childbirth.

In Rome there were three temples of Fortuna on the Quirinal : Fortuna Populi (which is quite common on coins), Fortuna Publica and Fortuna Equestris from 173. On the Capitol there was a temple of Fortuna Primogenia and finally there was a temple of Fortuna Obsequens, promised after the battle of Vercellae.

Fortuna seems to have been very popular with trades- and businessmen as a goddess of lucky deals; but as a goddess of marriage and the blessing of offspring she retained her old importance. On the via Latina, at the fourth milestone there was a sanctuary of Fortuna Muliebris. Meetings to honour her were only to be attended by muliebres univirae with the apparent intention that women without men or widowed women would bring bad luck. There was also a Fortuna Virilis whose cult was also popular with women and this cult had apparently something to do with the sexual side of marriage, because the Fasti explain that women used to pray to Fortuna Virilis in bathhouses, quod in iis ea parte corpo(is) utique viri nudantur, qua feminarum gratia desiderantur (5). This annual event took place on the 1st April.

Fortuna was worshipped with many other epithets such as privata, mala, bona, brevis and in the time of the Empire Fortuna Redux : Fortuna of the Homecoming or Safe Return became important.

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- (1) Cic. div. 2.85
 - (2) Ov.fast. 6.773 Plut.de fort.Rom. 319a
 - (3) Degrassi 101-110
 - (4) Latte 176
 - (5) Fast.Praenest.

When Kurt Latte compares the cults of Tyche and Fortuna he remarks on one important difference : 'Die Unberechenbarkeit des Geschehens, die in der griechische Tyche einen unpersönliche Ausdruck gefunden hat, ist hier eigentlich aufgehoben in jenem optimistische Anspruch, der auch sonst römische Religiosität bezeichnet. Dem entspricht, das Fortuna in der älteren Sprache überwiegend das Gelingen bezeichnet.' (1)

S E M A N T I C S

In the second century fortuna does not mean chance as such. The one place where Plautus uses it with that meaning he combines it with forte :

Forte fortuna per inpluvium huc despexi inproximum (2).

But here forte represents chance while fortuna qualifies it.

In some cases fortuna indicates the results of chance or a complex of coincidences : that which happens without anyone's direct intention and even without the intention of a divinity :

Per fortunam incertam et per mei te erga bonitatem patris (3).

Actutum fortunae solent mutari (4).

and Terence complains :

Quia scibam dubiam fortunam esse scenicam (5).

More often Plautus' fortuna means the condition or state of things without the implication that this is the result of chance only and very often with the added meaning that human action may influence this state of affairs :

Hegio, advising Stalagmus to speak the truth and do something about his state of affairs, says :

Propemodum ubi loci fortunae tuae sint facile intellegis (6).

Crumio answers Tranio's complaint about his garlic-smell:

Sine me alliato fungi fortunas meas. (7)

Terence uses fortuna in a similar way :

Servon fortunas meas me commississe futili (8),

while Ennius sometimes uses fortuna in the meaning of vicissitudes :

-----fortunasque suas crepere latrones
Inter se memorare ----- (9)

- | | | |
|---------------|--------------|------------------|
| (1) Latte 176 | (4) Truc.217 | (7) Most.45 |
| (2) Mil. 287 | (5) Hec. 16 | (8) Andr.609 |
| (3) Capt. 245 | (6) Capt.958 | (9) Enn. Ann.528 |

Good fortune, prosperity, good luck is more frequently meant in Plautus' comedies than the opposite, while Terence has only a few places where fortuna takes on the meaning of either good or bad luck :

Alicunde ab aliqui aliquae tibi spes est fore mecum fortunae (1).

And Plautus even extends good luck to plants and animals for comic effect :

O scirpe, scirpe, laudo fortunas tuas
Qui semper servas gloriam aritudinis (2).

and the other soaked and shivering pimp answers :

Utinam fortuna nunc anatina uterer
Ut, quom exivissem ex aqua, arerem tamen. (3)

Compared to the number of places, where fortuna has a favourable meaning, the number meaning bad luck or adversity is low :

Conqueritur mecum mulier fortunas suas (4)

and Terence, hoping for the best in his Prologue to Phormio :

Ne simili utamur fortuna atque usisumus
Quum per tumultum noster grex motus loco est. (5)

The most frequent meaning of fortuna in Plautus' comedies is a state of well-being, or even social status :

When Phromerium asks Diniarchus :

Complectere ::

Lubens, Heia, hoc est melle dulci dulcius
Hoc tuis fortunis, Iuppiter, praestant meae (6)

Trabea considers Fortuna to be at least as fortunate as Iuppiter :

de improvise chrysis ubi me aspexerit
Alacris obviam mihi veniet complexum ex optans meum
Mihi se dedet : Fortunam ipsam anteibo fortunis meis.(7)

Sisenna clearly refers to social status in the following:

ego illos malos et audaces semper enixim contra
fortunas atque honores huius ordinis omnia fecisse
ac dixisse sentio. (8)

-
- (1) Epid 332
 - (2) Rud. 512
 - (3) Rud. 522
 - (4) Mil. 125
 - (5) Phormio 30
 - (6) Truc. 367
 - (7) CRF 5
 - (8) HRR 291.15

Only one second century text refers to the fortuna rei publicae : L.Coelius Antipater writes :

ita uti sese quisque vobis studeat aemulari in statu fortunae rei publicae, eadem re gesta, toppe nihilominus minore negotio acta gratia minor esset. (1)

So far the meanings of fortuna were the usual ones, but in the second century there was a noticeable development in the use of fortuna. Plautus naturally has the widest variety of uses, and he is the only one who uses, and quite frequently, the name of the Goddess Fortuna.

She is the most welcome person Euclio can think of:

Si Bona Fortuna veniat, ne intromiseris, (2)

and with a different title :

Tau stultiloque; nescis quid tu instit boni, Neque quam tibi Fortuna faculam lucrifera adlucere volt. :: Quae istaec lucrifera est Fortuna? (3)

This good goddess seems to bestow her favours on ignorant people only, who respect her wisdom : Some people, however, think they know better, but :

Centum doctum hominum consilia sola haec devincit dea, Fortuna (4)

But even Plautus has heard of the Nova Sapientia :

Nam sapiens quidem pol ipse fingit fortunam sibi (5)

Ennius' concept of fortuna is quite different from the friendly, good natured lady of Plautus :

-----mortalem summum fortuna repente Reddidit, e summo regno ut famul infimus esset (6)

Even greater Greek influence we see in the following :

His verbis : 'O gnata, tibi sunt ante ferendae Aerumnae, post ex fluvio fortuna resistet.' (7)

This is not the goddess of chance but inexorable Tyche driving man according to his fate - The same sombre note we hear in :

Heu, heu, mea fortuna, ut omnia in me conglomeras malum (8)

Just as Greek is :

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- (1) HRR 173.7
 - (2) Aul. 100
 - (3) Pers. 513
 - (4) Pseud. 681
 - (5) Trin. 364
 - (6) Enn. Ann. 316
 - (7) Enn. Ann. 47
 - (8) Enn. Trag. 408

Ubi fortuna Hectoris nostram acrem aciem inclinatam
(dedit) (1)

Terence on the other hand likes to personify fortuna
but not once does he mention Fortuna as a goddess :

O fortuna, ut numquam perpetuo es bona (2)
and :
an fortunam collaudem quae gubernatrix fuit (3)

Famous is the following passage :

Nam quod ego huic nunc subito exitio remedium inveniam
miser?
Quod si eo meae fortunae redeunt, Phanium, abs te ut
distrahor,
Nulla est mihi vita expetenda :: Ergo istaec quum ita
sint, Antipho
Tauto magis te advigilare aequum est. FORTES FORTUNA
ADJUVAT. (4)

An unknown palliata poet gives us a similar verse :

Sui quique mores fingunt fortunam hominibus (5)

and Ennius :

Fortibus est fortuna viris data (6)

Cicero likes to use Terence's 'Fortes fortuna
adjuvat' (7) and he adds, ut est in vetere proverbio.
Sophocles and Menander have similar proverbs. There is
undoubtedly Stoic influence here, though it is difficult
to diagnose Stoic symptoms in a century of transition
from Chrysippus to Panaetius, from Fate to practical
ethics. The inward reaction to the chances of life
seems to have been part of Panaetius' teachings, if, as
van Straaten says, the first two books of De Officiis
contain Panaetius' theories. (8)

Pacuvius has a long fragment on Fortuna, where Greek
influence and symbolism is unmistakable.

Ennius uses the Greek comparison of fortuna as a flowing
river (9), Pacuvius uses the revolving sphere :

Fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi,
Saxoque instare in globeso praedicant volubilei :
Id quo saxum inpulerit fors, eo cadere Fortunam autumnant.
Insanam autem esse aiunt, quia atrox incerta instabilisque sit:
Caecam ob eam rem esse iterant, quia nil cernat quo sese adplicat:

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- (1) Enn.Träg. 25
(2) Hec. 405
(3) Enn. 1046
(4) Phormio 203
(5) Incert.Pall. CRF p. 147
(6) Enn.Ann. 262
(7) Tusc. II.4, de Fin. 111.4
(8) Van Straaten p. VI
(9) Enn.Ann. 47

Brutam, quia dignum atque indignum nequeat internoscere
 Sunt autem alii philosophi, qui contra Fortunam negant
 Ullam miseriam esse, temeritatem esse omnia autumant
 Id magis veri simile esse usus re apse experiundo edocet:
 Velut Orestes modo fuit rex, factust mendicus modo. (1)

Here, the senex doctus neatly distinguishes between
 Tyche-fate and Tyche-chance. Did Pacuvius write this after
 listening to the Athenian ambassadors : Carneades,
 Diogenes and Critolaos ?

We recognize the Stoa in the rolling sphere, while the
 scepticism of the Middle Academy may be recognized in the
 temeritas (chance) of the last portion of the fragment.

(1) Pac. Trag. 366

GLORIA

'Ex omnibus praemiis virtutis amplissimum esse gloriam'(1).

This and many other remarks by Cicero show the importance of gloria as a motivating factor in the first century BC, and indeed the concept grew in importance until in Christian Latin it became the dominating attribute of God.

We do not know how old this word is, we do not know where it came from; its etymology is obscure and even its meaning in the second century sources is often far from clear.

Among so many synonyms::fama, claritudo, claritas, laus, honor it is almost impossible to determine in what respect gloria differed from the others and how it came to acquire such importance in classical times.

ET Y M O L O G Y

'Gloriosus a frequentia claritatis dictus, g pro c littera commutatu' says Isidorus. (2)

Even in modern etymology this is still one of the theories on gloria's etymology. Other opinions connect it with gnōria - gnōrimos, kleos, clueo, glēnos, gelao. All of them remain theories, and none has been generally accepted.

Is there perhaps a general meaning to the expressive gl- ? In Latin we have glaber, glacies, gladius, glans, glaesum, gluten, all having in common the element of glare, glaze, gleam, glimmer, glistening and gloss. In Nederlands we have the words glans, glibberig, glijden, glimmend, gloed, gloren, glunderen. Is it not very probable that a word like gloria originally had that same connotation of a glossy surface on which light is reflected and thence the glare of light itself?

Among the classical definitions Cicero's are interesting because Gloria was such an important factor in his own life. Of his treatise de Gloria only fragments survive, but we have a number of definitions in his other works :

Gloria est frequens de aliquo fama cum laude (3)

Gloria est consentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox bene iudicantium de eccellente virtute. (4)

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- (1) Cic. Mil. 11.22
 - (2) Orig. 10.113
 - (3) Cic. Invent. 2.55
 - (4) Tusc. 3.2

Gloria est illustris ac pervagata multorum et magnorum
vel in suos, vel in patriam, vel in omne genus
hominum fama meritorum. (1)

Summa et perfecta gloria constat e tribus his : si
diligit multitudo, si fidem habet, si cum admiratione
quadam honore dignos putat. (2)

Thus according to Cicero Gloria is a distinction
conferred by the people (*frequens, multi, multitudo*) but
also by the higher classes (*boni, magni*) which consists
of a combination of renown (*fama*) praise, honour and
admiration based on the objective and honest (*incorrupta
vox, fides habent*) opinion that the person concerned has
done something of great merit (*excellens virtus*) for
their own (*in suos*), for the country (*in patriam*) or
for the whole human race (*in omne genus hominum*).

Cicero seems to have adapted the meaning of
Gloria to his changing circumstances. The one in the
Tusculan Disputations excludes the 'multi' and restricts
Gloria to the opinion of the 'boni'.

S E M A N T I C S

The first occurrence of a gloria-derivative is in
Naevius. Apparently he did not only make enemies of the
Metelli, for the great Scipio himself came in for some
criticism :

Etiam qui res magnas manu saepe gessit gloriose
Cujus facta viva nunc vigent, qui apud gentes solus
praestat
Eum suus pater cum pallio ab amica abduxit uno (3)

Gloriosus here still has a meaning corresponding with
gloria, which in the second century it has lost
altogether.

In Plautus' comedies gloria (*sing.*) occurs only
ten times, gloriae (*plur.*) three times and gloriosus
nine times.

Gloriosus always has the meaning of braggart.
In *Miles Gloriosus*, Palaestrio explains to the audience
that the Greek title was *Alazon* to make the meaning
of gloriosus even clearer. (4)

Miles Gloriosus is generally regarded as the
oldest of Plautus' comedies and the two cases of gloria
occurring there have little of the classical meaning :

Aut gloriarum pleniorum quam illic est (5)
'If anyone has seen a greater liar or a bigger bundle
of conceit than this fellow' (6). Admittedly the

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- (1) Marcell. 8 extr.
(2) Off. 2.9
(3) Naev.
(4) Mil. 87
(5) Mil. 22
(6) Complete Roman Drama p. 548

plural differs in the other comedies also from the usual meaning.

The other case is just as ironical :

Nisi perdere istam gloriam vis quam habes, cave sis faxis (1)

Do you want to lose that glorious reputation that you have ? Please see to it that you don't.

If we take the possibility into account that Naevius used 'glorioso' also in an ironical way, it looks as if the early meaning of gloria was vainglory, boastfulness. In few of the other comedies does gloria take on the serious meaning of glory.

The argument that one cannot expect the latter connotation in Plautus, can be refuted by the fact that the other concepts such as fides, honor, virtus etc. are as a rule used in their - at that time - serious meaning. In the well-known complaint of Alcmene she consoles herself for her husband's absence with the thought of the renown earned by him in his campaign (2). In this beautiful and touching passage, the reader is prepared for and expects the word gloria towards the end but apparently this word did not fit the situation, because it is 'virtus' which is greater than 'liberty', health, our life and wealth'.

Striking is the use of 'gloria' in the fragment of Cato in which he describes the self-sacrifice of the tribune Q. Caecilius. Cato compares this heroic act with that of Leonidas at Thermopylae :

Leonidas Iaco quidem simile apud Thermopylas fecit, propter eius virtutis omnis Graecia gloriam atque gratiam praecipuam claritudinis inclitissimae decovavere monumentis : signis, stautis, elogiis, historiis aliisque rebus gratissimum id eius factum habuere; at tribuno militum parva laus pro factis relicta (3)

Compare what is for Cato an exuberant passage, the description of Leonidas' glory in Greece with Rome's 'parva laus pro factis'. This contrast was undoubtedly intended and again one feels the irony of gloria. Elsewhere, when talking of Roman glory, Cato uses fama (4) or claritudo (5).

Is it possible that gloria was at first used in the meaning of boastful glory; that its derivative gloriosus retained this meaning but that gloria acquired its traditional meaning later in the course of the second century? Let us look at the other cases of gloria in Plautus.

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- (1) Mil. 1245
 - (2) Amp. 643
 - (3) HRR 80
 - (4) HRR 65.12
 - (5) HRR 73.11

The three other comedies, which probably date to before 200, *Asinaria*, *Cistellaria* and *Epidicus* do not have 'gloria'.

In *Aulularia* we find :

Pro re nitorem et gloriam pro copia
Qui habent meminert sese unde oriendi sunt (1)

The combination of nitor and gloria are a further support for the original meaning of gloria : shining light. Gloria here means show or pomp.

Praenestinum opino esse : ita erat gloriosus
----- neque haud subditiva
Gloria oppidum arbritor. (2)

I suppose he was from Praeneste : such a braggart was he
----- on the other hand, I think, that town has
some right to brag.

Gloria defines clueo in the following verse :

Facito ergo ut Achernunti clueas. gloria.
See to it then, that you shine with 'glory' in
Acheron (3).

The pomp and swagger of those in office is meant in the following :

Nec demarchus nec comarchus nec cum tanta gloria
Quin cadat, quin capit sistat in via de semita (4)
There is no tribune nor burgomaster, nor anyone so
important, but that down he'll go and tumble head-
first from the sidewalk to the street. (5)

In the verse from *Rudens*, where the soaking wet pimp praises the rushes because they are dry : (gloriam aritudinis), gloria seems to mean something wonderful, something amazing. (6)

When gloria forms part of a series, it comes much nearer to the Ciceronic meaning :

Nunc tibi potestas adipiscundi est gloriam laudem
decus (7)

and again :

Boni sibi haec expetunt, rem, fidem, honorem
Gloriam et gratiam ; hoc probis pretiumst. (8)

Trinummus with its excess of moral edification and its lack of comic exuberance is in its use of gloria again different from the other comedies. The remaining three

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- (1) *Aul.* 54
(2) *Bacc.* 18
(3) *Capt.* 689
(4) *Curc.* 286
(5) *Complete Roman Drama* p. 368
(6) *Rud.* 512
(7) *St.* 281
(8) *Trin.* 274

cases of gloria in Trinummus have that same classical and almost aristocratic meaning :

Si in rem tuam
Lesbonice esse videatur, gloriae aut famae, sinam (1)

and also :

Ut rem patriam et gloriam maiorum foedarim meum (2)

and lastly the contradictory prayer of the rich Charmides to Neptune praising the god for protecting the poor and wrecking the rich :

Atque hanc tuam gloriam iam ante auribus acceperam
nobiles apud homines

In the translations of both Betty Radice and George E. Duckworth's, 'nobiles' has been left out.

With Phronesium's complaint about the quickly gone spoils of harlothood, we find the old Plautus back again, though Truculentus is almost certainly of a later date than Trinummus :

Ita sunt gloriae meretricum (3)

There is here a definite connection between spoils, trophies and glory.

Ennius, the foreigner, is again interested in the exact meaning of words and likes to define, where there is doubt :

----- Summam tibi
Pro mala vita famam extolles, pro bona partam gloriam
Male volentes famam tollunt, bene volentes gloriam (4)

Isidorus diligently copies Ennius' definition :

Inter famam et gloriam : gloria quippe virtutum est,
fama vera vitiorum (Ennius in Achille -----) (5)

Fama often has a neutral meaning : talk or rumour; but more often it has the meliorating meaning of fame or good reputation rather than of notoriety, and gloria both in the second century and in classical times means much more than just great reputation, as appears from Ennius' other use of gloria :

Nunc est ille dies cum gloria maxima sese
Nobis ostendat si vivimus sive morimur (6)

A general speaking to his troops before a battle uses gloria in a different way from Cicero's highly

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- (1) Trin. 630
 - (2) Trin. 658
 - (3) Trin. 879
 - (4) Enn.Trag. 27
 - (5) Is.Diff. 218
 - (6) Enn.Ann. 383

personal and individualistic concept of gloria. Ennius in this verse contributes more to the development of the concept of gloria than in the previous one :
 Gloria can apply to a group of persons, it does not primarily require a large number of people to know about it; gloria can also be acquired by an unknown soldier dying in battle. This brings a certain mystic and religious element into the concept.

Remarkable in the above verse is the visual aspect in the use of gloria 'nunc est ille dies' and 'gloria se ostendat' as if gloria were a light rising above the horizon; a common theme in religious and saecular art throughout the centuries.

Terence uses gloria in a few of his pearls of wisdom :

Labore alieno magnam partam gloriam
 Verbis saepe in se transmovet qui habet salem.
 A clever man can often appropriate to himself by speech the glory which others have won by laborious action. (1)

The meaning of gloria is here conventional and rather weak. Just as conventional is gloria in :

Ego istuc aetatis non amori operam dabam
 Sed in Asiam hinc abii propter pauperiem, atque ibi
 Simul rem, et belli gloriam armis repperi (2)

Because Heautontimoroumenos was written in 163 this verse might refer to the father's participation in the Asian campaign of 191-190 unless Terence followed Menander too closely to allow for 'local colour'.

Very weakened and worn is the use of gloria in :

gloria tu istam obtine

where Terence means the pride which a father takes on leaving money to his sons.

The same applies to :

Nam si est ut haec nunc Pamphilium vere ab se segregavit
 Scit sibi nobilitatem ex eo et rem natam et gloriam esse (3)

If it is really true that she has broken off her connections with Pamphilus, she knows that thereby she had gained credit, fortune and respect. (4)

An important group of inscriptions from the third and second century B.C. are the epitaphs of the Scipios. A comparison of the praise of the deceased may give us

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- (1) Eun. III. 1.9
 (2) Heaut. 1.1.60
 (3) Hec. V. 2.31
 (4) Complete Roman Drama II. 395

some indication of the importance attached to some of our concepts.

The oldest epitaph, the one of L. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Scipio Barbatus, which has been dated to approximately 230, has only one eulogistic epithet : optumo (1) .

The next one, on the grave of Barbatus himself (though the inscription is certainly of a later date) praises him as : fortis, sapiens, forma virtutei parisuma (2).

The third epitaph is of L. Cornelius Scipio, the eldest son of Africanus and the adoptive father of Aemilianus; mention is made of :

honos, fama, virtusque, gloria atque ingenium

and further :

facile facteis superases gloriam maiorum

The single s in superases dates the inscription to the first half of the second century.

Another epitaph from approximately the same time belongs to a son of Cn. Cornelius Scipio, who died too young to have earned any laurels :

Magna sapientia multasque virtutes
Aetate quom parva posidet hoc saxum
Quoieui vita defecit, non honos honore,
is hic situs, quei nunquam victus et virtutei
Annos gnatus (viginti) is loceis mandatus
Ne quairatis honore quei minus sit mandatus. (3)

No mention of gloria is made in this or any of the later Scipio-epitaphs or in any other funerary inscription of the second century.

Pacuvius does not use gloria and Accius has two rather interesting cases :

Tot tropaea transdes, summam gloriam evorti sines tam
desubito (4)

and

Remanet gloria apud me : excuvias dignavi Atalantae dare
(5)

Both cases lay a connection between gloria and the external proof : the trophies. But in the first text the implication seems to be, that in handing over the trophies the gloria is also lost.

The second verse indicates that after they have been won,

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- (1) Degrassi 310
 - (2) Degrassi 309
 - (3) Degrassi 312
 - (4) Acc. Trag. 366
 - (5) Acc. Trag. 447

the trophies lose their importance. They are just initial evidence for gloria.

The custom of trophies is Greek. It is interesting to note that at approximately the same time as Accius, trophies made their appearance on Roman coins. The



coins of the Victoriati class show Victory crowning a trophy with laurels. This trophy probably denotes gloria.

Even stronger is the Greek influence on a coin of Egnatuleius (1) showing Victory inscribing a shield, which she attaches to a trophy. This may be another indication of the concept of gloria, because the Greek

epigraphé is clearly illustrated. (2)

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- (1) Sydenham 588
 (2) V.S. Polybius p. 11

HONOR

Few of the concepts under discussion have retained their original meaning like honor. And few also have remained so static throughout the second century. While most other concepts quickly adopted their full range of meanings, honos changed very little and took on other meanings only in Cicero's time.

ETYMOLOGY

The origin of honos is unknown. The derivative honestus indicates the existence of an ancient honos, -eris. At an early stage there was almost certainly a borrowing of meaning from Greek *timê*, but because we do not even know the basic pre-literary meaning of honos, we are not sure what the point of contact between the Greek and Latin was.

No Latin etymology survives and there is no evidence of any form of popular etymology.

Even Latin definitions of honos are scarce. Cicero has left us one :

Honos est premium virtutis, iudicio studioque civium delatum ad aliquem.

This connection between virtus and honos is shown on the coin of G. Fufius Calenus (1), where virtus is represented with a helmet and honos with laurels.



CULT

Like virtus the cult of Honos was of a military character. In the third century a temple was vowed and built by Q. Fabius Maximus in the war with the Ligurians (233). After the battle of Clastidium and the conquest of Syracuse in 212 Marcellus wanted to enlarge this temple to include Virtus but this was refused by the Pontifical College, so a separate temple was built for Virtus but connected with the one of Honos.

(1) Daremberg-Saglio V.S. honos, Sydenham 797

Marius built a temple in honour of Honos and Virtus from booty taken in the campaign against the Cimbri and Teutones (1). This shows that the combination of the two cults was firmly established.

S E M A N T I C S .

Honor was, perhaps more than any other concept, of special importance in the official Latin of the second century. Where for the other concepts we have to rely mainly on Plautus and Terence, we have quite a few occurrences of honos in the fragments of historians, orators and in the inscriptions, especially the second century epitaphs.

In Plautus' comedies honos is used in a rather weakened and conventional way. Again *Trinummus* is the exception, as if Plautus has gone out of his way to use a higher-class language in *Trinummus*. In the other comedies honos just means respect, with very few exceptions.

The expressions *Honoris causa* and *honoris gratia*. (2), although rather weak in meaning, have not become polite phrases yet and there is some variation in their meaning. *Honoris causa* is the weakest of the two: out of respect for you (3) or just with my compliments (4). *Honoris gratia* is slightly more meaningful:

Aetatis atque honoris gratia
Out of respect for your tender age and social standing
(5)

_____ eius honoris gratia
Feci, thesaurum ut hic reperiret Euclio
Because of his respect for me. (6)

Honores is more specific and concrete than the singular: Marks of honour, marks of homage,
The household god complains:

Atque ille vero minus minusque inpendio
Curare minusque me impertire honoribus (7)

and *Phaedromus* in love with *Planesium* declares that his happiness is greater than that of a king:

Sibi sua habeant regna reges, sibi divitias divites,
Sibi honores, sibi virtutes, sibi pugnas, sibi proelia
(8)

In the following verses the terminology reminds one of the Greek phraseology of *Menander*:

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- (1) ILS 59
(2) *Asin.* 191
(3) *Pren.* 637
(4) *Asin.* 194
(5) *Asin.* 19
(6) *Ant.* 25
(7) *Aul.* 18
(8) *Curc.* 179

Petulans, proptervo iracundo animo, indomito incogitato
Sine modo et modestia sum, sine bono iure atque honore
Incredibilis imosque animi, in amabilis in lepide vivo,
(1)

Combined with bono iure : 'sense of value' seems to me a better translation than sense of honour, where Mnesilochus is scolding himself for giving the money to his father. There is a possible semantic influence of timê here.

Honos in Trinummus deserves some special attention, not only because it occurs in Trinummus about as many times as in all other comedies together, but also because the meaning and usage is quite different.

Boni sibi haec expetunt, rem, fidem, honorem
Gloriam et gratiam; hoc probis pretiumst (2)

In the second century 'boni' is not used with the connotation of aristocracy, but fides, honor and gloria all firmly based on 'res' point in this direction.

Is est honos homini pudico, meminisse officium suum(3)

Here honos becomes a matter of self-respect and combined with pudicus of conscience.

Interesting and amusing is :

Non tibi dicam volo.
Decedam ego illi de vita, de semita
De honore populi, rerum quod ad ventrem attinet
Non hercle hoc longe, nisi me pugnis vicerit. (4)

Honor populi here probably means public office :

And I'm not kidding. In the street, in a passage or in a matter of promotion to public office, of course I'd give way to the gentleman; but at bellywork, no, I wouldn't budge an inch - unless he was a better fighter than me. (5)

In the sermon of Lysiteles to Lesbonicus, honos is also the hall-mark of the noble man, being passed on from father to son :

Itam tandem hanc maiores famam tradiderunt tibi tui,
Ut virtute eorum anteparta per flagitium perderes
Atque honori posterorum tuorum ut index fieres?
Tibi paterque avusque facilem fecit et planam viam
ad quaerendum honorem. (6)

Here at last we find the traditional concept of honos being the reward for virtus. Honos with fama here means the traditional and hereditary good name of the family.

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- (1) Bacch. 612
(2) Trin. 274
(3) Trin. 698
(4) Trin. 484
(5) The Rope and other plays p. 184
(6) Trin. 644

Cato's use of honos raises the same question as we met in the discussion of fides. In the case of fides it was clear that, at least as far as second century use is concerned, the concept was wholly active. Fides doesn't mean trusting that another person will do something but the feeling of responsibility of a person toward those who depend on him.

Cato uses the expression honorem habere twice :

Domi cum auspicamus, honorem me dium immortalium
velim habuisse. (1)

The usual classical construction is honorem habere alicui (2).

One can therefore well ask, who is honouring whom here. The context of course makes it clear that here 'honorem habere' means 'to give honour to' or with the genitive case 'to have respect for' and not 'to have the respect of'.

The other passage is not so clear :

Sed si honorem non aequum est haberi ob eam rem,
quod bene facere voluisse quid dicit neque fecit tamen,
Rodiensibus oberit, quod non male fecerunt sed quia
dicuntur facere. (3)

The impersonal passive haberi makes one wonder what the correct translation is : 'But if it is not right that honour is received?' or : 'That honour is given.'

In the third case of honos in Cato's fragments, the meaning is completely concrete :

maiores seorsum atque divorsum pretium paruvare
bonis atque strenuis, decurionatus, optinatus, hastas
donaticas, aliosque honores (4)

This is a fragment of Cato's speech to the 'equites' at Numantia and can therefore be dated to 195 BC. Because honores here refers to minor military ranks and decorations, the meaning here is 'signs of honour' and not yet public office, but like the doubtful use of honor populi by Plautus (5) it is an indication that the meaning of honor was moving in that direction.

The one case of honos in Ennius' fragments adds little to its semantic development :

Tu me amoris magis quam honoris servavisti gratia (6).

Second century amor seldom means anything but sexual love, so that amor and honor form a contrast here : physical against spiritual love.

So far we have not met with a clear case of honos meaning office. The epitaph of L.Cornelius Cn.f.Cn.n.

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- (1) ORF 34
(2) Vid.inf.Scaurus ORF 212
(3) HRR 87.12
(4) Cato.Fest. p. 220.9
(5) Vid.sup.Trin. 484
(6) Enn.Trag. 232

Scipio, who was a son of Hispallus (died 176 BC) or a younger brother or son of Hispanus, has the following verses :

Quoiei vita defecit, non honos honore,
 is hic situs. qui nunquam victus est virtutei.
 Annos gnatos (viginti) is l(oc)eis mandatus.
 Ne quairatis honore qui minus sit mandatus. (1)

Here the author uses a wordplay on the double meaning of honos : if we read honore as a dative the first line could mean :

His life fell short of public office and not his honour

and again the last line :

Do not seek titles, where none has been given.

Because the date of this inscription could be any time from 176 BC to almost the end of the century, and because no clear-cut case exists for the first half of the century of honos meaning public office, either the inscription belongs to the second half of the century or a different translation is indicated. Then honore would mean the outward signs of honour with indirect implication of rank and title.

Hispanus himself, who with Nasica supervised the surrender of Carthage and as praetor peregrinus expelled the 'Chaldaeans' from Rome in 139 (2) and died not long after, has the following epitaph :

Cn.Cornelius Cn.f. Scipio Hispanus,
 pr(aetor), ad(ilis), qu(aestor), tr(ibunus) mil(itum)
 (bis), decem(vir) sl(itibus) indik(andis), (decem)vir
 sacr(is) fac(iundis).

Virtutes generis meis moribus accumulavi
 progeniem genui, facta patris patriei
 Maiorum optenni laudem ut sibi me esse creatum
 laetentur; stirpem nobilitavit honor

Again we see inconsequent archaic spelling combined with what for that time was modern metre (hexameters and pentameters), alliterations and such signs of the time as: progeniem genui, when the birthrate of the nobles was falling in an alarming way. This remark is of particular interest in the decennium when Metellus, who proposed laws to encourage parenthood, clashed with the Scipio faction. Lucilius attacked Metellus by making his proposals ridiculous. (3)

In the epitaph 'stirpem nobilitavit honor' may have the meaning : my career in public office was the cause of higher status for my descendants, but again this is doubtful.

Terence brings little change in the concept of honor. His use of it is just as conventional and often meaningless as that of Plautus.

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- (1) Degrassi 312
 (2) Val. Max. 1.3.3
 (3) Cichorius Röm. Stud. pp. 71.77.130.171 -Astin p.313

The parasite Gnato brags how popular he is and how everybody greets him in the market place :

Salutant; ad coenam vocant; adventum gratulantur.
 Ille ubi miser famelicus videt me esse in tanto honore
 Et tam facile victum quaerere, ibi homo coepit me
 obsecrare (1)

The meaning here is not so much respect as popularity.

The future classical meaning of reward, fee can be heard in :

Nullus sum :: Hic pro illo munere tibi honos est
 habitus :: abeo (2)

The use of honoris causa has also weakened :

Nam non est aequum me propter vos decipi,
 Quum ego vestri honoris causa repudium alterae
 Remiserim quae dotis tantundem dabat (3)

Here it means just 'for your sake'

Lucilius gives honor a much stronger accent :

si forte ne temere omnino quid, quorsum? ad honorem?
 ut perhibetur iners, ars in quo non erit ulla (4)

ad honorem seems to have the meaning of : to make a good impression.

But generally Lucilius uses honor in the classical meaning : respect, honour, sign of respect :

nullo honore, ludis, fletu multo, multo funere. (5)

From Scipio Aemilianus we have two cases of honos both linking honos and imperium :

ex innocentia nascitur dignitas, ex dignitate
 honor, ex honore imperium, ex imperio libertas (6)

Isidorus quotes this dictum as an example of climax. Few of our second century fragments are as pregnant with meaning as this one. 'Honor' is here the public recognition of dignitas resulting in public office, unless it stands for public office itself, but in that case imperium must be regarded as the culmination of the cursus honorum : praetor- and consulship.

While the previous fragment could be regarded as Scipio's own words, the following being an indirect quotation by Cicero may not be verbatim :

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- (1) Enn. 2.2.29
 (2) Enn. 5.6.22
 (3) Phor. 5.6.35
 (4) Luc. 451
 (5) Luc. 691
 (6) ORF 187

Itaque semper Africanus Socraticum Xenophontem in manibus habebat, cuius in primis laudabat illud, quod diceret eosdem labores non aequae gravis esse imperatori et militi, quod ipse honos laborem leviolem faceret imperatorium (1).

Honos here can be translated by honour with the implication of recognition by the people of the general's abilities, personality and character and the general's awareness of this public status.

C. Sempronius Gracchus also uses honos with this meaning of public recognition; in his speech on the Lex Auleia :

Verum peto a vobis non pecuniam sed bonam existimationem atque honorem. Qui prodeunt dissuasuri ne hanc legem accipiatis, petunt non honorem a vobis, verum a Nicomede pecuniam (2).

Finally a late second century (106) example of having honorem habere alicui in a neutral meaning and qualified by 'peiolem' leading to the connotation : contempt, insult :

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 peiolem honorem habuit. (3)

Gellius comments on this unusual expression : cuius verbi sententia est, 'maiore vos adfecit iniuria et contumelia quam me !' (4)

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- (1) Cic. Tusc. 2.62
 (2) ORF 187
 (3) M. Aurelius Scaurus ORF 212
 (4) Gell. XII. 9.4

HUMANITAS

From the philological point of view there is no evidence that *humanitas* was a second century ethical concept. The word occurs scarcely at all in our sources. On the other hand there is no doubt that the concept found its origin in the second century. There is however sufficient indirect philological as well as historical evidence to make a discussion of *humanitas* feasible.

ETYMOLOGY.

To the Romans the derivation of *humanus* from *homo* was so obvious that they did not even remark on it. The well-known text : *Homo sum* (1) shows that the Romans were conscious of this connection.

The sequence *publicus* : *populus* : *poplicus* cannot be compared with *homo-humanus*. *Poplicus* was the result of mistaken etymology (2). On the other hand the change of *o* to *u* cannot easily be explained and *humanus* is almost certainly not a derivation from *homo*. *Homo*, *hemo* (comp. *nehemo* - *nemo*) seems to be related to Gothic *guma* (man) but what the original stem-meaning was is unknown. There seems to be a considerably variety of opinion on the etymology of *homo* (3). Some, like Ernout Meillet, do connect *homo* with *humus*, so that *homo*'s original meaning would be earthling.

For *humanus* the connection with *humus* is opposed by few but neither *homo* nor *humanus* has any second century text relating them to *humus*. Therefore the popular *homo*-etymology is of semantic importance and not the real *humus*-etymology.

CULT.

The development of the concept *humanitas* was preceded by a logical and necessary step : the humanizing of the gods. Euhemerism entered Rome at a comparatively early stage. Ennius wrote a treatise on the human nature of the gods, which did not survive. How widespread this theory was, is shown by the comedies of Plautus :

Etenim ille quous huc iussu venio Iuppiter
Non minus quam vostrum quivis formidat malum
Humana matre natus, humano patre. (4)

says Mercury in the prologue of *Amphitryo*, and it is typical of the comedies that the human aspect of the gods is their weakness and that this leads, as shown in *Amphitryo*, not so much to contempt as to the realization of common humanity. 'To err is human' is the basic theme of the development of '*humanus*' in the second century.

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- (1) Ter. Heaut 77
 - (2) Ernout Meillet 437
 - (3) Walde-Hofmann 655
 - (4) Amph. 26

While the word 'humanus' in Plautus' comedies contributes little to our understanding of the early development of the concept *humanitas*, the contents of the comedies show us much more. Admittedly the plot and the scenes are almost certainly all copied from Greek comedy, but the fact alone that they were understood and welcomed by the Roman public gives us some indication of the development of Roman opinion. That *Amphitryo* with its farcical treatment of traditional religious values, was acceptable to the public and sponsoring authorities at a, basically religious festival, is at the least evidence of religious tolerance.

Human compassion, tolerance, understanding, sympathy are common in Plautus. Here also humanity, like its Christian counterpart, charity, begins at home. The father-son relationship in the comedies are the most obvious example. Fathers like Philto in *Trinummus*, Theopropides in *Mostellaria* and Philoxemus in *Bacchides* treat the peccadillos of their sons with tolerance realizing their own weaknesses.

Love, even for slave girls and prostitutes, is often depicted with sympathy. There is real concern for the well-being of the other.

Even the gods, human as they are, are full of compassion for the suffering of man and wrath for the wrong doer, as we hear from Arcturus in the prologue of *Rudens*.

The most direct reference to *humanitas* we find in the words of Demipho to his neighbour :

humanum amarest, humanum aut ignoscerest (1)

A pity that a lacuna in the codex throws some doubt on the context. Demipho, however, is defending himself for having fallen in love at his age by saying that many other men of distinction have done the same and that like them he could not help himself. Out of its context there is no contrast between the two halves of the sentence but in Plautus' Latin usage *amare* refers almost always to sexual and irregular love : To sin is human, to forgive is human.

Another case of *humanus* being used in a wider and more ethical sense, we find in *Mostellaria*, where Theopropides compliments Tranio on being tactful and considerate. Not to remind a worried man of his plight:

Et bene monitum duco atque esse existumo humani ingeni(2)

With Terence of course we are again in an altogether different world :

Homo sum : humani nihil a me alienum puto (3)

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- (1) Merc. 319
 (2) Most. 814
 (3) Heaut. 1.1.23

This verse, though not so very important in itself, has become the symbol of the so-called 'humanitas' of the so-called Scipionic circle.

Practically all evidence for the circle of Scipio's acquaintances comes from Cicero. C.Laelius, Q.Mucius, Scaevola, C.Familius, Q.Aelius Tubero, Terence, C.Lucilius, Panaetius and Polybius (1) can be regarded as having been in contact with Scipio. Both Panaetius and Polybius must have known Scipio well. But the Scipionic circle is a modern expression and there is no proof that this group of men were connected in any other way than their common acquaintance with Aemilianus. There is no doubt that Panaetius is the key-figure in the development of humanitas in Roman thought but A.E. Astin in his study of the Scipionic circle rejects any theory that Panaetius may have influenced Scipio's actions in any way, or that the Scipionic circle has any claim to domination of Roman culture in the time of Aemilianus. The three members of this so-called circle who could have left us an indication of common ideas, Terence, Panaetius and Lucilius, moved in such widely varying literary fields, and, in the case of Panaetius and Lucilius, what remains is so fragmentary that it is not only impossible to come to any conclusions about a common concept of humanitas but also most improbable that any such common concept existed.

Of course, this doesn't mean that civilized Romans were not au courant with the latest development in Greek ethics. But we cannot restrict this interest and knowledge to the Scipionic circle alone.

Besides the authors of Scipio's circle of friends, we know that Accius belonged to the entourage of D.Iunius Brutus Callaicus. The work of other men of letters did not survive, so that later generations disregarded men like A.Postimius Albinus, M.Aemilius Lepidus Porcina, P.Licinius Crassus Dives Mucianus and L.Calpurnius Piso Frugi - none of whom belonged to the Scipionic circle.

Besides Panaetius there were bound to be other Greek philosophers active in Rome. We know that Blossius of Cumae was a friend of Tiberius Gracchus and if we can trust Cicero's prejudiced description, Blossius did exert greater influence on his patron than Panaetius(2).

Prof. F.Smits showed that the two philosophers, besides belonging to opposite factions, also differed sharply in their approach to Stoicism: Blossius represented the old Stoic idealism while Panaetius, as will be discussed presently, followed a much more progressive and practical course.

It is clear therefore that in discussing the development of the concept of humanitas, it will be more fruitful to deal with Panaetius as an individual and not as a member of the Scipionic circle. (3).

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- (1) JRS LV-'65-FW.Walbank
 - (2) Cic. Leal. XI
 - (3) Walbank, JRS, LV 1965

In any case Panaetius left Rome when Scipio died (129) and in Athens he became the leader of the Stoa, and published his book 'On Duty' in Athens.

Of Panaetius' original text only fragments survive. Cicero, by his own admission (1), followed him rather closely (Panaetius, quem multum in his libris secutus sum), and according to M. van Straaten there is general agreement that much in the first two books de Officiis and in the second book de Divinatione (2) is Panaetius' work.

Panaetius still stresses the necessity of paideia. Cicero, or rather Panaetius, makes Scipio Aemilianus say, that after every success one should go back to the study of philosophy as preventative against superbia (3). This paideia however must not be understood in the same sense as that of Plato or the Stoa. Next to the theoretical aretê, the practical application is just as important and a man of action is therefore more complete than people who restrict themselves to study (4).

This theory is in direct opposition to the quietism of the Older Stoa : the spirit should control the will and the inclinations but not weaken or break them (5).

Panaetius rejects the whole Hellenistic tradition of the basically masculine and warlike andreia and replaced it by a new ethical concept, megalopsychia.

His system of theoretical and practical ethics is based again on realistic universalism, which incidentally we find also in Polybius' histories. But Panaetius goes further than Polybius by stressing not only the common humanity of nations but also of classes of men - with an attention to detail, which our source, Cicero (6), finds difficult to understand. Panaetius points out that all human beings, the great and the humble, need one another and that nobody has been of greater use to men and nobody has done more damage to men than man himself. (7)

The crass dualism between soul and body, between the spiritual and the physical, with the resulting askêsis and negative morality of the largely platonic Old Stoa, was brought back by Panaetius to a more realistic level. In Rome Cicero, in spite of his eclecticism, did much to spread Panaetius' ideas. In the Greek world Panaetius was succeeded by Posidonius, who gave Panaetius' philosophy some religious colouring. Epictetus, Philo, Marcus Aurelius and early Christianity were all influenced by Panaetius, but as far as the second century is concerned it is difficult to find any of Panaetius' ideas in our sources except for a common spirit of the times, when Rome was changing from a great nation to a great empire, when Roman nationalism was being replaced by Hellenistic universalism.

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- (1) de Off. II.17, III.2
 - (2) van Straaten VI
 - (3) Cic.Off. I.90 -I-62
 - (4) Off.I.28 Diog. Laert. VII-92
 - (5) Off. I. 101. 136
 - (6) Off. II. 16
 - (7) Heinemann RE suppl. V. p. 294

Returning to philology, Terence's famous verse (1) should be studied in its context : Chremes, a gentleman of Athens, goes for a stroll early in the morning and finds his neighbour Menedemus hard at work in the field. Chremes approaches his neighbour and starts chatting to him. His talk is full of *philantropia* i.e. full of courtesy, *savoir faire*. If *humanitas* and *humanus* had that connotation in Terence's time, then the text could be interpreted in a much more meaningful way, but *humanitas* only took on this meaning in Cicero's time.

Menedemus seems to be rather cross at Chremes' polite and sympathetic criticism of his hard work and tells him to mind his own business.

Menedemus: Chreme tantumne est ab re tua oti tibi
Aliena ut cures, eaque nihil quae ad te
attinent?

Chremes : Homo sum : humani nihil a me alienum puto.
Vel me monere hoc, vel percontari puta.
Rectum est? ego ut faciam : non est? te ut
deterream

This answer fits in neatly with Chremes' long speech on hard work being *infra dignitatem* to a real gentleman; it is a clever repartee to Menedemus' boorish remark. It is this and no more. What Cicero did with it is a different story altogether : *Ex hoc nascitur etiam, ut communis hominum inter homines naturalis sit commendatio ut oporteat hominem ab homine ob id ipsum quod homo sit, non alienum videri.* (2)

Parry comments : 'Humanum' of course refers not to the frailties of humanity, as is commonly supposed by those who quote the verse, but to the incidents of human life; the good and evil which may befall our neighbour. The idea is the stoical one of a universal society of mankind, that 'One touch of nature makes the world kin'.

I cannot agree that *humanus* does not refer to the frailties of human nature; as we've seen in Plautus' use of *humanus*, it does often imply human weakness.

In Terence's comedies *humanus* often means friendly, well-mannered, with a meaning borrowed from the Greek *philantropia*. When Menedemus feels guilty about treating his son so harshly, he says :

Ubi rem rescivi coepi non humanitus,
Neque ut animum decuit aegrotum adolescentuli,
Tractare; sed vi, et via pervulgata patrum
Quotidie accusabam. (3)

Noticeable here is the contrast between *humanitas* and the *via patrum* with the added, contemptuous, *pervulgata* : 'in the usual old-fashioned manner'.

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- (1) Heaut. 1.1.23
(2) Fin. III.19 also : Leg. 12-Off. 1.9
(3) Heaut. 1.1.46

Simo, surprised at his son's soft-heartedness at the burial of Chrysis's sister, remarks :

Quid si ipse amasset? quid mihi hic faciet patri?
Haec ego putabam esse omnia humani ingeni
Mansuetique animi officia (1)

Simo says in fact that to cry about the death of a stranger is a sign of a humane and soft-hearted character.

Pamphilus, indignant at his father trying to arrange a marriage for him without being consulted, cries out :

Hocine est humanum factum aut inceptum?
Hicine est officium patris? (2)

Humanus again implies philanthropia here : basic decency, courtesy.

Sometimes humanus just refers to human nature but still with the implication that what happens to the one may happen to another :

Virginem vitiasti quam te jus non fuerat tangere
Jam id peccatum primum magnum; magnum, at humanum
tamen (3)

and another, also referring to human weakness :

At henstu, facito dum cadem haec memineris
Si quid hujus simile forte aliquando evenerit,
Ut sunt humana, tuus ut faciat filius (4)

L. Afranius, who wrote at approximately the same time, but did not belong to the Scipionic circle, uses humanus in a rather different manner :

quanto facilius
Ego, qui ex aequo venio, adducor ferre humana humanitus.

Common humanity is still implied but the meaning of humanitus has shifted to : as befits a human being, in a dignified way. This sounds more Stoic than Terence's philanthropia.

Panaetius' ideal, the philosopher who at the same time was a man of action, did not find its fulfilment in Scipio Aemilianus. As Astin points out, there is no concrete connection between Panaetius' theories and Scipio's actions (5). Another public figure and a follower, not of Panaetius but of Diophanes of Mitylene, said :

Wild animals have their holes, but they who die for the defence of Rome have nothing but the air they breathe.

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- (1) Andr. 1.1.85
(2) Andr. 1.5.1
(3) Ad IV. 5.53
(4) Heaut. III. 2.41
(5) Astin. p. 306

They have no roof over their heads, not for themselves nor for their wives and children. The generals, who encourage them to fight for the temples of their gods and the graves of their ancestors, are liars. Is there one of all these Romans who has a family altar or a family grave? They fight, they fall only to satisfy the desire for spoils and riches of others. They are called the masters of the world and they cannot even call one sod their own.

Diophanes and Blossius with their ideal : *servire humanae societati*, and Sempronius Gracchus with his social reforms, did more for the advancement of *humanitas* than Scipio and his friends (1). Cicero may be admired for spreading Panaetius' ideas, he was no man of action like the Gracchi, whom he maligned. (2)

(1) Carcopino Hist. Rom. II. VII
(2) Am. XI

MOS

Of all ethical concepts discussed in this thesis, mos is undoubtedly the most challenging. After summing up the virtues of the Roman people : religio, pietas, gravitas, disciplina, industria, virtus, clementia, frugalitas, R.H. Barrow goes on : 'The manner of life and the qualities of character here described make up the mores maiorum, the manners of one's ancestors, which are among the most potent forces in Roman history. In the broadest sense the phrase may include the political constitution and the legal framework of the state, though generally such words as instituta, institutions, and leges, laws are added. In the narrower sense the phrase means the outlook on life, the moral qualities, together with the unwritten rules and precedents of duty and behaviour, which combined to form a massive tradition of principle and usage'. (1)

Did mos maiorum really mean all that? How and when and in what context was the expression first used? Was mos maiorum a concept in this sense in the second century? Mos maiorum has been of tremendous importance in the history of Roman civilization.

In the young Christian church and in the history of Western thought traditionalism played an essential part. Let us see if we can find any evidence for Roman conservatism in the second century sources.

There was none in Polybius' Histories; perhaps a semasiological study of mos will give us an answer.

ETYMOLOGY.

We know that mos like fas is an old Indo-European word of doubtful etymology. Walde-Hofmann report a connection with Greek moosthai : to strive for, to desire and Gothic mod-s - sense - mood. Some effort was made to prove that the original meaning is 'will' based on Plautus, Bacch. 459 :

Obsequens oboediensquest mori atque imperiis patris.

The evidence for this is rather meagre and as Ernout-Maillet state, none of the proposed etymologies are satisfactory.

Varro explains the meaning : 'morem esse communem consensum omnium simul habitantium, qui inveteratus consuetudinem facit (2)', which seems to imply that either mos and consuetudo are identical or that a consuetudo first has to be a mos for some time before it becomes consuetudo.

This is contradicted by : 'mores sunt tacitus consensus populi longa consuetudine in veteratus' (3), which means that consuetudo precedes mos.

Even more ambiguous is another first century definition :

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- (1) Barrow, the Romans p. 23
 (2) Serv. Aen. 7.601
 (3) ps. Ulpian reg. 4

mores natura ingenium institutum propositum (1)

The following differs considerably :

non ingenerantur hominibus mores tam a stirpe generis---
quam ex eis rebus, quae ab ipsa natura nobis ad vitae
consuetudinem suppeditantur, quibus alimur et vivimus (2)

These four definitions, if they can be called that, will give an interesting standard of comparison for the mos of the second century.

S E M A N T I C S

The meanings of mos can be divided into two groups, one denoting specific customs, habits or practices, the other denoting the collective effect of customs : way of life, character, personality, disposition. There is no sharp division between the two groups and especially where the plural is used without further specification and when the context doesn't indicate it, it is often impossible to find the correct meaning.

Almost all cases of mos-singular in Plautus'Comedies denote a custom or habit, which as a rule is specified :

morem hunc meretrices habent : (3)
ut nunc mos est (4)
Nec mos meust ut praedicem, quid ego omnis scire credam (5)

The six exceptions, i.e. the uses of mos (singular) where the meaning is not custom, are rather interesting:

Two have more maiorum, which I would like to keep for later discussion.

One has : Forma, mos and virtus, where mos seems to mean manner or manners.

One has : obsequens oboediensquest mori atque imperiis patris.

I mentioned before that this is not suitable evidence for the statement, that mos can mean 'will'. The difference between obsequens and oboediens corresponds with the difference between mos and imperia : he lets his father have his way and obeys his commands.

Scio : fui ego illa aetate et feci illa omnia, sed more modesto (6)

In this sentence we again have the meaning : in a humble way : in a modest manner.

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- (1) Synon. Cic. 435.3
(2) Cic. leg. agr. 2.95
(3) Men. 338
(4) Pseud. 433
(5) Merc. 513
(6) Bacch. 1079

Morem gerere alicui : to give in, to yield, to humour, but also to behave, occurs quite often in almost all second century sources. The meaning is clear but the derivation obscure.

The reflexive meaning : to behave, can be found in Naevius; Plautus uses *morem gerere* in the meaning of to play or to show off. The verb *morigerere* and adj. *morigens* show that the expression is an old one.

The reflexive use of *morem gerere* suggests that some element of will, whim or like, is present :

sine me mihi gerere morem (1)
Let me do as I like

Pater nunc intus suo animo morem gerit (2)
My father inside is letting himself go, or gives in to his desires.

Of the approximately 100 occurrences of *mos* in Plautus' comedies 70 are plural; of these 70, 41 are in *malam partem*, 14 in *neutram partem* and 15 in *bonam partem*, and of these 15, 8 are circumscribed by words like *maiorum*, *veterum*, *hominum*, *antiqui*, *veteres*, *pristini* etc.

Some of the plurals in *neutram partem* can be translated as customs or habits : *mores atheni*, *muliebris*, *mulierum*, *maritimi*, *Persarum* :

*Hae sunt Persarum mores : longa nomina
Contortuplicata habemus* (3)

This is the only plural where the custom is actually given. The other plurals cannot be translated by customs, but the meaning has extended to : manners, ways, way of life, morals, character.

Urbis speciem vidi, hominum mores perspexi parum (4)
I've only seen the city's appearance; I haven't studied the characters of the citizens very thoroughly. (5)

*Nam hic nimium morbus mores invasit bonos
Ita plerique omnes iam sunt intermortui
Sed dum illi aegrotant, interim mores mali
Quasi herba inrigua succrevit uberrime
Neque quicquam hic vile nunc est nisi mores mali;* (6)

There is a plague of wickedness rife in this city, destroying all the law of morality; indeed most of them are by now a dead letter, and while morality withers wickedness flourishes like a well-watered plant.
Wickedness is the cheapest thing you can find round here.
(7)

Indeed there is nothing precise about *mos-mores* and as an old and well-worn word it has found many uses.

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- (1) Post. 45
(2) Amph. 131
(3) Pers. 704
(4) Pers. 547
(5) Complete Roman Drama I p. 705
(6) Trin. 28
(7) Rope and other plays p. 165

Cato's single case of *mores* is similar to Plautus' use of it: *nam periniurium siet, cum mihi ob eos mores, quos prius habui, honos detur, ubi datus est, tum uti eos mutem atque alii modi sim.* (1) When singular Cato's *mos* also takes on the meaning of custom: *morem apud maiores hunc epularum fuisse.* (2)

Terence has the same ratio of singular to plural as Plautus: 6 to 14. But there all similarity ends; again the time dimension as well as the cultural dimension bring us to a wholly different usage of Latin: Not once in Terence's comedies has *mos* (sing.) the contextual meaning of custom.

The meaning of *mos* (sing.) is always extended and varies considerably:

Prope adest cum alieno more vivendum est mihi
I shall have to adapt myself to another person's way
soon enough. (3)

More hominum evenit
It's the way of the world. (4)

Praeter civium morem atque legem
Against the law and the usage of the citizens. (5)

Quot homines, tot sententiae, suos cuique mos
So many men, so many opinions, each after his own fashion
(6)

Qui istic mos est, Clitipho
What a way to act, Clitipho (7)

Huncine erat aequum ex illius more, an illum ex hujus vivere
which would have been right - was the son to adopt
himself to the father's ways or the father to the son's
(8)

Cujus mos maxime est consimilis vostrum
Whose character most resembles your own. (9)

Many of these translations are only approximations, satisfactory enough for the overall-meaning of the sentence but seldom hitting the nail on the head and illustrating the vagueness, elusiveness but also the abundance of meanings.

The plural in Terence's comedies is also rather weaker than Plautus' use of *mores*:

et nosti mores mulierum
Dum moliantur, dum conantur, annus est. (10)
You know how it is with women.

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- (1) ORP 39
(2) HRR 92
(3) And. 152. Transl. Phormio and other plays p. 27
(4) And. 967
(5) And. 879
(6) Phorm. 454
(7) Heaut. 562
(8) Heaut. 223 Transl. Phormio and other plays p. 91
(9) Heaut. 393
(10) Heaut. 239

Conveniunt mores :
we have the same habits (1)

Isti formae ut mores consimiles forent :
That your behaviour is as good as your looks (2)

This verse corresponds closely with a verse of Menander, who uses tropos for mores. The Greek word, although perhaps not in such frequent use as the Latin word, nearly completely covers the whole range of meanings of mos and also parallels the Latin development from concrete to abstract.

Interesting is the way in which Terence uses 'Morem gero' :

ut homo est, ita morem geras (3)

Betty Radice translates : 'You have to take men as they are' (4); while the Complete Roman Drama has : 'You must deal with a man according to his character.' (5) The latter seems to me more accurate. Your behaviour should depend on the type of man with whom you deal.

Caecilius has two plural occurrences of mos both meaning behaviour, character (6).

The same applies to Titinius (7), while the late second century Turpilius has :

Ecce autem, mihi videre, tuo more, ut soles aegre id
pati.

Do we have a pleonasm here or is the meaning :
'as usual and in keeping with your character'

The text with the greatest impact on the traditional concept of Roman conservatism is undoubtedly Ennius' famous verse :

Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque. (8)

It has survived as a third-hand fragment in Augustine's de Civitate Dei :

'Tullius in principio quinti libri commemorato prius Ennii poetae versae, vel brevitae vel veritate tanquam ex oraculo mihi quodam esse effatus videtur' (9)

There is another mention of the same verse by Vulcatius Gallianus : 'scis enim versum a bono poeta dictum et omnibus frequentatum : moribus (10)

It is a magnificent verse and untranslatable.

- (1) And. 696
- (2) Heaut. 382
- (3) Ad. 426
- (4) Brothers and other plays p. 157
- (5) p. 424
- (6) Caec. Scaen. 59 and 216
- (7) Turp. Scaen. 182
- (8) Enn. Ann. 492
- (9) de Civ. Dei II. 21
- (10) Avid. Cass. 5

In the first place it is out of context, and when I think how Terence's

Homo sum : humani nihil a me alienum puto (1)

suffers from its own context, I can imagine how Cicero improved Ennius' verse by putting it in a context of his own.

There is another verse by Ennius :

More antiquo audibo atque aures tibi contra utendas dabo
(2)

Rather disappointing after 'moribus antiquis'; apart from its exaggerated elision, 'more antiquo' sounds like a trite figure of speech, probably meaning thoroughly, attentively.

I do not say that moribus antiquis has a similar meaning in the other verse but both expressions were commonplace in the time of Plautus and Ennius.

In one of his famous down-to-earth sermons, Plautus says:

Nam hi mores maiorum laudant, eosdem luitant quos
conclaudant

Hisce ego de artibus gratiam facio
Ne colas neve inbuas ingenium
Meo modo et moribus vivo antiquis,
Quae ego tibi praecipio, en facito
Nihil ego istos moror faeceos mores
Turbidos, quibus boni dedecorant se (3)

and from the mouth of a parasite comes :

Ille deum antiquis est adulescens moribus
Quoius numquam voltum tranquillavi gratiis
Condigne pater est eius moratus moribus (4)

In this text antiquis moribus refers to the liberality of older days and the stinginess of the present. The expression here rather means the opposite of conservatism. Moribus antiquis may also refer to liberality in the following inscription :

Sancte
De decuma victor tibi Lucius Munius donum
Moribus antiqueis pro usura hoc dare, sese(5)

This inscription cannot be dated more accurately than late second century. There may or may not be a connection with Ennius' hexameter. Here it refers to an ancient religious custom.

It is clear therefore that in Ennius' text, whatever the precise meaning of moribus antiquis may be, the expression is not as forceful as it sounds.

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- (1) Heaut. 75
(2) Enn. Trag. 293
(3) Trin. 293
(4) Capt. 105
(5) Degrassi 149

In this chapter I intended to find some evidence for traditionalism. Luckily I found one text on *lex* and *mos* :

Mores leges perduxerunt iam in potestatem suam,
 magisque is sunt obnoxiosae quam parentes liberis
 Et miserae etiam ad parietem sunt fixae clavis ferriis
 Ubi malos mores adfigi nimio fuerat aequius

Neque istis quicquam lege sanctumst; leges mori serviunt
 Mores autem rapere properant qua sacrum qua publicum
 :: Hercle istis malam rem magnam moribus dignumst dari.

(1)

with Betty Radice's translation :

Stasimus : Morality nowadays means taking no notice of the law and just doing what you please, self-advancement is what morality now approves of, and the law does nothing to stop it. Morality now permits a man to drop his shield and run from the enemy. Seeking honour by corrupt means is morality nowadays. -----

This so called morality has got the upper hand of law. Law has about as much control over morals as parents have over their children : You can see them, our poor old laws, nailed up on walls - which is where our wicked morals ought to be.

Summing up we must come to the conclusion that the semantic development of *mos* offers little evidence for Roman conservatism. Conservatism undoubtedly existed in the second century. The ruling oligarchy resisted changes in the system of government and the people probably often preferred the old ways to the new ones. But in agreement with Polybius' opinion on Roman character we must come to the conclusion that the second century Romans did not regard *mores maiorum* as a major motivating factor in their lives.

Conservatism as a concept only developed after the Roman revolution and as a reaction to the chaos brought about by that revolution.

(1) Trin. 1043

PIETAS

ETYMOLOGY.

Plautus connects pietas with piare (1). Modern opinion is divided on this connection and even those in favour of the one being derived from the other are not agreed on which one came first. Be that as it may the connection between the two was generally accepted by the Romans themselves.

Though the concept was not altogether free of Greek semantic influence (philostorgia, eusebeia), it was regarded by Cicero as a keystone of Roman traditionalism. His definition was : Pietas, quae erga patriam, aut parentes, aut alios sanguine coniunctos officium conservare. And elsewhere : Iustitia erga Deos (2). The classical meaning was therefore a sense of duty to parents, to other relatives, to the nation and to the gods.

SEMANTICS.

On the Volscian bronze of Velletri the expression 'pihom estu' is a synonym for 'fas esto'. Perhaps the oldest meaning was duty in general. From this it developed into duty to one's superiors, more especially to the di parentis. Pietas is in any case not a later abstraction. (3).

In Oscan pius was used as an epitheton for the gods which may be an indication that the original meaning was sense of duty to those entrusted to one's care as well as to those who are placed above oneself.

Latte quotes Ennius' : 'pius Anchises' as proof that the Romans were still aware of this meaning (4). But it is also possible that Ennius' home language, Oscan, influenced him.

At the battle of Thermopylae (191) M. Acilius Glabrio promised a temple to Pietas, which was dedicated by his son ten years later and stood on the place of the later Marcellus theatre (5) near the Pons Fabricius. This was the time when officially Rome was very concerned with religious matters (6) but besides this explanation, it is also possible that the temple may be connected with the political and social meaning of Pietas.

On the denarius of M. Herennius the concept pietas is represented by a naked youth carrying his father on his shoulders.

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- (1) Asin. 506 - Rud. 190
 - (2) Cic. Invent. 2.22
 - (3) RE 39-1221
 - (4) Latte p. 39
 - (5) Liv. 40.34.4
 - (6) Pol. 6.56.6

Sydenham dates this coin at about 101 B.C. and states that it is based on the Sicilian legend of Amphinomus. (1)



There is another well-known legend that on the spot of the Pietas temple there once stood a prison in which a young woman kept her mother or father alive by feeding from her breast (2). The story is almost the same as the Greek legend of Myko and Pero but became only generally known in Rome at the time of the early empire.

In the beginning of the first century B.C. Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius shows a Pietas-figure on his coins with a stork as attribute, which shows that the relationship between parents and children was meant. Ciconia pietaticultrix was believed to take care of its ageing parents.

As with the other concepts Plautus uses pietas more loosely and with a much greater variety of meanings than any of the other sources and he is rather fond of satirizing the concept, especially when pietas means sense of duty to the gods :

When a servant girl defends Alcmena against criticism by her husband she says :

piam et pudicam esse tuam uxorem ut scias (3)

She was pious to Iuppiter by going to bed with him but remained pudicus, because she thought he was her husband.

Ballio states that his devotion to money is greater than his devotion to the gods :

Non potest pietati obsisti huic, ut res sunt ceterae (4)

Both occurrences in Casina are also altogether ironic :

novi pietatem tuam (5)
pietate factumst mea atque maiorum meum (6)

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- (1) Sydenham 567
 (2) Fest. 209 M, 316 L, Plin.n.h.7.121, Val.Max 5.4.7
 (3) Amph. 1086
 (4) Pseu. 269
 (5) Cas. 383
 (6) Cas. 418

The only case of serious pietas to the gods also includes the parents.

Hanc ego partem capio ob pietatem praecipuam?
 Nam hoc mihi haud laborist laborem hunc potiri,
 Si erga parentem aut deos me inpiavi. (1)

Interesting is here the transfer of meaning from pietas to inpiare.

Plautus also pokes fun at pietas of children to their parents :

Atque adeo, si facere possem, pietas prohibet :: Audio
 Pietatem ergo istam amplexator noctu pro Phoenicio
 Sed quom pietatem te amori video tuo praevortere
 Omnes homines tibi patres sunt. (2)

Calidorus refuses to steal money from his father to pay for his girl-friend, because, he says, his father is too shrewd and in any case pietas would prevent him. The pimp tells him that in that case he should take pietas to bed instead of Phoenicium. But, he asks, his scruples should not prevent him from stealing the money from somebody else, unless he feels pietas for everybody else.

Even more facetious is the following use of pietas. Pseudolus says : if I can't find anyone else, I'll touch your father for the money. Calidorus answers :

Di te mihi semper servient ! verum si potest,
 Pietatis causa vel etiam matrem quoque. (3)

Just as lighthearted is the pietas of the son, who doesn't mind his father sitting by his girl-friend. (4)

But at other times Plautus' pietas is sincere as in :

Volup est quom istuc ex pietate vostra vobis contigit
 (5)

or :

Feceris par tuis ceteris factis
 Patrem tuum si percoles per pietatem (6)

Besides respect for gods and parents, Plautus applies pietas to many other relationships. Philocomasium calls her devotion to the braggart warrior pietas (7); one of the Bacchides has pietas for the father of her sweet-heart (8). Pamphila refers to her obligations to her husband as pietas (9) and Planesium calls on the goddess Pietas to thank her for the return of her brother. So far pietas was used only as an attitude to superiors: gods, parents, which includes female to male.

The only exception is the devotion of Hanno to his daughters :

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- (1) Rud. 138
 (2) Pseud. 292
 (3) Pseud. 122
 (4) Asin. 831
 (5) Rud. 1163
 (6) Trin. 281
 (7) Mil. 1318
 (8) Bacch. 1176
 (9) Sti. 10

Quibus annos multos carui, quasque e patria
Perdidi parvas, redde, invictae praemium ut esse sciam
pietati (1)

There is some doubt in this passage, because Hanno is saying a prayer, so that pietas may refer to Iuppiter.

The same applies to the other passage, where Giddinis tells Hanno :

Tua pietas plane nobis auxilio fuit (2)
because throughout the Poenulus he is praying to the gods to restore his daughter to him.

Ennius' one case of pietas refers to the gods and is interesting in its apposition of civium pudor and deum pietas (3). This seems to exclude cives from the feeling of pietas.

Terence's treatment of pietas is much more logical, more respectful and not half as spontaneous as that of Plautus. His pietas refers to parents only and is used in contrast with amor.

nam me miseret mulieris
Quod potero faciam, tamen ut pietatem colam;
Nam me parenti potius quam amori obsequi
Oportet (4)

A good deal of hypocrisy sounds in these words of Pamphilus, and in the next scene Pamphilus says : I have to choose between my mother and my wife :

Nunc me pietas matris potius commodum suadet sequi (5)

But his mother appreciates her son's devotion and decides to leave for the country :

nunc tibi me certum est contra gratiam
Referre, ut apud me praemium esse positum pietati scis
(6)

Afranius gives an interesting twist to the meaning of impius :

Mulier, novercae nomen huc adde impium,
Spurca gingivast, gannit hau dici potest (7)

which implies that a son, because of pietas to his deceased mother, should resent his stepmother.

That pietas can also be respect to a father in law is shown by Accius :

qui ducat cum te socerum viderit
Generibus tantam esse impietatem.

and lastly there is a bilingual inscription :

C.Rubrio C.f. Pop(lilia) C.Rubrius Optatus
patrono pietatis causa.

(1) Poen. 1187

(2) Poen. 1134

(3) Enn. 282

(4) Hec. 446

(5) Hec. 481

(6) Hec. 583

(7) Scaen.Afr. 57

The Greek has *philostorgia* for *pietas*. The dating by Ramsay and Münzer seems to be open to doubt; it can however be accepted that the inscription belongs to the end of the second century, but on the other hand *pietas* occurs almost exclusively in the comedies only. The character of the concept precludes its use by second century historians and orators, while for all literary sources the lack of a corresponding concept in their Greek examples probably also adversely affected the frequency of the use of *pietas*.

From the discussion of second century meanings of *pietas*, the conclusion may be drawn that the concept was not yet applied to a political citizen-state relationship; that it was mainly restricted to religious and family relations, which probably was another reason for its absence from historical and oratorical sources.

This of course throws some doubt on the apparently widely accepted opinion that *pietas* applied to the relationship of soldiers and officers to their general.

When Pierre Grimal makes Cato responsible for using legates as spies for the Senate he calls this 'un système qui répugna d'abord à la *pietas* romaine' (1) Here he uses a concept for which there is no second century evidence.

(1) Grimal p. 99

SALUS

This is another concept which in classical literature and especially during the Empire and the early history of the Christian Church became very important, not only as far as usage is concerned but also in the religion, both Roman and Christian.

ET Y M O L O G Y

Ernout-Meillet connects *salus* with Sanskrit *sárvah-intact*, whole and with Greek *holos*. There is a relationship with the other Indo-European languages and via those with the English *wholesome*, *hail* - Netherlands *heel* and *heil*. An important early difference was the religious nuance in the meaning of *salvus*. This was apparently of such importance that at an early stage a separate word was developed for intact : *integer*, while *omnis* and *totus* took over the other meanings which are retained by the related words in other languages.

Apparently *salus* and *salvus* are much older than the verb *salvo*, so that *salve* is probably not an imperative but a vocative (*salve sis*).

C U L T

A temple to *Salus* was dedicated in 302 BC as a result of a vow made during the Samnite war. There is a possibility that *salus* had a military and political meaning referring to the preservation of the Republic, though the term *Salus Publica* was only known to the Empire. The same applies to *Salus Semonia*, while the first evidence for the *Augurium Salutis* is for the year of Cicero's consulate. Plutarch's reference to a similar occurrence in 160 BC must be regarded as doubtful. (1)

Towards the end of the Republic and during the Empire *Salus* was frequently connected with the cult of *Asklepios*.

This usage probably originated from the erection of statues of *Apollo*, *Aesculapius* and *Salus* after consulting the Sibylline books in 180 BC (2). Apart from Terence's reference to the goddess *Salus* as the companion of *Aesculapius* this event had apparently little influence on the semantic development of the concept. (3)

Latte says, that *Hygieia-Asklepios* was sometimes combined with the cult of the *Bona Dea* but not with *Salus*.

On the whole there are very few indications that the cult of *Salus* was of any great importance during the second century and that in spite of its originally religious basical meaning, it was not used as such in the second century except for some overtones of solemnity.

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- (1) Plut. Aem. 39
 (2) Liv. XL. 37.2
 (3) Hec. 338

SEMANTICS

In Cato's family prayer we find some of this solemnity :

Mars pater, te precor, quaesoque uti dvis bonam
salutem valetudinemque, mihi, domo, familiaeque nostrae
(1)

The contextual meaning of *salus* seems to be well-being with *bona* as a formalistic redundancy. I do not think that this applies to *valetudo* also. There is no evidence that any of the sixty odd cases of *salus* in Plautus' comedies means health. Cato's prayer therefore is for prosperity and health.

Plautus uses *salus* almost exclusively in the original meaning of the condition of being *salvus*. This of course allows for a great variety of uses : prosperity, well-being, welfare, safety etc. Here and there we find an exceptional case, where *salus* might mean the act of being saved, deliverance, survival. Where *Salus* is personalized it sometimes takes on this meaning but again both in greetings and in its use as an endearment *salus* almost always refers to the state of well-being and not to the act.

The exceptions are mostly word-plays.

The nearest approach to an act of deliverance we find in :

Age, mi Leonida, obsecro, fer amanti ero salutem (2)

but even here the meaning is weakened and the translation would be 'help' or 'relief' rather than salvation.

Where *Salus* is used as the name of a goddess, she must be regarded as a goddess of prosperity rather than of salvation.

In *Asinaria* we find the name combined with *fortuna*
(3)

There is one interesting case in *Mostellaria* :

Nec *Salus* nobis *saluti* iam esse, si cupiat, potest (4)

This is one of the usual tirades of despair. *Tranio* is speaking here about the unexpected return of his master and he complains : Not even *Salus* herself could save us now. But the meaning could just as well be : help us, be of advantage to us. Another pun in *Pseudolus* is also ambiguous :

Dic utrum *Spenne* an *Salutem* te salutem, *Pseudole* (5)

Must I greet you as hope or as the fulfilment of hope? But even here the meaning is far from clear.

- (1) Cato RR 143
- (2) Asin. 672
- (3) Asin. 713, 717, 727
- (4) Most. 351
- (5) Pseud. 712

Much more frequently the state of being intact, is implicated by Salus. Sometimes Plautus seems to parody the style of official military reports :

Salute nostra atque urbe capta per dolum
Domum reduco integrum omnem exercitum (1)

Salute nostra : while we survived, while we are safe -or, if we regard nostra as the predicate of the ablative absolute : survival being ours (and not the enemy's) or without losses.

A similar construction we find in :

Avorti praedam ab hostibus nostrum salute socium (2)
meaning without losses for our allies. Salus here refers to something that could have happened but did not; in this respect it is still negative and impersonal, but approaching the positive and personal meaning of saving, deliverance.

Another instance, this time with only a slight indication of military parody, can be found in Rudens :

pluruma praeda onustum
Salute horiae, quae in mari fluctuos.
Piscatu novi me uberi conpotivit.

The meaning here is again negative : without any damage to my dinghy.

Sometimes salus denotes happiness :

Spem teneo, salutem amisi : redeat an non, nescio.
Si opprimit pater, quod dixit, exsolatum abiit salus.
Scin sodalis quod promisit fecit, non abiit salus (3)

Though I have lost happiness, I've not lost hope : I do not know if she'll come back or not. If my father puts his threats into force, happiness can be written off unless my mate does what he promised.

A few double meanings we find in the letter from Phoenicium to Calidorus. (4)

First she sends greetings and asks to be saved :

Salutem impertit et salutem abs te expetit

Calidorus interjects :

Perii; salutem nusquam in venio, Pseudole, quam illi remittam.

Pseudolus asks him : 'quam salutem?' and Calidorus answers:

'Argenteam', meaning the price to be paid for Phoenicium's freedom. Then Pseudolus asks : 'Pro ligneam salute vis argenteam remittere illi' : Do you, in return for her best

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- (1) Bacch. 1070
(2) Men. 134
(3) Merc. 592
(4) Pseud. 41 sqq

wishes written on a wooden tablet, want to send her redemption in silver? After a graphic description of their past love-delights, Phoenicium declares that these things are gone for good : *Nisi quae mihi in te est aut tibi est in me salus* : unless the happiness I find in you is as strong as the happiness you find in me i.e. unless you love me as much as I love you.

In this one passage can be found all the meanings of *salus* current in Plautus' time. Their juxtaposition in the various wordplays tells us, that Plautus was aware of their different contextual meanings.

The great majority of cases denote greetings, best wishes etc.

*Multam me tibi
Salutem iussit Therapontigonus dicere
Et has tabellas dare me iussit. (1)*

-----des salutem atque osculum (2)

This meaning of *salus* gives Plautus numerous opportunities for wordplay like the one in the letter of Phoenicium.

Another example is :

Salve :: Salutem nihil moror (3)

or the well-known verses from *Trinummus*

*Charmidum socerum suum
Lysiteles salutatur :: Di dent tibi, Lysiteles, quae velis.
:: Non ego sum dignus salutis? :: Immo salve, Callicles,
Hunc priorem aequomst me habere; tunica propior palliost.
(4)*

In these verses the rough-and-ready puns of the other comedies have turned into polite phrases. Again *Trinummus* is different in style and atmosphere.

Interesting is the reference to the military salute in this passage from *Pseudolus* :

*Sed in epistula
Nullam salutem mittere scriptum solet ?
:: Ita militaris disciplina est, Ballio :
Manu salutem mittunt benevolentibus. (5)*

In some cases *salus* is used in connection with disease :

*Ne verere : multo iste morbus homines macerat
Quibus insputavi saluti fuit atque is profuit (6)*

But here it still means relief, advantage and not cure or health.

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- (1) *Curc.* 421
 - (2) *Epid.* 571
 - (3) *Rud.* 841
 - (4) *Trin.* 1151
 - (5) *Pseud.* 1005
 - (6) *Capt.* 555

Another reference to health we find :

Sat mihi est tuae salutis : nihil moror : non salveo ?
Aegrotare malim quam esse tua salute sanior. (1)

Enough of your good wishes; I do not need them; am I not healthy enough and I would rather be ill than healthy through your good wishes!

To me the questionmark after salveo seems doubtful; removing it, the translation would be : I am not in good health, but I rather stay ill than get better through your good wishes.

Salus was apparently a common term of endearment :

Quid agis, mea salus (2)

and :

mea voluptas, mea delicia, mea vita, mea amoenitas
meus ocellus, meum labellum, mea salus, meum savium (3)

but the term is not always used to address a girl, sometimes it is used as a joke between men :

Mi milphidisce, mea commoditas, mea salus (4)

Finally there is one text, very similar to Cato's family prayer :

Apollo, quaesote, ut des pacem propitius
Salutem et sanitatem nostrae familiae
Meoque ut parcas gnato pace propitius (5)

After studying Plautus' use of salus, there is little doubt about the meaning in Ennius' well-known praise of Fabius Maximus :

Unus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem
Noenum rumores ponebat ante salutem
Ergo plusque magisque viri nunc gloria claret. (6)

The middle verse can be translated 'Ignoring popular criticism, his aim was survival'; or with a wider meaning : 'He considered the well-being of the state as more important than the idle talk in the city'. But so far we've not met with a clear case of salus being applied to the state, so the first translation seems to be more correct.

The frequency of salus in Terence's comedies is only about a quarter of that of Plautus. In one instance it approaches the meaning of health :

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- (1) Truc. 256
 - (2) Cas. 801
 - (3) Pren. 362
 - (4) Pren. 419
 - (5) Merc. 678
 - (6) Enn. Ann. 314

'Quae adsolent quaeque oportet signa esse ad salutem omnia huic esse video' (1) says Lesbia of an impending confinement; 'I see all the usual and required symptoms of a healthy birth'. But again *salus* may mean survival or success, because this is probably the meaning in another text of *Audria* :

Non posse jam ad salutem converti hoc malum (2)

where *malum* means the failure of the first effort.

Terence copies a *bon mot* from Plautus' *Mostellaria* :

Ipsa si cupiat *Salus*, servare prorsus non potest hanc familiam. (3)

and we meet with another usage of Plautus in :

Quod cum salute eius fiat, ita se defatigarit velia, ut hoc triduo prorsum e lecto nequeat surgere

where *cum salute eius* has that same negative meaning 'without his coming to any harm'.

The one occurrence in *Accius* shows a decided move in the direction of saving, salvation :

In quo salutis spes suprema sibi habet summa exerciti (4)

An interesting fragment from the speech by *Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonius* in favour of marriage and children uses *salus* in a more political way :

si sine uxore vivere possemus, Quirites, omnes ea molestia careremus; set quoniam ita natura tradidit, ut nec cum illis satis commode, nec sine illis ullo modo viri possit, salutis perpetuae potius quam brevi voluptati consulendum est. (5)

If we were able to live without a wife, none of us would have these troubles; but since the situation is such, that with them life is not very easy but without them it is altogether impossible, we must prefer lasting well-being to short pleasure.

This far from enthusiastic defense of marriage was primarily aimed at raising the birth-rate at Rome. To escape the responsibilities of a family Roman men married late or not at all. There are therefore two translations possible of *Metellus'* fragment :

We must take care of the permanent survival of the state rather than of our own short lived pleasure i.e. we must marry to provide Rome with citizens rather than not marry and be without offspring.

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- (1) And. 481
 (2) And. 672
 (3) Most. 351, And. 4.7
 (4) Acc. Trag. 150
 (5) ORF 108

The alternative is :

let us rather make sure that we live on in our
descendants.

The latter translation certainly fits in with Roman traditional belief but seeing that Metellus' primary concern was with the falling off in numbers of the Roman people *salus perpetua* should be translated as lasting safety (or prosperity) of the state.

Salus does not occur in any of the second century inscriptions, except for one of 102 BC, where the word is so mutilated, that the reconstruction is far from clear.

The importance of *salus* in the second century seems to be mainly its lack of distinction especially if we compare it with its development by Cicero and during the Empire. Although the word existed, many of its meanings developed only later among which the religious and political ones are the most noticeable.

VIRTUS

ETYMOLOGY

To modern etymologists the connection between *virtus* and *vir* is just as obvious as it was to Cicero : *Atque vide ne, cum omnes rectae animi affectiones virtutes appellentur, non sit hoc proprium nomen omnium, sed ab ea una, quae ceteris excellat, omnes nominatae sint. Appellata est enim a viro virtus : viri autem propria maxime est fortitudo, cuius munera duo maxima sunt, mortis dolorisque contemptio.* (1)

Thus according to Cicero the meaning virtue developed from the primary meaning of courage or valour, because valour is the virtue par excellence and he defines it as disregard or contempt for death or pain. Although Cicero concedes that the meaning of *virtus* has become much more general in his time, he still restricts *virtus* to the male sex. But we'll find quite a few exceptions to that in our second century sources.

Virtus however can just as well have originated from *vis*, which in that case could be the origin of both *vir* and *vis*. This would form an etymological bond between *virtus* and *aretê* via *ararisko*, the Gothic *wair* and Latin *arma* and *ars*. It may be quite possible that second century Romans were aware of a relationship between *virtus* and *aretê* and in that case the usual etymology comparing *virtus* with *senectus* and *iuventus* and linking *virtus* with *andrea* should be regarded as of popular origin.

The choice between strength and force on the one side and fighting maleness on the other is further highlighted by the identity of the goddess on the first Roman denarius. (2) Although the first date of issue of this coin is probably 187 BC, it took quite a few years before it had replaced the *quadrigatus* as the most typical Roman coin and this is almost certainly the coin, to which the prologue of *Casina* refers. This prologue probably written in 169 for a revival of the much older comedy, criticizes the new type of comedy, represented by Terence and calls them just as bad as the *novi nummi*, which were so much smaller than the old *quadrigatus*.

But the most intriguing aspect of this denarius is the identity of the helmeted lady, who would dominate the coinage of the republic from then on. Most probably she represents the city of Rome; although in the second century there is no sign of a cult of Roma, at least not in Rome, we must keep in mind that the denarius was coined in Southern Italy.

The style and craftsmanship show Greek influence. Most probably it was originally coined in Rhegium.

(1) Tusc. 2.18.43

(2) Sydenham 180



Harold Mattingly comments : 'Bellona is a goddess very closely akin to Virtus, who is again almost the same as Roma. Virtus, Greek *romê* already suggested the goddess of the city to the adepts, before Roma was actually worshipped by that name'(1). '

The problem however arises that we are not at all sure that Bellona is identical with or even related to Virtus. There is no evidence of a cult of Bellona before the first century BC and in addition, although the cult of Virtus certainly existed in the second century BC (2), it is uncertain what quality this goddess represented.

The assumption that she is the goddess of valour would bring us back to Cicero's definition and the well-evidenced combination of Honos and Virtus could indicate virtue or strength as well as courage.

If the goddess on the denarius represents virtus, it is more probable that Virtus stands for Greek *romê*, physical or moral strength than for courage.

As with the other concepts the overwhelming majority of the approximately ninety occurrences of virtus in literature are in the first half of the second century but there are a sufficient number in the latter half to give us some indication of its semantic development.

As can be expected Ennius uses virtus with only one meaning viz. courage.

Nec metus ulla tenet, freti virtute quiescunt (3)

which clearly exemplifies the contrast between virtus and metus. This reflects Cicero's definition of virtus as absence of fear.

Ennius apparently regards quiet as a symptom of virtus.

Another example of this we find in :

*Adspectabat virtutem legionis suae
Exspectans si mussaret, quae denique pausa
Pugnandi fieret aut duri finis laboris* (4)

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- (1) Sydenham, appendix H
(2) See s.Honos
(3) Ann. 537
(4) Ann. 333-5

Lack of *virtus* here would have been noticeable (*adspectabat*) by the complaints of the soldiers. *Virtus* and discipline go hand in hand. (1)

That fate and fortune support *virtus* can be found in :

Vosnet velit an me regnare era quidque ferat Fors
Virtute experiamur (2)

and again in :

quorum virtutei belli fortuna pepercit. (3)

The traditional combination of *honos* and *virtus* is shown in the following :

Nam sapiens virtuti honorem praemium, haud praedam petit
Set quid video? ferro saeptus possidet sedis sacras. (4)

These verses were quoted by Cicero (5) to illustrate another important aspect of the classical concept of *virtus*. *Virtus* should not be selfseeking, at least *honos* should be sufficient reward not *praeda*.

We need the second verse to show that Ennius is talking about some military exploit and therefore means that using arms to rob temples may be a form of *virtus*, which may bring plunder but not honour.

Virtus here is a concept with an ambivalent character. This is clearly illustrated by another Ennius-text :

Melius est virtute ius : nam saepe virtutem mali
Nanciscentur : ius atque aecum se a malis speruit. procul (6)

In another verse Ennius connects *vir* and *virtus* by alliteration :

Sed virum vera virtute vivere animatum addecet
fortiterque innoxium stare adversum adversarios.
ea libertas est qui pectus purum et firmum gestitat. (7)

I prefer the text *stare* to the obscure *orare*. (8)

Here again *virtus* does not mean virtue. In addition to the combination of *vir* and *virtus*, the words *fortiter*, *innoxius*, *adversarios* and *firmum* make it clear that courage is meant. Ennius therefore uses *virtus* exclusively with one meaning in sharp contrast to the perhaps less classical but more genuinely Latin Plautus.

In the fragments of Cato *virtus* appears in three places.

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- (1) Historia IX, '60, 235 sqq.
 - (2) Ann. 204
 - (3) Ann. 205
 - (4) Ann. 374
 - (5) de Or. III. 26. 102
 - (6) Trag. 223
 - (7) Trag. 7-260
 - (8) Enk. p. 18

In one *virtus* undoubtedly stands for virtue :

*id enim etiam Tusculanus Cato prudenter definiens,
cui Censorii cognomentum castior vitae indidit cultus.
'magna, inquit, cura cibi, magna virtutis incuria.'* (1)

Ammianus Marcellinus uses Cato's *castior vitae cultus* to reinforce this dictum.

Another fragment quoted by Cicero mentions the singing of :

Clarorum virorum laudes atque virtutes (2)

which can be translated in a variety of ways, but the plural in keeping with the usage of the other second century authors almost certainly denotes deeds of *virtus*, which may mean deeds of valour, noble deeds or just excellent qualities.

Cato also links *virtus* with *fortuna* in :

*Dii immortales tribuno militum fortunam ex
virtute eius dedere* (3), where *virtus* at first reading denotes courage, unless one connects this with a similar construction in Plautus' *Poenulus* :

Quomque e virtute vobis fortuna optigit (4)

But here the context rules out any meaning of courage and the translation is here definitely : as you deserve. In other words Cato probably means that the immortal gods gave the tribune fortune, 'as he deserved' and not 'in keeping with his courage'.

Plautus' *virtus* is not restricted to men and he apparently was not aware of the *vir*-etymology :

*Ego istaec feci verba virtute irrita
Nunc quando factis me impudicis abstinei
Ab impudicis dictis avorti volo.* (5)

In these words of Alcmena *virtus* approaches the meaning of *puclitia*. *Amphitryo* is one of Plautus' older comedies, probably dating to 200 or even earlier and two other verses in the Prologue support the theory, that Plautus did not use at this early stage *virtus* with the meaning of courage at all.

Virtute ambire oportet, non faritoribus (6).

By merit we should seek to win and not by hired applause.

In the even older *Asinaria* *virtus* has the meaning of strength :

Scapularum confidentia, virtute ulmorum freti (7)

- (1) ORF 56
- (2) HRR 92
- (3) HRR 80
- (4) Poen. 1326
- (5) Amph. 925
- (6) Amph. 78
- (7) Asin. 547

The large majority of occurrences of *virtus* in Plautus' comedies can be grouped under the general meaning: goodness, which allows a host of variations :

Nam tua opera et comitate et virtute et sapientia
Fecisti, ut redire liceat ad parentis denuo. (1)

'It is through your efforts, kindness, goodness and wisdom that I am able to return to my parents.'

and similar, but ironic :

Virtute id factum tua et magisterio tuo (2)

Master's son is going to the dogs 'thanks to your high moral character and thanks to your instruction.'

Not only persons can have *virtus* : excellence, high quality :

Virtute formae id evenit, te ut deceat quicquid habeas (3)

'with your figure, you can wear anything'

The ablative *virtute* has become a standardized expression for : 'through the help of', 'thanks to' :

Ego virtute deum et maiorum vestrum dives
sum satis (4)

Sometimes *virtus est* means 'it is good', 'it is right' :

Virtust, ubi occasio admonet, dispicere (5)

It is only right to look around when you have the chance.

Plain virtue we find in the well-known allegory in the *Mostellaria* comparing the course of man's life to the vicissitudes of a house :

Haec verecundiam mi et virtutis modum
Deturbavit texit detexitque a me ilico. (6)

Goodness can also express social status as in :

Nunc volo opsonare ut, hospes, tua te ex virtute et mea
Meae do mi accipiam benigne ----- (7)

'In the style that suits us both' or 'According to your and my standing'.

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- (1) Most. 173
(2) Most. 32
(3) Most. 173
(4) Aul. 166 and Capt. 324
(5) Pers. 267
(6) Most. 137
(7) Mil. 738

Sometimes virtus becomes more neutral taking on the meaning of qualities, characteristics as in :

Cum istius modi virtutibus operisque natus qui sit
Eum quidem ad carnificem est aequius quam ad Venerem
comneare (1)

Here virtutes refer to : ' a frowning, big bellied old Silenus, hobbling about on a stick; with a bald forehead and twisted eyebrows; a cheating, scoundrelly, vicious-looking devil, a plague of gods and men'. (2)

The meaning of virtus in Trinummus does not show as much difference from the other comedies as the other concepts except for a greater stress on the virtus of gods and ancestors :

Edepol deum virtute dicam, pater, et maiorum et tua
multa bona bene parta habemus; (3)

Virtute here can be translated by 'thanks to'. Bene parta may qualify virtus as if Plautus wants to say : there are other means of acquiring earthly goods.

Cape sis virtutem animo et corde expelle desidiam tuo (4)

'Get some decency in your mind and drive out that laziness of yours.'

Virtus occurs only twice in the fragments of Pacuvius :

-----qui sese ad fines esse ad causandum volunt
De virtute is ego carnundi do potestatem omnibus (5)

Because the context and the meaning of these verses are far from clear, it is difficult to allot a certain meaning to virtus. 'De virtute' reminds one of similar uses by Plautus where the meaning is 'as he deserves' but here it could also mean : 'of my own accord'. (6)

The other case of virtus in Pacuvius' fragments contains an expression, which Accius and Sextus Turpilius also use :

Macte esto virtute, operaque omen adproba (7)

This archaic formula is usually translated as :

'Congratulations on your courage'.

but if we take the usual second century meaning into account, the meaning should be : 'well done', 'congratulations on your excellence'.

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- (1) Rud. 319
(2) Complete Roman Drama p. 858
(3) Trin. 347
(4) Trin. 650
(5) Trag. 23
(6) Pseud. 728, Poen. 1326
(7) Trag. 146

Terence's use of *virtus* varies but little from that of Plautus. We find only one clearcut case of 'valour'

Egone? Imperatoris virtutem noveram et vim militum (1)

Although the speaker, Sanga, is ridiculing military phraseology here, there seems to be little doubt that valour is meant.

None of the other six cases of *virtus* in Terence's comedies mean valour. Well-known is :

Homo antiqua virtute ac fide (2)

Together with Terence's remarks on the '*illiusmodi magna civium penuria*' and '*hujus generis reliquias*' these verses show how firmly the idea of the 'good old days' had become established by the mid-century.

Nothing in the *Adelphi* points to a military career of Hegio and especially combined with *fide virtus* can only mean high moral character.

Even stronger is the meaning in the following :

Haec sunt tamen ad virtutem omnia (3)

which Parry translates : 'and yet all this has a good moral effect.'

Plautus' meaning of merits, social standing, deserts can be found in :

Si possiderem ornatus esses ex tuis virtutibus (4)

As far as *virtus* is concerned we must come to the conclusion that there is little difference between the two comedy-authors of the second century.

An interesting fragment from a speech by Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonius, held in 131, in which year he was censor, throws further light on the meaning of *virtus* :

*is demum deos propitios esse accums est, qui
sibi adversarii non sunt, dii immortales virtutem adprobare,
non abolere debent.*

Falster (5) prefers the *lectio difficilior* 'adhibere' to 'abolere'. But it seems clear, that Metellus regards *virtus* as friendship of a human being for the gods and respect for their wishes - in other words his *virtus* means virtue.

Gaius Gracchus in his speech against the *lex Aufeia* (6) introduces his argument with the words :

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- (1) Eun. 777
(2) Ad. 441
(3) Heaut. 207
(4) Ad. 176
(5) ORF 108
(6) ORF 187

'nam vos, Quirites, si velitis sapientia atque virtute uti' and after a lacuna the fragment continues 'verum peto a vobis non pecuniam, sed bonam existimationem atque honorem' where the latter two qualities correspond neatly with the former two. Again virtus means moral character.

Of the inscriptions two Scipio epitaphs are important for the meaning of virtus. Both were discussed in the chapter on honos as far as the dates are concerned. The first of the young Scipio, who died too early to have acquired any honos, uses the plural virtutes :

Magna sapientia multasque virtutes
Aetate quom parva posidet hoc saxsum (1)

Because the epitaph expressly mentions that the youngster had been too young for great deeds, virtutes can only mean good qualities.

The epitaph of Cn. Cornelius Cn. f. Scipio Hispanus, who died shortly after 139, states :

Virtutes generis viciis moribus accumulavi (2)

The meaning of virtutes seems to be : 'the status or the excellent qualities of my family', because this Scipio added to it not so much by his deeds as by his way of life and by 'Progeniem genui'.

Finally there is the long fragment from Lucilius preserved for posterity by Lactantius :

Virtus, Albine, est pretium persolvere rerum
quis in versamur, quis vivimus rebus, potesse
Virtus est, homini scire id quod quaeque habeat res
virtus, scire, homini rectum, utile quid sit honestum
quae bona, quae mala item, quid inutile, turpe, inhonestum
virtus quaerendae finem re scire modumque
virtus divitis pretium persolvere posse
virtus id dare quod re ipsa debetur honori
hostem esse atque inimicum hominum morumque malorum
contra defensorem hominum morumque bonorum,
hos magni facere, his bene velle, his vivere amicum
commoda praeterea patriae prima putare
deinde parentum, tertia iam postremaque nostra (3)

At the beginning of this chapter we heard Cicero's opinion of virtus.

A thorough search of second century sources provided us with only one author, whose virtus supports Cicero's opinion that the original meaning must have been courage; all sources but Ennius consistently use virtus with the meaning : goodness, quality, moral character, merit. Lucilius' virtus can only be translated as virtue : his 'sense of values' (pretium persolvere), his 'clear

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- (1) Degrassi 312
(2) Degrassi 316
(3) Lactantius instit. VI. 5.2

conscience' (scire, quid sit rectum, utile, honestum, bona, mala, inutile, turpe, inhonestum), his 'moderation' (finem, modumque), his rejection of evil, his acceptance of good, love for land and parents and putting oneself last, make only one translation possible. It may be true, that there is a good deal of Stoic practical ethics in these verses; it may be true that under Stoic influence Lucilius elaborates on the meaning of the concept; Clitomachus probably inspired Lucilius to indulge in some rather un-Lucilian moralizing, but his verses are conclusive evidence that throughout the second century *virtus* varied very little from the central meaning of 'goodness'.

Ennius is again the exception. The fact that he was a foreigner is not sufficient explanation and in any case it does not explain why Ennius' meaning prevailed in the first century B.C. The only possible answer can be that Ennius mistakenly connected *virtus* with the Greek *andreia*.

CONCLUSIONS

The original purpose of this thesis was to investigate ethical concepts as a historical source. The semasiological approach however forced me to concentrate more on the philology than on history. In the introduction I expressed the hope that the study of a related group of concepts would lead to some general conclusion concerning second century ethical development. To a large extent this hope was realized, though most of the conclusions turned out to be negative.

On the whole no evidence has been found for Roman charactertraits. Polybius mentions *pistis* but he regards this at the time of his writing as something of the past. The word *fides* indicates 'good faith' to those entrusted to one's care quite consistently throughout the second century. It does not yet express faithfulness to one's superiors, belief in others or even credit. In this respect *fides* was and remained an aristocratic concept throughout the second century; it implies overlordship and authority of which the relationship of a patronus to his *cliens* and that of the state to the vanquished are the best known examples. After Plautus *fides deorum* seems to lose its importance in the second century.

Fortuna still has the basic meaning of luck and not of chance. The goddess *Fortuna* seems to represent good luck rather than chance let alone fate. The Greek *Tyche* seems to have had little influence on the concept *fortuna* with the exception of Ennius and Pacuvius, but this influence was apparently mainly literary and did not effect the cult, where the goddess of good luck appealed to the Roman spirit of religious optimism.

Gloria, on the whole, is not a very important concept. Apparently it is a fairly new word and at first denotes bragging and show. The development of the classical meaning can be traced back to Ennius but at no time during the second century it reached the importance of classical times. This of course as such is not evidence that glory was not a motivating factor in the second century but it does point in this direction.

Honor is an old and well-worn concept with a variety of meanings. Compared to *gloria*, honor is a more serious concept. Where *gloria* in the second century refers more to pomp and swagger, honor denotes respect, including self-respect, but parallel to this meaning there is a small number of cases, starting with Cato, where *honores* indicates signs of honour. This development led in the end to the meaning of public office but no firm evidence can be found that honor acquired this meaning in the second century.

Humanus in most second century cases refers to human weaknesses. In the latter half of the century *humanus* took on the meaning of *philanthropos* to refer to *savoir-faire* and courtesy.

There is no second century evidence for the concept *humanitas*, although it is very probable that Panaetius exerted a powerful influence with his ideal of common humanity and human independence. But no evidence of this influence can be found until the time of Cicero. *Humanitas* was certainly a factor in the Gracchan revolution. Greek examples and Hellenistic ideas undoubtedly influenced events in Rome in the latter half of the century but they are not evidence for the existence of the concept *humanitas* as such.

There is little to show that *mos* was regarded as a concept. The use of it by most authors is rather loose with many different meanings. The one Ennius text which allots any importance to *mores* and where *mores* could be evidence for Roman conservatism acquired its importance and most of its meaning in late-Republican times (1). Plautus does not regard *mores maiorum* as conservatism but rather as the good old days and he repeatedly remarks that it is quickly disappearing. What he says about *leges* enslaving *mores* (2) points perhaps to the conflict between the legal status of the nobility which was equal to that of the rest of the people and their supremacy which was based on *mores*. This may explain why Ennius, the protégé of the aristocracy, regards *mores maiorum* as one of the foundations of the Roman state. On the whole however the semantics of *mos* provide no evidence for the existence of Roman conservatism.

Pietas is an old concept but its ethical meaning in the second century is rather weak. If used in the religious sense it is mostly a figure of speech. *Pietas* does not denote a relationship between man and the state at all and only acquires this meaning in Ciceronian times.

Similarly *salus* is without much ethical importance and has not acquired any social or political meaning yet, though the fragment of the speech of Metellus Macedonicus defending larger families seems to point in a political direction.

Of all the concepts discussed *virtus* is certainly the most important and one of the few which in second century sources is treated as something more than just a word. With the exception of Ennius, *virtus* means goodness, virtue. Ennius, to whom Latin was a foreign language, mistakenly connected *virtus* with *andreaia* thereby starting the even now widely accepted *vir*-etymology. The importance of *virtus* is indicated by two texts. One from Plautus (3) :

virtus praemium est optimum
virtus omnibus rebus anteit profecto
libertas salus vita res et parentes, patria et prognati
tutantur, servantur :
virtus omnia in sese habet, omnia adsunt
bona quem penest virtus

(1) Ann. 492
 (2) Trin. 1043
 (3) Amph. 648

where *virtus*, in the light of Plautus' usage, can only mean high moral standing. The other text - almost a century later - is the definitive poem on *virtus* by Lucilius, where the concept still has that same meaning.

Therefore we must draw the conclusion from this study that ethical concepts were not very important in the second century BC. The older concepts have lost much of their original, especially of their religious importance. It is still too early for *humanitas*; *mos* seems to begin to acquire some of its propaganda-value in class-warfare, while *virtus* denoting goodness is apparently the only ethical concept, which is regarded as such at that time.

On the whole no evidence was found for traditional Roman charactertraits and hardly any for the importance of the traditional Roman ideals. In this treatise I've expressly avoided stressing the political implications of the concepts, not only because this aspect has been amply covered by others, but also because I regarded this paper primarily as a factfinding study without trying to fit the facts to and connect them with political events.

Generally speaking the second century must be regarded as a time of decline. The old concepts are losing their importance and no new ideology has replaced them yet. Ethically there is a vacuum. This vacuum we find confirmed by Polybius' comments on Roman character and morals. Polybius did not regard Romans very different from other nations; in the second century they were not as corrupt as the Greeks but according to Polybius' evidence they were catching up very quickly.

Apparently the tradition of true Roman character is just a myth and the tradition of Roman ethics did not exist in the second century. When and how then did these traditions originate?

The second century gave us a negative answer; a study of the concepts in the centuries following the second may solve this problem.

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