

NICOLAUS OF DAMASCUS:
HIS HISTORICAL WRITINGS,
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO HIS BIOGRAPHY OF AUGUSTUS.

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of the University of Leicester.

June, 1970.

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Preface.

Nicolaus was a man of wide interests and influential friends. Sometime tutor of Cleopatra's children, friend of Augustus, and confidant of Herod the Great, he knew many of the leading figures of those momentous years that saw the founding of the Principate. His wide range of acquaintances was matched by his great literary output. A 144-book universal history, a biography of Augustus, an autobiography, commentaries on Aristotle, and a "Collection of Customs" survive in fragments. In his autobiography he tells us that he wrote "highly-praised tragedies and comedies", but these are now lost.

Yet despite his many-sided ability we know comparatively few details of his life. He was born in Damascus c.64 BC (90 F 136.8) of wealthy and respected parents, and received a typical Greek education. His pride in his native city can be seen in his connecting Abraham with it (F 19) and his scoffing at contemporary philosophers who sought to buy Athenian or Rhodian citizenship (F 137.5). There is then a gap of over forty years before a definite date can be assigned to his career: In 20 BC he was at Antioch and gives us a full account of his visit there (F 100), telling how he was present when an Indian delegation arrived to see Augustus. He personally saw the letter they brought. He was clearly now a man of some importance.

To reconstruct something of Nicolaus' career before 20 BC we have the statement of Sophronius of Damascus (90 T 2) that Nicolaus was at one time the "tutor of the children of Antony and Cleopatra". It seems likely that he would hold this position in Alexandria before Actium, but he may have taught them later when they were under Octavia's care in Rome. In chapter 6 an attempt is made to reconstruct some of Nicolaus' activities during the Twenties BC. There it is suggested that, contrary to what is generally believed, he came to Rome sometime after Actium and won Augustus' lasting friendship by writing c.25 BC a laudatory biography of the Princeps meant primarily for circulation in the Greek-speaking East. His favour with Augustus won him the attention of Herod and a successful court career at Jerusalem.

Nicolaus is first definitely known to have been in Herod's service in 14 BC when he was chosen by the king to defend the Jews who lived in Ionia against the Ionian Greeks (Jos. AJ 16.2.3-5). This was a delicate task, involving the conflict between the devotion of the Jews to their religious beliefs and their obligations to Rome. For this Herod must have chosen someone in whom he had confidence and who had influence with the Roman hierarchy. Throughout his tour of Asia Minor in the same year Herod kept Nicolaus at his side.

Herod's return to Judaea was a personal triumph and

Nicolaus doubtless enjoyed the reflected glory. In 12 BC he went abroad again with his master - this time to Rome to see Augustus (F 135). The complaints which the Jewish king made about his sons Alexander and Aristobulus were diplomatically rejected and the party soon returned. It is possible that on this or other occasions when he was in Rome he may have consulted the two libraries founded by Augustus to gather material for his universal history which he had been writing since at least 20 BC, and may have met Livy who was working on a history of similar magnitude, if different in scope.

8 BC saw him visiting Rome again, this time on a mission that required all his diplomatic finesse: Syllaeus, the ruler of Nabataea, had carried his complaints against Herod to Augustus and convinced the emperor of Herod's dangerous ambitions. Ambassadors from Judaea were sent back without a hearing. "At length", says Josephus (AJ 16.9.4), "when he saw no end to the misery which surrounded him... he sent Nicolaus". The ambassador-in-chief was once more successful (F 136.1; AJ 16.10.8-9). On his return he met Herod at Tyre (AJ 16.11.3), and the king told him how he had brought Alexander and Aristobulus to trial at Berytus in Syria. Josephus records in detail Nicolaus' reactions to this and the other domestic crises which plagued Herod's last years (AJ *ibid.*ff). The last event dateable in Nicolaus' life is his journey to Rome after Herod's death in

4 BC to support the claims of Archelaus to the vacant throne. How long or where he lived after this is unknown.

The most extensive work on Nicolaus this century has been done by three scholars - Jacoby, Laqueur and Wacholder. Also worth noting are a historical commentary on the biography of Augustus by C.M. Hall, and a recent favourable assessment by H.J.D. Lulofs of his commentaries on Aristotle's philosophy. Jacoby's "Fragmente der griechischen Historiker" needs no introduction. His commentary on Nicolaus is perceptive and illuminating, but though it is an invaluable guide it is by its nature a commentary on fragments and cannot hope to deal in detail with broad themes.

Laqueur's RE article is long but deals with few topics, concentrating almost exclusively on reconstructing Nicolaus' life and investigating the sources he may have used for his historical writings. Unfortunately, his source criticism is vitiated by doctrinaire adherence to the view that Nicolaus composed the "Histories" and "Biography" by synthesising his narrative from two sources at a time. This theory, however, is unconvincing (see especially Appendices 2 and 15).

Wacholder's monograph is more comprehensive and attempts to set Nicolaus' career into the contemporary social and intellectual world. He shows how widely read Nicolaus' writings were through the diversity of later authors in which fragments are preserved. But the strongest theme of his book

is the influence which Jewish thought had on him. Wacholder sees this in his "Autobiography", where he detects similarities between Nicolaus and Rabbinic teachings, and in the prominence he allegedly gave to Jewish history in the "Histories". But the evidence, such as it is, cannot substantiate his views. On the contrary, it is argued in chapter 4 that the "Histories" does not in fact seem to have contained a long, connected account of Jewish history, except for contemporary events, and chapter 8 suggests that the resemblances between Nicolaus and Jewish theology are purely superficial. Wacholder too, like Laqueur, passes over the wider political and ethical aspects of the "Biography".

This thesis attempts to evaluate Nicolaus' historical writings and put them in the framework of his career. The "Histories" was conceived on the grand scale, and in terms of books at least is the longest ancient history known. But what were Nicolaus' aims in writing it? How did he arrange his diverse material? What sources did he use and how did he adapt them? What type of historian is he? These are some of the questions that part 1 tries to answer. Part 2 deals with Nicolaus' biography of Augustus, a work of considerable historical importance as the earliest surviving narrative about Caesar's assassination and the youth of Augustus.

The source-question of both works has been treated

afresh. Thorough use has been made of one surviving piece of Nicolaus' source material - the Ctesias fragment, Pap. Oxyrh. No. 2330. This has made possible a more soundly-based understanding of Nicolaus' use of sources in at least part of his "Histories". As a result the value of this work can be assessed more accurately. A paper on this aspect is also included at the end of the book.

In the "Biography of Augustus" too one's views about the purpose and value of the work depend largely on establishing with as much precision as possible from where Nicolaus took his information. The study confirms the accepted view that the "Biography" is largely derived from Augustus' "Commentarii", but it is argued that the account of the murder of Caesar is taken from another source. The work is examined in the context of political biography, and is shown to be a document reflecting Roman views of youthful morality. Nicolaus would appear to have contributed little. The "Biography" is also shown to provide important evidence for the study of Augustan propaganda.

No attempt is made to deal in detail with the literary style of Nicolaus' historical writings, which would be a thesis in itself. Perhaps this topic could be treated sometime in the context of all his writings - historical, autobiographical and philosophical. Further work could also be done on the literary techniques of Josephus in an attempt to define precisely how he has adapted Nicolaus' account of

Herod for his own "Antiquities" and "Jewish War". There is also room for a study of the personality and *παιδεία* of Nicolaus set against the background of the Hellenisation of Semitic towns like Damascus.

This thesis has been written in my spare time during the last six years while teaching Classics first at Ratcliffe College, near Leicester, and then at Ferryhill Grammar-Technical School, Co. Durham. I am deeply grateful to my supervisor throughout this period, Dr. W.Liebeschuetz, for his stimulating criticism and generous giving of his time. I would also like to thank several colleagues and friends for assistance with translation of the extensive work on Nicolaus and related topics that has been done in several languages: in particular, Mr. D. Balls, Mr. R.Thompson, and Herr E. Klein for German; Mr. W. Maughan for Italian and Russian; and Mr. P. Gadjaczek for Polish. The neatness of the map and genealogical tables is due to Mr. W.F. Gothard. But my greatest debt is to my wife. Without her encouragement and forbearance this work could not have been completed.

Sedgefield, Co. Durham.

Abbreviations.

Most abbreviations follow standard practice. The full titles of all works cited in the notes are given in the bibliography. Second and subsequent citations of a work are usually denoted only by the author's name, unless several works by the same author have been used.

Broughton, MRR	T.R.S. Broughton, "The Magistrates of the Roman Republic", 2 volumes.
BGD	C.D. Buck, "The Greek Dialects".
CAH	Cambridge Ancient History.
D-G	Drumann-Groebe, "Geschichte Roms", 6 volumes.
GGG	W.W. Goodwin, "A Greek Grammar".
GMT	— "Syntax of the Moods and Tenses of the Greek Verb".
Holmes, ARE	T.R. Holmes, "The Architect of the Roman Empire", 2 volumes.
Holmes, RR	T.R. Holmes, "The Roman Republic", 3 volumes.
IDB	"The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible", 4 volumes.
LCL	Loeb Classical Library.
LSGL	Liddle and Scott, "Greek-English Lexicon". ⁹
N	Nicolaus.
O	Octavian.
OCD	Oxford Classical Dictionary.
RG	"Res Gestae Divi Augusti".
Syme, RR	R. Syme, "The Roman Revolution".

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OFF-PRINT: "P. Ox. No. 2330 and its Importance for the Study of Nicolaus of Damascus".

SUMMARY: Inside back cover.

NICOLAUS OF DAMASCUS.

PART I : THE "HISTORIES".

CHAPTER I:

INTRODUCTION.

Title of the Work.

The "Histories" was the most important work of Nicolaus, not only in its original extent of 144 books, but also in the great diversity of area and period it covered, and the length of time that must have been devoted to its writing. Its title is short and conventional. Many earlier authors had headed their writings *Ἰστορίαι* - Ephorus, Duris and Posidonius, for example¹ - and it is this simple type of title which Nicolaus himself seems to have adopted. There is, however, some conflict of evidence on this. Nicolaus merely states that he "collected every piece of historical writing and after efforts expended over a long time finished it".² His contemporary Strabo is of no assistance either, only informing us at one point that "one might also add what is found in Nicolaus of Damascus".³ Suda calls it a "Universal History", but wrongly records its length,⁴ and the designation "Assyrian History" used by

1. Citation of titles similar to N's in L. Dindorf, Jahrb. für class. Philol. 1C(1869), p.110f.
2. 90 F 135, p. 422, lines 28-30. Such claims of efforts expended became conventional - cf. Diodorus 1.4.1; Dionysius Halic. 1.2.4; Josephus BJ 1.5 (preface).
3. Strabo 15.1.73 = 90 F 100. This passage of N could have come from his autobiography, however.
4. See n. 46.

Photius describes no more than the first two books.⁵ Both these compilers, however, as well as Stephanus of Byzantium,⁶ can be reconciled to a plural title in the same way as Nicolaus himself - i.e. they described the work as a "history", and in two cases added an adjective to characterise it. Josephus, on the other hand, who undoubtedly used Nicolaus for parts of the Herodian period, and wrote within a hundred years of the work being published, calls it "Histories".⁷ Athenaeus does the same.⁸ The weight of their evidence, and a similar reference to it in the "Etymologicum Magnum",⁹ points to this being the

5. Photius, Bibl. 189, p.145b = 90 T 13. Cf. also Athenaeus 6.54, p.249A = 90 T 11: πολυβίβλω ἱστορία (though printed by Jacoby with a capital letter, a small one would be more in keeping with Athenaeus' consistent description of the work as the "Histories"). Schol. Strabo 7.3.6. = 90 F 83 calls the work Ἀρχαιολογία, and "Excerpta De Virt.", Vol.2, pars 1, p.2 (ed. Th. Buettnner-Wobst) has καθολικῆς ἱστορίας, but "errata compiler" feels B-W.
6. 90 FF 18 = Steph. Byz. s. Ἀσκάλων (N. ἐν δ' ἱστορίᾳ); 26 = ibid. s. Ἀσκανία (δ' ἱστορίᾳ).
7. Jos. AJ 1.7.2. = 90 F 19; AJ 7.5.2. = 90 F 20.
8. Athenaeus, passim = 90 FF 73-78.
9. "Etymol. Magn.", ed. Gaisford, p.180.42f = 90 F 6.

10
correct title.

Nicolaus' Motivation in Writing.

The Constantine "Excerpta" have preserved Nicolaus' own account of why he embarked on this huge task.¹¹ In his "Autobiography" he declares it was to gratify an enthusiasm for history which had seized Herod: "Then a passion for history took hold of him after Nicolaus had praised the subject and said it was intimately bound up with statesmanship (πολιτικώτατον) and useful for a king, since ~~he~~ it ^{he recounted} ~~he could examine~~ the activities and achievements of earlier men. He started on (the study of) it, and urged Nicolaus also to work in the field of history."¹² Attempts to interest the Jewish king in philosophy and rhetoric had been short-lived, "due to the number of blessings which

10. So Jacoby, FGrH IIA, pp. 2 (no. 90) and 328; so also C. Patsch (Wien. Stud. 12 (1890), p.232, n.6) against L. Dindorf (Hist. Graec. Min., p.vi f.) who calls it Ἀρχαιολογία, as does J. Asbach (Rh. Mus. 37 (1882), p.295). M. Croiset ("Hist. de la litt. grecque", vol. 5, p.397) states the work was "probablement intitulée Ἱστορίαι", but E.B. Veselago ("Vestnik Drevnei Istorii", no. 73, p.248, etc.) calls it "History". The plural title is also accepted by B.Z. Wacholder ("Nicolaus of Damascus", p.52 and passim). G. Turturro ("Nicola Damasceno", p.10): either Ἱστορίαι or Ἱστορία καθολική.

11. 90 F 135 = Excerpta De Virt. 1, p.327.

12. Ibid., Jacoby, IIA, p.422, lines 24-27.

tend to distract those in authority."¹³ History, however, seems to have made a greater impression on him. Nicolaus doubtless dwelt on the opportunities for favourable publicity which such a medium could present. These hopes were not ill-founded, if Josephus' criticism of Nicolaus for exaggerating Herod's good points and minimising or omitting his failings is correct.¹⁴ The extensive coverage that Nicolaus seems to have given to contemporary Jewish affairs would support such an allegation.¹⁵ Nevertheless, since the basic concept was "universal" rather than simply propaganda, the completion of a work of such magnitude as the "Histories" would not have been achieved without a desire for *εὐκλεία* and a personal interest by Nicolaus in the task of compiling an eminently readable, if not "scholarly", world history.

Place of Composition.

Since the actual writing of the "Histories" was by necessity a protracted business and required a wealth of

13. Ibid., lines 21-22; cf. also line 33.

14. Jos. AJ 16. 7.1. = 90 T 12.

15. 20 books covered the period 14-4? BC (Jos. AJ 12.3.2. = 90 F 81).

material, a fixed centre of study was advantageous. Two things point to Judaea. The work was allegedly composed at Herod's suggestion and under his patronage, and it is clearly implied that king and "tutor" were to be in close contact while carrying out their respective studies.¹⁶

Secondly, even while he was engaged in writing, Nicolaus travelled abroad at least twice. In 12 BC he accompanied his patron to Italy to see Augustus,¹⁷ and in 8 BC he defended Herod against the Nabataean Syllaeus in Rome.¹⁸ He was thus near enough to Herod to travel with him when need arose, and to render great assistance to him in the domestic crises which plagued the last few years of his reign. He could not have done this if the bulk of his writing had been done far away from Jerusalem.¹⁹

Time of Composition.

The problem of dating the work is more complicated. It revolves essentially around the interpretation of

16. 90 F 135, p.422, 26-27.

17. 90 F 135 and Jos. AJ 16.4.1-5.

18. 90 F 136.1; Jos. AJ 16.9.4 and 16.10.8-9.

19. So also Wacholder (p.52), who is supported by G. Fohrer, "Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft", vol.75 (1963), p.262.

FF 134 and 135, fragments which are consecutive in the "Excerpta De Virtutibus". F 134 describes the defence Nicolaus made for the people of Ilium in 14 BC, when Agrippa had fined them for allegedly neglecting the safety of his wife Julia. F 135 abruptly switches from foreign diplomacy to Herod's intellectual studies without any attempt by the Excerptors to connect the two, and ends with Herod's journey to Rome in 12 BC. It may be that they were only following the scheme that they already found in the "Histories", or more material may have come between the two sections in the original. In either case, it is not possible to argue from the mere sequence of fragments that the events of one necessarily followed those of the other. Nicolaus may here be describing two difference spheres of activity, i.e. diplomatic and intellectual, and therefore these two fragments may well have no chronological reference to each other. But it is in F 135 that the only direct information about the "Histories" date is given: "And he (sc. Nic.) embarked on the task with greater enthusiasm, collecting every form of historical writing (?) and outstripping all other (historians) in the great effort he put into it. After a great deal of time and effort he finished it, and said that if Eurystheus had set this task for Hercules, he would ~~captainly~~ have worn him out. After this, Herod took

Nicolaus along with him when he sailed to Rome to see
²⁰
 Caesar...".

This last event can be dated to 12 BC,²¹ but the
 impression given by the words of F 135, especially
²²
ἔξετέλεσεν αὐτήν and *ἐκ τούτου*, is that all the "Histories"
 had been completed by this same year. This, however, cannot
 be so, since it is known from Josephus that Nicolaus
 mentioned affairs in Asia Minor of 14 BC in books 123 and
 124, - about twenty books from the end of the work.²³
 Nicolaus cannot therefore have completed the whole of the
 work by 12 BC. Two factors point to a finishing date
 somewhere around 4 BC. First, his patron Herod died in
 that year and Nicolaus states his intention at that time
 to retire from public life.²⁴ Secondly, it can be shown
 that Josephus made use of the "Histories" account for at

20. 90 F 135, p.422, 27-32.

21. Cf. Jos. AJ 16.4.1-5. Herod's journey of 18 or 17 BC
 to Rome can be discounted as the one meant since it
 would demand too early a finishing date for the work.
 Cf. also W. Otto, RE Supp. 2, col.105.

22. *ἐκ τούτου* (p.422, line 31) must refer to the completion
 of writing rather than to Herod's suggestion, four lines
 before, that N. should begin to write his history.

23. Jos. AJ 12.3.2.

24. 90 F 136.8. Cf. also 90 F 138, p.426, 6-9.

least the last few years of Herod's reign and for the deputations that subsequently went to Rome on his death to contest the throne of Judaea.²⁵ After Augustus settled the matter by making Archelaus ethnarch, and the latter had returned to Judaea, Josephus' account becomes distinctly less detailed.²⁶ It is therefore clear that Josephus was able to use Nicolaus' account only up to 4 BC, and that the point from where Josephus is less informative must correspond to the end of the "Histories".²⁷

The date Nicolaus had begun to write the "Histories" is more uncertain. It cannot be assumed, as pointed out already, that F 135 follows chronologically on F 134.²⁸ If this were so, it would mean that Nicolaus did not begin to write his history until about 14 BC. The difficult feature about a date as late as this is that ten years seems too

25. See p.220ff.

26. Jos. AJ 17.13.1-5.

27. R. Laqueur (RE 17.400), however, argues that since N's history was universal he could not have been influenced by such minor events as Herod's death and Archelaus' accession - an approach of "stupide Kurzsichtigkeit" - and therefore believes that N. finished with some event of Roman history; which one he does not say. Yet Herod's death was important for N., and he himself regarded 4 BC as a turning-point in his life - cf. 90 F 136.8.

28. As does K. Wachsmuth, "Einleitung in die Studien der alten Geschichte", p.105.

short a span for composition, in view of the immensity of the task of collating and sifting source material, let alone writing, and with the distraction of Nicolaus' other duties; those recorded by Josephus must have occupied many months.²⁹ Thus Nicolaus did not have the opportunity, even if he had the stamina, to write the "Histories" throughout a continuous period of ten years. Even if he had, simple calculation reveals that he would have had to write more than one book per month for the whole of this time, a very difficult though not impossible task.³⁰ But if Wacholder's plausible thesis is accepted that the discrepancy between the account of the "Autobiography" and "Histories" on Herod's sons, Alexander and Aristobulus, shows that events of 7 BC had been written by 5 BC at the latest,³¹ then the "Histories" must have been started before 14 BC; otherwise, Nicolaus would have had only nine years at the most to investigate sources and write about 138 books.³²

29. Jos. AJ 16.4.1-5 (12 BC); 16.9.4. and 8-9 (8 BC).

30. N's method of writing, seemingly using only one source at a time (see chapter 2), would however allow rapid composition.

31. Wacholder, pp. 32-33. See also my p. 12f.

32. 20 books were devoted to approx. the last ten years of Herod's reign (14-4 BC), i.e. 2 books per year.

Two points still need explaining: Nicolaus' statement that it was Herod who prompted him to compile the work, and his assertion that he had finished it by 12 BC. If Herod actually did suggest to Nicolaus that he should write a history while he was at his court, Nicolaus must have been with Herod before 14 BC. If, however, Nicolaus had already begun to write before he was intimately acquainted with the Jewish king, it would be natural for the historian to ascribe its inception to him at a later stage - such a move would please Herod and enhance his prestige, and would doubtless increase Nicolaus' stature and his usefulness to the king.³³ Further, there seem to be no valid reasons for rejecting Nicolaus' finishing date of 12 BC for the bulk of the work.

³⁴
As will be shown later, the period 88 - 14 BC was narrated in twenty books, and 14 - 4 BC in exactly the same

33. When Nicolaus joined Herod's court is not known. He may have been in Egypt till c. 31 BC (90 T 2 = Sophronius of Damascus, "Encomium on St. Cyrus and St. John" 54). He next turns up at Antioch in 20 BC (90 F 100 = Strabo 15.1.73), and is first definitely known to have been with Herod in 14 BC on his Ionian tour (90 F 134). Though the ascription to Herod is found in N's autobiography, which was written after the king's death, it may echo a dedication found in the "Histories" itself, and may reflect a genuine affection of N for the king.

34. See p.33f.

number. For some reason Nicolaus began to describe the last ten years or so of Herod's reign in much greater detail than had been devoted to events only a few years earlier, and out of all proportion to the rest of the work.³⁵ The four decades 53-14 BC covered only ten books at the outside, and events towards the end of this period were treated very sketchily.³⁶ There is thus a great change in the detail of the narrative, and in the character of the writing. From Josephus it can be deduced that a great deal of the last twenty books dwelt on Herod and Judaeian affairs, and probably on Nicolaus' part in these.³⁷ It seems very likely, then, that Nicolaus may, as he asserts, have finished the main part of his "Histories" by 12 BC. Assuming that this evaluation is correct, Nicolaus must have begun writing by 20 BC at the latest, even though the period of eight years for 124 books seems much too short. It is quite likely that the date should be pushed back still further.

35. Josephus' critique in AJ 16.7.1 doubtless explains why N. did this.

36. Events of 53 BC in book 114, of 56 in book 116, and of 14 BC in books 123-124.

37. See p.216ff.

Publication.

There is no certain evidence whether it was issued as a whole unit, or in instalments, as that of Livy was.³⁸ If the completion date for books 1-122 (approximately) of 12 BC is accepted, it is clear that there were at least two units published separately.³⁹ Since the last ten years or so of Herod's life were detailed at the rate of two books per year, and were strongly pro-Herodian,⁴⁰ they are in a different category from the rest of the "Histories". It is unlikely that the last twenty books were issued as a block after Herod's death. Not only would their propaganda value for Herod have been nil, but Nicolaus himself would also have forfeited an accretion of *εὐκλεία* and royal favour.

Further support for multiple publication comes from a comparison of one of Herod's family problems as related first in Nicolaus' "Histories", and later in his "Autobiography". According to Josephus, Nicolaus supported Herod's murder of Mariamne and her sons in the "Histories", accusing the queen of *ἀσελγεία* and the sons of *ἐπιβουλαί*, so leaving the king no alternative action.⁴¹ But the "Auto-

38. See P.G. Walsh, "Livy: his historical aims and methods", p.8, n.2.

39. i.e. Books 1-122 in 12 BC; books 123/4 - 144 somewhere between 14 and 3 BC.

40. See n.32 and Jos. AJ 16.7.1 = 90 F 101 and T 12.

41. 90 F 102 = Jos. AJ 16.7.1.

biography" version says: "Meanwhile Herod had domestic trouble. His eldest son Antipater falsely accused the two others Alexander and Aristobulus of plotting against their father; though the two were younger, yet they had greater honour through their mother being a queen and not a commoner, as was the case with the eldest son."⁴² Here, in his later version, Nicolaus suggests that the young men were in fact innocent and had been "framed" by Antipater. A little later he goes further, and imputes their deaths to Herod taking "a hasty rather than wise decision - he no longer gave any intimation of his plans to Nicolaus".⁴³ If the "Histories" had been published as a unity about 4/3 BC, when there was no need to support the Herodian regime, it seems very likely that the condemnation of Mariamne and her sons would have been changed. It seems very possible, then, that books 1-122 were issued in 12 BC (or themselves issued in instalments at earlier intervals), and that books 124-144 were published at short intervals, perhaps yearly, as a running commentary on the later part of Herod's reign.

42. 90 F 136.2, p.423.8-11, and this despite the queen's supposed ἀσέλγεια 22 years earlier (29 BC).

43. 90 F 136.4.

Length of the "Histories".

The end-product of 144 books was the longest historical work known to the ancients, surpassing the "Annales" of Livy, in number of books at least. Athenaeus is the only authority for the total,⁴⁴ but Josephus confirms that this must be approximately the correct number when he refers to events of 14 BC in books 123 and 124 of the "Histories".⁴⁵ There are two other conflicting, but erroneous, accounts. In Suda 80 books is given as the length of the "Universal History",⁴⁶ but the two authors quoted above as well as 90 FF 72-80 show the error of this. The statement of Photius that "this man has left an Assyrian History in many volumes" refutes itself, since such a description of the work can only refer to the first two books.⁴⁷

44. Athen. 6.54, p.249A = 90 T 11.

45. 90 F 81 = Jos.AJ 12.3.2.

46. Suda s. Νικ. Δαρ. = 90 T 1: *ἔγραψεν ἱστορίαν καθολικὴν ἐν βιβλίοις ὀγδοήκοντα*. Laqueur (RE.17.374) thinks Suda's "80 books" may be a MS corruption but prefers to believe in a shortened edition of N; the latter is possible, if he means that part of the whole work was lost by Suda's time - the Constantine Excerptors seem to have concentrated on the early books.

47. See n.5.

Its Present Fragmentary State.

Of this vast work pitifully little survives,⁴⁸ and most of what is still extant comes only from books one to seven; these take up nearly seven-eighths of the total fragments. Those which can definitely be assigned to particular books cover the history of the following nations, and justify the epithet "universal" applied to this history⁴⁹ by Suda:⁵⁰

Books 1 and 2 - Assyria and Media; early Greece?

Book 3 - Hellenic pre-history and legend.

Book 4 - Early Lydia and Syria, and Hellenic history to the Heracleidae.

Book 5 - Arcadia, the Aegean and the Black Sea areas.

Book 6 - Lydia to the 7th century; Athens; migrations and legendary Hellenic history of various periods.

Book 7 - Greek tyrannies; Lydian history from Gyges to Croesus; the emergence of Persia.

48. Only 54½ pp. of Jacoby's text are taken up by the fragments (FGrH IIA, pp. 328-383). There are also two speeches of N's recorded by Josephus (90 FF 142 and 143) on pp. 427-430.

49. Fuller analysis in Wacholder, p. 65f.

50. 90 F 6, about Achaemenes (Hakhamanish), ancestor of Cyrus the Great, could be dealing with early Persian history, but since Achaea is linked to his name it is very likely that N is dealing with early Greece. Cf. also Jacoby, FGrH IIC, p.235f.

From this point all continuity is lost. The "Excerpta" has preserved, allegedly from book 18, the desire of the Lydian Alyattes to import some hardworking and dexterous foreigners.⁵¹ Book 96 contained a reference to the Flood and the landing of the Ark in Armenia,⁵² and the Mithridatic Wars were found in books 103 and 104 (90 FF 73-74). Sulla's preoccupation with the theatre is mentioned in book 107 (F 75). Some Alpine flowers are described in book 108 (F 76), probably in connection with Pompey's crossing of the Cottian Alps in 77 BC.⁵³ Lucullus' extravagance is attacked in book 110 (F 77a and b), and the mania of the Romans for gladiatorial combats in the same volume (F 78). Three other fragments include Crassus' defeat at Carrhae (book 114, F 79), Gallic customs in book 116 (F 80), and Agrippa and the Ionian Jews in books 123 and 124 (F 81).

51. 90 F 71 = Excerpta De Thematibus I. 3, p.22. The figure 18 ($\bar{\eta}$) would be unacceptable if N was here mainly referring to Lydia, and was still adhering to a chronological framework. Both Alyattes the father and Alyattes the son of Sadyattes are specifically referred to in book 7 (FF 63-64), as well as Alyattes the father of Croesus in F 65. Jacoby (FGrH IIC, p.376) queries the book number, and Müller suggests (FHG 3.413) book 7 or 8 (esp. since $\bar{\eta}$ = 8). However, since N seems to be recounting Thracian rather than Lydian affairs (see p.112f.), book 18 would be plausible.

52. 90 F 72 = Jos. AJ 1.3.6.

53. So Jacoby (IIC, p.254, 27.). Wacholder (p.66) has no reservations about this.

An attempt has been made by Jacoby to place some of the remaining 21 fragments⁵⁴ in their original volumes, but there can be nothing certain about most of these. The suggestion of book 3 for Nicolaus' rejection of the theory⁵⁵ that Homer lived earlier than Hesiod, and for his etymological dispute about the origin of the name "Odysseus", must depend on a belief that the Trojan War was originally included in this particular book.⁵⁶ The latest definite fragment in that book is the expedition of the Argonauts to Colchis (F 11), dated by Apollodorus at 83 years before the fall of Troy.⁵⁷ Yet Jason's return to Greece, in the same year, is found as late as book 6.⁵⁸ Perhaps these two extracts would fit more closely, both in time and content, with book 4, since this includes a brief account of Agamemnon's murder and the life of Orestes.⁵⁹

54. 90 FF 82-89; 94-96.

55. F 83. Jacoby queries book 3 for this fragment.

56. F 84. Müller (FHG 3, p.370) puts it in book 3.

57. Apollod. F 72 (Müller, FHG I, p.442); the expedition was over in four months (Apollod? Bibl. 1.9.26.6).

58. 90 F 54.

59. 90 F 25. Events earlier than some of those in book 4 are however described in book 6 (e.g. Jason and Medea - F 54; Orestes' name is also mentioned there, though in a passing comment - F 48). The balance of probability lies with book 4.

Jacoby and Müller are perhaps correct in assuming that the Lydian city of Lycosthene (F 85) was found in book 4. Stephanus states that the city was mentioned in the first volume of Xanthus' "Lydiaca",⁶⁰ and it is likely therefore to have come from the early part of Nicolaus' account of the rise of Lydia, i.e. books 4 or 5. Arcadian history was found in the latter book, but since the three fragments there refer to the legendary period it is impossible to tell how far Nicolaus covered its development,⁶¹ and Jacoby rightly decides against naming a specific book for the city of Paroreia (F 86).⁶² His other three suggestions (FF 87-89 in book 5) appear sound, especially as Stephanus has preserved two of them which are in precisely the same area as other fragments of Nicolaus from book 5.⁶³ FF 94 and 95,

60. 90 F 85 = 765 F 2.

61. 90 FF 37-39.

62. Suggesting either books 5 or 6. Müller (FHG 3.379) accepts book 5.

63. Cf. 90 F 87 with 90 FF 40-41 (Aegean islands), F 88 with F 42 (both settlements on Lesbos) and F 89 with F 43 (Bosphorus-Pontus area). F 89 is the least convincing of the three. Amorgos itself may also have occurred later, since it was not colonized by Samos until the 7th century (CAH 3, p.668). Müller (FHG 3.379) believes all three were found in book 5.

which deal with Mithridates, must have been found somewhere near books 103 and 104.⁶⁴ The remainder cover periods of history where they cannot be related to other extant material.⁶⁵

About 18,000 words of this voluminous work survive. It is impossible to state accurately what percentage of the whole this represents, since the average length of a book in Nicolaus cannot be known. A deduction from other Greek authors can only give a very rough guide.⁶⁶ The volumes of Thucydides are of fairly consistent length with a mean content of about 18,000-19,000 words, and an outside range of about 16,000 to 23,000. The "Hellenica" of Xenophon, in contrast, has only about 8,000 to 10,000 words per book. Diodorus does not have even an approximately uniform length to each volume (book 1, for instance, is almost twice the length of book 19), and his books are also on the whole considerably longer. Nicolaus' contemporary Strabo in his

64. 90 FF 73 and 74 fix the Mithridatic Wars to books 103 and 104.

65. Müller however apportions the following: 90 FF 96-98 (Müll. FF 85-87) to book 110; 90 FF 100-101 (Müll. FF 90-91) to book 116. For these there is no reliable basis.

66. Cf. F.G. Kenyon (OCD, p.141): "30-35 ft. was about the maximum length" of Greek rolls. T. Birt ("Kritik und Hermeneutik", pp. 293-296), however, quotes examples of much longer rolls.

"Geographia" has a similar average to Thucydides. This brief selection of historians illustrates the difficulty of assessing the proportion of the "Histories" still extant. There are nevertheless grounds for believing that the 18,000 lines represents something like 1/140th of the total work. Certainly, if the two speeches of Nicolaus recorded by Josephus are included,⁶⁷ at least the equivalent of one book must have survived.

Nicolaus and the Constantine "Excerpta".

About four-fifths of the fragments of Nicolaus are preserved in what is left of a compendious historical work commissioned by the Byzantine emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (912-959 AD). It originally consisted of⁶⁸ 53 volumes, each of which included selections from various classical and later Greek authors aimed at illustrating a particular topic. All that now remain are four volumes - "De Legationibus", "De Virtutibus et Vitiis", "De Insidiis",

67. 90 FF 142 and 143 = Jos. AJ 16.2.4 and 17.5.5.

68. "Excerpta De Virt.", Vol. 2, part 1, p.2.12-13, ed Th. Buettner-Wobst.

and "De Thematibus"⁶⁹. The fragments of Nicolaus are to be found in the last three, although from references appended to parts of the text it is clear that more of the "Histories"⁷⁰ was preserved in at least three other volumes.

The object and scope of the compilation is stated in the hypothesis of the volume *περὶ ἀρετῆς καὶ κακίας* as being one "of common usefulness and of relevance to life"⁷¹. It was to be assembled with great care and would represent "a store of all human endeavour". The authors selected for this treatment cover the spectrum of historical tradition, from Herodotus to Byzantine chroniclers. What were the criteria of selecting individual writers? In the

69. "Excerpta historica iussu Imp. Constantini Porphyrogeniti confecta", 4 Vols., edd. C.G. de Boor, U.P. Boissevain, Th. Buettnner-Wobst, A.G. Roos (Berlin 1903-1910).

70. Beneath 90 F 1 (Semiramis) are the words *ζήτει ἐν τῷ Περὶ δημηγοριῶν* ; F 4 (Parsondes) *ζήτει ἐν τῷ Περὶ στρατηγῶν* ; F 13 (Heracles) *ζ. ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀνδραγαθῶν* ; F 66.31 (Cyrus) *ζ. ἐν τῷ Περὶ δημηγοριῶν* ; F 66.44 (Cyrus) *ζ. ἐν τῷ Περὶ ἀνδραγαθῶν καὶ στρατηγῶν*.

71. "Excerpta De Virt.", Vol.2(1), p.2,2: *κοινωφελὲς τῷ τε βίῳ ὀνησιφόρον*.

"De Insidiis" only seven historians are used - Nicolaus, John of Antioch, John Malalas, George the Monk, Diodorus,⁷² Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Polybius (in that order). Yet many other historians, including those used in other volumes, had recorded accounts of subterfuge which could have been aptly included under this heading.⁷³ Fourteen historians, arranged again in no chronological order, were used in the "De Virtutibus" - Josephus, Herodotus, Thucydides, Xenophon, Arrian, Appian and Dio Cassius, in addition to those found in the "De Insidiis". Among this gathering there is no unifying bond. National histories, such as those of Josephus and Dionysius, are ranged with the more general works of Herodotus and Polybius; the study of a narrow range of events, as exemplified by Thucydides and Xenophon, is put alongside the "universal" writing of Nicolaus or John Malalas. It is difficult to see any criterion of selection other than random choice among extant Classical and post-Classical historians.

72. Nicolaus (pp. 1-58), John of Antioch (58-150), John Malalas (151-176), George the Monk (176-190), Diodorus (190-212), Dionysius (212-224), Polybius (224-228).

73. E.g. Herodotus, Xenophon, ~~Polybius~~ and Josephus.

By comparing the order the excerpts from each author are in with independently preserved texts it can be seen that the Excerptors have kept the sequence of their source material. It can therefore be assumed that the same procedure was followed with Nicolaus. Despite this, the fragments of the "Histories" do present a few problems. In addition to several examples of breaks in the middle of a passage or even in mid-sentence, there are many omissions of individual words and phrases or word endings⁷⁴. Mistakes and incongruities are found in the recording of proper names. F 4 is a prime example of this. At the beginning of the story of the rivalry between Parsondes and Nanarus their master, the Median king, is (wrongly) given as Arbaces; seven lines later the ruler is named as Artaeus.⁷⁵ Again, the last of the ruling Bacchiad family at Corinth, who was killed during the Cypselid uprising, is successively called Hippoclides and Patroclides.⁷⁶ The reason for these mistakes seems to be scribal error, either by the Excerptors themselves, or, as De Boor claims in

74. Breaks in mid-sentence: F 3, p.331, line 19; F 16, p.340, line 27; F 28, p.343, line 23. See app. crit. of Jacoby, passim, for other omissions.

75. 90 F 4, p.331, lines 20 & 27.

76. 90 F 57.1 and 6. Cf. also 90 F 51, p.352, line 24 and app. crit. (*Ἰωνες* a mistake for *Ἑωκεῖς*, as is shown by lines 28-29); FF 2 and 3, p.330, lines 1 and 6 (*Ἀσίας* wrongly given for *Ἀσσυρίας*); F 31, p.344, line 18 (*Σπαρτιάτων* for *Μεσσηνίων*).

connection with instances in other authors, due to the 'vitia' being already present in the texts the Excerptors⁷⁷ used.

There are two obvious lines of inquiry suggested by this collection. Can it be assumed that the most informative accounts of historical events were selected? Did then Nicolaus not mention (or deal only briefly with) those events described by other historians in the same volume? The answer to both questions is unfortunately negative. Nicolaus treated the last few years of Julius Caesar's life and the youth of Octavian at length,⁷⁸ but there are in the "De Insidiis" three other separate⁷⁹ versions of Caesar's death, although Nicolaus' version is by far the longest and the only one remotely contemporary. The Agamemnon/Orestes saga is told three times, once in⁸⁰ much greater detail than by Nicolaus, and Herod's death is

77. "Exc. De Insidiis", preface, p.21.

78. 90 FF 125-130, pp. 391-420.

79. "Excerpta De Insid.", pp. 74-75, F 30 (John of Antioch). The other two have only 33 words between them: *ibid.*, p.155, F 2 (John Malalas), and p.177, F 6 (George the Monk).

80. "Excerpta De Insidiis": (i) Nicolaus - p.8, F 8; (ii) John of Antioch - p.59f, F 3; (iii) John Malalas - pp. 151-155, F 1, much longer than N, 90 F 25 (only 8 lines).

81

recorded twice as a murder. Even more interesting is the fact that the accounts of Nicolaus and Diodorus on early Oriental history, both ultimately derived from Ctesias, and therefore similar in treatment where they recorded the same event, are detailed in different volumes in two out of four instances. This shows that the scope of at least some books was very indistinctly defined.

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It is thus abundantly clear from the "De Insidiis" alone that there were no well-defined criteria of selection, and consequently that no assumptions one way or the other can be made on the question of what Nicolaus' "Histories" may have originally contained. Analysis of the

81. John of Antioch ("Excerpta De Insid.", p.76, F 32) and John Malalas (ib. pp. 156-157, F 4) - only approximately three lines each, with great similarity of content and vocabulary.
82. Cf. the following: Plot against Semiramis - N, "Excerpta De Insid.", p.3 = 90 F 1, and Diodorus, ibid, p.192, F 5; (ii) Arbaces and Belesys - N, "Exc. De Insid.", p.4 = 90 F 3, and Diodorus, ib. pp. 192-193, F 6; (iii) Parsondes - N, "Excerpta De Virt." I, p.330 = 90 F 4, and Diodorus, "Excerpta De Insid.", p.193, F 7. (iv) Zarinaea (Zarina) - N, "Excerpta De Virt." I, p.335 = 90 F 5, and Diodorus, "Excerpta De Insid.", p.193, F 8. Cf. also Nicolaus and Diodorus on; (v) Medea and Pelias - N "Excerpta De Insid.", p.19 = 90 F 54, and Diodorus, ib., pp.195-197, F 18. (vi) Bellerophon - N "Excerpta De Virt." I, p.336 = 90 F 9, and Diodorus, "Exc. De Insid.", p.197, F 19, (vii) Temenus - N, "Exc. De Insid.", p.9 = 90 F 30, and Diodorus, ib., p.197, F 22.

"De Virtutibus et Vitiis" leads to the same conclusion. It is likely that the Excerptors worked independently of one another, and that one historian was assigned for excerption under pre-agreed headings to one particular scholar. In the case of a short work, such as Xenophon's "Cyropaedia" or "Anabasis", this was an easy task, but where a compendious history like that of Nicolaus was being reviewed a panel of scholars may have been required. It also follows that the final editing of the excerpts for any one volume, if it took place, was an imprecise and badly-defined process.

The Structure of the "Histories".

Basically, two methods of arrangement can be adopted by a writer of universal history. Either national histories are described separately down to a pre-determined

83. Cf. these historians and events found in "Excerpta De Virtutibus et Vitiis" with extant fragments of Nicolaus: (i) Excesses of Sardanapalus - N, 90 F 2 = "Exc. De Virt." I, p.329f., and George the Monk, ib., p.123, F 2. (ii) Amphion and Zethus - 90 F 7, and John Malalas, Vol. I, pp. 157-158, F 2. (iii) Stheneboa and Bellerophon - 90 F 9 and John of Antioch, Vol. I, p.166, F 7. (iv) Cyrus - 90 FF 66-67; Diodorus, Vol. I, p.219, FF 53 and 55; and Xenophon "Cyrop.", Vol. 2, pp. 46-62, excerpta 1-16. (v) Cyrus and Croesus - 90 F 68; Diodorus, Vol. I, p.220, F 58; and Herodotus, Vol. 2, pp. 3-4, F 4.

point, or else they are synchronised and integrated. The obvious weakness of the former method is that it can take no account of the differing pace of development in the constituent nations, and destroys historical perspective. The problems presented to the historian by the other method, however, are considerable - the necessity for having an overall knowledge of the subject matter to be treated before commencing writing, and perhaps fixing some limit to the number of peoples to be included. There are also the physical difficulties of handling a larger amount of source material at the same time. This method is, of course, historically much more satisfactory. On the other hand, unless the accounts of the individual nations in each book bear some chronological relationship to one another, it becomes meaningless and confusing.

In the "Histories" there are clear indications that some synchronistic arrangement was attempted. Although the substance of each book is fragmentary and the exact scope of each section of a book cannot be determined, the fact that books 3 to 7 deal with more than one national history clearly substantiates that some sort of periodic division was made.⁸⁴ The early Hellenes may well have been

84. The ending of only one book is certain - that of book 6, which concluded with the death of Lycurgus (90 F 56). Book 7, according to the "Excerpta", ended with Romulus (90 F 70), but it is very doubtful whether FF 69 & 70 were originally in the "Histories" - see chapter 2, n.236, and the text thereto.

treated in books 1 and 2 in addition to the Assyrians,
 Babylonians and Medes,⁸⁵ This is certainly true of book 3,
 where about 105 lines of text have survived dealing with
 Hellenic history of the pre-Trojan War era; here it can be
 seen that Nicolaus has not confined himself to only one
 city or area. On the other hand, many episodes in these
 books can not be specifically dated, and in any case
 synchronisation in book 3 was largely impossible because of
 the legendary character of the material.⁸⁶

Books 4 to 7 are more detailed, and the chronology of
 each is tentatively tabulated below as far as possible:
 Book 4: Lydia (origins? - c.1190?);⁸⁷ Syria, especially

85. See n. 50.

86. Book 3 probably dealt with Hellenic legend down to
 the Trojan War.

87. 90 FF 15, 16, 18, 22. FF 15 and 18 clearly refer to the
 legendary period. It seems that Lydian history in book
 4 went down as far as the Heraclids, since they are
 treated next in book 6. Gyges came to the throne of
 Lydia c. 685 BC, and Herodotus states (1,7) that the
 Heraclids ruled before him for 22 generations or 505
 years, i.e. c. 1190 - 685 BC.

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Damascus (at least c.2100-c.732?); Hellas (?-mid
89
7th century).

Book 5: Very little survives, but in part treats early
Arcadian affairs, beginning with the original
settlement by Pelasgus, and the punishment of the

88. A long period elapsed between FF 19 and 20. Abraham's wanderings should be dated c. 2100 BC according to Biblical tradition, since 1200 years elapsed between the birth of Abraham and the building of Solomon's temple (Genesis 12.4; 21.5; 25.20 and 26; 47.8-9; Exodus 12.40; I Kings 6.1). But see S.W. Baron, "A Social and Religious History of the Jews", Vol. I, pp.301-303, n.4 for discussion of his date. In F 20 David's encounter with Adadus (Hadad) probably took place c.990 BC (see chapter 3, n.72). The "ten generations" of Adadus, mentioned by N, (10 x 26 yrs. approx. fits the chronology here) can have lasted no longer than 732 BC, when Syria fell to Tiglath-pileser III.
89. The Peloponnesian Heraclids (90 FF 28-36) first came, according to tradition, 80 years after the Trojan War, i.e. c.1120 BC (Thuc. 1.12.3), led by Temenus, Cresphontes and the two sons of Aristodemus, Procles and Eurysthenes. The mention of Pheidon (F 35) is too brief to be able to identify him definitely as the famous ruler of Argos, Pheidon of Corinth, the 5th generation after Temenus (Theopompus, 115 F 393), was successful in prolonging the stability of aristocratic government (Aristot. Pol. 1265b 12; 1274a 31), by not reducing the numbers of the landed gentry. He would therefore be a supporter of reaction rather than revolution, and the latter type is demanded here, though Jacoby follows Müller in accepting Pheidon as the Corinthian (FGrH IIC, p.243). The fragment follows Messenian and apparently precedes Corinthian history, and so does nothing to clarify matters. The politics and character of Pheidon of Argos are more suggested. The original Temenid kingdom, based on Argos, was probably reconstituted by him (10th generation after Temenus, according to Ephorus - 70 F 115 = Strabo 8.3.33). His notable victory over Sparta at Hysiae in 669 BC established his authority to the south; his encouragement of subversion among his northern neighbours would have achieved the same result on the Isthmian front.

Flood sent down on earth because of his son Lycaon's⁹⁰ offering human flesh to Zeus. The early period of Siphnos, Scyros, Agamede and Mesembria is also treated, perhaps indicating that all the Aegean and⁹¹ Pontus were also included.

Book 6: Heraclid dynasty of Lydia (c.1190-c.685 BC);⁹² Athens⁹³ (origins? - 712 at least, perhaps to 683/2); Cyrene⁹⁴ (c.630 - at least 550); W. Asia Minor (from 12th⁹⁵ century at least); Thessaly (c. 13th century - ?);⁹⁶

90. 90 FF 37-38.

91. 90 FF 40-43.

92. See n.87.

93. Demophon (90 F 48) was king of Attica c. 1200 BC, and ruled at the time of Orestes' trial, which is placed six years after the fall of Troy, c. 1194 BC ("Marmor Parium", 24 and 25). He, Oxyntes, Apheidas and Thymoetes (Theseidae) were succeeded by the Neleids Melanthus and Codrus. By the time of Hippomenes (722-713 BC), mentioned in 90 F 49, the archonship had become a ten-year office. In 683/2 BC annual archons were instituted.

94. 90 F 50. Cyrene was founded c. 630 BC by Battus I. Battus III (the "Lame"), c. 550-530, is the last mentioned king in N.

95. 90 FF 51-53.

96. 90 FF 54-55.

Sparta (only Lycurgus mentioned; ? - c. 875?⁹⁷).
 Book 7: Central Greek Tyrannies (7th and 6th centuries);⁹⁸
 Lydia (c. 685 - c. 546⁹⁹); Persia (6th century).¹⁰⁰
 [Rome, 8th century]¹⁰¹].

97. It is probable that Spartan history was resumed here after the story of its conquest by the Heraclids Procles and Eurysthenes in book 4. It is unlikely, despite Lydian and Athenian history in this book terminating in the 7th century, that N. dated Lycurgus to this period. His own statement that Spartan hegemony lasted for 500 years from Lycurgus' time (90 F 56, p.356, lines 13-14) should place him c. 875 BC, assuming N. accepted Leuctra (371 BC) as ending Spartan ascendancy. This would mean that only the 11th to early 9th centuries of Sparta were recorded in book 6. It is of course possible that N. took another terminus instead of Leuctra, or used 500 as a convenient round number. Thucydides (1.18) appears to date Lycurgan reforms at c. 831 BC.
98. 90 FF 57-61, at Corinth (c. 655-581) and Sicyon (c. 655-570).
99. 90 FF 62-65, and 68 — i.e. the dynasty of the Mermnadae, beginning with Gyges (Gugu) and ending with the reign of Croesus (c. 546 BC.)
100. 90 FF 66-68.
101. See n. 84.

From the arrangement of these few books certain conclusions can be drawn. There is some chronological sequence down to book 7; the later the book, the more isochronous the individual national accounts become. Nicolaus appears to have cast the net of historical coverage very widely in the early books, but the accumulation of material proved excessive, and compelled him to describe parallel periods of the history of minor peoples, islands and cities alongside major developments. This spoils his basic chronological arrangement.¹⁰² Thus, although the difficulties of arranging so much information into separate books did not deter him from attempting to synchronise his history, they did prevent him from handling the method with complete success. Overall, he had detailed Oriental and Hellenic history at least down to about 550 BC. Well over half of the full historical span that he treated was therefore covered in only seven books, about a twentieth of the total work.

Of great value in assessing Nicolaus' subsequent apportioning of his work are the fragments, preserved mainly by Athenaeus, where the book numbers are given.¹⁰³ Some of these can be fixed to particular years. Excluding F 72, which gives details of the Ark's final grounding in

102. Orestes, for example, is mentioned in books 4 (F 25) and 6 (F 48), and Jason in books 3 (F 11) and 6 (F 54) because of this difficulty.

103. 90 FF 72-81 - all from Athenaeus, except FF 72 and 81 (from Josephus).

Armenia from book 92, but which is too indeterminate for
¹⁰⁴
 the present purpose, the layout of the "Histories" is as
¹⁰⁵
 follows:

<u>Terminal</u> <u>Date.</u>	<u>F Nos.</u>	<u>Book No.</u>	<u>Interval,</u> <u>in years.</u>	<u>No. of</u> <u>bks.</u> <u>covering</u> <u>same</u> <u>interval.</u>	<u>Average</u> <u>no. of</u> <u>years per</u> <u>book.</u>
c.550 BC	FF 1-70	1-7	1000/1500?	7	
c. 88 BC	FF(73)-74	104	460	97	4.7
c. 80	F 75	107	8	3	2.7
77?	F 76	108	3	1	3.0
63	FF 77-78	110	14	2	7.0
53	F 79	114	10}	4}	1.7 ⁽¹⁰⁶⁾
56	F 80	116	+3} 10	2} 6	
14	F 81	123-124	42	8	6.0
14-4 BC	/	124-144	10	20	0.5

104. It is inconceivable that N left it as late as book 96 to detail either the beginning of Armenian or Biblical history - he had already described in F 38 (book 5) Lycaon, who brought down the punishment of the Flood, acc. to Greek mythology. The reference to the Ark, interesting from Josephus' point of view, was probably incidental to N's description of some 2nd century BC Armenian event.

105. Some of these dates are uncertain. The anecdote about Mithridates in F 73 is dated post-115 BC by Jacoby (F. cit.), and indeed could have occurred at any point in his reign down to 84 BC; Sulla's love of the theatre and actors may have been inserted during the years of his dictatorship (hence having the power to distribute land, etc. - F 75).

106. The apparent inconsistency of 90 F 80 (56 BC) following F 79 (53 BC) is probably to be explained in the same way

These figures have some meaning only if they are viewed in relation to the whole set. The early period down to 550 BC was cursorily treated compared with the period following, since it has at least the equivalent of 150 years per book; but after reaching a stage where greater reliability and volume of records existed the years/book distribution gradually levelled off to a mean of somewhere about 5. The figures for the first century BC on the whole show a continuation of the trend towards greater detail as the history became more contemporary. The years 88-53 BC took at least thirteen books, and therefore had at most 2.7^{107} years per book, and must have been treated in great detail. For the period 53-14 BC, on the other hand, by the most liberal assessment, only nine books seem to have covered 39 years, a years/book ratio of at least 4.3. In actual

as the similar occurrences in books 1-7 - the difficulty of precisely synchronising a great volume of material. Perhaps N dealt with Caesar's Gallic campaigns as a whole (which would then continue past Crassus' defeat in 53 BC), and then led naturally into the Civil War; the eastern problem would then be treated earlier to prevent a break up in the narrative of the Caesar-Pompey conflict.

107. Books 103-116 at least. If events of 53 BC extended much past book 116, the subsequent events down to 14 BC (books 123 and 124) must have been very scantily treated, and the 88-53 BC period in even greater detail.

fact this should probably be increased considerably towards the end of that period in view of the very imbalanced coverage given to the decade 14-4 BC, where only ten years fill twenty books, a 0.5 ratio.

There could be several reasons for this interruption in a trend of gradually expanding coverage. If, as argued earlier, Nicolaus finished the bulk of the "Histories" by 12 BC, he may have found himself short of time for writing the concluding parts of this section because of his political activities for Herod. Again, since he was writing virtually contemporary history, he may well have found himself short of convenient source material in the shape of other historical works. Nicolaus would thus be compelled to do more of his own collation and composing. It is also possible that he did not wish to repeat the period beginning c.45 BC which he had treated in his biography of Augustus, though admittedly this was naturally centred around one figure.

It has been stated by Wacholder that the "Histories" included a greater number of people, and that the accounts of them became increasingly more detailed, as the work progressed.¹⁰⁸ In fact the contrary seems to be true. In the early books, admittedly, coverage ranges from the oriental

empires to the details of small cities, but concentrating mainly on Hellas, Asia Minor and Hellenistic settlements around the Mediterranean. Even insignificant places were included, as the fact that several of them are not otherwise traceable shows.¹⁰⁹ But already in book 6 fewer different places are treated. This is continued in the next book, where only the histories of important cities and peoples are found - Corinth and Sicyon, Lydia and Persia.¹¹⁰ It is significant that all the fragments between Nos. 72 and 102¹¹¹ (i.e. definitely after book 7) in Jacoby's text record details only of Roman, Jewish and Middle Eastern affairs. This suggests that Nicolaus gradually reduced the number of peoples to be treated - a natural process as power became concentrated in fewer hands.

109.Cf. 90 FF 17 (Nerabus, in Syria; but see also E. Honigmann, RE 16.2537, s.v. *Νήραβος*); 27 (Carnia, in Ionia); 33 (Neris, in Messenia - not the village near Eua recorded by Pausanias 2.38.6); 39 (Botachidae - the Potachidae of Pausanias 8.45.1?).

110.90 FF 57-68.

111.Except FF 83-89, which cannot be placed definitely to individual books, but probably all came before book 7. See p. 174.

Conclusion.

The 144 book "Histories" of Nicolaus, most of which was probably composed in Jerusalem, seems to have been begun in the late Twenties B.C. and to have been completed about 4 B.C. Books 1 - 122 (approximately) were probably completed by 12 B.C., and may have been issued as a unit. The last twenty or so books, covering the period 14-c.4 BC, are much more detailed (two books per year), treat of contemporary affairs, and may have been added to the rest of the "Histories" as a kind of regularly appearing supplement. Nicolaus alleges that he was urged to write the work by Herod, but desire for fame was probably an important factor. Probably only the equivalent of one book is now extant, and, unfortunately, the Constantine "Excerpta" are of no assistance for deducing what further material the "Histories" may originally have contained. The extant text does however show that Nicolaus regarded his history as "universal" in scope, and that structurally he attempted to synchronise the national histories. As it became more contemporary it generally became more detailed, but dealt with fewer peoples.

CHAPTER 2:

NICOLAUS AND HIS SOURCES.

The fragmentary state of Nicolaus' writings and the similar fate of most of the works he utilised present many problems for the source critic. The position is made more difficult by the fact that the fragments do not quote¹ sources. Nevertheless, it is necessary to investigate his sources to determine the character of his history, and, where possible, his treatment and adaptation of them. Such investigations have attracted most scholarly attention, as will become clear from the notes to this chapter.

There are basically two views on the question of how Nicolaus treated his sources. The majority, most authoritatively represented by Jacoby, believe that he probably followed only one source at a time. Laqueur, in his RE article on Nicolaus, however, argues that Nicolaus' account is a synthesis of two or more sources.

The present investigation does not aim to cover the question of which sources Nicolaus used in the same detail, since to do so would be largely to repeat the work of

1. This is of course not uncommon. The only possible exception is 90 F 69, p.374, lines 22-26 = Dion. Hal. AR 1.84.1, where the opposing view of other historians is criticised. But this fragment is probably not from the "Histories" - see chapter 1, n.84. Hesiod is mentioned once (90 F 24), but the brief quotation from him may well have been in N's source. Cf. also the following vague references to other accounts: 90 FF 22 and 58.2 - λέγεται ; FF 47.4, and 56 and 61.2 - ὡς φασί ; F 24 - ἐδόκει ; F 58.4 - φασὶ δέ τινες ; FF 66.1 and 72 - λόγος ἔχει.

earlier scholars. Most of the longer fragments deal with Assyria, Media, Lydia and Persia, and it is in these parts that reasonable certainty is possible. These are treated first, and in more detail than the generally shorter fragments about Hellas and Rome, where the conclusions of earlier writers must still stand in the absence of further textual discoveries. The later part of this chapter is therefore added mainly for the sake of completeness.

Oxyrhynchus Papyrus 2330².

Only in one place is it possible to prove conclusively which source Nicolaus used. One of the parts of his Median history which is still extant is F 5. This tells the story of the love of a Median general called Stryangaeus for

2. The substance of this section originally appeared in "Rhein. Mus." 112 (1969), pp. 85-93.

3

Zarinaea, the queen of the Sacae. It describes his progress to Rhoxanace, the royal city of the Sacae, and his reception by Zarinaea. By the end of the extract it is clear that the course of his love is not running smoothly, and he therefore determines to kill himself, writing a letter to the queen to explain his action.

Other accounts give further details of the story. The anonymous "De Mulieribus" tells how Zarinaea married

3. Ancient writers have different spellings of Stryangaeus and Zarinaea: *Στρυγγαῖος* (N, 90 F 5); *Στρυγγίλιος* (Demetrius, "De Eloc." 213 = 688 F 8a); *Στρυγγίλιος* (Tzetz. Chil. 12. 897); *Στρυγγαῖος* (Suda s.v.). *Ζαρεινναία* (?) (P. Ox. 2330); *Ζαρινναία* (N and Anon. "De Mul." 2 s.v. = 688 F 7); *Ζαρίνα* (Diodorus 2.34.3). There is as much divergency among modern commentators: K. Latte ("Gnomon" 27 (1955), p.497) - *Ζαρίννα*; G.J.D. Aalders ("Hermeneus" 28 (1956), p.4f) - *Ζαρινναία*; M. Gigante ("Riv. di Filol." N.S. 40 (1962), p.250) - *Ζαρεινναία*; K. Ziegler (RE 9 A 2, col. 2328f) calls the queen *Ζαρίνα*.

Mermerus,⁴ *δυναστής* of Parthia, on the death of her first husband Cydraeus, was defeated in battle by the Persians⁵(?), but spared by Stryangaeus, who was himself captured by Mermerus not long after. The latter turned down his wife Zarinaea's request not to put Stryangaeus to death, and was killed by her. She then diplomatically formed an alliance of friendship with Stryangaeus. Diodorus, though not mentioning this particular incident, records a war taking place between the Medes and Sacae during the reign of the penultimate Median king Astibaras, and testifies to the influential position the queen had among her people.⁶

The letter of Nicolaus is extremely important for the

4. Anon. "De Mulieribus quae bello claruerunt" 2 = 688 F 7. N (90 F 5, p. 335.26) calls him *Μαρμάρης*.
5. This should be "Medes". Cf. Tzetz. Chil. 12.894 ff. = J. Gilmore, "The Fragments of the 'Persika' of Ktesias", F 20c: *καὶ πάλιν δὲ Στρυάλιος, ἀνὴρ τις ἐκ τῶν Μήδων, γυναῖκα τῶν Σακιδῶν ρέν καταβαλὼν ἐξ ἵππου*, and similarly Demetrius, "De Eloc." 213 = Gilmore F 20b = 688 F 8a: *Στρυάγλιος τις, ἀνὴρ Μήδος, γυναῖκα Σακίδα καταβαλὼν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἵππου* These two excerpts admittedly only show that it was a Mede who defeated Zarinaea, but nevertheless this particular individual has power to conclude agreements with her as a conqueror. Diodorus (2.34.1-2), following Ctesias, as the "De Mul." also claims to do, talks of a Median-Sacan war. The "De Mul." extract ends by saying that Zarinaea, *παραδοῦσα τῷ Πέρσῃ τὴν χώραν φιλιαν ἐποίησατο πρὸς αὐτόν* The "Persian" here can be none other than the Mede Stryangaeus.
6. Diod. 2.34.1-5 = 688 F 1, pp. 451-453.

source question, since it gives the same information, and is written in very similar language, to a papyrus fragment.

This second century A.D. papyrus of 28⁷ short lines consists of the letter itself, and has 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ lines of fragmentary dialogue between Stryangaeus himself and an unnamed individual preceding it; the whole breaks off in mid-sentence.

The authorship of the papyrus is not disputed. The "De Mulieribus" gives us the context of the story prior to the fragment, and quotes Ctesias as the author of it.⁸ More important, Demetrius, while discussing the means of achieving *ἐνάργεια*, cites this particular part of Ctesias to exemplify his point and actually quotes the beginning of this letter, which differs only in one negligible detail⁹ from the papyrus.¹⁰ As Roberts points out, there can thus be little doubt that the papyrus fragment contains not another version of the Ctesias original, but the text of Ctesias himself. The great similarity of the papyrus and F 5 shows

7. Pap. Oxyrh. XXII (1954), No. 2330, p.83, ed. C.H. Roberts = FGrH 688 F 8b. I have not been able to see the papyrus; it is apparently lost.

8. See n.3.

9. Demet. "De Eloc." 209-213, 215-216 = 688 T 14a; 213f = 688 F 8a. The exact words are *ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἐσώσα, καὶ σὺ μὲν δι' ἐμῆ ἐσώθης, ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σέ ἀπωλόμην* (FGrH IIIC, p.452, col. 2, lines 25-27). There is no *μὲν* after the *σὺ* in the second clause of the papyrus.

10. Op. cit. (n.7), p.82.

that Nicolaus had Ctesias' "Persica" at his disposal and used him for part of his Median history.

This papyrus also allows us to see how Nicolaus used his source. There have been basically two views on this question. Jacoby believed that in Nicolaus' narrative could¹¹ be seen Ctesias' artistry in story-telling. Several have opposed this. Laqueur maintained that Nicolaus himself was mainly responsible for his lively style of narrative by¹² "imposing a style of his own" on to Ctesias' material. He seems to be supported by Roberts, who states that Nicolaus¹³ "rewrote and elaborated" this part of Ctesias. Wacholder¹⁴ too supports Laqueur's thesis. The great importance of this papyrus is that it enables us for the first time to study the actual process, and not merely to attempt to deduce it:

11. F.Gr.H. IIC, p.235.26-27.

12. RE 17.389. Cf. also J. Gilmore, p.107.

13. Pap. Oxyrh. XXII, p.82.15-18.

14. P.68, and p.122f, nn. 21 and 44.

Ctesias (P. Ox. 2330).

Nicolaus (F 5).

[.]α.σ.[.] λε. ἀπανψ. τις δ' ἐ[σ]-
 τιν ὅτι ἄγος ἐνέλειπες. ὁ δ' εἶ-
 πεν· φέρε τὸ γοῦν πρῶτον
 [γ]ράμματα [γ]ράψω πρὸς Ζαρι-
 5 ἐναίαν· καὶ γράφει· 'Στρυαγ-
 γαῖος Ζαρε[ιεν]αίαι οὕτω λέγει·
 ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα, καὶ σὺ δι' ἐ-
 μὲ ἐσ[ώ]θης, ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σὲ ἀ-
 πω[λ]όρην, καὶ ἀπέκτεινα
 10 αὐτὸς ἐμαυτόν· οὐ γάρ μοι σὺ ἐ-
 βούλου χαρί[ε]σθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦ-
 τα τὰ κακὰ καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τόν-
 δε οὐκ αὐτὸς εἰλόρην, ὁ δὲ θεὸς
 οὗτό[ς] ἐστιν κοινὸς καὶ σοὶ καὶ
 15 ἀπασιν ἀνθρώποισιν. ὅτῳ
 μὲν οὖν εἴλεως ἔλθῃ, πλεί-
 στας γε ἡδονὰς δίδωσιν, καὶ ἄλ-
 λα πλείστα ἀγαθὰ ἐποίησεν αὐ-
 τόν, ὅτῳ δὲ ὀργιζόμενος
 20 ἔλθῃ(ι) ο[ἷον] περ ἐμοὶ νῦν, πλεί-
 στα κ[ακὰ] ἐργασάμενος τὸ τελευ-
 ταῖον πρόρριζον ἀπώλεσεν
 καὶ ἐξέτ[ρ]εψεν. τεκμαίρομαι
 δὲ τῷ ἐρῷ θανάτῳ. [ἐ]γὼ
 25 γάρ σοι καταράσομαι μὲν οὐ-

.... πρὸς τε τὸν εὐνοῦχον
 ὠδύρετο. τέλος δὲ γράψας
 εἰς διφθέραν ἐξώρκωσε
 τὸν εὐνοῦχον, ἐπειδὴν
 αὐτὸν διαχρήσεται, μηδὲν
 προκατειπόντα τὴν διφθέραν
 ἀποδοῦναι Ζαριναίᾳ.
 ἐγέγραπτο δέ· 'Στρυαγγαῖος
 Ζαριναίᾳ λέγει τάδε· ἐγὼ
 μὲν σε ἔσωσά τε καὶ τῶν
 νῦν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν αἷτιος
 γέγονα· σὺ δέ με ἀπέκτεινας
 καὶ πάντων ἀνόνητον
 πεποίηκας.

δέν, ἐπεύξομαι δέ σοι τὴν
 δικαιο[τ]ά[τ]ην εὐχὴν· εἰ μὲν
 σὺ ἐρὲ [δ]ί[κ]α[ι]α ἐποίησας, πολ-^{**}

30

35

εἰ μὲν οὖν σοι
 ταῦτα πέπρακται δικαίως,
 σὺ δὲ πάντων τύχοις τῶν
 ἀγαθῶν καὶ εἰς μακαρία·
 εἰ δὲ ἀδίκως, σὺ δὲ τοῦ
 αὐτοῦ πάθους ἐμοὶ πείραν
 λάβοις· καὶ γάρ μοι
 παρήνεσας τοιοῦτον
 γενέσθαι.'

The actual letter recorded by Nicolaus is a much abbreviated version of the original. His full text runs to only 57 words, while the extant part of Ctesias is almost double this at 105 complete words. Since the latter breaks off in mid-sentence, the different length of treatment of the two must originally have been greater. It is unfortunately now only possible to make a valid comparison between the papyrus and the first 31 words of Nicolaus' text (Στραγγαῖος - πέπρακται δικαίως). If Nicolaus' abbreviation of Ctesias had been fairly consistent throughout, the papyrus fragment might represent something over a half of the original letter. But since this "abbreviation" was a

selection of important details and not a uniform précis (Nicolaus condenses the introduction and leaves out one whole section), it is likely that in the papyrus there is as much as three-quarters of Ctesias' full text.

The contents of the papyrus letter fall into two main parts - Stryangaeus reminds the queen of his good services to her and criticises the treatment she returned (lines 7-11, 24-28); secondly, he attributes the impasse between them to the influence of ¹⁵ὁ Θεός (lines 11-24), probably the god of love. Nicolaus in his version makes no reference to this second section, perhaps because he thought it spoilt the mood of intimate talk which had been established at the opening of the letter. These ten lines contain 42 words, and if the full argument is taken (ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα - θανάτῳ) 59, i.e. well over half the total number of words extant in the papyrus letter. In the introduction, too, where Ctesias used dialogue to convey the feelings of Stryangaeus, Nicolaus abbreviates the conversation to "he poured out his troubles to the eunuch". This seems to suggest that Nicolaus was in the habit of drastically reducing or dispensing altogether with those parts of his source which detracted from the main lines of the story.

15. The Θεός may be a convenient figure of speech to personify Stryangaeus' confused emotions, but more probably Eros, suggested by the sentence before where the Mede represents himself as the victim of external forces as he bewails his misfortunes. The οὗτος qualifying ὁ δὲ Θεός would then aptly refer back to τὸν ἐρωτὰ τόνδε.

There is also evidence that Nicolaus did some rearrangement of his source material. According to F 5, the eunuch was made to swear that he would say nothing about Stryangaeus' suicide when he gave the letter to Zarinaea, but there is¹⁶ nothing about this in the Ctesias papyrus. This injunction cannot have been found earlier than the beginning of the papyrus fragment, since Stryangaeus' decision to write a letter is found within the compass of the papyrus itself. Nicolaus says it happened after the writing of the letter (τέλος δὲ γράψας εἰς διφθέραν ἐξώρκωσε τὸν εὐνούχον). Ctesias must have inserted this order when the Mede had finished writing the letter. Nicolaus then transposed the order of his source, and inserted the command before he gave the contents of the letter.

Besides shortening his source, Nicolaus also made stylistic changes. Ctesias himself clearly made use of rhetorical devices, especially antithesis. In his first sentence (ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα..., ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σὲ ἀπωλόρην), the μὲν and δέ do not directly contrast opposing ideas but emphasise the same person, the clauses as a whole being juxtaposed. This is not repeated by Nicolaus, who writes ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα..., σὺ δέ με ἀπέκτεινας, thereby drawing attention to the two parties involved. Ctesias reinforces the effect of antithesis by the use of chiasmus, as:

16. P.336, lines 20-22.

1.

2.

A. ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα, καὶ σὺ δι' ἐρέ εἰσώθης,

B. ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σὲ ἀπώλоргην, καὶ ἀπέκτεινα αὐτὸς ἑμαυτόν.

The four clauses and the individual words in them are carefully balanced. Not only is the active-passive sequence of the first two verbs reversed in the last two, but their meanings are also contrasted. Stryangaeus begins by laying especial emphasis on his own role towards the queen - that of saviour (ἐγὼ... ἔσωσα,... εἰσώθης). She, on the other hand, has been the cause of his disillusionment and death (ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σὲ ἀπώλоргην). The other words were then arranged inside this chiasmic structure, the σὲ ἔσωσα of A1 balancing ἀπέκτεινα... ἑμαυτόν of B2, and the σὺ δι' ἐρέ of A2 set against the ἐγὼ... διὰ σέ of B1. Even the number of words in the clauses balances. The two sets of clauses (A and B) have eight words, A1 and B2 having four each, and A2 and B1 five each, and both sets are linked internally by the pivot word καί. Once Ctesias had decided on a basic arrangement of contrasts, the tautology of A1 and A2 was admitted on artistic grounds. Demetrius in fact specially selected these nine words to exemplify the means of achieving ἐνάργεια, and maintained that they gave ἔρφασιν

¹⁷
πλείονα to the narrative.

Nicolaus has several deviations in arrangement from Ctesias. The *ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα* of F 5 is taken over completely from Ctesias A1, and *σὺ δέ με ἀπέκτεινας* matches B1. The two other clauses (*καὶ τῶν νῦν - γέγονα / καὶ πάντων ἀνόνητον πεποίηκας*) give no new information but are merely extensions of the ideas contained in the two clauses to which they are appended. Nicolaus purposely retained the four-part structure of his source, and added his second and fourth clauses as "filling" in the same way as Ctesias. In the process he removed Ctesias' *σὺ δι' ἐρέε..., ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σέ...* and his remarkable combination of antithesis, chiasmus and symmetry, put his own four verbs into the active voice, and reduced the number of contrasting words and clauses. The repetition of *ἐγὼ* and the changes of subject were then avoided. The resultant writing has rather more meaning by interpreting and replacing the vague words "saved" and "ruined" found in Ctesias. The use of *ἐγὼ μὲν σέ* and *σὺ δέ με* as contrasts conveys Stryangaeus' complaint more clearly, and this antithesis is stronger because it is not confused by others. Nicolaus' version is less striking, reads smoother and appears less artificial. A similar process can be seen in the introduction to the letter. The Greek of the papyrus is short and simple, but Nicolaus has

reproduced the dialogue in more flowing language. His clauses are subordinated rather than co-ordinated, and the repetitive *γράμματα γράψω..... γράφει* is avoided.

There is only a very small amount of text available for directly comparing the vocabulary used by Nicolaus to cast his version with that of Ctesias. Nine (ignoring *καί*) out of the thirty-one words of Nicolaus are taken directly from Ctesias, ten are drawn from or suggested by his version but changed in form (person, voice, case, etc.), and the remainder are substituted to avoid Ctesias' repetitions, or to improve clause balance. Even in the introduction to the letter where Nicolaus has departed from the order of Ctesias' narrative and converted the conversation of Stryangaeus and his adviser from direct to indirect speech, he maintains the simple, short clauses of Ctesias.¹⁸ This can be seen particularly in the length of the words used. Ctesias has fourteen monosyllabic and nine bisyllabic words in the contrasted sections, and Nicolaus fourteen and five respectively, in two cases with four monosyllabic words in sequence. It is thus evident that both the sentence-structure and vocabulary of Ctesias show through the style of Nicolaus'

18. On Ctesias' style in this fragment cf. also R. Merkelbach, "Archiv" 16 (1958), p.110. As he points out, it is surprising to find this use of short "cola" as late as the middle of the fourth century B.C.

version.

The results of the examination of the papyrus fragment have considerable importance for the source criticism of other fragments of Nicolaus' history of the Oriental empires. It proves that he had Ctesias at his disposal and made use of him. It establishes as a fact something previously not beyond dispute, that the narrative of Ctesias contained dramatic scenes with dialogue. In other words, it supports Jacoby's argument that the dramatisation found in the fragments of Nicolaus goes back to Ctesias, and was not Nicolaus' own creation. Finally, study of the papyrus makes it reasonable to look for evidence about the nature of his sources in the language of his narrative.

The Rise of Cyrus.

F 66, which describes the rise of Cyrus from poverty and obscurity to wealth and power, is by far the longest extant section of the "Histories", covering nine pages in Jacoby's text. The birth legend found in it states that Cyrus was a child of humble stock, *Μάρδος γένος*¹⁹, born of

19. Presumably Mardi in Persia, since N mentions that Cyrus' boyhood home (§41) was near Pasargadae (§§36,38,43). Herodotus mentions them as a Persian tribe (1.125), though there are Mardi recorded around the southern edge of the Caspian Sea and in other places.

a peasant called Atradates and his wife Argoste. His father, it would appear, made a living from robbery, while his mother tended goats.²⁰ Cyrus himself had looked after these as a boy, but was compelled by poverty to surrender his freedom and serve the decorator of the royal Median palace. From this seemingly hopeless position of bondsman, he was transferred to the more domestic side of palace affairs. The Bursar's cruelty gave way to promotion under the chief of Torch-bearers. It was only a short step to joining those who served wine at banquets, and when Artembares, the king's wine-bearer, fell ill Cyrus assumed his responsibilities and was adopted by the old man before his death. Cyrus was now great "and his name mentioned everywhere".²¹ His passage from poverty to power is a connected episode and contains all the ingredients for success by a self-made man: Cyrus had been conscientious in carrying out his duties in the palace, ἐπιμελής and εὐδοκίμων, a man of σωφροσύνη and ἀνδρεία, and had shown himself φύσει γενναῖον καὶ μεγαλόφρονα.²²

What Herodotus records about Cyrus' birth differs in essential points.²³ According to him, Astyages had a

20. F 66.2-3.

21. F 66.4-7; quotation from sec. 7.

22. F 66.4-6 and 12.

23. Hdt. 1.107ff.

daughter called Mandane, whom he married to a Persian of good family called Cambyses because of a dream he had about her, interpreted by the Magi as foretelling his downfall and the eclipse of Media. A further dream frightened the king still more, and he gave the child she bore to Harpagus to kill; he in turn gave it to a her^dsm^an to expose. The latter's wife, who had a still-born child, substituted her baby and brought up Cyrus as her own. On reaching the age of ten, however, Cyrus' real identity was discovered by Astyages.

Although the two versions are clearly distinct, there is common ground between them. Dreams figure large in both narratives. Nicolaus recounts how Cyrus' mother Argoste, when pregnant, dreamt that her urine flooded all Asia. In Herodotus it is Astyages who has two visions. The first, about his daughter, is exactly the same as Argoste had, and the second is very similar - a vine grew out of his daughter's womb and overshadowed all Asia. In all cases the dreams were put for interpretation to the Magi.²⁴ Cyrus is genuinely of lowly birth, according to Nicolaus, and Herodotus, though making him of royal stock, does seem to link with the humbly-born tradition by stating that he was brought up by a herdsman and his wife. The version of Herodotus is, of

25

course, historically more accurate.

The Nicolaan version proceeds to describe the steps to power taken by Cyrus. He appoints his father satrap of Persia, and is himself sent by Astyages to negotiate with a traitor of the Cadusii, a tribe living around the south-west of the Caspian Sea, and then at war with the Medes. A great deal is made of Cyrus' meeting with a fleeing Persian called Hoibaras (Oibares), whom he adopts as his friend and makes his right-hand man. Cyrus had told his father to arm the Persians for rebellion, and when all was prepared he asked Astyages to grant him leave of absence to go to Persia

25. F 66.3 and 41; Hdt. 1.110-114. It is clear from monumental evidence that Cyrus was in fact of royal blood and at least of the fourth generation of rulers who were "Kings of Anshan" (Teispes, Cyrus, Cambyses, CYRUS) - see esp. "Behistun Inscr.", col. 1, para. 4; the "Cyrus Cylinder" (T. Fish, "Documents from O.T. Times", pp. 90, 93); G.B. Gray, "The Rise of Cyrus", CAH 4, pp. 4-6. Anshan cannot be precisely located, but is usually placed in N. Elam. The fact that Cyrus' capital and tomb were at Pasargadae (Mashad-i-Murghab), a place not far from his birthplace if the account of N (F 66.41ff) has any truth behind it, suggests that this area may have been somewhere in the north-west of Persia. Herodotus traces 3 generations before Cyrus (7.11): "... Cyrus, son of Cambyses, son of Teispes, son of Achaemenes." There is no indication from the words of Xerxes' speech in Herodotus (ibid.) that Cyrus' ancestors were kings, but there would be little point in Xerxes tracing his genealogy back past Cyrus if this were not so. It will be seen that Herodotus is much nearer the historical facts than N.

to see his father who was supposedly ill.²⁶ The last half of the fragment covers Astyages' discovery of Cyrus' real intention and the prolonged fighting in which the Persians' cause, all but lost in several fierce battles, was²⁷ eventually successful.

This part of the history still bears some resemblance to Herodotus' account. Cyrus' ambitions are encouraged by a man with a grievance who becomes a chief minister -²⁸ Harpagus and Hoibaras. The revolt begins from inside²⁹ Persia. In both, Cyrus is a very popular figure.³⁰ Further-³¹ more, in Xenophon, who broadly agrees with Herodotus, some explanation of Nicolaus' version may be found: In his youth Cyrus had gone to the royal palace at Ecbatana with his mother to visit his grandfather (not, as in Nicolaus,

26. 90 F 66.9-21.

27. Ib.22-45.

28. Harpagus (Hdt. 1.117-119) was punished by Astyages for not murdering the infant Cyrus by being served his own son at dinner. Hoibaras had been flogged before he met Cyrus. Nothing is said of his origin or the reason for it (F 66.13). This may well have been in his source's fuller account, - see p.63ff.

29. Harpagus sends a message to Cyrus who had lived inside Persia since the age of ten (Hdt. 1.120-125) with his parents. Cyrus, acc. to N, went to Persia at his own request, and there raised his rebellion (F 66.21).

30. Hdt. 1.114-115, 127. 90 F 66.4-7. Cf. also Xenophon, Cyrop. 1.4.1.

31. Cf. Cyrop. 1.2.1.

as a servant who gradually rose in palace service). While he was there, he saw the king's cup-bearer, Sacas, and wished to perform his duties on one occasion. (This was the task, according to Nicolaus, which brought Cyrus to the king's attention). Some corruption of the basic story is suggested by the etymological similarity of the Assyrian Gobryas (Gaubruva, Gubaru, Ugbaru), who became a confidant of Cyrus during his Assyrian campaign, and the friend³² Hoibaras mentioned by Nicolaus.

The differences between the versions of Nicolaus and Herodotus make it impossible that Nicolaus based his history on Herodotus - or for that matter on Xenophon. The resemblances are amply accounted for by the fact that all the writers are retelling stories which were told about the same, not very remote historical figure. But Nicolaus' account cannot be purely a product of his own imagination. The length of the "Histories" and the lack of time and motive to deliberately falsify his work³³ all militate against this. His source must be later than the end of the sixth century and Herodotus, since it is further from the historical facts, and has carried the basic features of the story to excess. The lapse of time would account for the elaboration of the legend, and for apocryphal stories to

32. Ib. 1.3.1. (visit to palace); 1.3.8-9 (Sacas); 4.6 and 5.2. 1-13 (Gobryas).

33. Note how Nicolaus is at pains to point out that he regarded the "Histories" as an important work - 90 F 135 (from his autobiography).

become attached to it. Further, it seems likely that the combination of these stories began early, since the version of Herodotus already combines the "self-made" and "nobly-born" stories.

It has already been shown that Nicolaus used Ctesias for at least part of his Median narrative. Photius', "Bibliotheca" suggests very strongly that he is continuing to do so here. He records that Ctesias began his account of Persian history at book 7, and related events from the reign of Cyrus to Xerxes for the next six books, "contradict-
ing Herodotus in nearly everything, accusing him of telling
lies in many places and making up stories."³⁴ "He also dis-
agrees on several points with Xenophon",³⁵ continues Photius. This description is consistent with F 66, even though the latter does not contain any explicit criticism of Herodotus. The factual detail of Ctesias' story, as related by Photius, also agrees with Nicolaus' version. According to Photius, Ctesias "begins straightway by saying that there was no
family tie of any description between Astyages and Cyrus".³⁶ Unfortunately, Photius' narrative passes straight on to the

34. Photius, Bibl. 72, pp. 105-106, 35b. (ed. R. Henry).

35. Ibid., p.106, 36a, lines 4-6.

36. Ibid., lines 9-11 = 688 F 9; 90 F 66.3 and 41.

flight of Astyages from Cyrus in Ecbatana, and his concealment by his daughter Amytis and her husband Spitamas in the gable of the palace. When Spitamas denied knowledge of Astyages, he was put to death and Cyrus married his widow. "That is what Ctesias says about Cyrus - completely different to Herodotus"³⁷. This latter part of Photius-Ctesias has the same features as Nicolaus. Amytis and Spitamas, and their marriage, are mentioned in both accounts. The same fabulous details occur, particularly with regard to the numbers in armies.³⁹ In both, Hoibaras is Cyrus' chief of staff.⁴⁰ Further, the meaning of this Persian name is given by Nicolaus as "bringer of good news"; this too points to a source acquainted with both the Persian and Greek languages.⁴¹ There can thus be little doubt that Ctesias is

37. Ibid., lines 11-27.

38. Ctesias (per Photius, 36a, p. 106, lines 13-14); 90 F 66.8.

39. When Cyrus fought the Sacae, he was faced by an army of 300,000 men and 200,000 women - Ctesias (Phot. 72, 36a, p. 107, lines 30-38). Acc. to N, Astyages led 1,000,000 infantry, 200,000 cavalry and 3,000 chariots into Persia against Cyrus (F 66.30); against him Cyrus had 300,000 lightly-armed infantry, 50,000 cavalry, and 100 scythed chariots (F 66.31).

40. Ctesias (Photius, 36a, p. 107, lines 38-42); N, F 66, passim.

41. Ctesias was the personal physician of Artaxerxes (see 688 TT 1-7); see also P. Jacob, "De N.D. sermone et arte historica" (Diss. Göttingen), p. 53 for other examples of Persian words in Ctesias.

the source of Nicolaus in F 66.⁴²

This conclusion is reinforced by the occurrence in this fragment of proper nouns with non-Attic genitives. There are two examples of names in *-ης* and genitive singular in *-εω* : Ἀρτεμβάρεω (p.362.25) and Ἀστυάγεω (p.369.15). These Ionic declensions can be supplemented by examples of *-ης* nominatives which have genitive singulars of more than one type:

Ἀτραδάτης - Ἀτραδάτα (p.367.27), Ἀτραδάτου (p.361.32).

Ἀρτεμβάρης - Ἀρτεμβάρεω (p.362.25), Ἀρτεμβάρου (p.362.13).

Even three different genitives are found for the name

Ἀστυάγης : Ἀστυάγεω (p.369.15), Ἀστυάγους (p.367.3 and 16), and Ἀστυάγου (p.369.16; 370.11, 13, 17).⁴³ Finally,

there are names terminating in *-ας* or *-ης* with genitive singular *-α* : Ἀτραδάτα (p.367.27), [and also Ἀτραδάτου (p.361.32)] from Ἀτραδάτης, and Οἰβάρα (p.368.29, 369.19,

42. So also Tietz, p.10f; Jacoby, FGrH IIC, p.251 (see also RE 11.2057f); F.H. Weissbach, RE Supp. 4.1131 ("in essence, but has traces of other traditions, perhaps Ephorus and Dinon"); G. Cammelli, "Rivista I-G-I di filol.", vol. 6, pp.115, 119; R. Henry, "Ctésias: La Perse, L'Inde", p.5; Wacholder, p.121f, n.16; P.A. Stadter, "Plutarch's Historical Methods", pp. 53-56, 127. Laqueur (RE 17.375ff) is the notable dissenter.

43. Ἀστυάγους is also found in Diod. 2.32.3 and Phot. Bibl. 72, 36a, p.106, line 9 = 688 F 9.1. This genitive in *-ους* is a late Attic (4th century BC onwards) tendency to assimilate 2nd declension masculine to 3rd decl. masc. *-ης*, as Δημοσθένης. Other variants also occur in N: Accusative singular of Ἀτραδάτης as Ἀτραδάτην (pp. 368.14, 32; 362.29) and Ἀτραδάταν (368.3).

370.15) from *Οἰβάρας*.

These non-Attic, non-κοινή forms, or the alternative forms for one word, are strange in a writer as late as Nicolaus. The genitive singular in -α does occur as a regular declension in *κοινή*, it is true, and one such form is found in Nicolaus' autobiography,⁴⁴ but it is also regular⁴⁵ Doric, and non-Attic or -Ionic. With the exception of fragments on other grounds suspected of being based on Ctesias and of fragments dealing with Lydia,⁴⁶ Nicolaus⁴⁷ always uses regular Attic genitives. Study of the papyrus has shown that Nicolaus' language bears many traces of the language of his source. It is therefore likely that these unusual forms are derived from a source which made free use of such non-Attic forms. This would have been the case if the source was Ctesias.

That these forms came from Ctesias is shown by three things. Firstly, it is known that Ctesias wrote partly in

44. 90 F 134, p.422.1 - Ἀγρίππα (also in Jos. AJ 14.16.4, etc.). Examples from the New Testament - Καϊάφα (John 18.28); Κλωπᾶ (John 19.25).

45. C.D Buck, "Greek Dialects" (BGD) 105.2; W.W. Goodwin, "Greek Grammar" (GGG) §186.

46. Also, it will be argued (p.82ff.), from an Ionic source.

47. Ἑρροῦ (p.337.24), Βελλεροφόντου (p.338.8), Ἀβράμου (p.341.19), Πυλάδου (p.343.9), Ἡρακλείους (p.343.31), Κρεσφόντου (p.345.2 and 11), and Ἀμφιτρήτος (p.354.14).

⁴⁸
 Ionic, and in his fragments there are also several examples
 of -α genitives: Σπιτάρα, Ἀστυίγα, Ἀστιβάρα, and notably
 Οἰβάρα.⁴⁹ Secondly, in all other parts of the "Histories"⁵⁰
 the regular Attic first declension genitive -ου is used for
 -ας nouns.⁵¹ Conclusive proof comes from the fact that F 5,
 which the papyrus shows must come from Ctesias, has an -α
 genitive, as well, incidentally, as an -εω one.⁵² Nicolaus'
 multiple-form genitives also point to the same origin.
 Although Ctesias sometimes used genitives in -ου for -ης⁵³
 nominatives, there are several examples of those in -εω,
 and, more important, also of both terminations being applied
 to the same name, as Τανυοξάρκew and Τανυοξάρκου.⁵⁴ Accord-

48. See Appendix I.

49. Σπιτάρα - 688 F 9.1 (twice); Ἀστυίγα - 688 F 9.1;
 Ἀστιβάρα - Diod. 2.34.6 = 688 F 1, p.454.7; Οἰβάρα - 688
 F 9.1, 4, 5.

50. With the exception of Ἀστιβάρα (p.336.12, F 5), which,
 it will be argued, also came from Ctesias - see section
 3.

51. E.g. 90 FF 26 (p.343.17) - Αἰνείου; 54 (p.354.31,33) -
 Πελίου; 61 (p.358.34) - Ὀρθαγόρου; cf. also
 Λεωδάμαντος (F 52, p.353.17,23,31,34; 354.10).

52. Ἀστιβάρα (p.336.12); Μαρράρεω (p.335.26).

53. E.g. Ὑστάσπεω (688 F 13.16); Σκυθάρβew (688 F 13.20);
 Τιβέθewς (688 F 13.13); Κορβάφewς (688 F 13.10).

54. 688 F 13.11 and 13.

ing to Photius, Ἀστυάγην and Ἀστυίαν⁵⁵ were both found as accusative singulars in Ctesias, and both Ἀστυάγους⁵⁶ and Ἀστυία are attested as genitives.

Ctesias' usage of proper names thus seems to be a curious mixture of Attic, Ionic and Doric. This probably reflects the influence of his birth-place Cnidus. This city is catalogued by Buck with Phaselis, Syme, Telos, Nisyros, Carpathos and Casos as belonging dialectally to the Rhodian sub-group of Doric, although he has doubts about the certain inclusion of Cnidus and some of the off-shore islands.⁵⁷ There is however much evidence which shows that Cnidus was Dorian.⁵⁸ Most of the coastal cities of Asia Minor were Ionic and preserved their own dialect, as did Dorian Cnidus, until their gradual submergence beneath Attic κοινή.⁵⁹ Consequently, it is highly likely that this

55. Phot. Bibl. 72, 36a, p.106, lines 10-11 = 688 F 9.1. Cf. also Diod. 2.34.6. Ἀστυάγη is given by Tzetzes "Chil." 1.87 = 688 F 9a.

56. Phot. ibid.

57. BGD p.13, No. 6: "...The inclusion of Cnidus and some of the islands named, in which examples of distinctive features like the infinitive -μεν are lacking, is at least convenient and probably justified (cf. now IG XII. Suppl., p.1)."

58. See E. Schwyzler, "Dialect. Graec. exempla. Epig. Potiora", Nos. 258-267, pp.130-134; F. Bechtel, "Griech. Dialekte", Vol. 2, pp.601-608.

59. BGD p.10, under 2A "East Ionic", and pp. 175-176, No. 277.

admixture of dialects in proper names in Ctesias was partly due to his home environment and his wider contacts with Asia Minor and literary Attic, and partly to a lack of standardised spelling. These forms were then transcribed by Nicolaus. Dialectic evidence thus substantiates that Ctesias' account of Cyrus lies closely behind Nicolaus' narrative.

There is, however, in Nicolaus' narrative some information which is not integrated into the rest of the material. By F 66.7, Cyrus had risen to a high position in the Median palace, and when his patron Artembares died king Astyages bestowed on him "all the estate of Artembares and many other gifts", with the result that he "was great and his name was mentioned everywhere". Cyrus' next action (F 66.9) was to send for his father and mother from Persia. But in between the two sections, which would form a naturally continuous narrative, is inserted a brief sentence of eighteen words: "Astyages had a very charming and beautiful daughter, whom he married to a Mede called Spitamas, with authority over all Media as a wedding-present." This section (8) interrupts the flow of the narrative, and has no obvious connection with the surrounding material.

Another example is the meeting, a little later, of Cyrus and Hoibaras. Nicolaus' account tells us that the latter had been flogged, but no indication of the cause of

60

it or the man's status is given. Cyrus' treatment of Hoibaras is also paradoxical. The man is represented as poor, and it would seem incongruous for a high-born person at least to be found carrying dung in a box. Yet Cyrus' testing of the man's loyalties, even after he had equipped him, given him servants and befriended him for a considerable length of time, is very cautious and would more befit sounding out the feelings of a superior who could prove a useful ally. This conversation would suggest a man of the stature of Harpagus in Herodotus, especially in view of the ability he showed afterwards.

The episode of the Cadusii provides a third example.
61
 They were enemies of Astyages and are introduced into the story as if they were of some importance for Cyrus in the coming struggle. The Babylonian soothsayer encourages him to go on a mission to them for Astyages, but only his meeting with Hoibaras is anything of consequence to come out of it. The fact that Cyrus was dealing with a traitor, Onyaphernes, perhaps indicates that in some version he was to "double-cross" the king and enlist Cadusian aid in his

60. F 66.13.

61. Due to Parsondes - Diod. 2.33. See also 90 F 4.

cause. Slightly later, in reply to his query as to what would assure him of success against Astyages, Cyrus is told by Hoibaras, "First win over the Cadusii. They will be quite willing, because they like the Persians and hate the Medes intensely. Then arouse the Persians and arm them." Nowhere are we told he did so, even though he is shown to be pleased by Hoibaras' advice,⁶² and nowhere are they mentioned among his forces.

Two explanations of these incongruities are possible.⁶³ Either they are due to a combining of two traditions by Ctesias or Nicolaus, or are the result of Nicolaus' excerption of Ctesias. Laqueur has tried to demonstrate at length that F 66 is a synthesis of two separate sources which Nicolaus himself combined. This argument is ingenious but unconvincing.⁶⁴ A writer who took the trouble to

62. 90 F 66.11-15. Since the strategy seem to have been to make Astyages believe the Persians were arming for his campaign against the Cadusii, and then presumably to turn on the Medes (when actually in Cadusian territory?), it may be that the plan was broken by Astyages realising prematurely what was afoot. If this is so, N gives no indication of the plan when Cyrus first went to the Cadusii and Onaphernes, nor does he anywhere attempt to rationalise the story at a later stage.

63. It is possible, but unlikely, that N's text has been mutilated by the Constantine Excerptors.

64. See Appendix 2.

consult different versions would not have been content with so unsatisfactory an end-product. If a combination of sources is demanded, it must have been done by Ctesias. As already noted, the uniting of stories about Cyrus began early; there are already different traditions in Herodotus.⁶⁵ More important, an original in the form of F 66 would have been incomprehensible in several places. Thus the defects could hardly be due to Ctesias. He had much more space at his disposal, and it would have been non-sensical to insert the information as we have it in Nicolaus without his explaining or integrating it. In the first example of the inconsistencies cited, the same applies also to the position of the sentence about Astyages' daughter and Spitamas. Nicolaus can only have inserted the information in that precise position because Ctesias had done so already. Because Photius-Ctesias mentioned the pair at Astyages' downfall, it is likely that Spitamas at least played a much more important part than can be construed from Nicolaus, and that he was introduced into the narrative at some earlier stage. This would be an obvious point. Cyrus had become famous in

65. Hdt. 1.95. Jacoby (RE Supp. 2, col. 423) believes that Herodotus' story of Cyrus' youth is based on an oral tradition, and that, because there are negligible contradictions in it, it was from one source. He also believes (RE 11.2057f), and could be correct, that Herodotus was one of Ctesias' sources for his account of Cyrus. The theory is of course unprovable.

the palace and was befriended by Astyages, but had not yet summoned his parents or heard his mother's dream. For Ctesias to trace in the details of Astyages' family life at this point would act as a counter-balance to the progress at court of an outsider.

It is much more likely, then, that the weaknesses of arrangement and absences of information are due to Nicolaus. It is quite clear that Ctesias provided a much longer narrative than Nicolaus could use, since the latter's Persian history was only a fraction of a much more comprehensive work. Nicolaus consequently had to reduce the material of Ctesias considerably. The papyrus fragment shows that he missed out from the letter one theme which interrupted the flow of the narrative. It is probable that where information is lacking in F 66 to make complete sense of a passage Nicolaus had been more concerned with getting on with the story, and so at times artlessly contracted his source material.⁶⁶ In short, the flaws suggest a single source shortened by careless "cutting" rather than by uniform condensation.

There remains the difficulty that Photius' summary of Ctesias at this point provides no

66. Also the words *ἐκ τούτου πολὺν πρὶν ὅ Κῶρος γενόμενος* (F 66.10) perhaps hide a longer narrative in Ctesias. His rise to such influence that he could make his father satrap of Persia needs some explanation.

evidence for the use by Ctesias of dialogue which is so notable a feature of F 66 - as indeed of the other fragments thought to have been based on Ctesias. Could the dialogue perhaps be derived from a second source, or could Nicolaus have created it himself? Wacholder argued in favour of the second explanation. His view is that Nicolaus "employed his dramatic skill to heighten interest in a story".⁶⁷

Wacholder's main argument, based on an incomplete survey of Ctesianic passages in Photius and Diodorus, is that Ctesias did not use ~~any~~ dialogue for dramatic purposes.⁶⁸ That this conclusion is mistaken has already been suggested by study of the papyrus fragment. In addition, Photius has preserved a piece of dialogue, admittedly brief, from Ctesias, telling of a conversation between Cambyses and Labyxus, the chief eunuch of his brother Tanyoxarces:⁶⁹

"τοῦτον", ἔφη [sc. Καμβύσης], "νομίζετε Τανυοξάρκην;" ὁ δὲ Λάβυξος θαυράσας, "καὶ τίνα ἄλλον", ἔφη, "νομιοῦμεν;"

So has Demetrius, this time at slightly greater length:⁷⁰

67. P.68f. N wrote *τραγωδίας... καὶ κωμωδίας εὐδοκίμους*, according to Suda, s. *Νικόλαος* = 90 F 132.1.

68. Pp. 68f. and 122f., nn. 21 and 46-47. Wacholder cites 90 FF 3-4, 44 and 66 as examples of this technique, but these beg the question.

69. Photius, "Bibl." 72, 37b, p.111 = 688 F 13.13, p.460.

70. Demetr. "De Eloc." 216 = 688 F 24.

... μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐρωτᾷ, "βασιλεὺς δὲ πῶς πράττει;" ὁ δὲ
 "πέφευγε" φησίν. καὶ ἡ ὑπολαβοῦσα, "Τισσαφέρνης γὰρ αὐτῷ
 τούτων αἷτιος". καὶ πάλιν ἐπανερωτᾷ, "Κῦρος δὲ ποῦ νῦν;"
 ὁ δὲ ἄγγελος ἀμείβεται, "ἐνθα χρὴ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἄνδρας
 αὐλίζεσθαι".

It is not surprising to find examples of direct speech;
 indeed the contrary would be so. It would be very unlikely
 for any historian given to highly-coloured and repetitious
 descriptions, as Ctesias was,⁷¹ to avoid using the technique
 of speech and dialogue. A history of 23 books written only
 in plain narrative would have a tendency to tedium which a
 writer such as Ctesias would have been anxious to avoid,
 and he is commended by Demetrius for the interesting and
 dramatic quality of his writing.⁷² Photius also tells us that
 "the pleasure of Ctesias' history lies mainly in the way he
 has constructed his stories; they have great emotional
 appeal, the element of surprise, and variations which take
 the work near to legend".⁷³ To achieve these without the use
 of direct speech would be both difficult and unnecessary.

71. Cf. 688 TT 11b = Strabo 1.2.35; 11c = Antigon. "Hist.
 Mir." 15; 11d = Plut. "Arttox." 1.4; 11e = Plut. ibid.
 6.9; 11h = Lucian "Ver. Narr." 1.3.

72. "De Eloc." 209-213 = 688 T 14a.

73. "Bibl." 72, 45a, p.133, lines 12-15 = 688 T 13.

On the other hand, it is not strange that there is little or no indication of dialogue in Diodorus' and Photius' excerpts from Ctesias. Their aim seems to have been to make a fairly general précis of his work. Consequently, dialogue would be the first "luxury" to be dispensed with in any such process. There is thus every reason to suppose that the dramatic element was already found in Ctesias' work. There is no need to postulate either original work by Nicolaus or a second source to account for its presence in FF 66 and 1-5.

Assyria and Media.

FF 1-5 deal with the history of Assyria and Media. The use of Ctesias for at least a part of Nicolaus' Median history has already been established in the discussion of the papyrus fragment. The source criticism of these five fragments depends on a comparison of Nicolaus with the account of Diodorus, and in some cases with Athenaeus. On many occasions, it will be shown, they give similar details, and it appears that the three authors have a common source.

Since Diodorus⁷⁴ and Athenaeus claim in a number of relevant passages that they are using Ctesias, it is reasonable to conclude that Nicolaus used him too.⁷⁵

The story of the revolt of the Mede Arbaces against Sardanapalus, king of Assyria, is described in FF 2-3. The corresponding accounts of Diodorus and Athenaeus about the king, who "exceeded all his predecessors in luxury and degeneracy", were taken from Ctesias,⁷⁶ and several other writers also took details from the same source.⁷⁷ But Diodorus' account also shows that Ctesias described Sardanapalus on two separate occasions, a tendency to repetition (*διλογία*) which Demetrius mentioned as a feature of his writing.⁷⁸ The first description occurred at

74. Cf. 2.2.2, 5.4, 7.1, 7.3-4, 8.5, 17.1, 20.3; E.Schwartz, RE 5.672.

75. This view is generally accepted - C. Müller, FHG 3, pp. 346, 356-364; P. Tietz, "De Nicolai Dam. fontibus", pp.3-6; W. Witte, "De N.D. fragmentorum Romanorum fontibus", p.46, n.2; F. Jacoby, RE 11.2063f and FGrH IIC, pp. 234, 235f; R. Laqueur, RE 17.375; B.Z. Wacholder, pp.67 and 121, n.16; R. Drews, "Historia" 14 (1965), p.134.

76. Diod. 2.23.1-2; Athenaeus 12.38. p.528F-529A = 688 F 1p(α).

77. Cf. 688 F 1, p.444, app. crit: Clem.Alex. "Paedag." 3.70.3; Plutarch, "De Alex. fort." 2.3, p.336 C; and Pollux 2.60 = 688 F 1p(γ).

78. Demetr. De Eloc, 209-214 = 688 T 14a, esp. § 211.

the point where the king was initially introduced into the story, and the second when Arbaces decided to confirm the stories he had heard about him by personally seeing him.⁷⁹

Nicolaus depicts the Assyrian king at exactly the same point as Diodorus does in the first instance, but his second description is not extant, though it is obvious that Arbaces⁸⁰ intended to gain an audience with the king. Consequently, it cannot be assumed that omissions in Nicolaus' description of the king, vis-a-vis the two of Diodorus, are due to his having abbreviated the Ctesias' original. In fact most of the additional details supplied by other writers would refer more appropriately to the meeting of Arbaces with his master.⁸¹ Nicolaus could also have given a second description

79. Diod. (i) 2.23.1-2, and (ii) 2.24.4.

80. N: (i) 90 F 2, p.329, lines 19-25; (ii) 90 F 3, p.331, lines 11-19.

81. E.g. (i) 688 F 1p(α) = Athen. 12.38, p.528F: *τοιοῦτος δ' ἦν καὶ Σαρδαναπάλλος* (referring to Ctesias' first account of Sardapanalus?) *ὡς εἰσελθὼν εἶδεν, κτλ.* (ii) Aristot. Pol. 5.18.14, p.1311 b 35 = 688 F 1p(β) also refers to the second description (cf. Aristotle's *ξαίνοντα μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν* with Athenaeus' *μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων ξαίνοντα*). (iii) Similarly, Pollux 2.60 = 688 F 1p(γ). (iv) Details in 688, p.444, app. crit. on lines 1-16, also refer to the meeting of Arbaces and Sardapanalus, as is shown by cross-references to 688 F 1p (α - γ) above and the mention of the king being "seated on a throne inlaid with gold" (Authors there: Clem. Alex. Paedag. 3.70.3; Plut. De Alex. fort. 2.3, p.336C; Dio Chrys. or. 62.6; Pollux 3.90). It seems reasonable to argue that Ctesias' first description of Sardapanalus mentioned his habits (e.g. avoidance of military exercises) as well as hearsay evidence of his personal appearance, and that the latter was repeated in the second description as Arbaces actually saw it. Such repetition, even if very similar or identical to

on this occasion. Therefore only Diodorus' first description of Sardanapalus, and his depiction of Arbaces there, are strictly relevant to Nicolaus' narrative:

<u>Diodorus</u> 2.23.1-2.	<u>Nicolaus</u> F 2.	<u>Athenaeus</u> 12.38, p.528-9.
... βίον ἔζησε γυναικός καὶ διαιτῶμενος μὲν μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων, πορφύραν δὲ καὶ τὰ μαλακώτατα τῶν ἐρίων ταλασιουργῶν, στολὴν μὲν γυναικείαν ἐνεδεδύκει, τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον καὶ πᾶν τὸ σῶμα ψιρυθίοις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς τῶν ἐταιρῶν ἐπιτηδεύρασιν ἀπαλῶτερον πάσης γυναικὸς τρυφερᾶς κατεσκεύαστο. ἐπετήδ- ευσε δὲ καὶ τὴν φωνὴν ἔχειν γυναικώδη... κτλ.	ἔνδον τὸ σύρπαν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διατρίβων, ὅπλων μὲν οὐχ ἅπτόρ- ενος... ἐγχριόρ- ενος δὲ τὸ πρόσωπον καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑπογραφόμενος πρὸς τε τὰς παλλακίδας ἀρι- λλώμενος περὶ κάλλους καὶ ἐρπλοκῆς τό τε σύρπαν γυναικείῳ ἦθει χρώμενος.	εἶδεν αὐτὸν ὁ Μῆδος ἐψιρυθιωμένον καὶ κεκοσμημένον γυν- αικιστὶ καὶ μετὰ τῶν παλλακίδων ξαίνοντα πορφύραν ἀναβάδην τε μετ' αὐτῶν καθήμενον, τὰς ὀφρῦς **, γυναικείαν δὲ στολὴν ἔχοντα καὶ κατεξυρηνμένον τὸν πώγωνά καὶ κατακεκισηρισμένον- ῆν δὲ καὶ γάλακτος λευκότερος, καὶ ὑπεγέγραπτο τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς.

The description of Sardanapalus' appearance and habits is so similar in the three accounts that they must all be ultimately derived from Ctesias. It is also worth noting

the first occasion, would be in keeping with Ctesias' διλογία .

that the king's enervated existence is remarkably similar to that of king Ninyas, a distant predecessor of Sardanapalus, who according to the version of Diodorus-Ctesias "spent all his time in the palace, and was seen only by his concubines and eunuchs. He abandoned himself to pleasure and idleness, and avoided all trouble and care"⁸². Thirty generations of Assyrian kings followed the same way of life, according to Ctesias⁸³. The portrait of Sardanapalus thus appears to be of a character-type repeatedly employed by Ctesias.

There is also close similarity between Diodorus and F 3 of Nicolaus. The effect that the supposedly feeble character of Sardanapalus had on Arbaces is described in similar terms in Nicolaus and Diodorus. Arbaces is a man of wisdom and experience, of courage and resolution. He appreciates the possibilities of the situation, and communicates them to Belesys, the governor of Babylon. The dialogue between the two is more elaborate in Nicolaus than in Diodorus, but the same temporal sequence is observed in both, even down to the point of Arbaces bribing a eunuch to get him an audience with his master, after their plans for revolution had been made.⁸⁴ That the story of

82. Diod. 2.21.2.

83. Ibid. 21.8.

84. Diod. 2.24.

Arbaces and Belesys dethroning Sardanapalus did indeed come from Ctesias is confirmed by Agathias.⁸⁵

This conclusion is reinforced by referring to F 66, which has been shown to be based on Ctesias. At the beginning of this fragment are the words [Ἀστυάγην] μετὰ Ἀρβάκην λόγος ἔχει γενναϊότατον γεγονέναι, and immediately afterwards comes the whole story of Cyrus. A little later in §12 we read that "Arbaces himself dethroned Sardanapalus not long ago". This indicates that Nicolaus was using the same source for the fall of Assyria as he did for the rise of Cyrus.⁸⁶ There are also resemblances between Belesys, the Babylonian interpreter of dreams in F 3, and his opposite number in F 66.⁸⁷ Both interpret omens forecasting the downfall of the Assyrian and Median Empires respectively, and both are taken into the future ruler's confidence and promised high power themselves. There is a similarity of cautious approach to them, as well

85. Hist. 2.25.3 = 688 F 10(β). Athenaeus mentions an alternative version (528E-529A), given by Duris among others, which made Arbaces kill his master on the spot.

86. Cf. also Jacoby, FGrH IIC, p.251.

87. 90 F 66.9, 13, 18ff.

88

as some verbal resemblance.

F.4 tells the story of Parsondes, a prominent Mede, and the indignities he suffered at the hands of his enemy Nanarus. Diodorus makes only brief reference to these events, but claims that here also he is following the chronology and account of Ctesias.⁸⁹ The honourable position that Parsondes enjoyed at the court of king Artaeus is described in similar terms in both authors. Nicolaus gives an account of Parsondes' discontent when he was unable to persuade Artaeus to avenge him on Nanarus. This episode is not mentioned by Diodorus, but he does refer to a certain judgement which caused Parsondes to rebel and flee to the Cadusii.⁹⁰ It is likely that they are referring to the same event, and that Nicolaus gives us a fuller version of their common source. The link with Ctesias is strengthened by the great similarity in the description of Nanarus and his harem found in Nicolaus and Athenaeus, the latter specifically giving Ctesias as the source of his information.⁹¹

88. Cf. esp. 90 F 3, p.330.13ff and F 66, p.363.2ff. There is also a remarkable similarity between the sounding-out of Belesys by Arbaces in F 3 and that of Hoibaras by Cyrus in F 66 (sections 14-16).

89. 2.32.4-6. His episode about Parsondes, different from that of N, follows in 2.33.

90. 2.332.

91. Athen. 12.40, p.530D = 688 F 6. Cf. with 90 F 4, lines 5-7. Note also the Ionic genitive Ἀρβάκειω - see n.47 and the text thereto.

In F 5 we have the story of the unrequited love affair of the Mede Stryangaeus for the queen of the Sacae, Zarinaea. Diodorus mentions the queen only, mainly in connection with the colossal tomb erected in her honour.⁹² The papyrus fragment here proves directly that Nicolaus' much fuller account came from Ctesias.

We now come to F 1. This tells of events leading up to the end of Semiramis, that legendary figure celebrated throughout ancient literature as the epitome of feminine courage and beauty.⁹³ From Diodorus we learn the legendary story of her early life, her two marriages (first to a general Onnes, and subsequently to King Ninus himself), the numerous cities she built, and the many nations she subdued.⁹⁴ Nicolaus' fragment takes up the story after she had returned to Media from her campaign against India, the bare details of which Diodorus gives in 2. 18-19. His section 20 is a

92. 2.34.3-5.

93. For an examination of the Semiramis-romance see M. Braun, "History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature", pp. 6-13. Berossus (680 F 8a) disbelieved most of the Semiramis stories.

94. 2.1-20. Diodorus states quite clearly that he is following the account of Ctesias (see n.74). Anon. "De Mul." 1 = 688 F 1c confirms this.

condensed version of Ctesias' account of her end: "After some time a plot was made against her by her son Ninyas at the instigation of a eunuch, ... but she did no wrong to him. On the contrary, she gave him her kingdom, told her governors to obey him and quickly vanished to take her place with the gods as the oracle had foretold." The account of Nicolaus is very similar to this, in that a eunuch Satibaras is labelled as the real villain of the plot, and it is suggested that Ninyas would be the next ruler. But Nicolaus differs from Diodorus by saying that the conspirators were *τοὺς ὄννιων παῖδας*,⁹⁵ i.e. the two sons of her first marriage. This causes a difficulty, because it seems to differ in an essential detail from Diodorus' Ctesianic narrative.

A third author who wrote about Semiramis, Cephalion, is summarised by Syncellus, and provides a solution to the difficulty.⁹⁶ According to him, Semiramis killed her sons (i.e. of Onnes?), and is herself killed by her son Ninus (Ninyas?). He mentions Ctesias among others as a writer on the period, but not specifically as his source for this

95. P. 328, line 25; p. 329, line 7.

96. Cf. FGrH 93 F 1b.

story. He differs from the Diodorus-Ctesias version by saying that Ninus/Ninyas killed his mother. Nevertheless, he shows that the full story of Semiramis probably had two conspiracies: the first by some sons, which Semiramis crushed, and a second one by Ninyas. Nicolaus' fragment would then be an account of the first unsuccessful conspiracy. The speech to the Assyrians, mentioned at the end of the fragment, is presumably the means by which Semiramis frustrates the conspirators and enables herself to survive, to be eventually succeeded by Ninyas.

There is thus no irreconcilable difference between Diodorus and Nicolaus. Although his account could fit into the framework of either Diodorus or Cephalion, Nicolaus has further resemblances with Diodorus. In F 1 the eunuch Satibaras encourages the youths not to overlook their mother's ἀκολασία and λιχνεία, failings which Diodorus-Ctesias mentioned.⁹⁷ According to both accounts, Semiramis⁹⁸ was fond of reviewing her army from an elevated position. Nicolaus' words "after the Indian War" show that he described her campaigns against the Indians immediately⁹⁹ before the extant passage; Diodorus follows the same

97. 90 F 1, p. 328, lines 28-30; Diod. 2.13.4.

98. Diod. 2.14.2; 90 F 1, p. 328, line 23f.

99. 90 F 1, p.328, line 20.

100
sequence.

Nicolaus' account could be the beginning of the story, found in Ctesias, of how Semiramis killed her sons by Onnes. The whole story with its two conspiracies could well be another example of Ctesias' *διλογία*; certainly, there are many examples in the Ctesias-based fragments of motif repetition. A single Ionic form found in F 1 also favours a Ctesianic derivation.¹⁰¹ It is in any case likely that Nicolaus kept to the same source for his Assyrian and Median history, since his use of Ctesias can be traced from the fall of Assyria, through the Median Empire, to the ascend-¹⁰²ancy of Persia.

To conclude: Nicolaus took his material about Assyria, Media and early Persia from Ctesias. His narrative appears to have no features that require the postulate of a second source. Moreover, his careless manner of composition, displayed most conspicuously in F 66, makes it unlikely that he took the trouble to compose a synthesis from several sources. Thus Nicolaus' personal contribution was restricted to abbreviating and rewriting.

100. 2.16.2 -19.10.

101. *Oxyen* (p.328.25; 329.7).

102. Semiramis' rule is linked to that of Sardanapalus in F 2, a fragment which has been shown to be based on Ctesias.

Ctesias covered Assyrian and Median history in the first six books of his "Persica",¹⁰³ Nicolaus covered the same period in not more than two, and Diodorus only about two-thirds of book 2 on a brief, sketch outline. What criteria did Nicolaus use to reduce Ctesias to at least one third of its original bulk? It is obvious that Nicolaus must have passed over many episodes altogether. The Stryangaeus letter (F 5) shows that he omitted even inessential portions of episodes that he retained. On the other hand, he did not condense consistently. It would be difficult to expand parts of his narrative, since they are extremely repetitive already. It would thus seem that he has not contracted these episodes much, if at all. The point is admirably demonstrated by the Parsondes-Nanarus story in F 4, where the feminising process to be carried out on the manly Parsondes by his enemy - to be shaved, have his hair plaited, skin bleached, eyes lined, etc. -¹⁰⁴ is described on three occasions. This story takes up four pages in Jacoby; there is not even a passing mention of it¹⁰⁵ in Diodorus.

103. Photius, Bibl. 72, 35b, p.105, lines 36-37.

104. P. 332, line 30ff; p.333, lines 2-7, 8-14.

105. Diod. 2.33.

It is noticeable that FF 1-5 all have a web of intrigue in them, and are treated in melodramatic fashion. Where Diodorus' condensation of Ctesias covers the same ground his narrative is always much shorter and more sober. He does not, for instance, mention the feminising of Parsondes at all. Compared with Diodorus, Nicolaus has concentrated on a much narrower field in which he has preserved much more Ctesianic detail. But if he treated historically unimportant stories in such detail, considerations of space must have obliged him to omit a good deal of the more sober stuff of history. His account of the period would seem to have consisted mainly of romantic, intriguing, unusual and interesting stories, held together by a linking narrative.

Lydia.

For Lydian history it is generally accepted that the lost "Lydiaca" of Xanthus was the prime source of information for Nicolaus. However, virtually everything

106. E.Meyer, "Forschungen" I, p.167. F. Jacoby, FGrH IIC, pp. 233f, 240ff, 244ff. R.Laqueur, RE 17.375. L. Pearson, "Early Ionian Historians", p.122f. B.Z.Wacholder, pp.67,86. H. Herter, "Rhein. Mus." 108(1965), p.189; "Lydische Adelskämpfe" in "Bonner Beiträge", 14

that other authors besides Xanthus wrote on Lydia is lost,¹⁰⁷
 and therefore certainty about Nicolaus' source(s) is im-
 possible. It is intended first to examine the fragments of
¹⁰⁸
 Nicolaus and Xanthus to assess the probability of Nicolaus'
 dependence, and then to deal with problems and objections
 associated with it.

(i) The Attyadae:

The story of the wife-eating Cambles (Camblitas?) was¹⁰⁹
 found in both Xanthus and Nicolaus.¹¹⁰ When he lived it is
 impossible to say. He may have been a legendary ruler of
 the first Lydian dynasty, the Attyadae, which lasted until
 c.1190 BC; myth, inevitably, has a large part in early
 dynastic histories. Or he may be of considerably later date,

(1966), p.31f; RE 9 A2.1357-1369. K. Von Fritz,
 "Griech. Geschichtsschreibung", Vol. 1, p.97 (but see
 also vol. 2, pp. 349ff); J.L. Myres, "Herodotus;
 Father of History", p.138ff. J. Grainger, "Xanthus
 of Lydia", p. ii, etc. The "Lydiaca" was in four
 books (FGrH IIIC, No. 765).

107. See Jacoby, FGrH IIIC, pp.750-760.

108. 90 FF 15-16, 22, 44-47, 62-64, (65 & 68 on Croesus),
 85.

109. See Jacoby, IIA, p.342, app. crit.

110. 90 F 22 and 765 F 18 = Athen. 10. 8, p.415C-D.

111

as Alexander believes.

Nicolaus F 22.Xanthus (per Athenaeus).

ὅτι Καρβλίτας βασιλεὺς Λυδίας.
 τοῦτον λέγεται οὕτω γαστρίμαργον
 σφόδρα γενέσθαι, ὥστε καὶ τὴν
 αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐπιθυρήσαντα κατα-
 φαγεῖν. αὐτὸς γε μὴν ἑαυτὸν δόξας
 ὑπὸ φαρμακῶν βεβλάφθαι, περιβοή-
 του τοῦ πράγματος γενομένου ξίφος
 ἔχων πληθυσούσης ἀγορᾶς ἐν ρέσῳ
 στὰς εἶπεν· ... ταῦτα εἶπε καί...
 ἑαυτὸν ἀπέσφαξεν...

Ξάνθος δ' ἐν τοῖς Λυδιακοῖς
 Καρβλητὰ φησι τὸν βασιλεύσαντα
 Λυδῶν πολυφάγον γενέσθαι καὶ
 πολυπότην, ἔτι δὲ γαστρίμαργον.
 τοῦτον οὖν ποτε νυκτὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ
 γυναῖκα κατακρεουργήσαντα
 καταφαγεῖν, ἔπειτα πρῶτ' εὐρόντα τὴν
 χεῖρα τῆς γυναικὸς ἐνοῦσαν ἐν τῷ
 στόματι ἑαυτὸν ἀποσφάξαι, περι-
 βοήτου τῆς πράξεως γενομένης.

The close similarity of the two versions strongly
 suggests that they are derived from the same source.

Pearson regards Nicolaus' account as an "elaboration" of

111. Alexander ("The Kings of Lydia", pp. 40-42) thinks he may be the same as Sadyattes, grandson of Gyges II (see genealogical table in Appendix 3). His argument is based largely on the parallel of the account given by Herodotus (3.31-32) about Cambyses to N's about Sadyattes - both were intemperate, and married their own sisters. Camblitas, Cambles (a great glutton - Aelian VH 1.27) and Cambysis (Eustathius, Com. ad Od. 9.) have the same stories told about them and may therefore be the same. It is however impossible to come to definite conclusions, as Alexander does, merely on similarities of character (cf. Diod. 2.22.1 on Ctesias' practice of character repetition).

112

Xanthus' original, presumably because he gives more detail than Athenaeus. It seems more probable, however, that Nicolaus is closer to what Xanthus wrote, and that Athenaeus omitted parts which went further than a bald description of Camblitas' gluttony. The details which only Nicolaus gives are consistent. He includes a few words of direct speech which refer to the king being drugged, and mentions the same fact in the short narrative concluding the fragment. The person responsible for this is clearly Jardanus, a name Nicolaus surely can not have invented.

The story of the founding of Torrhebus and its founder's teaching the Lydians music (F 15) seems to come from
 113
 Xanthus. Dionysius confirms that he, like Nicolaus,
 114
 recorded that Torrhebus was a son of Atys; most of Nicolaus'

112. Pearson, p.122. Cf. also p.131: "Nicolaus allows himself to improve on the original tale". There is no evidence for this view; both are probably précis.

113. Müller (FHG I, p.36, F2) prints this as part of Xanthus' works; Jacoby (IIC, p.240) says it is "more than only probable".

114. Dion. Hal. 1.28.2 = 765 F 16. Hellanicus (4 F 4 = Dion. Hal. 1.28) is not followed. The "Carius" of N appears to be reckoned three generations before Torrhebus.

fragment is however concerned with Carius, nowhere found in Xanthus' fragments. A conclusive connection is therefore missing, although Nicolaus' words *ἄς καὶ Μούσας Λυδοὶ καλοῦσι* suggest a source with strong Lydian connections.

The exploits of the Lydian Moxus (Mopsus)¹¹⁵ in F 16 raise some difficulties. Mnaseas of Patara records Xanthus' story of Mopsus capturing Queen Atargatis and her son Ichthys and drowning them in a lake near Ascalon *διὰ τὴν ἑβριν*¹¹⁶. In Nicolaus a town called Crabus (?) was sacked and its inhabitants drowned in a nearby lake, because they were *ἄθροιοι*. The people, places and perhaps the reasons for

115. *Μόψος* and *Μόξος* are merely alternative forms of the same name - L. Alexander, "Kings of Lydia", p.47 and n.31. The name Mukšuš is found in 13th century BC Hittite archives at Boğazköy; G.M.A. Hanfmann (Harv. Stud. Cl. Phil. 63 (1958), p.73f.) supports Alexander in believing he may also have had the name Askalos or Daskylos (p.85, n.49). Herter ("Bonner Beit." 14, p.34) believes the form "Mopsos" is Phoenician.

116. 765 F 17 = Athen. 8.37, p.346E (from Mnaseas).

being murdered which are given in these two fragments are different, but Nicolaus did use Xanthus at least in one section touching on Syrian history (F 18), and the details of these two authors are not irreconcilable.¹¹⁷ Certainly, the variant in spelling Moxus or Mopsus is of no importance,¹¹⁸ as Xanthus' double way of spelling even Sardis shows, and the basic similarity of the stories suggests that there is some link between their accounts.

117. 90 F 16 does not mention Atargatis and her son. A closer link with Xanthus could be established if the unknown town of Crabus (F 16) were in fact a corruption for Nerabus mentioned in F 17 as a Syrian city (a connection accepted by Jacoby, FGrH IIC, p.241, and Herter, RE 9 A2.1366). Certainly, Nerabus and Ascalon (F 18) were both included in book 4 of the "Histories", and the latter was also mentioned by Xanthus (= 765 F 8). The quotations of Mnaseas thus link N and Xanthus with Mopsus, Ascalon in Syria and the drowning of his enemies in a lake. It is possible that Atargatis and her son were among the inhabitants of Nerabus, or the two may have been captured on a different occasion - with the same method of prisoner disposal.

118. According to Lydus, "De mensibus" 3.20 = 765 F 23, Xanthus spelt the Lydian capital *Σάρδεις* or *Ξυάρεις*.

(ii) The Heracleidae:

Herodotus states that after the Atyadae came the Heraclid rule over Lydia, which lasted for 22 generations or 505 years down to the time of Gyges, i.e. c.1190-685

¹¹⁹BC. Nothing of Xanthus has survived to show by direct comparison with it that Nicolaus used him, but the novelistic elements and fanciful details of these fragments ¹²⁰would accord well with Xanthus' practice.

F 44 well illustrates this point. As it stands it is a complete novelette in two pages, describing the successful regaining of the Lydian throne by Ardys after being expelled by his sister-in-law, Damonno, and her lover, Spermes. It is noticeable that the more practical and intrinsically important aspects of Ardys' reign are excluded. Many features of the plot stretch credulity - Spermes

119. Hdt. 1.7.

120. See 765 FF 4, 8, 17, 18, 20 for illustration of Xanthus' frivolous tendencies. Pearson (p.135) thinks that because the name of Spermes, who gained the Lydian throne by an intrigue with King Cadys' wife, is said by N not to have been "in the royal records" (F 44.7), this story is fiction. So also M. Miller (Klio 41 (1963), p.67): "Probably both the "royal registers" and the addenda are romance". Although a usurper would quite likely be missed out of such compilations, they are probably correct. Most of the details of the stories that N seems to have preserved from Xanthus can not be taken seriously.

being deceived by a wooden replica of Ardys' head; Damonno's double success in getting rid of her husband's doctor and then Cadys himself; the escape of Spermes' assassin, Cerses, and the latter's subsequent murder. These details are in the tradition of novelistic history. There are also two more definite connections with Xanthus. Nicolaus states that Ardys "was the best ruler of all after Acimius", and Xanthus tells of the beneficent and peaceful rule of a king Alcimus;¹²¹ the slight difference of spelling does not at all preclude the same individual being meant by the two writers.¹²² Since Nicolaus is not writing from original research, his comment that Spermes' name was not *ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις*¹²³ can only have come from his source who was acquainted with Lydian affairs, probably the Lydian Xanthus.

FF 45 and 46, which refer to the murder of Dascylus found in F 44.11, are likely to be derived from the same

121. 90 F 44.10, and 765 F 19 = Suda s. *Ξάνθος*.

122. See nn. 115 and 118. This use of more than one form for the same person or place seems to have been common in Xanthus - cf. also 765 F 26 = Steph. Byz. s.v. *Λόκολος*. *Ἀδυσάτης* and *Σαδυσάτης* are often interchangeable in N (e.g. FF 44.11 and 46, line 14). In F 65 N calls a merchant Sadyattes, but Suda (s. *Κροῖσος*) calls him Alyattes. See also n. 130.

123. F 44.7.

source. FF 44.11, 45 and 46 mention Phrygia as the place where Dascylus' wife took refuge. Her son, also called Dascylus, is unborn in F 44 (*ἡ δ' ἐκείνου γυνὴ κύουσα ἔφογεν εἰς Φρυγίαν*), and this fact is mentioned also in F 45.¹²⁴ F 45 further links with F 46 by both showing the fears Dascylus had of the Heraclids.¹²⁵ FF 44, 45 and 46 are therefore from the same source, probably Xanthus.¹²⁶

(iii) The Mermnadae:

Both Herodotus and Nicolaus' source devoted space to the rise and rule of Gyges.¹²⁷ Their accounts, though different, probably set out in romanticised form the coup of a non-Heraclid against the ruling Heraclid line - perhaps one forced prematurely on Gyges by an intrigue with the queen, in view of both accounts containing stories of Gyges either seeing his master's wife naked (Herodotus) or trying to seduce the bride-to-be and being compelled to murder the

124. Pp. 348.24 and 349.5.

125. P. 349, lines 7-9 and 14-16.

126. So also Jacoby, FGrH IIC, p.244; H. Diller, "Navicula Chiloniensis", p.73; Wacholder, p.86 and p.122, n.23; Herter, RE 9 A 2, cols. 1362-1363.

127. 90 F 47 and Hdt. 1.7-12. The name Guges (as well as Kandaules, Kambles, Aluattes, Saduattes, and Muattes) has been found on Lydian inscriptions - see J. Fraser, "Anatolian Studies", p.139.

king in order to save himself (Nicolaus).¹²⁸ Both agree that the Heraclid was murdered in his bed, and that subsequently¹²⁹ there was opposition to Gyges.

Their differences, however, are more striking. Apart from the essential distinction made between queen or bride, which inevitably changes the basic line of the story, the king is called Candaules (Myrsilus), the son of Myrsus, by¹³⁰ Herodotus, whereas Nicolaus names him Adyattes or Sadyattes. Gyges is presented by the queen with the choice of killing or being killed (Herodotus), but in the "Histories" it is a friendly maidservant who tells him of Adyattes' intention¹³¹ to kill him next day, a move he anticipates. Gyges' increasing importance in the king's bodyguard, attested by both authors, is dealt with at length only by Nicolaus; the same also applies to the earlier relations between the two families. That Herodotus was not used is abundantly clear.

128. 90 F 47.7 and Hdt. 1.8.

129. 90 F 47.8 and 11; Hdt. 1.12.

130. Hdt. 1.7. In F 47 both forms of the king's name are found - Adyattes 4 times and Sadyattes 5 times.

131. Hdt. 1.11-12; 90 F 47.7-8.

Since Stephanus records that the city of Ardynium was said by Xanthus in book 2 to be "a city in the Plain of Thebes", it is reasonable to conclude that here Nicolaus followed him, saying, as he does, that Adyattes' bride, Toudo, was the daughter of Arnossus, "who founded the city of Ardynium in the Plain of Thebes".¹³²

Love of the sensational by Xanthus and his probable use by Nicolaus in earlier and subsequent fragments would confirm this connection.¹³³ It is also supported by dialect

132. 90 F 47.6: πόλιν Ἀρδύνιον ἔκτισεν ἐν Θήβης πεδίῳ. Xanthus (765 F 5 = Steph. Byz. s. Ἀρδύνιον) - πόλιν ἐν Θήβης πεδίῳ, ὡς Ξάνθος ἐν Λυδίακῶν β.
133. There are strong links between F 47 and N's account of the dynasty of the Heraclids: "Dascylus who went away to Pontus" (F 47.1) echoes F 46 ("Dascylus fled from Phrygia and went to the Syri who lived beyond Sinope in Pontus". The murder of his father Dascylus, (F 44.11), is alluded to in F 47 - Ardys, son of Gyges I and uncle of Dascylus, told Alyattes "it was right to make peace with the Dascylus family" (F 47.1). Both refer to Ardys' curses on Dascylus' murderer (F 44.11 and F 47.8). Both these fragments are therefore from the same source - Xanthus. That F 47 came from him is accepted by K. Smith (A.J.Ph.23 (1902), pp. 264-266, 382); O. Seel (Wien. Stud. 69 (1956), p.224; C.F. Lehmann-Haupt (RE 7.1956f); Jacoby, FGrH IIC, p.244; Wacholder, pp.86, 122. K. von Fritz, however, dissents unconvincingly ("Griech. Geschicht." vol. 2, pp. 365-367) by examining the romanticised narrative of N as a work which has much reliable historical material in it. The chronological problems he is thus led to find make him suggest that N attempted to fuse the traditions of Xanthus and Herodotus.

evidence. Xanthus wrote in Ionic,¹³⁴ and it has already been mentioned that Nicolaus uses Ionic forms only in his Ctesias-based fragments and those about Lydia. In F 47.5 occurs the Epic and Ionic genitive singular ¹³⁵ἄστεος. If this is a genuine form and not a corruption of the ω of the Attic ἄστεως to ο through scribal error, it would show the influence of his source, since Nicolaus uses ¹³⁶ἄστεως in his biography of Augustus. The genitive of Gyges is also given as Γύγω¹³⁷. Nicolaus thus seems to have transcribed these forms directly from his source, as he did from Ctesias.

Gyges is mentioned again a book later in F 62 (book 7). This fragment mainly concerns the handsome but effeminate Magnes of Smyrna, and the attraction he had for Gyges. The Lydian king became very annoyed by the insults the Magnes-

134. Cf. 765 F 22 = Hesychius s.v. βουλευή; Herter, RE 9 A 2.1371.

135. See W. Goodwin, "Greek Grammar" (GGG), § 255. There is an example quoted in F. Bechtel, "Griech. Dialekte", vol. 3, p. 60. According to L & S, s.v. ἄστυ, ἄστεος is never found in Attic writings or inscriptions. See also BGD § 110.

136. 90 F 127 (p. 392.10).

137. P. 349.20 (F 47) and p. 348.20 (F 44). The regular Attic Γύγου is found in F 63; conversely, the genitive of Spermes in F 44 is always Σπέρμου, despite numerous mentions of him - Pp. 346.22; 347.8, 16, 18, 23; 348.3, 5.

ians hurled at Magnes, says Nicolaus; "he often invaded Magnesian territory, and eventually destroyed their city. On his return to Sardis he made splendid celebrations". Herodotus, on the other hand, states that Gyges made an incursion on Miletus and Smyrna at the beginning of his 38 year reign and took the city of Colophon. Throughout the rest of the time that he was king, "he undertook no other great project"¹³⁸. Nicolaus' extant material has no reference to the campaign against these three towns, but more important Herodotus does not record any Magnesian expeditions. It seems then that Gyges was represented by Nicolaus as a more vigorous and colourful ruler than Herodotus, and that a Lydian source would write the details which are missing in Herodotus. This additional information probably came from the same source as F 47 - Xanthus.¹³⁹

The next three fragments (FF 63-65), on the reigns of Sadyattes and Alyattes and the youth of the latter's son Croesus, cover mainly domestic Lydian affairs - the characters of the two rulers, and the difficulties Croesus

138. Hdt. 1.14.

139. This F is printed by Müller (FHG I, p.40) as part of the work of Xanthus.

faced in raising a mercenary contingent for his father because of his extravagant living. The mention of a relation of Gyges, Melanus, in F 63.2 and his flight to Dascylium, which was clearly a haven for those in disfavour with the Lydian kings, connects this fragment with the people and place mentioned in FF 44-47 and 62, and suggests that Xanthus was still the source. F 65 has no parallel in Herodotus, but the opponents of Croesus alluded to by him (1.92) as heading an opposition party against him to gain the throne for a brother, Pantaleon, are perhaps to be identified with the merchant Sadyattes (or other rich business men) mentioned by Nicolaus, who was ruined when Croesus came to power - especially since Croesus gained great wealth at the beginning of his reign. Müller regards these details too as coming directly from Xanthus. This is probably true.

In short, the account of Lydia given by Nicolaus was not

140. P.361, lines 17-20.

141. Müller, FHG 1, p.40f; 3, p.396. In 90 F 65 Croesus was made ἀρχων of "Adramytteum and the Theban Plain". The "Theban Plain" is a phrase used by Xanthus (see n.132) and Adramytteum presumably took its name from Adramys, the illegitimate son of Sadyattes (F 63.3) or King Adramytes, again mentioned by Xanthus (765 F 4a). The connection of F 65 with Xanthus is slight, but plausible. Alexander (pp.42-43) thinks Adramytes, Adramys, and Alyattes, Croesus' father, may be the same individual, and that Alyattes rebuilt Adramytteum and put Croesus in charge of it. As Pearson observes (p.132, n.3), Xanthus may have invented a king Adramytes to account for the town, - Cf. Ascalus and Ascalon (90 F 18, from Xanthus); Torrhebus and Torrhebus city (90 F 15). Cf. also the Ionic genitives Ἀλυάττειω (p.360.18) and Σαδυσάττειω (p.360.27).

dependent on Herodotus. Certain fragments can be plausibly shown to come from Xanthus,¹⁴² and others to be probably dependent on a Lydian. Since one source (Ctesias³), as far as can be seen, was used for Assyrio-Median history, the same may well obtain here - Xanthus. Exactly how this source material was treated can not be ascertained with any accuracy.

(iv) Croesus and Cyrus:

F 68, which deals with Cyrus' treatment of Croesus after the fall of Sardis, gives an emotional account of the sentiments affecting the two kings, their two armies and Croesus' young son. It poses several interesting questions. Nicolaus used Ctesias' account of Cyrus' early years, and seems to have used Xanthus to describe Croesus' youth. Did Nicolaus take his material which tells of their meeting from either of these two writers? If so, was any remodelling or synthesising done, and what part may¹⁴³ Herodotus have contributed to this famous episode?

Nothing at all of what Xanthus wrote about Croesus' rule now survives,¹⁴⁴ and Diodorus no longer supplies Ctesias' narrative. Fortunately, Photius' précis of Ctesias has

142. Cf. also 90 F 85 and 765 F 2 on the city of Lycosthene or Lycostheneia.

143. Hdt. 1.71ff.

144. In dealing with Lydian history, Xanthus could hardly have omitted Croesus. All modern literature seems to accept that Xanthus treated his reign.

survived, and though brief does rule him out as Nicolaus' source here. Whereas Ctesias asserts that Croesus' son was killed before his father's eyes because of the latter's trickery, in the "Histories" he is with difficulty led away from the pyre by his friends, although wishing to die with his father.¹⁴⁵ The usual version of the "deliverance" episode, and the one followed by Nicolaus, is that Croesus was saved from burning alive on the pyre by a storm sent by divine providence. According to Ctesias, however, after Cyrus had three times chained the Lydian king in the temple of Apollo and been mystified by his release on each occasion, he fastened him more securely in the palace. His fourth release was heralded by thunder and lightning, and at this Cyrus gave him his freedom and the city of Barene near Ecbatana.¹⁴⁶ Some mention of Hoibaras, who planned the successful attack on Sardis, might have been expected in Nicolaus also if Ctesias had been his source.¹⁴⁷ The attitude

145. Phot. Bibl. 72, p.107, 36b, lines 4-5; 90 F 68.7.

146. Phot. ib., lines 14-16; 90 F 68.2.

147. Phot. p.107, 36a line 38 - 36b line 2.

of Cyrus towards his defeated opponents, as suggested by Ctesias, is merciless. The opposite is true of F 68.¹⁴⁸ Here is shown Cyrus' essential humanity and clemency.

The version of Nicolaus, like that of Herodotus, is of a highly emotional character. Croesus' people "broke into groans and lamentations" when they saw him. They looked upon him "as a father", and pitied his terrible change of fortune. The king himself in contrast approached "without a tear or expression on his face". Cyrus was deeply affected and wished his army also to experience this moving occasion. After a tearful episode with his son, Croesus was dressed in costly raiment which the women of Lydia had sent to clothe him on the pyre.¹⁴⁹ Even when delivered from being burnt alive, Croesus retained a royal bearing, and on being offered the chance to make a request asked to be allowed to send his chains to Delphi.

The similarities and the differences between Nicolaus and Herodotus must inevitably form the basis of source

148. 90 F 68.4 and 9. Diodorus (9.33.4 and 34) clearly abandons Ctesias when describing Cyrus and Croesus.

149. In this Jacoby (FGrH IIC, p.252) sees a survival of a version which made Croesus' death voluntary. Bacchylides (3.23-62) confirms that such a version existed.

criticism of F 68. Several have believed that Herodotus here is Nicolaus' main source, and that Nicolaus amplified and dramatised the action and emotional aspects of the episode, perhaps under the influence of "tragic" historiography.¹⁵⁰ If one accepts this thesis, it is clear that Nicolaus must have had access to at least one more version, in order to explain the features which are not in Herodotus. This consideration gave rise to the suggestion that this combination was done by a later Hellenistic writer, and that he is the source Nicolaus used.¹⁵¹

There are indeed parallels in vocabulary and content¹⁵² between Nicolaus and Herodotus, and many of the elements of the story correspond - the pyre, the regrets of Cyrus, a divinely-sent storm, and Croesus' request that his fetters should be taken to Delphi.¹⁵³ But if one also compares the parts where the two writers cover common ground, there are

150. See n.163.

151. Tietz, p.30ff; Von Fritz, vol. 2, p.128; Jacoby (FGrH IIC, p.234) also admits the possibility.

152. Cf. especially 90 F 68.10 and 13 with Hdt. 1.89-90; also *ὁ δὲ συννήσας πυρὴν μεγάλην (1.86); μεγάλην ἐνήσαν πυρὰν (F 68.2) / δὲς ἑπτὰ Λυδῶν (1.86); Λυδῶν δὲς ἑπτὰ (F 68.3)*; R. Schubert, "Gesch. der Könige von Lydien", p.121.

153. Hdt. 1.86-87, 90.

surprising differences. The character of Cyrus himself is a good example. According to Nicolaus, Cyrus felt pity for Croesus from the very beginning because of his ἀρετή¹⁵⁴ and wished to save him, but shrank from doing so until the Persians also felt pity for him. The Cyrus of Herodotus, in contrast, does not relent until his messengers have reported to him what Croesus had cried out on the pyre.¹⁵⁴

But it is in overall structure that the greatest differences occur. This can be seen most clearly by picking out the main themes from the respective accounts. Herodotus narrates in most detail Cyrus' reasons for building the pyre; Croesus' crying out the name of Solon, and the long attempt of Cyrus' messengers to find out the meaning of his action; and Croesus' prayer to Apollo, which resulted in a deluge putting out the fire.¹⁵⁵ Most noticeable is the fact that Herodotus takes more space to record the conversation of the two kings after Croesus' deliverance than he does over the whole pyre scene.¹⁵⁶

Nicolaus, on the other hand, places emphasis on a completely different set of themes, particularly those which

154. F 68.1, 4, 9; Hdt. 1.86.

155. 1.86-87.

156. 1.87-90.

could play on the emotions. Whereas F 68 has over 25 lines of text telling what transpired when Cyrus and Croesus met before the latter mounted the pyre,¹⁵⁷ Herodotus has virtually nothing. Nearly seven lines are devoted to describing the reaction of the Lydians to the first sight of their king in chains, and straightway another 25 to record the "pathetic" meeting of Croesus and his son, and the boy's desire to die with his father.¹⁵⁸ Nearly ten lines are given up to the Sibyl's intervention, and yet these last two themes do not appear at all in Herodotus. In Nicolaus it is the Sibyl's warning that makes the Persians relent, not Croesus' cry to Solon as in Herodotus.¹⁵⁹ Even the storm, though it agrees in its main outline with Herodotus, is treated at much greater length, and a disagreement arises over the weather that had prevailed that day; Nicolaus says there had been a *χειρὼν* since dawn, although it had not rained, but Herodotus that the day had been clear (*ἐκ... αἰθρίας*).¹⁶⁰

157. F.68.2-7.

158. F.68.3, 4-7.

159. F 68.8f; Hdt. 1.86.

160. F 68.10-11; Hdt. 1.87. Here it is possible that N could have elaborated Herodotus, but if so intentionally deviated on the weather before the storm.

Only where Croesus asks to be allowed to send his chains to Delphi are the accounts very similar in tone and length.¹⁶¹

As can be seen, there is a marked difference in the aspects of the story that the two historians selected for fuller treatment. An analysis of the number of lines where Nicolaus covers the same ground as Herodotus brings the point out even more clearly. F 68 has about ninety lines. The first fifty-four (§§1-8, and the beginning of §9) have virtually no relation to Herodotus' account; neither has §12 (nearly four lines). The final section (14) roughly tells the same as Herodotus 1.153. Only §§9-11 and 13 (about 30 lines) could possibly be based on Herodotus, i.e. no more than a third. It is also noticeable that more than half of F 68 tells what happened before Croesus mounted the pyre, and more than half of Herodotus' narrative (1.87-90) what transpired after his deliverance.

Nicolaus cannot therefore have selected Herodotus as his main source for the story of Croesus and Cyrus. They have features in common because both are basically telling the same story. Yet Nicolaus has largely covered different ground from Herodotus, though he must have known the latter's famous description, even if only from his school days. It is reasonable to conclude, then, that he reacted to

it, not by simply plagiarising it, but by avoiding much of it and concentrating on what Herodotus had not told. His reason for doing so could be that he considered it difficult to improve on the version of Herodotus, and out of admiration decided to complement it. He may simply have wished to be different.

It is still necessary, however, to account for the features they have in common - Croesus' calling upon Solon; his deliverance by the storm; and his subsequent request to Cyrus that he should be allowed to send his chains to Delphi. Certainly, some of these are very similar in the two accounts. There seem to be three possibilities: The similarities could be due to a common source; Nicolaus may have used an account which already combined the Herodotean and other material; or Nicolaus has adopted some of Herodotus' language and motifs and introduced them into his main source.

The first possibility is remote. It is unwise to assume that Herodotus followed sources in the same way as Nicolaus did in his most careless moments, simply selecting episodes which appealed to him, and thus constructing his narrative from gleaned passages. In fact von Fritz shows that the pyre scene in Herodotus artistically concludes
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three principal motifs of his narrative, and was thus evid-

ently composed by Herodotus himself. In favour of the second alternative could be the fact that much of the non-Herodotean material is concerned with the emotions of spectators. This rhetorical device for making a narrative more moving seems to come into common use in the late fifth-century and later. On the other hand, the emotional elements are rather mechanical and common-place - descriptions of wailing, filial devotion, and the panic caused by the storm. It is therefore arguable that the lack of subtlety in emotional scenes betrays an early hand, and need not rule out Xanthus as their source.

The third possibility, that Nicolaus was directly influenced to some extent by Herodotus' language and introduced it into his main source, seems more probable.¹⁶³ Nicolaus' narrative reads like a variation, a deliberate variation, on Herodotus' version. The points of difference between them, and there are many, would really only be

163. Jacoby believes that the similarities are due to N's combining Herodotus with Xanthus (FGrH IIC, pp.233f, 252; see also 246). He is supported by Pearson (p.131), Diller (p.66) and Herter (RE 9 A 2, cols. 1357, 1370: "occasionally"). Laqueur (RE 17.388) criticises this view and concludes that Xanthus and Herodotus may go back independently to an earlier Lydian source for Lydian history, or Herodotus may well have used Xanthus.

significant if the story was pure history, since the similarities would go back to actual events. But as the scene is a story, one version among others (e.g. those of Ctesias and Bacchylides), the similarities must go back to the author of the story. In this case, the originator can hardly have been any other than Herodotus, since three centres of interest in the story - the dumb son, Solon, and the Delphic Oracle - conclude themes started earlier in his narrative.¹⁶⁴

As Nicolaus' main source of information Xanthus seems the most likely.¹⁶⁵ Nicolaus seems to have used him for earlier Lydian history and probably for Croesus' boyhood (F 65). It would be both logical and, because of the length of the "Histories", highly convenient for him to continue to use Xanthus.¹⁶⁶ Further a Lydian bias is detectable in F 68 - emphasis on the part the ordinary people of Lydia played; perhaps also in the important part given to a "local"

164. See n.162.

165. So also Müller, FHG 1.41-42; 3.407; F.H. Weissbach (RE Supp. 5.456: "probably"). Cf. also M. Miller, "Klio" 41 (1963), p.93.

166. Cf. also the Ionic ῥοῦς (F 68.10, p.372.24) = Attic ῥῶ. In his biography of Augustus N has the Attic ῥῶθεν. See GGG §240; L. and S. s.v. ῥῶς; 90 F 130, § 127.

priestess, the Sibyl of Ephesus, and in the mention of Thales of Miletus. This use of two sources here does not invalidate the view, argued earlier, that Nicolaus in general followed only one source at a time. Herodotus' story of Croesus on the pyre was so well-known that Nicolaus could not completely ignore it.

It is reasonable to conclude, then, that Nicolaus is largely using information from Xanthus in F 68, but was also influenced by Herodotus. The "dramatisation" found in the non-Herodotean parts could be due to Xanthus. It is conceivable, however, that Nicolaus himself is partly responsible for it. It is, after all, a technique which a man trained in rhetoric could easily bring into play without getting it from his source. Again, this possibility, even if correct, need not contradict the conclusion reached earlier that the dramatisation found in the fragments is generally derived from Nicolaus' source and not his own contribution. In the case of the pyre scene, the dramatisation of the basic element as to whether Croesus will burn or not is Herodotean. The differences from him do not show much creative imagination, and are not of the same order as the dialogues found in the other fragments. In fact, no other fragment in the "Histories" resembles F 68 in emotional content and expression. Unfortunately, the source of this feature can not now be discovered with any certainty.

On the more general question of how Nicolaus treated his source material, § 9 seems to provide a clue. Here we read: "Croesus ... sat on the pyre ... and when silence fell, he uttered a great groan and called three times upon Solon again. When Cyrus heard this, he wept." Does Nicolaus here mean that Cyrus wept when he heard the groan, or when he heard Croesus calling upon Solon? If one compares this episode with Herodotus, it is clear there that Cyrus did not know the significance of what Croesus said; his messengers therefore went to find out for him. Their reply set Cyrus thinking about the vicissitudes of life, and made him resolve to save Croesus.¹⁶⁷ Nicolaus has the same sequence and similar thoughts, but has nothing about the messengers going to speak to Croesus. Both accounts have the same motif, but that of Nicolaus is much briefer.

Since there is such a strong similarity of basic theme, and it would be strange if Cyrus wept merely on hearing a groan, after deciding to burn Croesus alive, it is more probable that Nicolaus meant that it was Solon's name which so affected Cyrus. If this is so, Nicolaus must have missed out part of his source, since the tears would otherwise be meaningless; Cyrus would not know the information

we find in Herodotus. This reading of the evidence is supported by what has been considered a textual difficulty. Nicolaus says that Croesus cried out to Solon *παλιν*, and yet there is no earlier occasion to which it can refer. Attempts have therefore been made to emend it.¹⁶⁸ If, however, it is retained, it would confirm that Nicolaus missed out some of his source's narrative in §9. There would then be a parallel with the rather careless way he seems to have contracted Ctesias. It would also show that the source of his information was fuller, and that in the parts where he is very detailed he may simply be following the version he found.

The final, brief fragment about Cyrus (F 67) tells of his study of philosophy and the aristocratic Persian training he received. The last sentence, which comes immediately after this, states that he sent for the Sibyl Herophila from Ephesus. Since in F 68.8 she is referred to simply as *ἡ Σίβυλλα*, it is highly likely that at least the second part of F 67 was also taken from the same source. The aristocratic education of the first part, however, is inconsistent with the social position Cyrus was given in F 66 (Ctesias).¹⁶⁹

To understand this difference, it is essential to realise

168. See Jacoby IIA, p.372, app. crit. to line 15.

169. It is possible, but highly improbable, that he could have received his aristocratic education while in the household of Artembares (F 66.5-7).

that F 66 came from a different volume of the "Excerpta" to FF 67 and 68, and that the last two come in sequence in the volume "De Virtutibus et Vitiis". We can therefore be reasonably certain that in the "Histories" too they were in the same sequence, but that some section of the original text is now lost between them. Even so, though it is impossible to be sure what the context of F 67 was, FF 67 and 68 are consistent in their depiction of Cyrus. In F 67 he is called a philosopher, a man of *δικαιοσύνη* and *ἀλήθεια*; in F 68 these qualities made him pity the fate that Croesus was suffering, and he was glad when the same emotion affected his Persians. Again, his summoning of the Sibyl from Ephesus in F 67.2 fits well with F 68.8f, since it was her appearance and warning that Croesus should not be burnt which dissuaded the Persian soldiers from pursuing their course to the end.

If this reading of the evidence is correct, FF 67 and 68 should be regarded as coming from the same source, i.e. Xanthus. The characterisation of Cyrus by Ctesias and Xanthus was, as Laqueur has suggested,¹⁷⁰ different. Ctesias represented Cyrus as of lowly stock, whereas Xanthus gave him, correctly, aristocratic birth. How, if at all,

170. RE 17.383f, 387.

Nicolaus attempted to reconcile these two portraits of Cyrus in his fuller version, we cannot tell. It may be that he did not concern himself with investigating scrupulously the psychology of his characters, and divergent facts about them, in different parts.¹⁷¹

It is reasonable to conclude, then, that Nicolaus mainly used the account of Xanthus about the meeting of Cyrus and Croesus, but Herodotus' famous account also shows through. Nicolaus must have known the version of Ctesias about the capture of Sardis, but rejected it, perhaps because it was not as detailed as that of Xanthus. It could also be that Xanthus' version was more emotional and dramatic, though in this particular episode the hand of Nicolaus himself can not be ruled out.

There have been two main objections, however, to this view that Nicolaus used Xanthus for Lydian history:

(i) Nicolaus did not use Xanthus directly, but through an intermediary, and (ii) in F 71 Nicolaus disagrees with Xanthus about the Mysians.

F 71 tells how a family moved from Mysia, "a little town in Thrace", to near the city of Sardis. The Lydian king Alyattes was impressed by the industry of the woman and sent to Cotys, the Thracian king, for more settlers;

171. Cf. esp. the different parentage attributed to Tantalus in FF 10 and 18 (Jacoby, FGrH IIC, p.238). See also n.230.

it was from these immigrants that the "Thracesii" of Asia Minor took their name. The fragment of Xanthus with which this account of Nicolaus is compared is preserved by ¹⁷² Strabo. This investigates the etymology of the "Mysians", which Xanthus associated with the Lydian word for "beech tree".

Strabo states: "Some have said that the Mysians are Thracians, and others that they are Lydians, referring to the reason which Xanthus the Lydian and Menecrates of Elea recorded long ago, when they investigated the etymology of the name of the Mysians, that the Lydians call their beech-tree by this name." He continues, presumably still quoting or paraphrasing Xanthus, that the "beech-tree" name was attached to them because their ancestors had been *δεκατευθ-*¹⁷³ *έντες*¹⁷⁴ near Olympus in Asia Minor, where there were many beech trees. Xanthus differs from Nicolaus, who gives the

172. Strabo 12.8.3 = 765 F 15.

173. i.e. "a tenth part of the people, doomed in fulfilment of some vow" (Pearson, p.127).

174. See von Fritz, vol. 2, p.353f.

Mysians a European origin in F 71. The whole idea of a Xanthus-based account about Lydia in Nicolaus was thus called into question.¹⁷⁵

F 71, according to the "Excerpta", was from book 18 (17) of the "Histories", but Lydian history as far as Croesus ends in book 7. It was therefore argued that the book number must be wrong and should be emended.¹⁷⁶ This would be erroneous. Although the Lydian king occupies a good part of the story, the object of the tale is to explain how the "Thracessii" came to be so called. Nicolaus

175. The story of the industrious Mysian woman in N has a remarkable similarity to the story of the industrious Paeonian woman in Herodotus 5.12-14 (cf. also Pearson pp. 138-139); but the king in the Herodotus version is Darius of Persia. Pearson (p.130) may well be right that this is simply a folk-tale with its contrast of kingly opulence and simple industry, which was "told differently at different times to suit the occasion". It does however seem unrealistic to believe with Jacoby (FGrH IIC, p.253f) that N's account is based on Herodotus, since (i) there are too many variations of detail between the two; (ii) the slant of both stories is different - the woman of N had no ulterior motive, but that of Hdt. had; (iii) could N really have got the name of the Thracian king Cotys out of his own imagination? and (iv) if N liked the story of Hdt. so much, why should he bother to change so many details?

176. Müller, FHG 3, p.413; Jacoby (IIA, p.376) only queries the number.

seems to be dealing primarily not with Lydia, but with some later event, perhaps in Persian history, in which this people figured. The book number could perfectly well be correct, and would substantiate such an interpretation. Nicolaus may well be following some other author, Ctesias for example,¹⁷⁷ without recollecting what Xanthus wrote about the Mysians.

The second objection to Nicolaus having used Xanthus is that he did not know him directly but used his version¹⁷⁸ through an intermediary. This view has had considerable support, but has fallen somewhat out of favour. Von Fritz still adheres to it, but Herter in his 1967 RE article gives¹⁷⁹ it little credence. The two main candidates for "middleman"¹⁸⁰ are Dionysius Scytobrachion and Xenophilus.

The search for such an intermediary was prompted by

177. See n.171.

178. F.G. Welcker, "Kl. Schriften", vol. 1, p.431ff; Müller, FHG 3, pp.346, 370; P. Tietz, pp.22-39; E. Meyer, "Forschungen" I, p.176; H. Diller, pp.66-67; O. Regenbogen, "Gnomon" 19 (1943), pp.19ff; G.Cammelli, "Riv. Indo-Gr.-Ital. di filol.", 6(1922), p.129 (either Xanthus or Charon of Lampsacus); K. von Fritz, "Griech. Gesch.", vol. 2, pp. 348ff, 364-369.

179. RE 9 A 2, col. 1355f.

180. For Scytobrachion (see n.178): Welcker, Müller, Tietz, Meyer. For Xenophilus: Regenbogen. For an unknown Hellenistic intermediary: Diller, von Fritz.

several considerations. Similarities were noticed between Nicolaus and the fragments of Xanthus, and yet F 71 seemed to present a problem; this difficulty, it appears, is unreal. More similarities were noted between Nicolaus and the story of Croesus as told by Herodotus, but since Nicolaus has details which are not in Herodotus it was maintained by Tietz that Nicolaus must have used an author¹⁸¹ who combined the version of Herodotus with Xanthus.

These doubts seem to find confirmation in a passage of¹⁸² Athenaeus which mentions "Xanthus the Lydian or the one who wrote the *ἱστορίαι* attributed to him - Dionysius Scytobrachion, as Artemon of Cassandrea says". The passage however continues to say that Artemon "does not know that the historian Ephorus mentions him (sc. Xanthus) as an older author who gave Herodotus his *ἀφορμαί*". Athenaeus' statement was seized upon by those who believed in a "middle-man", and interpreted as indicating that Dionysius produced a "second edition" of Xanthus' works. But, as far as can be concluded from this quotation, Athenaeus simply tells us that Artemon believed Dionysius was the real author of the works which went under the pseudonym "Xanthus", a view which Athenaeus himself thought erroneous.

181. P.29ff.

182. Athen. 12.11, p.515E = 765 T 5.

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As Pearson points out, we do not know what evidence, if any, Artemon had for his assertion. But since Artemon makes the only extant connection between Dionysius and Xanthus and only Athenaeus vouches for this and rejected the view himself, it seems unrealistic to conclude from it that Dionysius either used or "re-edited" Xanthus. In support of this contention one can cite the fact that there is no reference anywhere to Dionysius having written on Lydian history (except the dubious Artemon quotation), that none of the titles attributed to him have any direct bearing on Lydia, and that none of his fragments collected by Jacoby refer to Lydia.¹⁸⁴ As for Xenophilus, of whom only one fragment remains, and this from the anonymous "De Mulieribus",¹⁸⁵ one can neither accept nor reject him any more than one can the other three authors of Lydian history whose names only are known.¹⁸⁶

As can be seen, the problem of Xanthus and the transmission and subsequent use of his text can not be easily

183. P.109f.

184. Dionysius: FGrH 1A, no. 32, pp.228-246 (-257?).

185. FGrH IIIC, 767 F 1 = Anon. "De Mul." 9. Xenophilus is otherwise unknown. It is tempting to suggest that in his name we may have a corruption of Xanthus, viz.
Ξάνθος → Ξενοφίλος.

186. viz. Menippus, Dositheus, and Christodorus of Coptus (FGrH IIIC, p.758f).

solved. It is not known how long his "Lydiaca" survived, but because of the large number of writers who quoted from
 187 it before, during and after the time of Nicolaus it seems
 188 likely that it was available to him directly. If this is so, there are no valid reasons for believing that he did not consult him directly. As has been shown in the first part of this section, there are many people, details, and places mentioned in very similar terms by both Nicolaus and Xanthus. It is impossible to conclude dogmatically that Nicolaus definitely used Xanthus, because both authors are extant only in fragments and there are other writers about Lydia known in name only.

187. 14, not counting Scholia (See Jacoby, FGrH IIIC, No. 765); see also Pearson, p.114ff.

188. Herter (RE 9 A 2, col. 1373) accepts that N had Xanthus in front of him when he wrote. Von Fritz argues unconvincingly ("Griech. Gesch.", vol. 2, p.376f) that because N mentions Zoroaster he must be using a Hellenistic source and not Xanthus directly, "because it is impossible that a man [viz. Xanthus] living ... in the fifth century BC believed Zoroaster lived 6000 years before Xerxes". This attribution to Xanthus is made by Diogenes Laertius (1.2 = 765 F 32). Von Fritz thus regards Diogenes' reference to be to a work based on Xanthus, and this to be responsible for the exaggeration (see also Pearson p.118). Even if this were true, one could not argue from it that Xanthus did not mention Zoroaster. A.D. Nock (AJA 53 (1949), p.277) believes, probably rightly, that 6000 years means only "a very long time ago". In any case, in early historiography, one should not be surprised to find exaggeration about patriarchal figures.

But since, as far as is known, Xanthus was the earliest author of a Lydian history, and so many authors have quoted from him and from him alone, with one exception,¹⁸⁹ there is every justification for believing that Nicolaus did use Xanthus, and did so at first hand.

Hellas.

Under this heading are included not only those fragments which deal with mainland Greece but also those about the Aegean islands, places further afield connected with legendary Greek heroes, and Greek colonies. They are numbered as follows in Jacoby's text: 90 FF 6-14, 21, 23-43, 48-61, 86-88. Unfortunately, with the exception of FF 50 and 57-61, they deal with the early period down to the eighth century, a period of legend and susceptible to adaptation by different writers. Some are extremely short, and with the majority of these no conclusions can be reached. But it has seemed to most who have examined the longer Hellenic fragments that the writings of Hellanicus and Ephorus must¹⁹⁰ lie behind the narrative of Nicolaus.

189. viz. Xenophilus (see n.185).

190. C. Müller, FHG 3, pp.346,365ff. P. Tietz, pp.13-18. F. Susemihl, "Gesch. der griech. Lit.," vol. 2, p.316. R. Laqueur, RE 17.374f. F. Jacoby, FGrH IIC, pp.232, 234. B.Z.Wacholder, pp.67, 84-86. G.Turturro, "Nicola

FF 28-34 are the longest sequence of fragments on one area, and offer the clearest guide to Nicolaus' source. They deal with the "Return of the Heracleidae". F 28 has¹⁹¹ close affinity to Ephorus' account, preserved by Strabo, of the Heraclid settlement of Laconia under Eurysthenes and Procles. Strabo's condensed version agrees with Nicolaus that the traitor of Laconia to the invaders received¹⁹² Amyclae as his reward, but unfortunately does not go on to cover the other half of this fragment. The incomplete accounts of Nicolaus and Ephorus may, however, be linked further by Conon's assertion that Philonomus populated¹⁹³ Amyclae from Imbros and Lemnos; this influx of islanders, referred to by Nicolaus, would increase the population of Laconia, which had been depleted by the emigration of the

Damasceno", p.10.

191. 70 F 117 = Strabo 8.5.4. Ephorus as N's source here has strong support: Müller, FHG 3, p.376. Jacoby, FGrH IIC, pp.234, 242f. Wacholder, p.84 and p.122, n.25. P.A. Stadter, "Plutarch's Historical Methods", p.59.

192. N calls him Philonomus, but Strabo only τῷ προδόντι... καὶ πείσαντι; the same individual is doubtless meant.

193. Conon (26 F 1, ch. 36). N mentions only Lemnos.

Achaeans to Ionia.¹⁹⁴ The episode of Temenus' murder by his sons (F 30) is usually attributed to Ephorus.¹⁹⁵ This seems correct, but the direct evidence is slender.

Messenia fell to Cresphontes (F 31). Ephorus' delineation of his division of the area into five parts agrees with the "Histories",¹⁹⁶ and the complaint of the Dorians against Cresphontes which Ephorus gives, that Messenian and Dorian were *ἰσονόμους*, is probably the same as Nicolaus¹⁹⁷ gives. The source of FF 32 - 34 can not be determined by

194. Laconia suffered from *λειπανδρία* according to Ephorus (70 F 117, p.73, lines 10-12).

195. Müller, FHG 3, p.376. Jacoby, FGrH IIC, pp.234, 242f. Susemihl, vol. 2, p.316. Wacholder, pp.84 and 122, n.25. A Andrewes, CQ N.S. 1 (1951), pp.39f, 41. Ephorus mentioned Temenus' rule over Argos (70 F 18b = Strabo 8.8.5, and 70 F 18c = (Scymn.) "Orb. descr." 516), but from only five words it is impossible to tell the exact treatment this event received from him. Pausanias (2.19.1) corroborates N in detail, and recounts events subsequent to F 30 in 2.28.3-7. The two give the same genealogy of Deiphontes, Temenus' son-in-law (2.19.1 and 90 F 30, p.343, lines 30-31); his summoning assistance from Troezen, Asinus and Hermione (N) is consistent with the area of influence Ephorus gives him (70 F 18b).

196. 90 F 31 and 70 F 116 = Strabo 8.4.7.

197. i.e. *ὅτι οὐ δίκαιον εἶν τῶν ἴσων μετέχειν τοὺς ἐγχωρίους τοῖς Δωριεῦσι*. The terms of N and Ephorus are compatible. N also emphasises his statement by *τὸ ἰσόμοιρον*, but he has no narrative about Cresphontes making Stenyclarus his capital (Re Stenyclarus, see 70 F 116, p.72, lines 36-37). See Jacoby (IIC, p.243) also.

direct evidence, but the last would logically be derived from the same source as F 31, and since FF 32 and 33 also deal with Messenia, it seems very probable that all four fragments are derived from Ephorus.¹⁹⁸ The evidence, tenuous though it is, points to the probability that Nicolaus may here also be taking his information from only one source.

At first sight there is a close link between Nicolaus and Herodotus in an episode in the history of Cyrene:

Nicolaus F 50.

ὅτι Κυρηναίοις οἱ Βάττου
παῖδες Ἀρκεσίλαος (καὶ οἱ
ἀδελφοὶ) πρὸς ἀλλήλους
στασιάσαντες μάχην ἤγειραν
Λίβυας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐνεγκόντες.
καὶ ἡττῶνται Κυρηναῖοι.
ἑπτακισχίλιοι γὰρ ἀπέθανον
ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ. Ἀρκεσίλαος
δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις φάρμακον
πίνει· δυσθυνητοῦντα δ' αὐτὸν
ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἤγξε Λέαρχος.
τὸν δὲ Λέαρχον ἡ τοῦ
Ἀρκεσίλεω γυνὴ κτείνει Ἐρυξίω.
τὴν δὲ ἀρχὴν ὁ τοῦ
Ἀρκεσίλεω παῖς ἐκδέχεται
Βάττος χωλὸς ὢν.

Herodotus 4.160f.

... Ἀρκεσίλεως, ὃς βασιλεύσας πρῶτα
τοῖσι ἑωυτοῦ ἀδελφεοῖσι ἐστασίασε, ἐς
ὃ μιν οὔτοι ἀπολιπόντες οἴχοντο ἐς
ἄλλον χῶρον τῆς Λιβύης· συρβαλ-
όντες [sc. Λιβύες] δὲ ἐνίκησαν τοὺς
Κυρηναίους τοσοῦτο, ὥστε
ἑπτακισχίλιους ὀπλίτας Κυρηναίων
ἐνθαῦτα πεσέειν. μετὰ δὲ τὸ
τῷ τούτῳ Ἀρκεσίλεω μὲν
κάρνοντά τε καὶ φάρμακον
πεπωκότα ὁ ἀδελφεὸς Λέαρχος
ἀποπνίγει, Λέαρχον δὲ ἡ γυνὴ ἡ
Ἀρκεσίλεω δόλῳ κτείνει, τῇ οὐνομα
ἦν Ἐρυξίω. Διεδέξατο δὲ τὴν
βασιληίην τοῦ Ἀρκεσίλεω ὁ παῖς Βάττος,
χωλὸς ὢν καὶ οὐκ ἀρτίπους.

198. 90 F 32 - the restored text of Strabo 8.4.7. includes Mesola along with Pylus, Rhium, Hyameitis, and Stenyclarus (70 F 116, Ephorus); it may be presumed that these five in Ephorus are the same as those (unmentioned by name) in N. Neris (90 F 33), if that is its correct name (see Jacoby, IIC, p.243, line 10), is mentioned only by N.

Despite close agreement in content and vocabulary, it is unwise to conclude that Nicolaus is directly dependent on Herodotus. This is possible, but it is equally arguable that the information came through another historian in view of the fact that there are divergences elsewhere between the two.¹⁹⁹

It is difficult to discover the sources of the remaining fragments on Hellenic affairs. One can eliminate certain writers as potential sources, but it is more difficult to discover positive leads. The first fragment (F 6), concerning Achaemenes, has been plausibly traced²⁰⁰ by Müller to Hellanicus, and Jacoby with some justification considers that F 7, about Amphion and Zethus, may well have²⁰¹ come from the same source. The story of Orestes (F 25)

199. Müller (FHG 3, p.391) believes in N's use of Herodotus, as does Jacoby (FGrH IIC, p.246 - direct, and not through Ephorus). Tietz (p.14), however, thinks Ephorus is the "middleman" here. Wacholder (p.67 and p.122, n.24) cites this as evidence that "Nicolaus occasionally made use of Herodotus". But the great difference between them (Cf. 90 F 47 and Hdt.1.12-13; 90 F 56 and Hdt. 1.66, where Herodotus is vague on Lycurgus' dating; 90 F 2 and Hdt. 1.14 - Gyges; 90 F 57 and Hdt. 5.92 - Herodotus does not mention Cypselus' good points at all; esp. 90 F 66 and Hdt. 1.107-118 and 127-128) suggest that the resemblances come about through an intermediary.

200. FHG 3, p.365; the link is accepted by Jacoby (FGrH IIC, pp.234, 235f) and Wacholder (pp.85 and 122, n.25). Cf. N with 4 FF 59-60 (Hellanicus).

201. FGrH IIC, p.236f.

agrees in essence with other accounts, but is treated more briefly than his love for a tangle of intrigue and murder might lead one to expect.²⁰² Inconsequential, minor differences exist among the individual tragedians and historians on points of detail in this story,²⁰³ but one fragment of Hellanicus seems to eliminate him as a possible source.²⁰⁴ There is agreement between the two that this was the fourth trial before the Areopagus, but the Müller version of this dubious scholiast text quoting Hellanicus, slightly longer than that given by Jacoby, states that Clytemnestra's murder brought the Furies against Orestes; Nicolaus makes a

202. 90 F 25. Only eight lines recount this blood-feud from Agamemnon's death to Orestes' acquittal before the Areopagus. Cf. this with the detailed accounts of Oriental affairs given in 90 FF 1-5. The difference is surely due to the brevity of N's source here.

203 (i) Person who rescued Orestes from Mycenae: N says Talthybius, Agamemnon's herald at Troy; Hypoth. of Soph. "Electra" affirms Electra helped to save her brother; Aesch. Ag. 877ff holds that Orestes was with Strophius before Agamemnon's murder, though Eurip. "Elect." 14ff states Orestes was rescued from his home. Cf. also Pherecydes and Herodorus (refs. in ii). (ii) length of time Orestes was in exile: N, Pherecydes and Herodorus (3 F 134 = Schol. Pindar Pyth. 11.17 = 31 F 11) say 10 years, the last two stating that Orestes was only three at the time he left to stay with Strophius in Phocis. Homer Od. 3.304-307 says Orestes came back from Athens after 8 years, and Hypoth. Soph. "Electra" that he spent 20 years away in Phocis.

204. 4 F 169a and b = Schol. Eurip. "Orestes" 1648 and 1651 = Müller, FHG I, p.56, F 82.

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point of rejecting the usual story. In the short fragment following (F 26), however, the similarity between Hellanicus and Nicolaus is striking.

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In the closing section of book 6 the achievements and death of Lycurgus are detailed at length (F 56). A definite concurrence between this version and that of Ephorus is impossible because of their apparent but reconcilable disagreement as to the cause of the Spartan's death, but it is clear that Hellanicus' attribution of the Lacedaemonian constitution to Procles and Eurysthenes was not followed by Nicolaus. The few passages which remain,

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205. 90 F 25, p.343, lines 10-12: *ἐλαυνόμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγίσθου φίλων (κατὰ δὲ τὸν πλείστον λόγον ὑπὸ Ἑρινύων) ὥς ἐναγῆς* But Hellanicus (Müll. FHG I, p.56, F 82): *κλυταίμνηστρα... ὑπὸ Ὀρέστου ἀποκτανθεῖσα, συγκροτηθῆναι δίκην τῷ Ὀρέστη ὑπὸ Εὐρενίδων παρέσκεύασεν*. The usual version of the story tells how Orestes was pursued by the Furies and ordered by Apollo to go to Athens (Hygin. Fab. 20; Aesch. "Choeph." 1034ff, "Eum." 64ff; Eurip. "Elec." 1254-7; and also N on the latter point). N alone mentions Aegisthus' friends expelling Orestes.

206. Hellanicus : 4 F 31 = Dion. Halic. AR 1.45.4 - 1.48.1. The place names of Hellanicus tally closely with those in 90 F 26 - cf. esp. this with Dion. Halic. 1.46.3 and 1.47.5). Cf. also Xanthus (765 F 14 = Strabo 14.5.29).

207. See Appendix 4.

describing the Corinthian and Sicyonian tyrannies (FF 57-61), were, with one unlikely exception, not taken from Herodotus, and though incontrovertible evidence for a positive source is lacking, Ephorus again seems likely.²⁰⁸

One surprising feature about several of the fragments is their disagreement with most or all other extant versions. The story of Oedipus (F 8) is a good example:

- (i) Nicolaus says the Oracle told Laius that his son would kill him and marry Epicaste, but Euripides, Apollodorus, Diodorus and Pausanias omit the latter; Sophocles says it was Oedipus who was told both facts by the Oracle.²⁰⁹
- (ii) Apollodorus, Diodorus, Sophocles and Euripides mention that Oedipus' feet were pierced by an iron bar when he was exposed;²¹⁰ Nicolaus does not.

208. So also Müller (FHG 3, p.393); Tietz (pp.16-18); K. Steinmetz ("Herodot und Nic. Dam.", p.24): "Without doubt the fragments of N are merely excerpts from Ephorus, into which the writer also wove passages of Aristotle." There is no reliable evidence for the latter assertion; Jacoby (FGrH IIC, pp.248-250); Laqueur (RE 17.391f). N eulogises the story of Cypselus' rise (F 57), and spends 5 times as much space on this part of his life as on his tyranny. Hdt. (5.92) does not mention his good qualities, but merely says "He banished many of the Corinthians, took money away from many, and life away from still many more". There is however a close parallel in language between N (59), Hdt. 3.48 and Plutarch, "De Malig. Her." 22, in one episode about Periander. That 90 F 58 probably came from Ephorus is suggested by 70 F 179 = Diog. Laert. 1.98.

209. Eurip. Phoenissae 17-20; Apoll. 3.5.7; Diod. 4.64.1; Paus. 9.5.10; Soph. OT 787-793.

210. Apollod. and Diod. ibid; Soph. OT 717-719, 1034; Eurip. Phoen. 26.

- (iii) The name of Oedipus was given the boy because his feet ^{were swollen because} ~~showed out~~ of the swaddling clothes (Nicolaus); other accounts assert the name originated from the damage ²¹¹ caused by the iron bar.
- (iv) Nicolaus says the child was given direct to king Polybus, but it was his queen who received the infant ²¹² according to other accounts.
- (v) The fateful meeting took place between Orchomenus and Mt. Laphystium in Boeotia in the "Histories" version, but Phocis is given by Euripides, Diodorus, Apollo- ²¹³ dorus and Pausanias.
- (vi) Nicolaus states Oedipus travelled to Orchomenus *ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ἱππῶν*; the alternative tradition that he ²¹⁴ was returning from Delphi after leaving the oracle.
- (vii) No author except Nicolaus mentions Epicaste accompanying Laïus when he was killed, and consequently -
- (viii) None mentions Epicaste ordering a search for the murderer.

211. Apollod. and Diod. *ibid*; Soph. OT 1036; Eurip. Phoen. 27; Hyginus Fab. 66.2; Schol. Eurip. Phoen. 26 mentions the version of N.

212. Apollod. *ibid*; Diod. 4.64.2; Hyginus *ibid*; Eurip. Phoen. 28ff.

213. Eurip. Phoen. 38; Diod. and Apollod. *ibid*; Paus. 10.5.3 (cf. also 9.2.4).

214. Diod. and Apollod. *ibid*; Hyginus Fab. 67.2; Soph. OT 788ff. Acc. to Euripides he was travelling to Delphi (Phoen. 34f).

(ix) Laëus and the herald were buried under the supervision of Epicaste (Nicolaus); but Apollodorus and Pausanias say it was Damasistratus, king of Plataea, who buried the pair.²¹⁵

(x) After the killing Oedipus, says Nicolaus, went back to Polybus at Corinth; in most accounts he went directly to Thebes, where he solved the riddle set by the Sphinx.²¹⁶

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The Oedipus story is at least as old as Homer, and doubtless was one of the stock themes for tragedian and logographer alike. Nicolaus' version has several differences from other accounts. Some of these are of little consequence. Others may be mere variations due to narrative technique, the sort of variation a narrator might feel free to make. But one can hardly imagine that (v) is a geographical invention of Nicolaus. That his "version" is probably very little more than a repetition of a no longer extant text is made very likely by the coherence of (vii) and (x); if

215. Apollod. 3.5.8; Pausan. 10.2.4. Peisander (16 F 10.5) says Oedipus saw to the burial.

216. The return to Corinth, however, is not unique to N - cf. Eurip. Phoen. 44f, and Schol. ibid; Peisander (16 F 10.5).

217. Od. 11.271-280; Iliad 23.679f (cf. also 4.376ff).

Epicaste saw the murder there must have been a time interval between it and the next meeting with the murderer because she did not recognise him. It is known that Pherecydes and Hellanicus among others mentioned the story. Whether either of these was the source of Nicolaus it is impossible to be
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 sure.

Nor is this divergence an isolated instance. The same can be seen in his narrative treating the arrival of Pelops, the son of Tantalus, at Pisa, where he succeeded Oenomaus as ruler (F 10). The usual story of Pelop's defeat of Oenomaus and marriage with his daughter Hippodamea is that the struggle took the form of a chariot race from Pisa to the Isthmus; if Pelops won, Hippodamea would be his bride. All extant sources give this chariot race as the decisive factor, and state it was the treachery of the king's

218. Pherecydes: 3 FF 93-96; Hellanicus: 4 FF 97-98. Wacholder (p.84) wrongly puts down F 8 to N's use of Euripides, relying too much, it would appear, on Jacoby's citation of Eurip. Phoen. 44 and the scholiast to it. L.W. Daly (RE 17.2107) states the most of N's account goes back to Sophocles and Euripides, but there is virtually no evidence for this and much against. S.K. Bailey ("The Legend of Oedipus", unpaginated M. Litt. thesis, but p.31 of his MS text) feels that in N there is "possibly a local Boeotian variant"; if this is so, N clearly did not first record it. Müller plumps for Hellanicus as N's source (FHG 3, p.366). Jacoby (FGrH IIC, p.237) notes some similarities and divergencies, and wisely withholds judgement.

charioteer Myrtilus which brought about Oenomaus' death and gave the victory to Pelops.²¹⁹ Nicolaus is the only one who mentions Myrtilus being sent as an intermediary between the two sides, of Pelop's arrival in the Peloponnese *ὑπὸ πολλῶν στρατῶν*²²⁰, and of any battle taking place between the rival factions. In this conflict Myrtilus kills Oenomaus with his sword and hurls him from the chariot. In other accounts the king was thrown out of his chariot during the race by the impact of the axle with the ground.²²¹ It is only later, according to Nicolaus, that Pelops fell in love with Hippodamea, and then killed Myrtilus to satisfy her request for vengeance on her father's murderer. But Pelop's

219. Diod. 4.73.4; Pherecydes, 3 F 37a = Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.752; Theopompus, 115 F 350; Paus. 5.10.6. Cf. also Pind. Ol. 1.70ff and 9.9-12; Hygin. Fab. 84.2 and 4; Apoll. Rhod. 1. 752-8. Hellanicus (4 F 157) is unfortunately not detailed enough to be of any use in source criticism.

220. Only N records that Pelops came with an army and invaded the land. Other accounts say (as N also does) that it was money he brought. Thuc. (1.9.2) declares it was *πλήθει χρημάτων* that Pelops gained political power. N's account down to line 20, p.338, is conventional, but at this point there may be a break from where N (or more likely his source) subsequently used a different story; certainly *ἦλθεν εἰς Πίσαν* is repeated twice (lines 17 and 21).

221. Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 1.172 = 3 F 37a; Hygin. Fab. 84.4.

central purpose, the other version holds, in coming to Pisa was to win Hippodamea, and the killing of Myrtilus took place almost immediately.²²²

This proliferation of variants might suggest that Nicolaus wished to give freshness to his narrative. But the fragmentary state of knowledge of the histories written about this period makes source criticism all too often profitless. In view of his following Ctesias fairly closely, as far as can be seen, on Oriental affairs, it is quite likely that here also he closely followed some author whose detailed work is now lost.

To believe that Nicolaus purposely distorted stories would mean that he had a vast reservoir of innovation and imagination. It is certain he must have known and passed over the versions of the Oedipus - legend as recorded by Sophocles and Euripides, and in many points differs from Pausanias, Hyginus, Diodorus and Apollodorus. This is not, however, always the case. The visit of the Argonauts to Lemnos, though depicted in erotic fashion, agrees basically with the usual story.²²³ The tale of the raping of Dada, the

222. Schol. Soph. Elect. 504 = 3 F 37b; Paus. 8.14.11; Hygin. Fab. 84.5.

223. 90 F 11. N made a central feature out of the mating of the Argonauts with the women of Lemnos, an episode either omitted or toned down by other extant writers - cf. Apollod. 1.9.17; Diod. 4.40-44; Apoll. Rhod. 1.608-909; Valer. Flacc. Argonaut. 2.77; Hygin. Fab. 15. Hysipyle is generally stated to have given birth to twin sons by Jason; N mentions only Euneus.

wife of the Trojan Samon, by a courier (F 14) is recorded only by Nicolaus, but from his reference to Cretans stoning the man to death it seems he followed the tradition that gave Scamandrus, Samon's co-regent, a Cretan origin.²²⁴ The close verbal, if not stylistic, similarity between Strabo's and Nicolaus' version of the incest of Piasus with his daughter Larisa (F 12)²²⁵ underlines the probability that these frequent "variants" are simply due to Nicolaus' source.²²⁶

To determine his sources for Greek history with certainty is impossible. The occasional similarity to Herodotus

224. Servius on Verg. Aen. 3.108 states Scamandrus came to Troy from Crete bringing a third of the population with him. Cf. also Strabo 13.1.48, and Jacoby (FGrH IIC, p.239).

225. 90 F 12 and Strabo 13.3.4 - text in Jacoby (FGrH IIC, p.238).

226. Jacoby's commentary to N's fragments is an invaluable guide to these "variants". His conclusions show due caution, but there are good grounds for believing that in book 3 FF 6, 7, 10 and 14 came from Hellanicus. Müller thinks this is probably true for at least FF 6 and 8, (FHG 3, p.365f). Wacholder (p.85) supports Jacoby and adds (p.123, n.25) that book 3 "seems to have been an adaptation of Hellanicus". He may be correct, but to substantiate this is impossible.

here is probably due to an intermediary; certainly Nicolaus did not rewrite his accounts. But it seems that there are too many parallels between Nicolaus and Hellanicus, and even more with Ephorus, to be due merely to chance. Since he seems to have used only Ctesias for Oriental history, it is probable that he restricted himself to certain "standard" authors for Greek affairs also. This is in any case likely because of the difficulty of writing Universal History - many national histories over a long period. To sift, collate and synthesise a large number of possible sources would require an enormous amount of time. This was certainly not available to Nicolaus, who combined many other activities with his historical production. For the same reason it is very likely that the differences between some of Nicolaus' accounts and those versions of the same events written by other writers are not due to Nicolaus' invention, but to his use of no longer extant texts.

Syria:

Part of book 4 was devoted to the history of Syria and
 227
 his native city Damascus. Only three of the fragments

(FF 18-20) are of any consequence, and it is obvious that two of these brief accounts are Nicolaus' "ipsa^{issim} verba"²²⁸.

The story of the founding of Ascalon (F 18) would seem to have been taken directly from Xanthus,²²⁹ but in assessing the use Nicolaus made of his authorities it would be interesting to know for certain how literally Stephanus' statement can be taken that Nicolaus wrote "the same" as Xanthus, and how the accounts of Ctesias and Xanthus about Ascalon were treated in relation to each other.²³⁰

228. 90 FF 19, and 20, because of Josephus' introductory words λέγει οὕτως and λέγων οὕτως.

229. 90 F 18 = Steph. Byz. s. Ἀσκάλων = 765 F 8. Xanthus and N wrote "the same".

230. See n.229. This story about Ascalon occurred in the 4th books of both Xanthus' "Lydiaca" and N's "Histories". Whatever interpretation of "the sameness" of their accounts is adopted, the direct connection of the two accounts can surely not be doubted. Ctesias (per Diod. 2.4.2ff; cf. also 688 F 1e (α) = Eratosth. Catast. 38, p.180; F 1e (β) = Hygin. Astr. 2.41; F 1e (γ) = Tzetz. Chil. 9.502) described a τέρενος to Derceto (= Atargates = Aphrodite) in Ascalon, and connects the birth of Semiramis (mentioned in 90 F 1) with this city. If N followed Ctesias here when dealing with Semiramis, it would be strange to find him describing the founding of this same city four books later. One can only speculate whether N missed out the story of Semiramis' birth and then followed Xanthus' version. This does however highlight some of the difficulties of using different authors and synchronising many individual histories. Cf. also 765 F 17 = Athen. 8, p.346E (Mnaseas on Xanthus).

The legend of Abraham and his rule in Damascus (F 19) has little in common with Genesis,²³¹ since there the only connection between this city and the patriarch is the campaign against the kings of Sodom and Gomorrah, and the fact that his steward Eliezer came from Damascus.²³² Nicolaus' mention of "Abraham's Dwelling" being there probably reflects local tradition, since no extra-Syrian literary source is likely to have mentioned it.²³³ From Josephus it can be deduced that neither Hecataeus nor Berossus was the source, nor, it seems, was Nicolaus' contemporary Trogus or his sources.²³⁴ The patriotic bias detectable both here and in F 20 (the Damascene rulers from King David's time to the fall of the city in 732 BC) was probably derived from local annals or Nicolaus' own research.

231. N's statement that Abraham came "from the land called Chaldaea beyond Babylon" does not strictly agree with Genesis 11.31, which tells how Terah took his son Abraham from Ur to Haran, and how Abraham led his people from there into Canaan. Genesis 12 has, of course, nothing resembling N's assertion that Abraham went to Canaan after a short stay in Damascus.

232. Genesis 15.2 and 17-16, esp. v.15.

233. This would have been personally known to N (cf. *ἔτι καὶ νῦν*). It has parallels in "Abram's Oak" at Mamre, west of Hebron (Jos. AJ 1.104) and the "Tower of Abraham" at Hebron (See "Jewish Encyclopaedia", ed. I. Singer, vol. 1, pp. 93 and 96).

234. Josephus follows the Biblical account in the relations of Israel, Judah and Syria for the most part, but in a more prosaic, less repetitious vein (cf. AJ 8.14 with I Kings 20 and 22; AJ 9.4.3f with 2 Kings 8.7-15). He

Roman History:

Only a few short, scattered sections of the "Histories"
²³⁵
 on Roman affairs remain. Although the first two (FF 69 and 70), longer and more detailed than the rest, are assigned to Nicolaus by the *Excerpta*, it is very unlikely they came from his work. They describe the plans of Amulius to kill Romulus and Remus, and the carrying-off of Sabine women by Romulus and his followers, but are couched in identical language to that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus. It is therefore suggested that these were inserted into Nicolaus' excerpts by mistake, and the probabilities of this are increased by the fact that they come at the end of a section
²³⁶
 in the "*Excerpta De Virtutibus*". In either case, it is strange to find these words appended to F 70: "End of book

does not incorporate N's evidence (i.e. FF 19 and 20) into his own narrative, but adds it almost as a footnote along with that of Berossus (not enough details to be N's source) and Hecataeus, who is supposed to have written a book about Abraham. Trogus did go into the history of the Jews (prol. Bk. 36: "*Repetita inde in excessu origo Iudaeorum*"), but this section has not survived. See also chapter 3, nn. 63 and 64, and the text thereto.

235. 90 FF (69-70), 74-81, 97-100.

236 90 F 69 = *Exc. De Virt.* I, 349.9ff = *Dion. Halic. AR* 1.82.3ff. 90 F 70 = *Excerpt. De Virt.* I, 351.21ff = *Dion. Halic. AR* 2.32.1ff. Jacoby (*FGrH IIC*, p.253) considers these as erroneous inclusions; so also Laqueur (*RE* 17.392). Croiset ("*Hist. litt. grecque*", vol. 5, p.398, n.3) well points out that it is unlikely N would copy a contemporary work literally. Wacholder, however, (p.84) believes that "Nicolaus' account of ancient Rome is a direct copy of Dionysius".

7 of Nicolaus' history. Look for what follows about Greek history ...²³⁷(?)". If these two fragments were genuinely in the "Histories", they would indicate that Nicolaus did not paraphrase or adapt, but merely transcribed wholesale at least some of his sources, including their views on historical principles to be followed.²³⁸ Two things at least tend to show that these are not part of Nicolaus' work: Firstly, to peruse and combine the original Latin sources, as is done in Dionysius, would have taken a lot of precious time. Secondly, nowhere in the rest of his work does Nicolaus quote individual authors, or give alternative versions side by side,²³⁹ even though in F 68 in particular he

237. 90 F 70, p.375, lines 34-35: *τέλος τοῦ ᾧ λόγου τῆς Νικολάου ἱστορίας. ζητεῖ τὰ λείποντα περὶ ἑλληνικῆς ἱστορίας*. Presumably the end of the sentence is missing, i.e. "in book x"?. This could be interpreted as (i) "more Greek history, as opposed to Roman, will be found later", or (ii) "a continuation of Greek history can be found in another volume". This comment of the Excerptors would more naturally apply to (ii), and suggest that they intended to direct the reader to another volume of the "Excerpta". Their information would then reasonably follow the story of Croesus in F 68.

238. Dion. Halic. l.84.1 = N, p.374, lines 22f: "Other writers claim that anything with a touch of legend about it has no place in historical writing". Using Dionysius, if genuine, would have saved him time wading through earlier Latin historians for the source he wished to follow. It is however unwise to argue anything from these two fragments.

239. Cf. Dion. Hal. l.83.3, 84.1, 84.2.

had good opportunities to do so.²⁴⁰

Little indication of source is given by most of the remaining fragments. The mention of an earthquake during the Mithridatic Wars near Apamea perhaps indicates the use of Posidonius, who came from that town.²⁴¹ Certainly he was followed in his account of Mithridates' enslavement of the Chians in 86 BC (F 95), and therefore possibly for the whole of the period he covered, c.144-82 BC.²⁴² Criticism of Sulla's love of actors and the theatre, and of Lucullus who "was the first to introduce the Romans to the delights of luxury",²⁴³ is a commonplace.

Three of the remaining fragments are of particular interest. F 97 records that Nicolaus and Strabo wrote exactly the same about the campaigns of Pompey (63 BC) and Gabinius (57 BC) against the Jews *οὐδὲν ἕτερος ἑτέρου*²⁴⁴ *καινότερον λέγων*. Was one dependent on the other, or both

240. I.e. the versions of Xanthus and Ctesias.

241. 90 F 74.

242. 90 F 95 = 87 F 38 (Posidonius).

243. 90 FF 75, 77a and b. Laqueur (RE 17.392) tentatively wonders whether N's source was Theophanes of Mytilene.

244. 90 F 97 = Jos. AJ 14.4.3.

on a third source? If the latter is the case, he was perhaps a Jewish writer, in view of F 98 showing that Nicolaus, Strabo and Livy told of the bravery of the priests at the capture of Jerusalem in 63 BC. Otherwise, it is probable that Strabo was dependent on Nicolaus, since it can be proved that he used him on at least one occasion.²⁴⁵ He might be expected to follow Nicolaus on Jewish and Syrian affairs because of Nicolaus' position in Judaea. The reverse is highly improbable; Nicolaus does not appear in the "Histories" to quote specific sources, whereas Strabo often does so.

In one further part, Caesar's account of the Gaul Adiatomus (Adiatunnus, Adcatuannus), king of the Sotiani, seems to have been followed.²⁴⁶ This is the only fragment,

245. 90 F 100 = Strabo 15.1.73. Jacoby, however, (FGrH IIC, p.294) thinks Timagenes may be the common source of N and Strabo for 1st century Roman history.
246. 90 F 80 = Athen. 6.54, p.249A = Caes. BG 3.22. Most accept that N's use of Caesar was direct; cf. Tietz (p.21); Müller (FHG 3.419 - "it seems"); Susemihl (vol. 2, p.316); Turturro (p.10); Laqueur (RE 17.392); Wacholder (pp. 67 and 84). Witte (p.39f), on the other hand, thinks the connection is only through an anonymous Greek author. Jacoby's views seem contradictory; in FGrH IIC, p.234 he comments "hardly at first hand", but later (p.254) "probably direct" (use). Yet N very likely knew Latin in view of his constant relations with Romans. Even if he normally used large scale compilations, he may well have used Caesar for diplomatic reasons. He might even have read the BG simply for interest.

besides the papyrus, which can be compared with its original source to determine the extent of adaptation. It brings into focus the twin problems of translation and adaptation:

247
Caesar BG 3.22.

Adiatuanus, qui summam imperii tenebat, cum DC devotis, quos illi soldurios appellant. Quorum haec est condicio uti omnibus in vita commodis una cum iis fruuntur quorum se amicitiae dediderint, siquid his per vim accidat, aut eundem casum una ferant aut sibi mortem consciscant; neque adhuc hominum memoria repertus est quisquam qui eo interfecto cuius se amicitiae devovisset, mortem recusaret.

Nicolaus F 80.

... φησὶν Ἀδιάτορον τὸν τῶν Σωτιανῶν βασιλέα (ἔθνος δὲ τοῦτο Κελτικόν) ἑξακοσίους ἔχειν λογάδας περὶ αὐτόν, οὓς καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ Γαλατῶν ... σολιδούρους· "τούτους δ' οἱ βασιλεῖς ἔχουσι συζῶντας καὶ συναποθνήσκοντας, ταύτην ἐκείνων εὐχὴν ποιουμένων· ἀνθ' ἧς συνδυναστεύουσιν τε αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ δίαιταν ἔχοντες καὶ συναποθνήσκουσι κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνάγκην, εἴτε νόσῳ τελευτήσῃ βασιλεὺς εἴτε πολέμῳ εἴτ' ἄλλως πως. καὶ οὐδεὶς εἰπεῖν ἔχει τινὰ ἀποδειλιάσαντα τούτων τὸν θάνατον ὅταν ἦκη βασιλεὺς ἢ διεκδύντα."

There are some variations, not unexpectedly, in Nicolaus' version. He interprets "qui summam imperii tenebat" as *βασιλέα*, and elaborates "siquid his per vim

accidat" into *εἴτε νόσῳ τελευτήσει βασιλεὺς εἴτε πολέμῳ εἴτε ἄλλως πως*, but then contracts "aut eundem mortem consciscant" to only *συναποθνήσκουσι*. "Omnibus in vita commodis fruuntur" is interpreted in translation as *συνδυναστεύουσιν τε αὐτῷ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσθῆτα καὶ δίαίταν ἔχοντες*. In the translation of this Latin to Greek there are obviously bound to be changes in word order and sentence structure. Here one can see slight changes in interpretation and emphasis, but in general this passage of Caesar, like the papyrus fragment, has been followed quite closely. It is unfortunate, however, that we cannot be certain whether Nicolaus made the translation himself, or whether, because of its unusual contents, it had already been translated into Greek, perhaps in some collection of *νόμιμα βαρβαρικά*.²⁴⁸

Very few other fragments are of use in further checking how Nicolaus treated his sources. Stephanus, in quoting Xanthus' story of the founding of Ascalon, states that *τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ Νικόλαος ἐν δ' ἱστορίᾳ*.²⁴⁹ Nicolaus and Posidonius gave the same account of the enslavement of the Chians by Mithridates,²⁵⁰ and Nicolaus and Strabo the same about the

248. See also chapter 3, n.9.

249. 90 F 18.

250. 90 F 95.

campaigns of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews.²⁵¹ The interpretation to be put on "the same account" is debatable - does it mean exactly the same version was found in the respective pairs, or that the same stories were used but to some extent rewritten, as in the case of Nicolaus and Ctesias. The latter seems probable, but the evidence can not²⁵² be conclusive.

Finally, it is noticeable that the use of direct speech to record conversations and sentiments is prominent in the sections treating the Orient and Lydia,²⁵³ but there is only one instance in all the other fragments,²⁵⁴ even though there

251. 90 F 97.

252. See 90 F 22 (from Xanthus) and the version of Xanthus preserved by Athenaeus - n.110.

253. See 90 FF 1-5, 22, 44, 47, 66, 68, 71.

254. 90 F 56. But Plutarch has basically the same story and uses direct speech at the same point in the narrative ("De liber. educ." 4; "Apoth. Lacon." 225F). It was obviously a well-known story, and the similarity of Plut. and N makes it very likely that the latter took the direct speech from his source.

were many excellent opportunities to do so in situations of
 intrigue, etc. similar to those found in FF 1-5, 44 and 66.²⁵⁵
 This contrast suggests that Nicolaus was, on the whole,
 dependent for his composition in dialogue, speech and
 narrative on his sources. It would be much easier to copy
 or recast the conversations of Ctesias or Xanthus than to
 invent them, as several have believed he did.²⁵⁶ The same
 would apply to the general narrative. The vast length of
 his work must have made him follow the language and tone of
 his sources to a very large extent,²⁵⁷ and have precluded
 original research, except perhaps for contemporary history.²⁵⁸

255. E.g. 90 FF 7, 8, 10, 54, 61.

256. E.g. J. Gilmore, "The Fragments of the 'Persika' of
 Ktesias", p.107; F. Susemihl, "Gesch. der griech.
 Lit.", vol. 2, p.316; R. Laqueur, RE 17.389f;
 G. Turturro, p.10 (N moulded his material with "colorito
 drammatico"); M. Croiset, "Hist. de la litt. grecque",
 vol. 5, p.399; Wacholder, p.68f. Jacoby in general mis-
 trusts this view (cf. FGrH IIC, pp.233 and 235;
 "Abhandlungen zur griech. Geschichtsschreibung", p.125,
 n.77: N and Diodorus were "mere compilers"), but
 believes that in the Croesus-Cyrus story (F 68) N in-
 creased the "emotional impact" (FGrH IIC, p.252).
 Tietz (pp.21-22, 36, 39) holds strongly that N changed
 little of his source material.

257. As the "Histories" continued to grow, it would have
 been much more taxing on N to have to "invent" dialogue
 or descriptions, even if he wished to do so. There is
 no evidence that he did. The repetition of similar
 sentiments in like language throughout the work would
 have been ludicrous.

258. A standard practice - cf. Polybius 9.2.1; F.W.Walbank,
 "A Hist. Commentary on Polybius", vol. 2, p.117f;
 A.Momigliano, "Studies in Historiography", p.130f. N
 has an eye-witness account in F 100 = Strabo 15.1.73.

Conclusion.

Despite the present state of Nicolaus' text and that of his sources, it is reasonable to conclude that he used Ctesias for Assyria, Media and Persia; Xanthus for Lydia; Hellanicus and Ephorus (and others?) for Greece; drew much on local tradition for Syria; consulted Posidonius and Caesar, among others, for Roman history; and drew widely on his own experience for contemporary affairs. Laqueur's two-source theory is unconvincing. To carefully and consistently synthesise a new narrative out of two others must be difficult and time-consuming; the longer the work, the more unlikely is the adoption of the method to be. Only in F 68 can the use of more than one source be seen (Xanthus? and Herodotus), but here there are exceptional circumstances. Whether Nicolaus used all the above writers directly or in second-hand versions cannot now be discovered with certainty.

To examine in detail his method of selection and composition, one has to rely mainly on Ctesias. By means of the papyrus fragment it can be seen that he took his ideas and dramatic vividness direct from Ctesias, but did some linguistic remodelling and changed the order of narrative. In the fragments from Ctesias and Xanthus he even retains some of the dialect forms of his sources. It is reasonable to conclude that in general he adhered closely to the tone

of his sources.

In Appendix 5 are tabulated the fragments of the "Histories" with their sources, where this seems possible.

CHAPTER 3:

RELIABILITY.

Character of the Sources.

A historian writing a work which covered such a long period as Nicolaus did is inevitably often at the mercy of his sources. But though it can be conceded that time and the length of the "Histories" must have limited the number of sources that could be consulted, adverse criticism can be levelled at some of the ones selected.

Ctesias' reliability was impugned by ancient writers. Diodorus states that Ctesias in his *Περσικά* had claimed his information had come from royal records, *ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν διφθερῶν*, "which I examined individually and translated into Greek"¹. The Rise of Cyrus episode shows the worthlessness of this claim.² Antigonos of Carystus accuses him of lying "on many occasions", and Plutarch of diverting his narrative from the truth *πρὸς τὸ μυθῶδες καὶ δραματικόν*.³ On the other hand, there was the three book *Βαβυλωνιακά* of Berossus (fl. c.290 BC), who traced his nation's affairs

1. Diod. 2.32.4.

2. But see also n.61.

3. Antig. Hist. Mir. 15 = 688 T 11c; Plut. Artax. 6.8 = 688 T 11e. Cf. also rest of T 11, T 13, and Jacoby, RE 11.2051, 2062f. J.M. Bigwood concludes ("Ctesias of Cnidus", Ph.D. diss. summarised in Harv. Stud. Class. Phil. 70 (1965), p.265): "Ctesias was a man for whom serious investigation and accuracy had no meaning. His sole interests ... were in dramatic effect and in the entertainment of his reader."

from the origins down to 323 BC.⁴ Josephus seems to have been impressed by his learning, and Moses of Chore praises him as "omnis doctrinae peritissimum".⁵ There can be little doubt that his concern for accuracy was applied to his historical writings; he was nonetheless neglected by Nicolaus.⁶ It has been suggested by Schwartz that Berossus was unpopular with Greek authors because of his "unattractive style".⁷ What has survived of his work, however, is too piecemeal to state this with any authority. Indeed, if anything, they reveal a fairly simple style of writing with quite interesting contents.⁸ But the choice for Nicolaus lay in accepting the shorter and probably more accurate account of Berossus, or the long and romanticised version of Ctesias. The more extensive and personalised history of Ctesias found harmony with Nicolaus' own novelistic predilections.⁹

4. Jacoby, FGrH IIIC, No. 680, pp.364-395.
5. Jos. C. Apion. 1.19 = 688 T 3; Moses, "Hist. Armen." 1.1 = 688 T 4.
6. Wacholder (p.67, lines 13-14 and p.122, n.20) wrongly suggests Berossus as N's source for 90 F 72 = Jos. AJ 1.3.6; see chapter 4, section (i).
7. E. Schwartz, "Griech. Geschichtsschreiber", p.196 = RE 3.313, quoted by Wacholder (ibid.)
8. Cf. FGrH IIIC, p.367ff.
9. Nearly all of the fragments in the "Histories" deal with the intriguing, unusual and sensational. N also wrote a work on unusual customs - 90 FF 103-104 (FGrH IIA, pp. 384-390).

Xanthus' four book history too appears from its remnants to have been in the same tradition as Ctesias, and to have been selected by Nicolaus for the same reasons.¹⁰ Despite its weaknesses if judged by the standard of scientific history, it presented, much more so than that of Herodotus, the sort of detailed picture of Lydian affairs Nicolaus required.

This type of trait may not, however, have been predominant in all his sources. Ephorus, whose 30 book work was probably utilised for at least part of Hellenic history, is praised by Strabo and Polybius. He also found favour with Josephus because of the apparent "accuracy" of his writings,¹¹ a virtue denied by both Diodorus, who nevertheless used him in later sections of his book, and Seneca.¹² If Suda is to be believed, the manner of writing adopted in his history was "tedious" (ὕπτιος), "slow" (νωθρός) and "lacking in bite" (μηδερσίαν... ἐπίτασιν). The same account goes on to quote

10. See 765 FF 4, 8, 17, 18, 20, 22, 29. Cf. the deaths of the doctor in the Ardys-Cadys story (90 F 44.2, from Xanthus) and that of the Babylonian interpreter of dreams killed by Cyrus' friend Hoibaras (90 F 66.18, from Ctesias). Both have a similar plot - invited to a meal, reclined and fell into a hole to their deaths. For Xanthus' novelistic tendencies see also H. Herter, "Bonner Beiträge" 14 (1966), p.32.
11. Ephorus (FGrH IIA, No.70). Cf. Strabo 13.3.6 = 70 T 2a; Polyb. 6.45.1 = 70 T 13; Jos. C. Ap. 1.67 = 70 T 14a; Cic. De Orat. 2.57 = 70 T 3b.
12. Diod. 1.39.13 = 70 T 16; Seneca "Quaest. Nat." 8.16.2 = 70 T 14b: "Ephorus vero non est religiosissimae fidei; saepe decipitur, saepe decipit."

the well-known saying attributed to Isocrates that
 "Theopompus needed a bit, and Ephorus a goad"¹³ - a style in
 apparent contrast to those of Ctesias and Xanthus. But
 there are also indications that this criticism is overdrawn,
 and that Ephorus' writings included fanciful details.¹⁴

Whether the "tragic" historians were used for Hellenic
 history of the fourth and third centuries BC is unknown.¹⁵
 But it would be strange if their dramatisation of events,
 and their vivid recreation of mood and sentiment, methods
 found in Nicolaus, were altogether neglected.¹⁶ Furthermore,
 the histories of Duris and Phylarchus at least were long
 enough to allow Nicolaus to select sections of interest to
 him, in the same way as he appears to have treated Ctesias.¹⁷

13. Suda s. *Ἐφωρος*.

14. Cf. esp. 70 FF 1 and 58.

15. E.g. Duris of Samos (Jacoby, no. 76) and Phylarchus of Athens (Jacoby, no. 81).

16. These methods were criticised by Dion. Halic. ("De comp. verb." 4) and Polybius (2.56.7). For similar dramatisation in N - cf. 90 FF 1 (Semiramis), 3 (Arbaces and Sardanapalus), 4 (Parsondes and Nanarus), 68 (Cyrus and Croesus).

17. Duris' main history (370-c.280 BC) had at least 23 books - the "Macedonica" or "Historiae" (see 76 FF 1-15); Phylarchus had 28 books (see 80 T 1 = Suda s. *Φύλαρχος*).

In Roman history only the influence of Posidonius and Caesar can be ascertained. Though representing two different political viewpoints in their works, they do show a more serious approach to historical writing. It is impossible to be sure, however, that the more reliable and factual parts of their histories were used. The fragment definitely derived from Posidonius tells how Mithridates enslaved the Chians to their own slaves,¹⁸ and the other fragments (FF 73 and 74) probably taken from the same source describe earthquakes near Apamea, and Mithridates' excesses in eating and drinking. The only part of Caesar that has survived in Nicolaus relates the life-death relationship between the king of the Sotiani and his bodyguard.¹⁹ These fragments are generally on a low historical level, revealing an emphasis on the spectacular or degenerate. The other fragments treating first century BC Roman affairs, especially Sulla and Lucullus,²⁰ are in similar vein. This preponderance of "levia" may be purely chance, but it leaves a doubt about the reasons why he chose these particular sources for Roman

18. 90 F 95 = Athen. 6.91, p.266E.

19. 90 F 80 = Athen. 6.54, p.249A; Caesar BG 3.22.

20. Cf. 90 FF 75, 77-79.

history.

Two facts emerge from the extant parts of the "Histories". The sources used cover the full spectrum of classical historiography, from 'fictional' to more scientific history. There appears to be no conscious restriction to one type of writing, but nevertheless a bias for the former. Secondly, the topics selected are highly personalised, concentrating on the caprices and characters of prominent individuals.²¹ The stories selected are full of drama, action, romance and human interest. Nicolaus seems to have combined such individual novelettes into a long, novelistic history.

Because of the fragmentary state of the evidence, an assessment of the reliability of the "Histories" narrative can only be pursued further on two lines. First, it is possible to examine the internal construction of certain parts of Ctesias' Oriental history to see how far they correspond to historical fact. Secondly, Nicolaus' brief statements about the history of Damascus can be checked against Biblical and other evidence. These two spheres also

21. This is true of all the longer fragments - Semiramis (1); Sardanapalus (2); Arbaces (3); Parsondes and Nanarus (4); Stryangaeus (5); Ardys (44); Cyrus (66); Croesus (68), - and many more.

introduce the problem of a historian's involvement in his writing; Nicolaus had no connection with the first, but close ties and affection for the second.²²

Oriental History.

For Assyria, Media and early Persia at least it has been plausibly shown that Nicolaus used Ctesias as his source. It has also been noted that Ctesias' reputation in antiquity was not for sober historiography. This verdict can be examined from the scattered references to Ctesias' work in other writers.

(i) Assyria: Diodorus spends the first 21 chapters of his second book on the Assyrian Ninus, "the first king to be recorded in history", and his wife Semiramis.²³ According to him, they were succeeded by Ninyas, and thirty more generations elapsed before the time of their last king

22. 90 F 137.6.

23. Diod. 2.1.4. W. Baumgartner ("Archiv. Orient." 18, p.83f) accepts the view of E. Forrer that the historical Ninus was *SI-Ninua*, whom he dates to c.1550 BC, and that he was the founder of the Assyrian dynasty which reigned to 612 BC.

²⁴
 Sardanapalus. "It was in the time of Sardanapalus", Diodorus continues, "that the Assyrian empire fell to the Medes,
 as Ctesias of Cnidus says in his second book."²⁵ Diodorus--
 Ctesias can be supplemented by other figures, given in the table below, which are stated by the authors concerned to have been derived from Ctesias.²⁶ A synopsis of the Cambridge Ancient History is also given for comparison.²⁷

<u>No. of kings.</u>	<u>CAH</u> c.80	<u>Diod.</u> 31/32	<u>Agathias</u>	<u>Cephalion</u> 23(33?)	<u>Schol. Arist.</u>	<u>Euseb.</u> 36
<u>Length of Empire.</u>	for a period of c. 1400 yrs.	1306? 1360?	1306 (+)	1000 +	1450	1240? 1300+?

It seems that Ctesias regarded the Assyrian hegemony as lasting about 1300-1400 years, but it is surprising to find

24. 2.21.8.

25. Diod. 2.22.8.

26. Jacoby gives most of these textual references (app. crit. to 688 F 1 (= Diod. 2.21.8.), p.440, lines 15-18): Diod. 2.21.8, 2.23.1 and 2.28.8; Schol. Aristides, "Panath.", p.301 (Dindorf) = 688 F 33a; Eusebius (ed. Karst, vol. 5, pp.30-32) - cf. 688 F 10 (α); Agathias 2.25.3 = 688 F 10 (β); Cephalion, 93 F 1, IIA, p.439, lines 31-33. See app. crit. to p.440, for other accounts.

27. From c.2500 BC to 612 BC the names of some 96 Assyrian rulers are given, and 80 from c.2000 BC -CAH 1, table 4, pp.672-675; CAH 2, table 3, pp. 699-701; CAH 3, synchronistic tables 4 and 5. The king-list is uncertain for the earliest period.

such wide discrepancies among writers who allegedly followed Ctesias. Diodorus is also internally inconsistent. Clearly the above figures must be used with some reserve in any attempt to assess the overall structure of Ctesias' account of Assyria. It is possible that Ctesias himself was inconsistent in different parts of his narrative.

The most important piece of information is Diodorus-
 Ctesias' synchronisation of Teutamius and the attack on Troy.²⁸
 Only ten generations then followed until the end of
 Assyria's power, according to Diodorus. If one allowed
 approximately thirty years as a generation, this would
 mean that Ctesias dated the fall of the Assyria to c.900
 BC. Even if the excessive figure of some forty years per
 generation were admitted,²⁹ this could hardly take the date
 much later than 800/750 BC. Ctesias seems to have placed

28. Could Teutamius (Tautonus) be in reality Tukulti-Ninurta I (1242-1206)?
29. Diod. has either 31 or 32 generations for the Assyrian hegemony: (i) Ninus + 30 generations or rulers - 2.23.1. (ii) 30 gens. + Ninyas (and Semiramis) and Ninus - 2.21.8. Both these numbers are for 1306 or 1360 years (the figure is dubious) = at least 40 years per generation. Cephalion (93 F 1, p.439, lines 16ff) states that none of the descendants of Ninus ruled less than 20 years through the easy life they led. This information may have been taken from Ctesias (his figures were - see n. 26) in view of verbal resemblances, and the citing of Ctesias only a few lines later (loc. cit., line 29ff).

the beginning of the Assyrian Empire very approximately c.2000 BC. The whole structure of his account is made to look very suspect by Diodorus' statement that "the rest of the kings after Ninyas lived exactly like him, and ruled for thirty generations to the time of Sardanapalus ... There is no point in mentioning their names or how long they ruled because they did nothing worth recording".³⁰

Even a cursory comparison of Ctesias' version of Assyrian history with epigraphic evidence underlines its legendary nature. Diodorus-Ctesias, as already seen, had dated their twenty-second king to c.1200 BC; the last king of Assyria should therefore by this chronology be put somewhere in the tenth or ninth centuries. This is completely irreconcilable with the death of Ashurbanipal (³¹*Aššurbanapli*) or with the fall of Nineveh in 612 BC.

30. Diod. 2.21.8 - 22.1. Here there seems to be a combination of ignorance, invention and exaggeration of a founder's importance, i.e. of Ninus. Gilmore (p.14) thinks that the king-list from Semiramis to Sardanapalus was Ctesias' own invention.

31. Sardanapalus is probably Ashurbanipal (668-626?), though accounts of him may include details of other rulers. G. Goossens, "Nouvelle Clio", 10 (1958), p.279, thinks that Sardanapalus is more likely *Ašhur-dân-apli*, the elder son of Salmanassar III, who rebelled in 827-823 BC. The etymology is however negligibly closer, and a later figure is surely required by Ctesias' (erroneous) belief that he was the last king of Assyria. C. Bezold, RE 2.1762, accepts the identification with Ashurbanipal.

At the very beginning of the Assyrian Empire came Semiramis, according to Ctesias. He said she ruled for 42 years and died at the age of 62 after a plot made by her son Ninyas.³² Although the accumulation of fabulous details around her name makes identification difficult,³³ it is generally held that she is Sammu-ramat, the wife of Samsi-adad V (823-811), and mother of Adad-nirâri III (c.810/808-783).³⁴ Further, monumental evidence seems to confirm the outstanding influence and position she had in Assyria.³⁵ If this identification is correct, Ctesias' dating of her at the beginning of the Assyrian Empire rather than towards the end shows again the unreliability of his version, when com-

32. Anon. "De Mul." I, *Σεμίραμις* = 688 f 1c.
33. See also the discussion of the Semiramis saga in M. Braun, "History and Romance", pp. 6-13.
34. S. Smith (CAH 3, p.27) gives the regency of Semiramis as 811-808 BC; 810-805 is quoted by F.R. Walton (s. "Semiramis" in OCD, p.824); and 809-804 by W. Baumgartner ("Archiv Orient." 18 (1950), p.84) and B.E. Perry ("The Ancient Romances", p.164f).
35. Smith, *ibid.* In addition to her name being in the royal records, an inscription "shows that the first three years were not reckoned part of his (Adad-nirâri III's) reign". The gap was presumably filled by Sammuramat.

36

pared with the king-list:

Samsi-adad V	823-811
Adad-nirâri III	810-783
Salmanassar IV	782-772
Aššurdân III	771-754
Aššurnirâri V	753-744
Tiglatpileser III	743-726
Salmanassar V	725-721
Sargon II	720-704
Sanherib	704-681
Ašarhaddon	680-669
Aššurbanapli	668-626

Finally, the account of Sardanapalus in Ctesias is too naive and incongruous, in that he is represented as both effeminate and brave, as "never having anything to do with arms or going out of doors"³⁷, but still twice defeating his rebellious subjects.³⁸ Behind these stories can be seen the confused events of Ashur-banipal's latter years, and the failure of his successors to hold the empire together. The semi-fictional narrative has thus a core of truth behind it - the revolt of the Medes and their separate kingdom in 626 BC, the destruction of Nineveh in 612 BC by Cyaxeres (Arbaces) of Media and the support of his ally Nabopolassar/³⁹ Nabu-apal-ušur (Belesys), king of Babylon. Ctesias obviously

36. Dating of P. van der Meer ("The Chronology of Ancient Western Asia and Egypt", synchronistic tables 3 and 4). See also CAH 4, table 4, following p.821.

37. 90 F 2, p.329. 21-22.

38. Diod. 2.25-28.

39. See S. Smith, CAH 3, pp. 126-131; C.J. Gadd, "The Fall of Nineveh", pp.5ff, 18ff; D.J.Wiseman, "Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings", pp. 15-17.

dwelt at length on the end of this empire, as Diodorus⁴⁰ shows, and it is clear from him and Athenaeus that the "Persica" regarded the destruction of the city as an event⁴¹ of Sardanapalus' reign. This catastrophe did not however occur until the reign of Sin-shar-ishkun; a variant recorded by Castor, putting the capture to the 19 year reign of a⁴² successor of Sardanapalus called Ninus, is nearer the mark.

In brief, Ctesias' account of the Assyrian Empire is very unreliable. The absence of details about most of the kings and the great similarity of information about a few also points to its fictitious nature.

(ii) Media: Little is given in Nicolaus about the hegemony of the Medes, but the broad outline of Ctesias is⁴³ again supplied by Diodorus. The table below compares the

40. Diod. 2.24-28.

41. Athen. 12.38, p.529B-D = 688 F 1q; Diod. 2.27.

42. Castor, 250 F 1d, p.1134, line 22.

43. 2.32.6 and 34.2 & 6.

dates and rulers of Media as given by Ctesias (Diodorus),
 Herodotus and Eusebius with their true, brief ascendancy⁴⁴
 (figures are given in years):

	⁴⁵ Herodotus.	Ctesias-Diodorus.	⁴⁶ Eusebius.
		Arbaces 28	Arbaces 28
		Maudaces 50	Maudaces 20
		Sosarmus 30	Sosarmus 30
		Artycas 50	Artycas 30
	Phraortes	Arbianes 22	
Deioces <u>(679-648)</u>	Deioces 53	Artaeus 40	Deioces 54
Phraortes <u>(c.648-626)</u>	Phraortes 22	Artynes 22	Phraortes 24
Cyaxeres <u>(c.626-586)</u>	Cyaxeres 40	Astibaras 40	Cyaxeres 32
Astyages <u>(c.586-552)</u>	Astyages 35	Astyages	Astyages 38

44. Figures of M. Miller ("Klio" 46 (1965), p.117).
 R. Drews ("Historia" 18 (1969), p.4) would however date
 Astyages' fall to the summer of 554. M. S. Drower (OCD
 p.548, s. "Media") gives: Deioces (local chief);
 Phraortes (Khshathrita) c. 675-653; Cyaxeres (Uvakhshat-
 ra) c.625-585; Astyages (Ishtumegu) c. 585-550.

45. 1.96-100, 102-103, 106, 130.

46. Ed. Karst, vol. 5, p.32.

Herodotus states that Phraortes made an unsuccessful attack on Assyria and was killed there,⁴⁷ and it must therefore be concluded that he also regarded Cyaxeres as the real founder of a Median empire as distinct from Media and Persia alone. In the length of the individual rules and in the Hellenised names of the rulers his account agrees with the historical figures of Media. The individuals recorded by Eusebius before Deioces - Arbaces, Maudaces, Sosarmus and Artycas - may have been Median chiefs, and are therefore not inconsistent with this structure. Ctesias nowhere mentions Cyaxeres, but the details and exploits he attributes to Arbaces strongly suggest that the two are the same figure. There is no way of telling whether all the seven characters inserted between Arbaces and Astyages are historical or mythical figures. If some of them are the former, as could be construed from Eusebius, it is possible that they are the names of Median chieftains who controlled the land under the Assyrians. Ctesias himself, however, treated them as kings in their own right. As noted earlier, he had dated the end of the Assyrian Empire much too soon. By pre-dating the beginning of the Median Empire in this way, his account was once more congruent with historical reality

by the time he reached the story of Cyrus.

Finally, there is an interesting similarity in Ctesias' treatment of Assyria and Media. If the probable identifications of Sammu-ramat with Semiramis and of Cyaxeres with Arbaces are accepted, Ctesias' account has transposed both historical figures from their true chronological context, and glorified and dramatised them both as founder figures. The other individuals then had to be rearranged inside this
48
fabricated structure.

48. There is further evidence to support this:
- (a) Though there were in reality only 9 Assyrian kings between Sammuramat and Ashurbanipal, Ctesias (Diod. 2.23.1) stated there were 29 (see n.29) rulers between Ninus and Sardanapalus, who were all notorious for their effeminacy (2.21.8). None of their years or names were worth mentioning (2.22.8). Even if this last comment is not from Ctesias, but Diodorus' own, it nevertheless shows that Ctesias' narrative was weak, and that its weakness was produced by having to fill out the years of the Assyrian Empire. The difficulty of giving some individuality to many rulers who existed only in imagination was too great. Hence, Ctesias either glossed over them himself, or else Diodorus noticed the similar descriptions of them all and merely briefly summarised them. Even the accounts of the acts and characters of Ninyas and Sardanapalus are very similar (Diodorus 2.21 and 23-24).
 - (b) When Diodorus gives a précis of Ctesias' account of Media (2.32.4-34.5), he gives details of only Arbaces (overthrowing Sardanapalus - 2.24ff and 32.5), Artaeus (war between the Medes and the Cadusii - 2.33), Astibaras (was of the Medes and Sacae - 2.34.1-7), and of Astyages (defeated by Cyrus - 2.34.6). Merely the names of the other five are given.
 - (c) In his account of the rise of the Persian Empire, Ctesias makes Cyrus the son of a peasant instead of being, as he was in reality, a descendant of the kings of Anshan. Here (though probably only reproducing a legend) Ctesias' account exaggerates the importance of an empire-builder as a self-made individual.

(iii) Persia: When one comes to the Persian empire, Diodorus is no longer available to supply what is lost of Ctesias. Diodorus differs radically from Nicolaus, who describes Astyages as "the noblest after Arbaces, according to tradition"⁴⁹; Diodorus, on the other hand, emphasises his viler qualities.⁵⁰ It has already been argued that Nicolaus was dependent on Ctesias for his story of Cyrus, and that Herodotus is disregarded.⁵¹

It is consequently interesting to compare what Nicolaus has to say about Cyrus with the Babylonian Chronicle. This states: "Astyages marched against Cyrus, king of Anshan, to conquer him; and Astyages' troops mutinied and he was captured and they gave him over to Cyrus."⁵² Both Herodotus and Diodorus are shown by this to be correct in talking of a Median revolt, and the silence of the Chronicle about Astyages' subsequent treatment may substantiate Herodotus' claims that Cyrus spared his life and treated him kindly.⁵³ Herodotus is also correct in regarding Cyrus not as low-

49. 90 FF 66.1.

50. 9.24.2.

51. Chapter 2, section 2.

52. Quoted in CAH 4, p.7. See also S. Smith, "Babylonian Historical Texts" (the Nabonidus Chronicle), pp.100 and 115, col. II.1-4, and plate XII.

53. Hdt. 1.75, 127-130; Diod. 9.24.2-3.

born, but as of royal blood.⁵⁴ Monumental evidence shows that Cyrus was of royal descent and had the title of "King of Anshan [Anzan]"⁵⁵. If Herodotus' statement that Cyrus⁵⁶ reigned 29 years is correct, he must have been king of this part of NW Persia about nine years (559/8-549), but still subject to the overlordship of Media.⁵⁷ Herodotus followed, so he affirms, "Persian sources whose purpose does not seem to be to exaggerate Cyrus' exploits, but to tell the plain truth". From the same section it seems that another three versions of Cyrus' life were known to him, all differing⁵⁸ from his own account. It was perhaps on one or a combination of these that Ctesias' narrative was based - clearly a less reputable but more remarkable type of story; this in turn gave rise to the romantic and unhistorical elements

54. Hdt. 1.107-108 says he was the son of Mandane, Astyages' daughter and a Persian called Cambyses. In 7.11 Xerxes traces back his descent to "Cyrus (*Kurash*), son of Cambyses, the son of Teispes (*Chishpish*), the son of Achaemenes (*Hakamanish*)". See also n.55.
55. See chapter 2, n.25; J.B. Pritchard, "Ancient Near Eastern Texts", p.316. Anshan is associated with the region near the eastern bank of the mouth of the Tigris (Elam), but its precise location is unknown. T. Fish, "Documents from O.T. Times", p.94, defines it as "both a city and district in the north-east of Elam".
56. Hdt. 1.214.
57. Nabonidus (Nabunaid), the last king of Babylon, 556-539 (so Bickerman, "Chronology of the Ancient World", p.157) described Cyrus as "King of Anshan, his [Astyages'] youthful servant". See T. Fish, p.90; G.B. Gray, CAH 4, p.6.
58. 1.95.

⁵⁹
found in Nicolaus.

If Nicolaus wished to produce a work which would recompense him for his efforts by its general acceptance as a reliable record, as the words of his "Autobiography" suggest,⁶⁰ it is unfortunate that he relied on Ctesias for his Oriental section. The result has been to transfer to the "Histories" the unreliability and romancing of his source.⁶¹ Though this sphere was only a small part of the whole work, and most of his history after c.550 BC is no longer extant, the parts that do survive show a similar concentration on interesting stories and prominent individuals. Nicolaus thus seems to have aimed at producing a

59. See chapter 2, section 2.

60. 90 F 135.

61. It is difficult to say whether Ctesias habitually invented or grossly distorted the material on which he worked. Was he or his source material largely responsible for the fictional elements in his narrative? The most sober analysis is that of A. Momigliano ("Atene e Roma", N.S. 12 (1931), pp.15-44). He cautiously concludes that Ctesias was himself largely dependent for information on his sources but modified and expanded where he thought he could "improve" the story (p.43f). G. Goossens ("L'Antiquité Class." 9 (1940), pp.25-45) takes essentially the same view, but his belief that a rewritten (and therefore more "dramatised"?) version of Ctesias was produced in the fourth/third century (pp.39-44) is unconvincing. See also Jacoby, RE 11.2052. There are, however, occasions where Ctesias can be shown to have put his inventive powers to work (see p.144).

work noted for its readability. This resulted in a further deterioration of standard. His condensing of sources (e.g. about the Cadusii in F 66) and his failure to reconcile contradictions (e.g. between Xanthus and Ctesias on Cyrus' education) show that the "Histories" is rather carelessly composed. At best it is as good as its sources, but often presents them in a distorted form.

Damascus.

In only two extant fragments does Nicolaus mention the history of his home-town, Damascus.⁶² The first, F 19, gives a brief outline of what purports to be Abraham's journey from Chaldaea to Canaan:

"Abram (*Ἀβράμης*) was a foreigner who came with his host from the land called Chaldaea, beyond Babylon, and became king [of Damascus]. Not long afterwards he moved on, and went with his people from this country to what was then called Canaan; its present name is Judaea The name of Abram is still respected around Damascus and you can be shown an area (*κώμη*) which is still called "Abram's Abode"."

62. 90 F 19 = Jos. AJ 1.7.2; 90 F 20 = Jos. AJ 7.5.2.
See also map in Appendix 6 for places referred to in this section.

Where Nicolaus acquired this story it is impossible to say, but the final sentence of the extract seems to point either to a local historical source or local tradition. Pompeius Trogus also relates the story of Abraham's kingship at Damascus, where the patriarch was succeeded by⁶³ Israhel. It is difficult to assess whether the similarities between the two are due to a common source or whether any link exists at all. Nicolaus does not give the Jews a Damascene origin as Trogus appears to do, but says explicitly that Abraham came from Chaldaea and only stayed a short time in Damascus. For the two versions to be compatible, one would have to interpret "origo" not as "the Jews are of Damascene descent", but as "the last place the 'Jews' visited before coming to Canaan was Damascus". Trogus seems to mean the former. The list of kings Trogus gives also raises problems. Does he mean that Damascus, Azelus, Adores and Abrames were all natives of Damascus, that therefore Abraham was born there, and was the son of Adores and father of Israhel?⁶⁴ If any of these interpretations could be shown to be Trogus' intention, there would

63. Pomp. Trogus 36.2 (quoted by Jacoby, IIC, p.241):
 "Namque Judaeis origo Damascena.... post Damascum
 Azelus, mox Adores et Abrames et Israhel reges fuere."
 Also Trogus, prol. 36: "Repetita inde in excessu
 origo Judaeorum."

64. There is of course etymological similarity between this Israhel, Ishmael (Abram's son by his wife's maid Hagar - Genesis 16.1ff; his 12 sons were kings of cities - Gen. 17.20; 25.16), and Israel (Abram's grandson through Isaac, i.e. Jacob - Genesis 35.10). A link, if any, is obscure.

be a deviation from Nicolaus.

Both versions are of course alien to Biblical tradition. Genesis tells how Terah took his son Abraham from Ur in Chaldaea to Haran, where he died, and how Abraham led his people into Canaan.⁶⁵ Nothing is said about a sojourn in Damascus, although the Biblical narrative has preserved two things which connect Abraham with the city.⁶⁶ Nicolaus himself does not mention the northerly trek to Haran, but his account is congruent with Genesis with the exception of the Damascus episode, and unlike Trogus he gives the original home of the patriarch and the Jewish people as Mesopotamia. One can only surmise whether Nicolaus made Abraham king at Damascus to link his own city with Herod's

65. Genesis 11.31 - 12.5. Abraham's migration to Canaan is dated to the end of the seventeenth century BC by E.G.H. Kraeling ("Aram and Israel", p.32) but to c.1921 BC by J. Finegan ("Handbook of Biblical Chronology", p.193).
66. Gen. 14.13ff, esp. v.15; and 15.2: After his brother Lot had been captured, Abraham pursued Chedorlaomer of Elam and his confederates as far as Hobah, north of Damascus, where Lot was freed. Abraham's steward, Eliezer, came from Damascus.

people, recorded what was a minor legendary tradition, or ⁶⁷ was repeating part of generally accepted Damascene history.

The second fragment (F 20) is more important: "~~the~~ A long^{time} after this, one of the inhabitants called Adadus gained control and became ruler of Damascus and the rest of Syria except Phoenicia. He made war on David, king of Judaea, and distinguished himself in many battles. Though he was defeated in the last battle at the Euphrates, he seemed to display most strength and bravery When he died, his descendants ruled for ten generations, and each of them took the realm and his name from his father before him, just like the Ptolemies in Egypt. The third was the most powerful of them all; wishing to retrieve his ancestor's defeat, he marched against the Jews and ravaged what we now

67. It could be argued that the story of only a short stay by Abraham in Damascus hides a plausible invention by N - it would fit in with Abraham's route from Haran to Canaan, and could have been completely fictitious, or have developed out of a passing visit of Abraham to the city. But the *Ἀβράμου οἰκήσις*, which could presumably be verified by N's contemporaries, weakens the idea and suggests that the second alternative may be correct.

call Samaria."

Josephus introduces these words when recounting the exploits of David against Hadadezer, king of Zobah; the overwhelming defeat of the latter brought Hadad of Damascus into the struggle with aid for his defeated friend.⁶⁸ The imprecise chronology of Damascene history and of the Biblical narrative makes it difficult to establish exactly when this happened. The only dates given for David are those which record the length of his reign as 40 years,⁶⁹ but the uncertainty surrounding Biblical chronology can not fix the beginning of his reign to a specific point. A date around 1000-1010 BC is generally accepted,⁷⁰ but any reconstruction is inevitably only approximate. David was thirty when he ascended the throne of Judah, and almost thirty-eight before he began his 33 year rule over the combined kingdom of Judah and Israel.⁷¹ Perhaps then the defeat of

68. Jos. AJ 7.5.1-2.

69. II Samuel 5.4-5: 40 yrs (7½ yrs over Judah at Hebron, and 33 yrs at Jerusalem over the combined kingdoms of Judah and Israel).

70. See CAH 3, "Notes on Judah and Israel", table 5, foll. p.821.

71. See n.69.

Hadad can be assigned to the first decade of his rule from Jerusalem, i.e. c.990⁷² BC.

There are three accounts of the David-Hadad conflict. Josephus baldly emphasises the magnitude of David's victory and puts Damascene losses at 20,000 dead.⁷³ The Biblical accounts put the figure even higher at 22,000.⁷⁴ Nicolaus, on the other hand, dwells on Hadad's greatness,⁷⁵ and gives the impression of many campaigns in which Hadad was more than a match for the Jewish king until his final defeat. No casualties are enumerated, and Josephus' quotation is very likely Nicolaus' only comment on the battle, namely, that a battle took place "in which he was

72. W.F. Albright, CAH 2 (rev. ed.), ch. 33, p.50, dates the conflict to between 990 and 980 BC. See also O. Eissfeldt, CAH 2 (rev. ed.), ch. 34, p.46f.

73. Jos. AJ 7.5.2.

74. I Chronicles 18.5-6; II Sam. 8.5-6.

75. 9Q F 20, p.341, lines 27-28: *ἀριστος ἔδοξεν [sc. Ἰσάδωρ] εἶναι βασιλέων ῥώρη καὶ ἀνδρεία*. Who N means by "kings" is not clear. Either (i) he was "stronger and braver" than David - this would reflect Damascene tradition or N's bias; or (ii) he was the "best" of all the Damascene kings by his actions on this occasion. On the other hand, only a little later (AJ. ibid. = p.342, lines 1-2) N says that BenHadad was the "most powerful of all".

defeated". The "Histories" extract finishes here, but II Samuel and I Chronicles briefly tell of the capture of Damascus and the installing of a garrison there.⁷⁶ Whether Nicolaus recounted this and the fate Hadad met is not known, but the patriotic veil he drew over the Damascene defeat, and the subsequent sentence, where he records a line of kings descended from this Adadus (Hadad) receiving an ἀρχή⁷⁷ (intact?) from their fathers, suggest he glossed over this setback also.

The second part of F 20, an extremely important section, raises three questions: Is Nicolaus correct in saying ten generations of Hadad's descendants ruled in Damascus after him? Did they all take their power and name in a father-son relationship during this time? And thirdly, how accurate is he in attributing the devastation of Samaria to the third Adadus?

Biblical evidence is once again invaluable. When Solomon had succeeded his father David, his deviations from Yahweh brought down enemies on him in the shape of Hadad the Edomite and Rezon, the son of a noble at Hadadezer's court named Eliadah. The latter had established himself as

76. I Chron. 18.6; II Sam. 8.6; E. Kraeling, "Aram and Israel", pp. 41-44; W.F. Albright, o.c., p.50f.

77. Josephus' words (p.341, lines 28-30) introducing the second half of F 20 - ἐξεδέχοντο παρ' ἀλλήλων καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα - seem to interpret N in this way.

king of Damascus, "and was an adversary to Israel all the days of Solomon..... and reigned over Syria"⁷⁸. From the same chapter of 1 Kings it appears he had collected an army of his own from the survivors of David's attack on Zobah, and had established himself in Damascus.⁷⁹ Josephus repeats the substance of Kings, but adds that Hadad of Edom came to Syria to assist Rezon "who had become a robber in that country"⁸⁰. Since the Edomite had been living in Egypt and did not leave until he heard of David's death, the accession of Rezon can not have been earlier than c.970 BC.⁸¹ It is clear then that there was no family connection between Adadus

78. 1 Kings 11.14ff, esp. 23ff; O. Eissfeldt, pp.51, 53.

79. v.24.

80. Jos. AJ 8.7.6.

81. i.e. at Solomon's accession in 961? or 971? (see time chart in Appendix 7). Rezon, who was almost certainly the king of Damascus after Hadad (1 Kings 11.23f), cannot be dated with great accuracy. The Biblical narrative is not specific enough, but suggests that Rezon collected his band soon after Hadadezer's defeat, though giving no indication of whether Rezon went immediately or later to Damascus. But Josephus' references to him as a robber, and to the aid he received from Hadad the Edomite (who did not leave Egypt until David's death) seem to show conclusively that there was a gap of many years when there was no king between the removal of Hadad of Damascus by David and the coup d'état of Rezon against Solomon's rule (Jos. AJ 8.7.6). See also J. Bright, "A History of Israel", p.193.

I (Hadad) and Rezon, and almost certain that no other king ruled in the city between the two during the period of Jewish supremacy.⁸²

The alternative names given for Rezon (Reṣon, Raṣunu, Hezion? Ḥazyanu?) make it difficult to be absolutely sure who followed him in Damascus. If the Hezion of 1 Kings and Rezon are the same person, the problem is solved. The etymological similarity of the two names and the fact that he would fit into the chronological framework of the period⁸³ makes it very likely that this identification is correct. Little is known of Hezion's (i.e. Rezon's?) son Tab-Rimmon (Tabrimon). The father himself may have reigned as late as 922 BC and perhaps even longer,⁸⁴ but it is certain that Tab-Rimmon had ascended the throne by c.915-913 BC at the very latest.⁸⁵

82. Cf. 1 Kings 11.24-25.

83. 1 Kings 15.18. The identification seems to be accepted by CAH 3, table 4 (Syria), foll. p. 821, by the making of Tab-Rimmon the son of Rezon (1 Kings - "Tabrimon, the son of Hezion"), and by A.T. Olmstead, "History of Palestine and Syria", p.356. See also E. Kraeling, p.48 ("appears to be ..."); D.D. Luckenbill, "Amer. J. Sem. Lang." 27 (1910/11), p.282 (n.40: but Hezion "perhaps to be read Rezon"); M.F. Unger, "Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus", p.57 (probable). W.F. Albright (CAH 2(rev. ed.), ch.33, p.52) thinks that "Hezion" may only be a clan name, and this despite his record of a votive stele "which Bir-Hadad, son of Tâb-Rammân, son of Ḥadyân, king of Aram, set up for his lord Milqart" (BASOR 87 (1942), p.26).

84. See n.82. Rezon may have reigned on after the death of Solomon. Albright, CAH 2 (rev. ed.), ch.33, p.52, believes however that his reign was short; this seems unlikely.

85. II Chron. 16.2ff and 1 Kings 15.19 show that some

Tab-Rimmon's more famous son, Ben-Hadad I (Adad-Idri, Hadadezer) became king about the beginning of the ninth century, deserted his alliance with the Israelite Baasha (900-877 BC) and lent support to Asa of Judah, in the 36th year of the latter's reign (c.878/877?⁸⁶). The Syrians attacked Israel and captured "Ijon, Dan, Abel-beth-maachah and all Cinneroth with all the land of Napht⁸⁷ali". Relations with Assyria were also stormy during this period. In 853 Salmanassar III set out from Nineveh against a powerful coalition headed by Damascus and Irkhuleni of Hamath, and at Karkar (Qarqar) inflicted heavy losses on the allies.⁸⁸ The victory was not exploited, perhaps because of Assyrian

sort of an alliance existed between Tab-Rimmon (father of Benhadad I) and Abijah (Abijam), Asa's father (Kings v.8). Asa became king of Judah c.913 BC - the latest date therefore for Tab-Rimmon's accession.

86. I Kings 15.18-19; II Chron. 16.1-3.

87. I Kings 15.20; II Chron. 16.4.

88. For details see S. Smith, CAH 3, p.21ff; E. Kraeling, pp. 73-75.

losses, and further indecisive campaigns were fought⁸⁹ between 849 and 845 BC. One of the allies at Karkar had been Ahab of Israel with his contribution of 2000 chariots and 10,000 infantry. Whether this was a union produced by Assyrian militancy, or whether his position was that of equal ally or subject is not known, but three separate campaigns were fought against him by "Ben-Hadad" c.855-850⁹⁰ BC. When the Syrian marched on Samaria "with 32 kings"⁹⁰ demanding full subservience, his threats united the Israelites and in the battle that followed the Syrians were routed. A second defeat followed in the year after, and territory acquired by Tab-Rimmon was handed back to Ahab. Three years later, however, according to the story, Ahab⁹¹ was killed in battle and buried in Samaria. War seems to have continued intermittently between the Syrians and Israelites with no decisive success for either side until⁹² the last illness and death of "Ben-Hadad", c.842.

There is, however, disagreement among scholars whether

89. See CAH 3, p.23.

90. I Kings 20.1 and 16,

91. Ib., v.22. E. Kraeling, pp.51-52, 76f.

92. II Kings 6.8ff, 24ff; 7.4ff.

one or more Damascene rulers called "Ben-Hadad" were involved in the above events. Those who believe in two or even three kings of this name base their argument (where any is given) on the long reign of forty or more years which would otherwise have to be assigned to one man, and a dubious interpretation of I Kings 20, v.34 (see next paragraph). Against the first view could be cited the reigns of David and Solomon, both of about forty years each. The one indeterminate factor in all this is the date when Ben-Hadad

93. A.T. Olmstead, p.378 (3 kings: Ben-Hadad I, an unknown son, and Ben-Hadad II). L.B. Paton, "The Early History of Syria and Palestine", p.xvi (2 kings). D.D.Luckenbill, "Amer. J. Sem. Lang." 27 (1910/11), p.277f and 282 (3 kings: c.900 Asa asked Ben-Hadad I for help against Baasha; Omri fought against the father (name unknown) of Ben-Hadad II; Ahab connected with Ben-Hadad II). E. Kraeling, p.76 (follows Luckenbill). M. Noth, "History of Israel", p.245, n.1 (2 kings: second ruler, Hadadezer or Adad-idri, in power c.850). A. Halдар, IDB vol. 1, p.758 (names four, but without evidence, as Ben-Hadad I, 900-875; Ben-Hadad II; Hadadezer; Ben-Hadad III, 2 yrs). The "Jerusalem Bible", pp. 441, n.d and 447, n.20a (2 kings). G.W. Anderson, "History and Religion of Israel", is reluctant to commit himself (p.92 - "possibly" two), but on p.187 gives in tabulated form: Ben-Hadad I (?900-860) and Ben-Hadad II (?860-843). Those who believe in only one ruler are I. Benzinger, RE 4.2044 (Biridri, c.885-844); M.F. Unger, pp. 59-60, 75 (Benhadad I, c.883/879-c.843); J. Bright, pp. 221, n.36, 224, n.46, and 467f (Ben-Hadad I, c.880-842). See also R.A. Bowman (IDB vol. 1, p.382).

I began to rule. If it was c.900 BC then it would seem unrealistic to believe he reigned for some sixty years; a beginning at c.880 and thus a reign of about forty years is however feasible. Unfortunately, Nicolaus does little to settle the issue.

He says it was the third of the Adadoi who ravaged Samaria. He could be referring to the campaign of c.878, although the places mentioned in I Kings 15.20 hardly seem to go far enough south into Samaria. I Kings 20.1 does mention that a Syrian host descended on Samaria and "warred against it", but the same chapter (v.34) tells how after his defeat by Ahab Benhadad promised the king that he could "make streets ... in Damascus, as my father made in Samaria". This must mean either that (i) only one Benhadad ruled for the whole of this period and by "father" is meant Tab-Rimmon (although virtually nothing is known about him), or (ii) that more than one "Ben-Hadad" ruled and was referring to the fighting of c.878 (despite the geographical difficulty), or to some later campaign not recorded in I Kings. Either solution has unsatisfactory features. Nor can we rely too much on the interpretation Josephus puts on F 20, that Nicolaus was in fact referring to the Benhadad⁹⁴ who fought against Ahab; such a view, if correct, would

94. 90 F 20, p.342, lines 5-6 = Jōs. AJ 7.5.2. See also AJ 8.14.4.

mean only one Benhadad between Tab-Rimmon and Hazael.⁹⁵

Because of uncertainty on how to interpret the vagueness of both I Kings and Nicolaus it seems wise to leave the question open.

From c.1000-c.842 BC, then, two dynasties had ruled in Damascus: the Adadus of David's time, and the Rezon - Tab-Rimmon - Ben-Hadad line from Zobah. A third now made its appearance. According to the account of II Kings, the prophet Elisha came to Damascus, where Ben-Hadad was lying ill, and was consulted at the king's prompting by one of his officers, Hazael, about the seriousness of the disease. After a prophetic reply intimating that Hazael would be king

95. Wacholder (pp.56-57) however argues that this identification can not be accepted, since the time lapse between Adadus I and Adadus III is too great to correspond with the reigns of David (1000-961) and Ahab (869-850). He seems to have misinterpreted what Josephus says, and assumed that the "third" king referred to was only two generations after Hadad, i.e. the third ruler. What Nicolaus says is that "after his (Hadad's) death his descendants ruled for ten generations". The "third" here must refer to the number of generations and therefore Ben-Hadad is in the fourth generation or the fourth king, if the founder himself is included. The order then reads: Hadad, Rezon, Tab-Rimmon and Ben-Hadad I. If allowance is made for the interval during David's (and part of Solomon's) reigns when there was no king in Damascus, no difficulties arise.

and bring disaster on Israel, the Damascene returned and on the following day suffocated Ben-Hadad and ruled in his place.⁹⁶ Assyrian records date the event to c.842.⁹⁷

Glimpses of the confused period down to 732 BC, when Syrian power based on Damascus finally collapsed before Tiglath-pileser III, are given by the Biblical narrative. The combined armies of Joram and Ahaziah were defeated by Hazael and the Syrian grip over Israel and Judah tightened. Several campaigns are recorded by Amos, in one of which Hazael reached Gath, had to be bought off from attacking Jerusalem, and "oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz".⁹⁸ Assyrian attacks from the east were however an ever-present threat to Damascus, and as a result of the campaigns down to 832 BC the Syrian coast from Byblus northwards became an Assyrian tributary.⁹⁹

96. II Kings 8.7-15. That Hazael was not related to Ben-Hadad but merely a subordinate is shown by v.14: "He (Hazael) departed from Elisha and came to his master." Acc. to I Kings 19.15, Elijah had been told by God to anoint Hazael as king of Damascus. Hazael is also called "the son of a nobody" (see S.A. Cook, CAH 3, p.375); R.A. Bowman, s. "Hazael" in IDB, Vol. 2, p.538.
97. Cf. J. B. Pritchard, "Anc. Near Eastern Texts", pp.276-281, esp. p.280. It must be dated somewhere between the 14th and 18th years of the reign of Salmanassar III (858-824).
98. II Kings 8.28-29; 10.32-33; Amos 1.3. II Kings 12.17; 13.22. II Chron. 24.25; E. Kraeling, pp.81f.
99. S. Smith, CAH 3, pp.23ff; E. Kraeling, pp.79-80;

The length of Hazael's reign is disputed. The difficulty revolves essentially around the interpretation to be put on the Damascene ruler, "Mari," who capitulated when Adad-Nirâri III (810-783) marched against Syria in 802. The word is Aramaic for "lord", and therefore it has been argued that it is not a proper name but only an honorary title; if this were so, it could refer to Hazael himself or to his son and successor Benhadad.¹⁰⁰ It has been contended against this that Assyrian inscriptions adhere to proper names, and that therefore it must be the name of a king,¹⁰¹ a view rejected by Pritchard with the suggestion that the Assyrians may have misunderstood its significance.¹⁰² One might also add that such a misunderstanding would be more likely if a new king, whose name was unknown to the Assyrians, had only recently succeeded to the throne of Damascus.

Since the evidence is far from conclusive, one is compelled to summarise with alternatives again: Hazael may have

100. E. Kraeling, p.83 ("Mari" = Benhadad, son of Hazael). M.F. Unger, p.82 ("Mari" a second name of Hazael, probably an abbreviation of a name like Mari'-Hadad, i.e. "Hadad is my lord"). R. de Vaux, "Rev. Bibl." 43 (1943), p.516 (probably = Hazael). R. A. Bowman, IDB vol. 2, p.538, supports de Vaux. See also W.F. Albright, BASOR 87 (1942), p.28, n.16, and I. Benzinger, RE 4.2044. Several scholars make no mention of "Mari" in their discussions, and perhaps therefore assume him to be either Hazael or Benhadad.

101. A. Barrois, "Suppl. au Dictionnaire de la Bible", vol.2, col.281. See also de Vaux, o.c., p.513, n.3.

102. o.c., p.281.

died c.806/804 BC at the very latest and been succeeded by his son Benhadad II, the "Mari" of Assyrian inscriptions; Hazael may be the "Mari", as Unger believes, and therefore lived until at least 802; or Hazael may have died long before c.804, been succeeded by Benhadad who had also died before 802, and been in turn succeeded by King Mari. The balance of probability lies with the first alternative.

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The next few years are hazy. How long the Assyrians kept control of Damascus is unknown, but the punitive campaign undertaken by the Assyrians against the city and Hatarika (Hadrach, Hazrak) in 773 and 772 BC suggest some resurgence of power which needed checking. In II Kings it is claimed that "Jeroboam ... recovered Damascus and Hamath, which belonged to Judah, for Israel". This, if correct, would

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103. The dates to be assigned to Hazael and Benhadad depend on one's views of the Mari- problem, but can be briefly summarised:

- (i) Hazael: c.844-804? (Benzinger, l.c.); 845/841-c.800 (de Vaux, p.516); c.842-806 (Bright, p.467f); c.843-c.801 (Unger, p.82f.); 843-797 (Halдар, IDB vol. 1, p.758); 843-796 (Anderson, "Hist. & Relig. of Israel", p.187); 841-c.800/798 (Bowman, IDB, vol. 2, p.538).
- (ii) Benhadad: Except by those who accept a separate identify for Mari, his end is put c.773/770.

104. S. Smith, CAH 3, p.30.

105. Jeroboam (c.786-746) may have had successes against Damascus - II Kings 14.23ff, esp. v.28.

indicate that the serious decline of Damascus had already begun, but the claim is not generally accepted.¹⁰⁶ Benhadad (or "Mari")¹⁰⁷ seems to have ruled until c.773. Who his successor was is unknown. Isaiah 7.6, in the context of an attack on Judah by Rezin of Syria and Pekah of Israel, mentions the intention of the assailants to install "the son of Tabeel" or Tâb'-el on the throne in Jerusalem. Since Pekah is referred to as the "son of Remaliah", it could be construed that none other than Rezin himself is meant here,¹⁰⁸ although the majority view is that he was an Aramean,¹⁰⁹ possibly "a son of Uzziah or Jotham by an Aramean princess". The final blow came in the reign of Rezon (Rezin, Ra-ṣun-nu) c.740-732, when the independence of Damascus finally came to

106. See Cook, CAH 3, p.378; R.A. Bowman, IDB, vol.1, p.382.

107. See n.103.

108. So E. Kraeling, p.115; J. Taylor, "Dict. of the Bible" (ed. Hastings), vol. 4, p.267; CAH 3, Table 4, foll. p.821.

109. J. Bright, p.256; F. James, "Personalities of the Old Testament", p.251; E.W. Heaton, "The Hebrew Kingdoms", p.333; G.W. Anderson, "History and Religion of Israel", p.102; T.M. Mauch, s. "Tabeel", in IDB, vol. 4, p.498.

an end, after Ahaz, stung by the loss of Elath to the Syrians, bribed the Assyrians to attack Damascus. The tribute the city had paid c.738 did not prevent its being sacked. Rezon was executed, and the inhabitants carried¹¹⁰ off into slavery.

Although there are large gaps in the knowledge of the history of Damascus between 1000 and 732 BC, sufficient is known to be able to evaluate the worth of Nicolaus' account about his own city: (i) He is wrong in stating that ten generations of Adadus' descendants ruled in Damascus in a father-son succession, since it can be shown that three (probably four or even more) separate dynasties ruled there¹¹¹ during this period. (ii) The ten generations of rulers Nicolaus gives is quite possibly correct, and is so¹¹² approximately in terms of years. (iii) Available evidence could confirm that the third generation king, Ben-Hadad I, was *μέγιστον δὲ πάντων δυναστεύς*. (iv) Although only Ben-(Bar-) Hadad I and II have an obvious connection with Adadus, Nicolaus may well be correct in saying that each ruler took

110. II Kings 16.5-9. Cf. also II Chron. 28.16-25; Jos. AJ 9.12.3; E. Kraeling, pp.116-121.

111. (i) Hadad. (ii) Rezon - Tab-Rimmon - Ben-Hadad I. (iii) Hazael - Ben-Hadad II (- Mari?). (iv) (Tabeel?-) Rezin. The relationship between "Mari" and Tabeel/Rezin is unknown.

112. 1000 - 270 (10 x c.27 yrs. per gen.) = 730. Damascus was sacked in 732 BC.

the name Hadad. It was the name of an Assyrian god, and its adoption can be seen in the personal names of several Assyrian kings, but it was especially associated with Edom¹¹³ and Syria. The taking of the same title by successive monarchs may well have been meant as a unifying bond with divine overtones. Nicolaus' reference to "Ptolemy-usage" in Egypt points to this likelihood. (v) His account is less detailed and accurate than the Bible, but even in its brevity is biased in favour of his birth-place. In short, he creates the impression of a strong Damascus throughout these ten generations, and of a long, unbroken line of effective rulers. This has been shown to be untrue.

There is, however, one surprising feature about F 20 -¹¹⁴ its brevity. One might expect a much fuller account of the history of his birthplace, which he must have known well. Was he conscientiously trying to give Damascus only its fair share of importance relative to its size and influence, or were there other factors at work? Wacholder suggests that Nicolaus' account of his native city was much more extensive than what has survived, and states that he was trying "to shed further light upon certain abbreviated

113. For the significance of the deity Adad (Hadad, Addu) in the religion of Syria and Palestine see Cook, CAH 2, pp.348-351.

114. In effect relating 250 years of Damascene history in six lines of text.

¹¹⁵
 passages of the Bible". Both arguments are based on the fact that in his account of Damascus Josephus has some details not found in the Bible.

Yet the differences found between Kings and Josephus are comparatively slight. The statement of Josephus that the 32 kings who supported Ben-Hadad lived "beyond the Euphrates", not mentioned in the Bible,¹¹⁶ could have come from any Jewish or non-Jewish source. The other variant in Josephus and Kings is not quite as simple. Josephus adds to the account of II Kings, and continues his narrative after Hazael had been told he would be king of Damascus and had then suffocated his master Ben-Hadad I.¹¹⁷ These two kings were greatly revered as gods by the people of Damascus, says Josephus, because of their benefactions and public works, "and still are right up to the present time". Admittedly, there is a parallel with the comments Nicolaus made about Abraham in F 19, when he said he was *ἔτι καὶ νῦν* respected in Damascus. On the other hand, Josephus was

115. P.55; p.117, n.59.

116. Cf. I Kings 20.1 and Jos. AJ 8.14.1.

117. Jos. AJ 9.4.6. and II Kings 8.7ff.

quoting Nicolaus verbatim in F 19; to make sense, "the present time" of AJ 9.4.6 must be the time of Josephus himself, writing about a hundred years after Nicolaus. Thus it would seem he must have discovered this cult himself, or read about it in some contemporary source. Further, Josephus pokes mild fun at the Damascenes for venerating Ben-Hadad and Hazael for their antiquity, "even though they are much later than they imagine and not yet 1100 years old"¹¹⁸. Because Nicolaus glorified Hadad and was proud of his own city,¹¹⁹ these comments can not be from him.

Despite the shortness of his narrative, F 20 probably represents Nicolaus' main comment on the "Hadads" of Damascus. In both FF 19 and 20 Josephus uses the words *λέγων οὕτως* to introduce what are clearly transcriptions of the original in the "Histories", and he presumably used the most detailed account Nicolaus wrote about the city. Nicolaus did not mention the casualty figures of the defeat of the first Hadad, nor can this be construed as an elucidation of a Biblical theme, as Wacholder would believe. It is in fact a glorification of a Damascene ruler and, if the Kings account is correct, a gloss over what was a catastrophic defeat. Furthermore, the influence of Damascus

118. Ibid.

119. Cf. 90 F 137.5.

fluctuated greatly until its sack by Assyria. To recount its history would have entailed a long catalogue of personalities, places and battles, a considerable proportion of which were not in his city's favour. What is left of the "Histories" and his biography of Augustus does not suggest that such detailed enumeration was to his liking.

Conclusion.

The characteristics of Nicolaus' known sources and his narrative about the Orient and Damascus give a reasonable basis to evaluate the reliability of the "Histories". The Oriental section is romanticised and built upon the inaccurate historical structure of Ctesias. His account of early Damascus is surprisingly brief, but is biased in its favour.

In general it seems that Nicolaus is only as reliable as his sources, though at times he garbled them. He is particularly concerned to record interesting stories from them, and it is probably with this and their detail in view, rather than their historical worth, that he selected his sources. Where he had contact with an area or individuals he appears to have been prepared to change and slant his material. Josephus claims that Nicolaus was prepared

to do this for Herod.¹²⁰ This claim can best be examined in the wider context of Jewish history, which forms the subject of the next chapter.

120. 90 T 12 = Jos. AJ 16.7.1.

CHAPTER 4:

NICOLAUS AND JEWISH HISTORY.

The Problem.

To what extent did Nicolaus include Jewish history in his "Histories"? Wacholder, who has treated the topic quite extensively,¹ opposes the views of Bloch and Büchler on this question. They both maintained that there was no adequate evidence to suggest that a connected account of Jewish affairs before Hellenistic times occurred in the "Histories".² Wacholder argues against them that it would be illogical for a historian at Herod's court not to remedy the slight treatment given the Jews by Hellenistic historians, and so give some account of them. He also cites the words of F 19, which "seem to confirm the reasonable assumption that he faithfully made plans for a discussion of the early history of Israel in his work".³

The particular words of F 19 run as follows: "Abraham settled in what is now called Judaea, as did his descendants. I shall relate their history in another account (ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ)". What is to be deduced from these words

1. Pp. 52-64.

2. H. Bloch, "Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus in seiner Archaeologie" (1879), p.107; A. Büchler, "The sources of Josephus for the history of Syria", JQR 9 (1897), p.327.

3. Pp. 52-53.

is uncertain. It would perhaps be reading *οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνου* *πληθύναντες*⁴ too narrowly to assume that only Abraham's direct offspring was meant, rather than Abraham in the wider context as patriarch of the Jewish nation. Yet *λόγῳ* appears to be restrictive. A more definite phrase such as *ἐν ἑτέρᾳ βίβλῳ* is not used and the word itself is in the singular, implying that there was only a single account of the early Israelites,⁵ and not a complete history broken down into small sections and inserted into different books at the relevant chronological points. If this is correct, Nicolaus would seem to have given only a rather sketchy outline of early Jewish affairs, in the same brief way he⁶ treated the history of his native city.

The problem resolves itself into two separate parts:

(a) The place of Jewish history down to late Hellenistic times in Nicolaus' universal history; and (b) the extent

4. The suggestion of Büchler (p.328) that the intention to write about Abraham's descendants is Josephus' comment and not that of N is rightly rejected by Wacholder. As he remarks (p.53), Josephus' history is almost entirely "an account of the descendants of Abraham".
5. No monograph on Jewish history by N is known.
6. If *βίβλος* is equated with *λόγος* the argument has even more force.

to which Josephus used Nicolaus' narrative for his account of Herod and his father, Antipater. The first point, for which some of Nicolaus' fragments provide evidence, is dealt with in section (i). The more involved question of the links between Nicolaus and Josephus is treated in sections (ii) and (iii).

(i) Abraham - Hellenistic Times.

Only a few fragments have survived with a bearing on Jewish history during this period.⁷ FF 19 and 20 have already been referred to in connection with Damascus, where the primary concern is not with Abraham or David per se, but only as far as they were involved in Damascene history. Josephus, who preserved these parts of Nicolaus, clearly followed the Biblical narrative, and only inserted Nicolaus' information as an appendage to his main account.⁸ In F 19 Nicolaus is mentioned along with Berossus and Hecataeus of Abdera as having written something about Abraham, but all these versions are inserted for the alternative details

7. 90 FF 19-20, 72, 141?

8. Jos. AJ 1.7.2 and 7.5.2.

and tradition they record and are not incorporated into Josephus' main account. The same is true of F 20.⁹

Wacholder, however, finds three features in these two fragments - a "technique of intermingling Judaeian and Syrian prowess"; no hostility shown towards Herod and his people, and perhaps a certain amount of flattery; and an attempt on Nicolaus' part to elucidate "abbreviated" parts¹⁰ of the Bible. The first point is vague, and the last two of these conclusions are very doubtful.

Nicolaus' mention of the Jewish king and patriarch in FF 19 and 20 is, as noted, coincidental to his main theme of Damascus. In F 20 Nicolaus clearly takes great pride in telling of the glories of Adadus in his wars against¹¹ David. The strongest of Adad's successors, he says, "wished to avenge his ancestor's defeat. He campaigned against the Jews and ravaged what is now called Samaria."

9. AJ 1.8.1 resumes the story after 1.7.1 (F 19). Similarly, AJ 7.5.2 (down to the information from N) is taken up again after 7.5.2. (= F 20).

10. P. 55.

11. Unlike Abraham, David is described clearly (for the benefit of non-Jewish readers?) as *τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Ἰουδαίας*.

The tone of the whole fragment is strongly patriotic at the expense of the Jews, and would have been omitted if Nicolaus had been over-concerned to avoid belittling them.¹² More important, it is clear from Josephus' note at the end of the fragment, which explains the full background to Ben-Hadad's attack, that Nicolaus had not given this information, nor had he even mentioned the Damascene king's opponent as the Israelite king Ahab (Achab). Consequently, the "Histories" at this juncture can not have shed "further light", when it required Josephus' pen to explain the exact belligerents and events.¹³ Nicolaus is therefore recounting with bias the history of his birthplace in these two fragments; references to Jewish figures are simply inevitable.

There is no further mention of Biblical figures until F 72 (book 96). Here Josephus catalogues the names of some non-Jewish historians who had given accounts of the Flood and the Ark,¹⁴ and ends by quoting Nicolaus' words:

12. Wacholder, p.55 (opposing Laqueur, RE 17.363): "There is nothing here which slighted the Jews; quite the contrary."(!).

13. 90 F 20 = Jos. AJ 7.5.2: οὐ διήμαρτε δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας· οὗτος γὰρ ἐστὶν Ἀδαδὸς ὁ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν Ἀχάβου βασιλεύοντος.....

14. AJ 1.3.6 - Berossus of Chaldaea, Hieronymus of Egypt, Mnaseas of Patara and "many others".

15

"North of Minyas in Armenia there is a large mountain called Mount Baris. The story is that when the Flood came many people fled to it and saved their lives. And somebody in an ark ran it aground on the summit, and fragments of its timbers were preserved for a long time. This may be the man the Jewish lawgiver Moses wrote about." Once again Josephus uses this evidence, as well as that of Berossus, to back up his account of the Flood, which was¹⁶ in essence condensed from the Genesis version.

Since Josephus uses the non-Jewish historians already mentioned as corroboration of Genesis, it is reasonable to assume that he would cite the fullest and most relevant account he could find in each. If so, it follows that Nicolaus did not give an account of Noah's Ark as part of his Jewish *λόγος*. In F 72 he does not even mention Noah

15. Otherwise unknown. Jacoby (IIC, p.254) wonders whether it is the same as the Minni of Jeremiah 51.27.
16. It is surprising that Jos. does not include the Biblical name for the mountain - Ararat (Gen. 8.4) - but says *περὶ ἄκραν τινὰ ὄρους ... κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν* (AJ 1.3.5). He adds that the Armenians called the place *Ἀποβατήριον* - *ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀνασωθείσης τῆς λάρνακος ἔτι νῦν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τὰ λείψανα ἐπιδεικνύουσι*. This may have come from Berossus; he is cited after this and gave more information than Jos. has recorded, as is shown by the mention of "the ship" (*τοῦ πλοίου*).

by name, but merely refers to him as *τινα ἐπὶ λάρνακος*
ᾠχούμενον. He is not even sure whether to associate the
 Noah of Genesis with the version he was telling. Nicolaus'
 Flood-story certainly did not stand in a context of Jewish
 history.¹⁷

From this same fragment another erroneous conclusion
 has been drawn.¹⁸ Thackeray and Wacholder regard it as very
 probable that Josephus took the names of the Greek writers
 he says mentioned the Flood from Nicolaus.¹⁹ Their argument
 is based on the fact that Josephus cites Nicolaus last in
 the lists he gives in 90 FF 72 and 141. This proves nothing,
 especially as the others mentioned lived before him. There
 is also positive evidence against this view. The accounts

17. But was Nicolaus trying to link the Hellenistic Flood-story with the Jewish version? If he had quoted more of the Biblical version, such a deduction would be possible. As the F stands, N only notes in passing a possible (*γένοιτο δ' ἂν οὗτος*) connection between the two - almost as a thought which occurred to him as he was writing.
18. Thackeray (Jos. in LCL, vol. 4, n.b to AJ 1.94, p.46f); Wacholder, p.56. See also Thackeray's "Josephus, the Man and the Historian", p.59: "Besides the Bible, he [Jos.] quotes, wherever possible, external authority in support of it Some sources he knows only at second hand through Nicolaus". There is no evidence for this, nor is any cited.
19. See n.14. The same is also argued for 90 F 141 = Jos. AJ 1.3.9, where N is cited with Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Acusilaus and Ephorus as having written about *τοὺς ἀρχαίους ζήσαντας ἐτὶ χίλια*.

given by Berossus and Nicolaus in Josephus are different;
²⁰
 only the basic event is similar. To accept the view that
 Nicolaus preserved this quotation of Berossus, one would
 have to believe that Nicolaus put his own version side by
 side with that of Berossus for contrast. Yet there is
 nothing to show this. If Josephus had found the two accounts
 like this in Nicolaus, he would naturally have put down
 their respective stories in the same manner in the
 "Antiquities". Instead they are separated by the names of
 Hieronymus, Mnaseas and "many others", the background to
²¹
 the citation of Berossus is traced in, and Josephus' words
καὶ Νικόλαος δὲ ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν seem to show that the
 quotation had nothing in common with the ones which came
 before. Furthermore, the exact words of Nicolaus, "the
 story is that (λόγος ἔχει.....)", confirm that he did
²²
 not mention his source, let alone alternative versions.

Although the Greek of F 19 suggests that Nicolaus may

20. E.g. N says the mountain is called Baris, while Berossus "a mountain of the Cordyaei". The Ark's timbers were preserved *ἐπὶ πολὺ*, acc. to N, but Berossus says that some of it still survived (... *τοῦ πλοίου... ἔτι μέρος τι εἶναι*).
21. AJ 1.3.6.
22. Nowhere in the fragments does N mention his sources. N must finally be precluded by the very brief account of the episode he gives in 90 F 72, and by its vagueness. To confirm or refute the other accounts would have needed greater space and detail.

have written some kind of account of early Jewish history,²³ its extent and character can only be pure speculation. It may well be, however, that it was not synchronised into the early part of the "Histories". In F 72 Nicolaus does not refer to Noah by name, as he would have done if he had used the name earlier. The only reference he makes is to Moses, *ὁ Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης* and not to an earlier section of his own work. One can therefore conclude that when he wrote F 72 (as late as book 96), which dealt with the Hellenistic period, he had not yet written the early history of the Jews. If he wrote a continuous history of them at all, it must have been in the form of an excursus in a book later than book 96.

There are only a few events in the Hellenistic period²⁴ which Josephus says Nicolaus mentioned. The "Contra Apionem" records the names of Nicolaus and others who wrote about the plundering of the Temple at Jerusalem by Antiochus IV in 170 BC.²⁵ In book 13 of the AJ Josephus tells of the campaign of Antiochus VII Euergetes in 134 BC against John

23. See Wacholder, pp. 57-58. His argument is: (i) Sources - Bible and others (even though no F of N's can be shown to be indebted to the O.T.). A Jewish writer is more probable. (ii) Method - possibly dramatic incidents around central figures (plausible). (iii) Extent - full treatment of "Biblical heroes" (improbable).

24. 90 FF 91 = Jos. C. Ap. 2.7(83); F 92 = Jos. AJ 13.8.4; F 93 = Jos. AJ 13.12.6; F 96 = Jos. AJ 14.1.3.

25. 90 F 91.

Hyrcanus the High Priest, and the subsequent alliance made²⁶ between them, and uses the relevant part of Nicolaus to support his narrative: "Antiochus set up a monument at the river Lycus after defeating the Parthian general Indates, and stayed there for two days at the request of Hyrcanus the Jew, because of a national festival when the Jews were forbidden to travel."²⁷ Here Nicolaus explains the Jewish νόμος for Gentiles, but does not go as far as naming the festival Πεντηκοστή; this is supplied by Josephus for the benefit of Jewish readers. But one cannot conclude from this that Nicolaus' main purpose was to elucidate Jewish culture. Both fragments include Seleucids. This fact and the context of Josephus in AJ 13.8.4 seem to show that the main theme of Nicolaus was Seleucid not Jewish history, but that Nicolaus wove Jewish affairs into his narrative, with greater detail than might have been expected of a non-Jew.

The material available for analysis is sparse. In the fragments that remain Nicolaus has not treated Jewish history as a study in itself, but has interwoven it with Damascene, Armenian and Seleucid affairs. Early Israel may have been included in some section, but there is no conclusive evidence to show how extensively, or in precisely what manner, Nicolaus treated it. What evidence there is suggests the λόγος was brief and not synchronised into the early part of the "Histories". For the Hellenistic period

26. Jos. AJ 13.8.4; CAH 8, p.529f.

27. 90 F 92.

there is no part of Josephus in which Nicolaus is cited, where Jewish affairs are related distinct from their involvement with the Seleucids and Ptolemies. Even so, it is perhaps likely that Nicolaus treated Jewish history at this time as a section in its own right. F 96 suggests as much by its passing reference to the Babylonian Captivity. It is therefore probable that he did give some description of the internal history of the Jews during this period in order to give a connection and unity to his Hellenistic narrative.²⁸

(ii) Antipater.

With Antipater, father of Herod the Great, the approach to the problem changes. It was shown in chapter 1 that Nicolaus' account of at least the last decade of Herod's reign was treated in great detail. In Josephus' account of this period Nicolaus' name and activities feature frequently. Since Josephus quotes Nicolaus' views and

28. 90 F 96 = Jos. AJ 14.1.3. N's linking of Antipater's genealogy with those Jews who returned from Babylon shows some regard was paid in the "Histories" to internal affairs of Jewish history.

words on several occasions before this period, he may have used at least some of Nicolaus' version about Antipater. Nicolaus wrote a laudatory account of the latter's ancestry, and Josephus had read it. He may have used Nicolaus' account further without mentioning the fact.

Josephus introduces Antipater as "an Idumaeen,
²⁹
 very rich, but a born revolutionary". He then proceeds to criticise Nicolaus' treatment of him: "On the other hand, Nicolaus of Damascus says he was descended from the leading Jews who returned to Judaea from Babylon. But he says this to please his son Herod, who became king of the Jews through
³⁰
 a stroke of luck." Josephus' castigation is seemingly
³¹
 justified. The family was of noble Edomite stock, one of those "forcibly Judaized by John Hyrcanus", and Antipater's father had been in command of all Idumaea under Alexander

29. 90 F 96 = Jos. AJ 14.1.3.

30. Ibid. In BJ 1.6.1 Antipater is called similarly
*Ἰδουμαῖος, προγόνων τε ἔνεκα καὶ πλούτου καὶ τῆς
 ἄλλης ἰσχύος πρωτεύων τοῦ ἔθνους.*

31. See also Wacholder, pp. 78-79 and nn.164-170, pp.128-129.

³²
 Jannaeus. From this section the drift of Nicolaus' narrative about Antipater himself can probably be observed. He was not content with avoiding the question of Herod's genealogy, but on the contrary attributed to his patron's family the highest ancestry, an example of what Josephus calls elsewhere "only touching on matters which would contribute to Herod's honour"³³. This section also suggests that Antipater was treated by Nicolaus throughout in a highly eulogistic manner, in the same way Josephus alleges Herod's reign was handled.³⁴

An important question raised by Josephus' attack on Nicolaus is whether he used parts of the "Histories" account about Antipater, as he undoubtedly did in the case of Herod, despite strong criticism of Nicolaus' bias.³⁵ Very

32. E.R. Bevan, CAH 9, p.402 and ff. Cf. Jos. AJ 13.9.1 and 15.7.9. In AJ 14.15.2 Herod's enemy Antigonus (son of Aristobulus and grandson of Alexander Jannaeus) calls him *ἰδιώτῃ τε ὄντι καὶ Ἰδουραίῳ, τοῦτέστιν ἡμιουδαίῳ*. Herod is also called an "uncircumcised Arabian" in additions to the Greek version of BJ taken from the Slavonic text (English trans. in LCL Josephus, Vol. 3, Appendix, p.635ff. This addition to BJ 1.19.1-3 is on p.636, No. 2). S. Baron, "Social and Religious Hist. of the Jews" thinks N fabricated this genealogy, but suggests Herod was probably descended from "ancient Judaeans intermingled with Edomites" (Vol. 1, p.397, n. 19; see also Vol. 6, pp.192-193).

33. Jos. AJ 16.7.1.

34. 90 T 12 = Jos. *ibid*.

35. The verbatim accounts in Josephus of N's speeches must ultimately have come from the "Histories" (AJ 16.2.4; 16.10.8; 17.5.4,5-6; 17.9.6).

little of Nicolaus has been preserved to enable a comparison of the two historians to be made, and that only incidentally. In 14 BC, when Herod and his retinue were in Asia Minor, Nicolaus was called upon to speak before Agrippa on behalf of the Jews there, who were complaining about their loss of privileges.³⁶ Towards the end of his speech Nicolaus mentioned the good service done towards Rome and Julius Caesar by Antipater, especially during Caesar's Alexandrian campaign of 47 BC. The main points of this can be compared with Josephus' account of the same event:³⁷

<u>Nicolaus</u>	<u>Josephus</u>
(i) Antipater took 2000 troops to Egypt.	³⁸ Antipater had 3000 (or 1500?) at the siege of Pelusium, and only lost 50 in Egypt (AJ), or not more than 80 (BJ).
(ii) He was as capable as any in land-battles and naval management.	He rescued the defeated right wing of the army under Mithridates. His courage vouched for.
(iii) Caesar gave him many presents.	Given <i>δυναστείαν ἣν αὐτὸς προαιρεῖται</i> (AJ); Given <i>ἀτέλειαν</i> (AJ and BJ). Through Antipater's influence Hyrcanus made High Priest (BJ).

36. Jos. AJ 16.3.4.

37. N. (Jos. 16.2.4). Jos. AJ 14.8.1-5; BJ 1.9.3-5.

38. Cf. AJ 14.10.2; also AJ 14.8.3.

NicolausJosephus

(iv) Caesar wrote letters to the Senate (mentioning Antipater, presumably).

Caesar sent letter to the Senate allowing Hyrcanus to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem - Senate's decree recorded (where only Hyrcanus mentioned) in AJ.³⁹

(v) Antipater given *τιμὰς καὶ πολιτείας*.

Antipater given *πολιτείας*, and greatly honoured and befriended.

Interpretations can be found in Josephus to satisfy most of the claims made for Antipater by Nicolaus, one trivial exception being that neither the AJ nor BJ has anything about Antipater's alleged management of naval affairs (as in ii). The only discrepancy is in (i). Pelusium is at the edge of the Nile Delta, and therefore the attack on it was a part of the Egyptian campaign. Josephus enumerates the strength of Antipater's army at 3000 (or 1500) in contrast to Nicolaus' assessment of 2000, but his deviation in figures makes it possible that Nicolaus may be correct

39. Also see AJ 14.10.2-7, where Josephus has recorded six decrees of Caesar in favour of Hyrcanus. Nowhere is Antipater mentioned.

in his.⁴⁰ There may be doubts too about one of the presents to Herod's father from Caesar being *ἐπίτροπος ... τῆς* *Ἰουδαίας*⁴¹ - it is surprising not to find this office singled out for mention by Nicolaus as an example of the favour he had with Caesar.

There seems little reason to doubt that the details given in this speech of Nicolaus were the same, but in abbreviated form, of the account he must have written in the "Histories". The latter version, and not the recorded speech, would be the account readily accessible to Josephus. It would be unwise to place undue emphasis on the numerical discrepancy between Nicolaus and Josephus, since two different figures are given by Josephus. On the other hand, the general tone of Josephus is so highly favourable to Antipater and makes him the hero of the campaign (a treatment Nicolaus surely gave him) that at least the parts of Josephus' narrative favourable to Antipater may well have

40. Cf. also other differences between (i) AJ 15.9.6 (Caesarea's harbour as big as Piraeus) and BJ 1.21.5 (bigger than P.). (ii) AJ 15.9.2 and AJ 3.15.3 have different definitions of a "kor" (*κόρος*). (iii) The stones of the harbour at Caesarea were at least 18 feet wide (AJ 15.9.6), but 10 feet in BJ 1.21.6.

41. Jos. AJ 14.8.5.

42

been taken from Nicolaus. Furthermore, the main source followed by Josephus says nothing of the presence of Hyrcanus on this expedition, since passage was refused Antipater and Mithridates by the Egyptian Jews until they were shown letters from Hyrcanus. But another tradition recorded by Strabo, and inserted in the AJ, made the High Priest a companion of Antipater at the time,⁴³ and Josephus also quotes a decree of Caesar's thanking Hyrcanus for his assistance "in the very recent Alexandrian War with 1500 soldiers". It would be consistent with Nicolaus' version to subordinate Hyrcanus and give the glory to Antipater alone.

An examination of Josephus' accounts of Antipater in the AJ and BJ yields little information. There are minor variations,⁴⁴ but only one which is perhaps of any significance. In the BJ Antipater was given permission to rebuild

42. Antipater was the first to pull down part of the wall of Pelusium and distinguished himself there. He defeated the Egyptians facing him, and saved Mithridates on the other wing from defeat. Antipater was *τῆς τε νίκης αἰτίον*, very useful to Caesar, and used by him "in the most dangerous enterprises". Refs. in n.37.

43. See esp. Jos. AJ 14.8.3.

44. (i) Herod only 15 when he was put in charge of Galilee (AJ 14.9.2). Yet he must have been about 25 in 47 BC, since he was 70 in 4 BC, acc. to AJ 17.6.1. (ii) Caesar died after an *ἀρχή* of 3yrs 6 months (AJ 14.11.1) or 3 yrs 7 months (BJ 1.11.1). (iii) In AJ 14.11.1 Caesar's death is said to have been recorded elsewhere; this is not in the AJ, but its mention in BJ could be meant. Marcus (LCL Jos., vol. 7, p.594, n.b) thinks this means "other historians".

the walls of Jerusalem, and Caesar ordered this concession and the positions in Judaea of Hyrcanus and Antipater to be engraved on the Capitol "as a memorial of his justice and Antipater's worth"⁴⁵. But the AJ version states permission for reconstruction was given to Hyrcanus, and an inscription testifying to this does not mention Antipater.⁴⁶ This could perhaps be partly explained by assuming that Antipater was merely acting as agent for Hyrcanus in carrying out the work, but does not remove the difficulty of Antipater's ἀρετή being specifically given as a reason for the plaque on the Capitol. The BJ version looks like a deliberate distortion of the facts by Josephus' source for personal or political purposes, and savours of⁴⁷ Nicolaus.

It is reasonable to assume that sections in Josephus highly critical of Antipater are not derived from Nicolaus in view of his position at Herod's court. In this case, it can be ruled out that the rise of Antipater came from the "Histories". In the AJ he is described in unfavourable

45. BJ 1.10.3.

46. AJ 14.10.5. See Marcus' note on this (LCL Vol. 7, p.554f, n.c).

47. Laqueur, "Der jüd. Hist. Fl. Jos." p.165, regards this as a "political revision" made by Josephus himself and not due to a corruption by a source.

terms - his hatred of Aristobulus made him afraid for his own life; his intrigues with Hyrcanus consisted even in lies and slander against Aristobulus.⁴⁸ The parallel account in BJ is much shorter but has the same flavour, and is generally discreditable to Antipater.⁴⁹

On the other hand, there are some noticeable differences of treatment of Antipater and his family between AJ and BJ:

<u>AJ 14 -</u>	<u>BJ 1 -</u>
(i) Antipater instigates Cassius to murder Peitholaus (7.3).	Same, (8.9).
(ii) Antipater's misappropriation of Hyrcanus' money to the Romans, but Hyrcanus not troubled by this (9.3).	Hyrcanus envious of Antipater's sons, especially Herod (10.6). Nothing about the money.
(iii) Herod feared by leading Jews since he was βίαιον καὶ τολμηρὸν καὶ τυραννίδος γλιχόμενον (9.3).	Herod gained great reputation, but envied by many in palace οἷς ἢ τὸ τῶν παίδων ἢ τὸ Ἀντιπάτρου σωφρονικὸν προσίστατο (10.6).

48. AJ 14.1.3-4.

49. BJ 1.6.2.

AJ 14 -BJ 1 -

(iv) Hyrcanus warned to
beware of Antipater
and his sons, and
resume control of
state affairs.(9.3)

Same (10.6).

(v) Mothers of robbers
killed by Herod urge
Hyrcanus to try him
before the Synhedrion
(9.4).

(vi) Samais, ^{at the} ~~when~~ trial,
attacked Herod for
arrogance and lack of
humility before court.
Real blame put on weak-
ness of the Synhedrion
and Hyrcanus (9.4).

No speech given.

(vii) Hyrcanus advises Herod
to flee to escape con-
demnation (9.5).

Herod thinks Sextus' influence
secured his acquittal, and
that Hyrcanus still hostile
(10.8).

(viii) Herod decides not to
obey the Synhedrion,
if summoned (9.5).

Herod decides not to obey
Hyrcanus, if summoned (10.8).

AJ 14 -BJ 1 -

- (ix) Hyrcanus aware the situation is against him, as urged by the Synhedrion (9.5).
- (x) Herod made governor of Coele-Syria by Sextus Caesar, for money (9.5).
- (xi) Antipater collected money for Cassius *ὁρῶν ἐν μεγάλῳ φόβῳ καὶ ταραχῇ τὰ πράγματα* (11.2).
- (xii) Herod first to bring in tribute, from Galilee; this was "prudent", and won him favour with Romans *ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων πόνων* (11.2).
- (xiii) Hyrcanus, through Antipater, sent 100 talents of own money and prevented Cassius killing Malichus for not bringing his share

- Hyrcanus again told by *οἱ πονηροί* at his court that Herod making war on him (10.8).
- No money mentioned; Herod now strong through good-will of Jews and own powers (10.8).
- A. collected money through fear of Cassius' threats (11.2).
- Herod *μάλιστα φίλος* to Cassius through speedy collection; no attack on Herod (11.2).
- Antipater himself contributed the money, and saved Malichus & cities by contributing 100 talents immediately (11.2).

AJ 14 -

of the tribute (11.2).

(xiv) Malichus wished to kill Antipater to secure Hyrcanus' rule (11.3).

(xv) Malichus was *δεινός* (11.3).

(xvi) After Antipater poisoned, Josephus describes him:

*Ἀντίπατρος μὲν εὐσεβείᾳ
καὶ δικαιοσύνῃ διενεγκὼν
καὶ τῇ περὶ τὴν πατρίδα
σπουδῇ τοῦτον
ἐτελεύτησε τὸν τρόπον.*
(11.4).

BJ 1 -

Malichus' motive was to remove *τὸν ἐμπόδιον αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν ὄντα* (i.e. Antipater) (11.3).

Malichus full of *ἀναίδεια* (11.3).

—: *τὰ δὲ ἄλλα δραστήριος ἀνὴρ
ἐν ἀφηγήσει πραγμάτων καὶ
τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀνακτησάμενός τε
Ἑρκανῶ καὶ διαφυλάξας*
(11.4).

Although the two brief summaries of Antipater's career which Josephus gives in xvi are equally laudatory, it is clear that the account of Herod and Antipater in the BJ is more favourable than in the later-written AJ. There is additional material in the AJ⁵⁰, but generally speaking the

50. E.g. AJ 14.9.3-4 (in parts).

two accounts are parallel in substance. The main differences pertain to Antipater's and Herod's characters, and the additional small details found in the AJ.

Laqueur concluded that with the passage of time Josephus developed an anti-Herodian prejudice,⁵¹ and draws particular attention to these points just referred to, namely, that Herod was made *στρατηγός* of Coele-Syria for money, and that he benefited from the misfortunes of others.⁵² These carping points, so the argument runs, contribute nothing of worth to the narrative of Josephus, and can not have been added except for the express purpose of denigrating the Herodians. This proposition has some force. Yet if these unfavourable matters in the AJ were included only to denigrate Antipater and his son, it would be illogical to give highly flattering details about them. A case in point⁵³ is the assistance given to Caesar in Egypt by the Jews. Antipater is eulogised for his part in it in the BJ, and nothing is said about the role of Hyrcanus. The parallel account in the AJ is no less laudatory⁵⁴ and tells the same story, despite the fact that Strabo is twice cited as

51. Laqueur, o.c., p.128ff.

52. Points x and xii; Laqueur, p.187.

53. AJ 14.8.1-3.

54. Perhaps even more so. Only in AJ does Mithridates tell Caesar that Antipater was "the author of victory", and his own saviour.

evidence that Hyrcanus did go on this expedition.⁵⁵ By Laqueur's argument Josephus should have at least incorporated this fact into his main narrative and assigned part of the glory to Hyrcanus. There are also three other sections where Josephus could have detracted from the praise he gives in the BJ: In AJ no less than in BJ, Antipater's popularity did not diminish his loyalty to Hyrcanus;⁵⁶ Herod's praises were sung in Syria for his killing of Hezekiah (Ezekias) and his robbers;⁵⁷ and Antipater is given a glowing epitaph.⁵⁸ Conversely, Hyrcanus is warned to be wary of Antipater and his sons, and Antipater is accused of collusion in the murder of Peitholaus even in the BJ.⁵⁹ There are even two sections in the AJ where Antipater is more favourably treated than in the BJ.⁶⁰

What can be argued for certain about Nicolaus' part in

- 55. AJ 14.8.3.
- 56. AJ 14.9.2 and BJ 1.10.5.
- 57. AJ 14.9.2; BJ 1.10.5.
- 58. AJ 14.11.4; BJ 1.11.4.
- 59. BJ 1.10.6; AJ 14.9.3 (point iv). BJ 1.8.9; AJ 14.7.3 (point i).
- 60. (i) AJ 14.6.3 - Antipater was an "intelligent" man (*σοφὸς γὰρ ἦν*), added in brackets; this could easily have been missed out, and is not in the parallel BJ account. (ii) AJ 14.5.1 - Antipater, and not the king of Arabia as in BJ 1.8.1, paid 300 talents to get Scaurus to take his army out of Arabia.

all this has already been touched on. The important point that emerges is that Nicolaus treated Antipater favourably; this is shown particularly by the Egyptian campaign. This and the support he undoubtedly gave to Herod would tally very closely with the good press they both received in Josephus' BJ. It is very likely that this is due to the predominant influence of Nicolaus. It may be, then, that when Josephus wrote his first historical work (BJ), he relied more heavily, either directly or through a third writer, on the "Histories". The derogatory comments in the BJ and AJ came from either a politically neutral or anti-Herodian account. This other source was then followed more extensively in the writing of the AJ.⁶¹ Josephus' reasons for doing so do not seem to have been political; it may simply be that it was a more detailed account.

(iii) Herod.

(a) Introduction:

The basic problem is how much of Josephus' information about Herod came from Nicolaus. But the answer about Herod

61. Wacholder's observations of inconsistencies in the "Histories" would support this (p.79 and p.129, n.175).

is of more significance. The portrait of the king in Josephus is one of the most remarkable in ancient historiography in its psychological probing of character. Whoever produced it was a first-rate craftsman in the writing of history. This basic question of whether and how far Josephus used Nicolaus for Herod's reign has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention.⁶²

Josephus' only direct citation of Nicolaus on Herod is in book 16 of the AJ.⁶³ The king found himself short of money and had recourse to the same source of revenue used by Hyrcanus in 135/4 BC - David's tomb. As propitiation for this act he built a marble memorial at the entrance, which was described by Nicolaus among others. "But he did not mention that the king also went down (into the tomb), because he knew the deed was discreditable", continues Josephus. "Indeed Nicolaus goes on writing in this way about other things. For since he lived in Herod's kingdom and was a friend of his, he wrote to please and help the king, touching only on those things which were to his credit, painting in opposite colours many of his patent injustices and concealing them with the greatest care In his writing he continually praised to excess all that the king did right, and was quick to excuse his

62. See Appendix 8.

63. Jos. AJ 16.7.1 = 90 FF 101 and 102, and 90 T 12.

illegalities. But, as I said, one may make full allowance for what he did, since what he wrote was not a history for other people, but a service to Herod."

Such comments seem a little strange coming from "a time-server and flatterer of his Roman patrons"⁶⁴, but there is some parallel between Nicolaus' position and that of Josephus himself which may well have irritated Josephus. Nevertheless, putting aside the personal element in this criticism, one is left with the two serious charges - that Nicolaus omitted details unfavourable to Herod, and exaggerated his good points.

Two sections of Josephus seem to show that both charges may be valid. First, there is a discrepancy, mentioned in chapter 1, between the account of Mariamne's sons in the "Histories" and "Autobiography", an episode which is cited by Josephus himself as an example of Nicolaus' lying. In the former their mother was accused of ἀσελγεία and the sons of ἐπιβουλαί⁶⁵ by Nicolaus, but yet in the latter, written after Herod's death when the political background was different, Nicolaus states that they were the victims of Antipater's intrigues, suggests that they were in fact

64. So Thackeray, "Josephus, the Man and the Hist.", p.19.

65. 90 F 102 = Jos. AJ 16.7.1.

innocent, and that he himself advised Herod to bide his time before taking any irrevocable decision.⁶⁶ Second, is the probable fabrication referred to earlier where Nicolaus traces back Herod's ancestry to the leading Jews who returned from the Babylonian Exile.⁶⁷ Admittedly, the evidence for this comes from Josephus himself, and there is no other material available for verification, but there is equally no reason to doubt the worth of his testimony. It would thus appear that Nicolaus both omitted and invented *καθ' ὑπηρεσίαν Ἡρώδου*.

Did Nicolaus believe all he wrote about Herod? Because of his shift of ground over Mariamne, and the fact that he can not surely have been completely naive and credulous in his relations with Herod, one must conclude that he was prepared to compromise his personal feelings in Herod's service. In this context some comments from AJ 16.5.4 are not out of place: "Some people think there were divergent and contradictory elements in Herod's nature ;.. but Herod was *φιλότιμος*.... If any of his own people did not flatter him and agree that he was the king's slave, or seemed to be causing any trouble to his authority, Herod could not control himself, but vented his rage on relations

66. 90 F 136.2ff: The younger sons were held in greater esteem than Antipater *διὰ τὸ ἐκ βασιλίδος γεγονέναι* (nothing is now said about her "licentiousness"); Herod "made a hasty rather than wise decision - he no longer gave any intimation of his plans to Nicolaus" (§4); the whole affair was due to Herod being misled by Antipater (§§4-5).

67. See p. 199f; 90 F 96 = Jos. AJ 14.1.3.

and friends alike, and punished them as enemies For he expected the same subservience from his subjects as he showed to his own superiors ... The Jews did not flatter Herod ... I think it was for this reason that Herod had failings towards his own people and his own advisers."

It may be that Nicolaus' position with Herod was not as sure as his "Autobiography" would have us believe.⁶⁸ For all his boasted integrity and independence, he preferred to enhance Herod's image.⁶⁹ Yet, in practical terms, as court historian, he could hardly do otherwise.

Despite his criticism of Nicolaus' lack of integrity, did Josephus make much use of the "Histories"? The Mariamne episode alleges that Nicolaus said both the queen and her sons were guilty of improprieties and subversion, "since he wanted to give an appearance of respectability to the king's savage act".⁷⁰ If this is contrasted with the "Autobiography", which is admittedly brief on this point, it is clear that there Nicolaus suggests Mariamne's sons were themselves the victims of intrigue. Josephus must therefore be referring to what Nicolaus wrote in the "Histories". It is consequently important to examine first

68. Cf. 90 F 135.

69. Cf. 90 F 137 - a flamboyant display of egotism.

70. Jos. AJ 16.7.1.

the tenor of Josephus' writings about the trio, both in the AJ and BJ.

(b) Mariamne:

Herod's domestic troubles centred around Mariamne are treated in the psychological manner mentioned earlier, in both the AJ and BJ. The BJ account is quite brief. In it the king is reproached for his murder of the queen's grandfather Hyrcanus and her brother Aristobulus, but his attitude to his wife was marked, so the text says, by undiminished love tinged with jealousy. Mariamne's hatred for him was no less than his love for her - but she had good reason for this. She made full use of Herod's devotion to her to slander and disgrace him and his family. This aroused the antipathy of his mother and sister, who endeavoured to force Herod to act by accusing her of adultery and having the effrontery to send a picture of herself to Antony, "a man with a mania for women", *δὲ ὑπερβολὴν ἀσελγείας*.⁷³ These charges astounded Herod and also

71. Jos. BJ 1.22.2-5.

72. The AJ account (15.3.3) of Aristobulus' drowning is much longer than BJ; The pair were probably murdered in 30 (Hyrc.) and 35 (Arist.) BC. The drowning story is surely not from N.

73. AJ 15.3.9; See BJ 1.22.3 for the allegation that Mariamne sent her portrait to Antony. This does not occur in AJ (But see AJ 15.2.6 for a very similar story, and Marcus' note - LCL Vol. 8, p.15, n. c).

made him apprehensive of what Cleopatra's jealousy would do. The final blow came when the king discovered that his wife had been given confidential information by his brother-in-law Joseph.⁷⁴ In a fit of jealousy he ordered the deaths of him and Mariamne.

Two features are prominent in the narrative. Apart from his two murders, there is nothing derogatory of Herod. The tone of the chapter is apologetic, depicting him as a man bearing a natural love and affection for his wife. Despite her indulgence in *παρρησία* and *ὄνειδος* at his expense, his affection was undiminished. It was his great weakness of *ὑποψία* and *ἄκρατος ζήλοτυπία*, played on by his court, which overcame this continuous consideration for Mariamne and resulted in her death. But the queen herself is less favourably painted, though her conduct is sympathetically treated in view of the outrages against her kin perpetrated by Herod. The charge of adultery against her is regarded by Josephus as "slander" (*εἰς μοιχείαν δέβαλλον αὐτήν*), and the story of her intrigue with Antony as "a piece of plausible fabrication" (*ἄλλα τε πολλὰ πρὸς τὸ πιθανὸν ἐνσκευαζόμεναι καὶ κατηγοροῦσαι...*). He still repeats this hostile account of her, however.

75

The AJ tells the story at greater length. But whereas

74. AJ 15.3.5 says "uncle", not "brother-in-law". See Marcus (LCL Vol. 8, p.33, n. d).

75. Jos. AJ 15.2.5; 3.5-6; 3.9; 6.5; 7.1-6.

in the BJ Joseph and Mariamne were executed together, there are now two very similar stories, when on two separate occasions Mariamne was left under guard while Herod was out of the kingdom.⁷⁶ When for a second time the queen had learnt of her husband's intention to have her killed if his mission failed, her feelings for him were naturally cool. But Herod was surprised at his wife's "unreasonable hatred"⁷⁷ of him, and there follows a rhetorical description of his conflicting feelings, heightened later when his faithful servant Soemus is put to death and after a trial Mariamne meets the same fate.⁷⁸ The narrative is longer than BJ, and more details are added. But again, as much is said in her defence as in attack, nor is there any mention of her ἀσέλγεια.⁷⁹

The BJ and AJ accounts are largely pro-Herod, but include unfavourable details. It might therefore be argued, though unproveable, that most of the narrative is based on

76. AJ 15.3.5-6, 9; 6.5; 7.1.

77. AJ 15.7.2.

78. AJ 15.7.4-5.

79. Salome's charge of Mariamne sending her portrait to Antony in BJ 1.22.3 is not repeated (see n.73), and she is given a balanced epitaph: σώφρων καὶ πιστή to Herod although she had τι καὶ γυναικείον ὄρου καὶ χαλεπὸν ἐκ φύσεως (AJ 15.7.4); she was πρὸς ἐγκράτειαν καὶ πρὸς μεγαλοψυχίαν ἀρίστα (AJ 15.7.6), and faced her death nobly.

Nicolaus because it is favourable to Herod, and that Josephus also used a further source unfavourable to the king. It could be contended, however, that the "pro" and "con" elements are misleading, and that the aim of Josephus or his source was to compose an account that was exciting, interesting and "pathetic", and also psychologically plausible. This version could then be quite impartial. The dramatic treatment of Herod's emotions found in both BJ and AJ could by logic still be attributed to Nicolaus' early training in the writing of tragedies. But in practical terms this seems remote. His account of Mariamne must have been published before Herod's death, otherwise it could have been changed to the tone of his "Autobiography". It would surely have been impossible, bearing in mind Josephus' characterisation of the king in AJ 16.5.4, for a man living at Herod's court to publish such an emotional and dramatic account of his thoughts and actions during his lifetime. It seems unrealistic to believe more than that some of Nicolaus' information may be incorporated in the AJ and BJ either by an intermediary or by Josephus himself.

(c) Mariamne's sons:

The attitude of Herod to Alexander and Aristobulus,

80. See 90 F 132, p.421, lines 12-13.

Mariamne's sons, is also dealt with in both Josephus' ⁸¹ works, but the only direct indication of what the "Histories" account gave about them is the one word ⁸² ἐπιβουλαί. The section of Nicolaus' "Autobiography" appertaining to their trial in 7 BC is unfortunately not strictly admissable ⁸³ here on two grounds. First, as already mentioned, it took a more friendly line to the pair than its earlier counterpart in the "Histories" had done. Secondly, it is a work of a different nature, more personal and angled to enhance its author's own image. ⁸⁴ But a speech made by Nicolaus at the trial of Antipater in 5 BC is recorded by Josephus and furnishes additional, though perhaps not completely ⁸⁵ reliable, information about this earlier trial.

Here Nicolaus denounces Antipater, and contrasts his behaviour towards his father with that of the now dead Alexander and Aristobulus. Nicolaus was not surprised at the pair's ἀβουλία, because of their youth and their being misled by evil advisers, and yet Antipater had imitated

81. BJ 1.23.1 - 27.6; and AJ16.1.2; 3.1 - 4.5; 7.2-3; 8.1-5; 10.1-7; 11.1-8.

82. So AJ 16.7.1.

83. 90 F 136.2-4.

84. E.g. the youths were convicted at Berytus "before N left Rome"; N advised Herod not to act hastily, but his advice was ignored and Herod did not consult him before killing them.

85. AJ 17.5.5. How reliable this account is it is difficult to say, since N could easily have written his "Histories" version of the Antipater trial after Herod's death and changed to his own advantage what he actually said at the trial.

their cruelty: "You denounced your brothers for their audacity and searched for evidence I am amazed that you are so eager to imitate their depravity (*ἀσελγείαν*), and have come to the conclusion that you did all this not to protect your father, but to do away with your brothers, so that you would be accepted as a dutiful son Although you destroyed your brothers by demonstrating their worthlessness, you did not arraign their accomplices; ... you wanted their plot (*ἐπιβουλή*) to kill their father to benefit only yourself You did not hate your brothers because they had plotted against him, ... but endeavoured to kill him as well as your brothers, so that you might not be shown too quickly to have falsely accused them." This evidence could show that although Nicolaus regarded Alexander and Aristobulus as being guilty of plotting against Herod, their actions were viewed not altogether without sympathy, and largely excused by their youth and evil court influences. This more sympathetic treatment may be due, on the other hand, to his intention to contrast Antipater's villainy even more. In brief, Nicolaus states that Antipater's role in their downfall was motivated by personal enmity and ambition, and included fictitious charges against them.

The account in the AJ which covers this is longer than

the parallel in BJ, but is only a more detailed build-up⁸⁶ of the same story. Its predominant features are the long dramatic story of the tangled intrigue at court which led to Antipater's fall, and the emotional effect that these machinations had on Herod. The king's love for his sons initially outweighed the slanders spread by Salome and her associates, but the young men *ὑπο τῆς ἀπειρίας* retaliated openly and thought this "noble". Salome's crafty attacks prevailed and their indiscretions made it unnecessary for her to resort to further invention. They, like their⁸⁷ mother, aroused pity. Further accusations by Pheroras and Salome confused and distressed the king, who reflected on his unfortunate domestic life in contrast to "his amazing success as a king". Antipater was then brought to power as a counter-measure, a move for which Herod is defended, and he and his friends *κακῶθως*⁸⁸ noted down the youths' criticisms of Herod. From then on he was the driving influence in arousing Herod's hatred against them.

86. But Herod's speech on his return from Rome to Judaea in 12 BC is given in much greater detail in BJ 1.23.5 than in the parallel account of AJ 16.4.6.

87. AJ 16.1.2; 3.1.

88. AJ 16.3.2-3.

An assessment of the possible relationship between the accounts of Nicolaus and Josephus depends mainly on their characterisation of the leading figures. The villain of the piece in both is Antipater, and examples of all Nicolaus' charges against him can be found in Josephus.⁸⁹ Mariamne's sons are treated in what appears to be a balanced way. They were the victims of external forces, but themselves responsible for many of their misfortunes ⁹⁰ *ὕπὸ χαλεπότητος*. Herod is the enigma. Up to chapter 8 of book 16 he is treated favourably, his emotional complexities and outbursts being sympathetically treated in the same way as in the Mariamne episode. Fatherly feeling ⁹¹ is the essence of the narrative. But from then on AJ has

89. See AJ 16.3.3; 4.1; 4.5; 7.2; 8.4; 10.1; 10.4.

90. See esp. Josephus' summary of the whole affair in AJ 16.11.8, and Alexander's rashness in publishing a four-book attack on Herod's closest friends and relatives, and charging them with being implicated in a plot with him (AJ 16.8.5) See also AJ 16.3.3; 7.3.

91. AJ 16.3.2 - Herod's confusion and distress when first told of the youth's desire for vengeance; 4.1 - aroused by Antipater to try his sons before Augustus; 4.2 - Herod's accusation of them was made *ἐρπαθῶς*, but he was also deeply moved by the sight of their tears and groans. But is N also covering up for Herod's being rebuffed by Augustus? - Augustus did not believe the slander (*οὐδὲ πρότερον πιστεύων τῷ μεγέθει τῆς διαβολῆς*); Herod was embarrassed by having no concrete evidence against them, and told to stop his suspicions (4.4). Perhaps N tones down this rejection by Augustus' telling the youths not to give grounds for it.

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more elements critical of Herod. The Herodian apologetics up to chapter 8 and no incongruity between Nicolaus and Josephus to this point suggest that the Josephus account was either taken directly from Nicolaus, or at least a Nicolaus-based version.

The tone of the remaining sections (AJ 16.8-11) is *not* necessarily different from those preceding, with the exception of the final summary of Herod's reign in AJ 16.11.8, which probably came from Josephus himself. It may therefore be that "criticism" = truth. The account of the old king reading out letters which did not make the point he wanted the court to take and being in such anger that the court dare not but agree with him is too plausible to be invented.⁹³ The whole meeting of the Romans also seems to be described by one close to the event. It might also be pointed out that Herod is depicted as a man in an agony of indecision and terror, unlike the propaganda villain who sins smoothly with pleasure. There is almost a Herod tragedy running through the whole - a deterioration into pathological fear and blindness which led Herod to commit a crime against his sons and himself. But such a detailed tragedy can not have been published by Nicolaus during Herod's lifetime, and the intimate, "eye-witness" details

92. AJ 16.8.1 - Herod was "immoderately" fond of some eunuchs. Herod gets pleasure in inducing people to make charges against Aristobulus and Alexander (10.2); cf. also 8.2 and 10.5.

93. AJ 16.11.2f.

of the trial are unlikely to have come from Nicolaus since he was away in Rome at the time.

(d) Nicolaus' "Autobiography":

To check further on Nicolaus' attitude to the Jewish court and Josephus' dependence on him, it is possible to compare the events found in Nicolaus' "Autobiography" with their parallel in AJ and BJ.⁹⁴ The drawbacks of this have already been referred to - the changed political circumstances which tended to effect a change in sentiment and outlook, and the much more personal emphasis which Nicolaus' work has. Nevertheless the approach is worth examining, especially where external or purely political events occur. The comparative table constructed from Nicolaus' "Autobiography" and Josephus,⁹⁵ shows the basic congruence of the accounts, and not surprisingly that Josephus related the events at much greater length than Nicolaus - there would be no point in the latter repeating in minute detail in his "Autobiography" things which had been adequately covered in the earlier "Histories", except perhaps to emphasise his personal part in the events.

94. See also Wacholder, pp. 62-64. He is wrong in saying (p.63) that Josephus does not mention that Antipater intended to kill Salome - see AJ 17.1.1 and esp. 5.7.

95. Appendix 9.

There are, however, several points which need developing. F 134 shows only that Nicolaus' part in reconciling Agrippa to the Trojans was stressed, but from F 81 (Josephus) it is clear that Nicolaus developed this tour of Herod's in Asia Minor to a great length.⁹⁶ The relevant section of the AJ attests ~~the~~ Herod's *πολλὰ ἔργεσία*, and exemplifies this beneficence by the reconciliation he achieved for the people of Troy and his financial relief for the people of Chios.⁹⁷ It is probable, then, that the narrative of Josephus about Herod's Ionian tour and his relations with Agrippa is taken from Nicolaus.⁹⁸ To support this view is the speech, recorded by Josephus,⁹⁹ which Nicolaus made for the Ionian Jews. In it he dwells on the *πίστεις, εὐνοία*, and *τιμή* Agrippa had from Herod, and shows the latter's *ἔργεσία* towards the Romans.¹⁰⁰ He also mentions Agrippa's sacrifices, prayers and generosity when he was in Judaea,¹⁰¹ and these acts are in fact related by

96. 90 F 81 = Jos. AJ 12.3.2 shows that this journey was described in books 123 and 124.

97. AJ 16.2.2.

98. AJ 16.2.1-5.

99. AJ 16.2.4.

100. AJ *ibid.*

101. *Ibid.*

Josephus outside this speech in their proper historical
¹⁰² context. The last point in particular shows that
 Nicolaus was clearly the authority for Josephus' narrative
 here (Book 16.2.1-5), and the *τιμή* this benevolence
 brought the king is recorded even in the "Autobiography",
 where one might have expected Nicolaus to lay greater
 stress on the part he himself played in it. When Herod¹⁰³
 travelled to Rome in 12 BC Nicolaus went with him. The few
 words describing this in the "Autobiography" give no clue
 as to the reason for the journey, but since the fragment in
 questions ends on board ship,¹⁰⁴ it is likely that the
 proceedings in Rome, when Herod accused Alexander and his
 brother, were detailed, and there are no grounds for
 doubting that this was so in the "Histories". What happened
 in Rome and the reasons behind the visit to Augustus are
 given by Josephus, in both of which accounts Herod is not
 treated unfavourably. This part (AJ 16.4.1-5.3) almost

102. AJ 16.2.1.

103. 90 F 134, p.422, lines 17-19. Perhaps this part of
 the "Autobiography" was written as a kind of diary of
 events before Herod's death, and not changed much when
 N retired and wrote the work.

104. 90 F 135, p.422, lines 31-33.

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certainly follows the tenor and narrative of Nicolaus.

F 136 tells of the important role Nicolaus had in restoring friendly relations between Herod and Augustus after the king's unsanctioned attack on Arabia. The account is short because it is a reiteration of the substance of the "Histories", but now more from Nicolaus' own angle. Josephus gives a much fuller account, including a full justification of the king's act, and tacit commendation of his long patience under extreme provocation. All the blame for Augustus' hardened attitude to Herod is due to the malicious attacks made before the emperor by the Arab Syllaeus, despite some official despatch about the trouble being available from Roman officials in Syria (cf. AJ 16.10.9). The mission Nicolaus undertook in this crisis and his decisive speech before Augustus stamp this whole episode in Josephus as a derivative of the "Histories" version. This is further confirmed by the concurrence of

105. AJ 16.4.1-5; BJ 1.23.3. Antipater aroused Herod's anger against the youths, but yet the king "still hesitated to give way to such strong feeling. To ensure he made no mistake ... he thought it better to sail to Rome (*πλεύσας εἰς Ῥώμην*; cf. F 135 - *πλείων εἰς Ῥώμην*) and accuse his sons there in front of Augustus". Herod's rhetorical recital of charges is made to look justifiable, yet the innocence of the two youths is clearly shown (see also n.91).
106. AJ 16.9.1-2. Saturninus, the Roman governor, and Volumnius (procurator?) (see LCL Vol. 8, p.322f, n.a), but not Augustus, are said to have sanctioned Herod's action.

details in Nicolaus' speech with Josephus' earlier
¹⁰⁷
narrative, and by references in the "Autobiography" which
are meaningless unless related to what Josephus' account
¹⁰⁸
records from Nicolaus. Wacholder believes that there is
some small discrepancy about Syllaeus between Nicolaus and
Josephus, through the latter or one of his associates
making a mistake in copying Nicolaus, but this can be
¹⁰⁹
explained away. There is every reason to believe that
Josephus' account in AJ 16.9.1-4 and 10.8-9 is based on
Nicolaus.

107. N's speech is in AJ 16.10.8. His story there of what
caused the fracas, and the course of it, agrees with
what Josephus had given when actually describing these
in their proper historical context (AJ 16.9.1-3), and
thus shows Josephus was dependent on N for his account:
E.g. (i) The borrowing of money by Syllaeus (10.8) is
mentioned in 9.1. (ii) Herod consulted Saturninus and
Volumnius (10.8), and this is found also in 9.2.
(iii) Syllaeus at Berytus (10.8) also in 9.1.

108. (i) F 136 begins directly with the words "When Herod
launched an expedition against Arabia " An
explanation of what gave rise to this may or may not
have been in the "Autobiography", but must have been
in the "Histories" (see n.107). The long justifica-
tion for it found in Jos. AJ 16.9.1-3 must surely be
Nicolaan in origin. (ii) In the same F (p.423, line
5f) come the words "The Arab was now dead".
This information comes after N had successfully repud-
iated the charges against Herod. The unnamed Arab had
died, but Augustus, "persuaded by Nicolaus' accusation,
now condemned his minister (*διοικητής*), and on later
finding him absolutely evil put him to death". The
minister must be Syllaeus, who was disgraced at the
time but executed in 4 BC (Strabo 16.4.24; see also
Jos. AJ 17.3.2; BJ 1.29.3). The other two prominent
Arabs mentioned in Josephus are King Obadas, who had
been deposed by Syllaeus (AJ 16.7.6 and 9.1) but still
left alive, and Nabekos their *στρατηγός*, killed in
battle with the Jews (AJ 16.9.2). The Arab is there-
fore Obadas, whose death is recorded similarly in both
N and Jos. (*ὁ μὲν οὖν Ἀραβὴ ἤδη ἐτεβνήκει (N) / ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ὀβάδας
ἐτεβνήκει (Jos.)*).

109. See Appendix 10.

This can not be true of chapter 11 of book 16.

Although the conversation recorded here between Nicolaus and Herod must have come from the "Histories" and concurs with the "Autobiography" account, the tone of the part is generally anti-Herodian.¹¹⁰ Presumably, Nicolaus included the king's killing of Alexander and Aristobulus in the "Histories", as he mentioned it in his other writings, but he seems to have tried to disassociate himself completely from a punishment of such severity.¹¹¹ Some of the information must have come from Nicolaus, but the construction of the chapter, with its psychological evaluation, probably did not. Josephus may well be responsible for this himself.

The first half of AJ book 17, dealing mainly with Antipater's intrigues, goes into great detail.¹¹² Because of this feature it must have originally been taken from a

110. Cf. N's views on Herod's attitude to his sons in AJ 16.11.3 and 90 F 136.3. It is highly unlikely that the anti-Herodian slant came from N - Herod boasted of his *μίσος... καὶ τὴν ἑξουσίαν* (11.1); at the Berytus trial *μέγιστα θυμοῦ καὶ ἀγριότητος ἐνεδίδου σημεῖα* (11.2); Alexander and Aristobulus were not allowed to defend themselves by Herod (11.3). There are many other examples in §§ 4-6.
111. N advised only imprisonment - AJ 16.11.3 and 90 F 136.3, but Herod took no notice of him.
112. AJ 17.1.1-5.8 and 7.1, with episodes (1.3-2.3 refer to events long after Herod's death; 6.1-6).

source of similar or longer proportions. The "Histories" is the only one known to have been in this category, and its dependence on it is shown by the concurrence of details in Nicolaus' condemnation of Antipater with Josephus' main narrative.¹¹³ Furthermore, obscure references in the "Autobiography" to Antipater having committed "a crime against Caesar (Augustus)" and "some heinous intrigue even against Caesar's household"¹¹⁴ are again explained by Josephus' story.¹¹⁵ There is a small difference, however. Josephus states that when Antipater had been condemned to death before Varus Herod decided to communicate with Augustus, and only when a letter came back from his envoys in Rome leaving the choice

113. N's speeches are in AJ 17.5.5-6. The torturing of free men and slaves, and Antipater's associates' denunciation of men and women (§5) should be compared with AJ 17.4.2-3. With §6 compare Antipater's excesses with Pheroras' women (AJ 17.3.2; 4.1); examination under torture (AJ 17.4.1); Herod dismisses Doris, Antipater's mother, for being implicated (AJ 17.4.2). The drug to poison Herod, which was acquired by Antipater, is said to have come from Egypt in both versions - AJ 17.4.2 and 90 F 136.6.

114. 90 F 136.6-7.

115. AJ 17.5.7-8 and 7.1 - Antipater had used a Jewess, a slave of Augustus' wife Julia, named Acme, in his intrigues. Augustus put her to death (90 F 136.7 and AJ 17.7.1). The "enormity" of this crime looks like a Nicolaan exaggeration.

of punishment to him did the king decide to put his son¹¹⁶ to death; even so, the sentence was delayed a short time. According to the "Autobiography", Nicolaus recommended sending Antipater to Augustus - but then he saw Augustus' letter,¹¹⁷ and Antipater was killed. This apparent discrepancy in the time for the various operations to take place is doubtless due to Nicolaus' great contraction in the "Auto-¹¹⁸biography" of what actually happened to avoid repetition.

The final sections of F 136 deal with Herod's son, Archelaus, after the king's death in 4 BC, and his being confirmed as ethnarch by Augustus. There are certain¹¹⁹ features found in Nicolaus and not in Josephus, and vice-

116. Jos. AJ 17.5.7-8; 6.1; 7.1.

117. 90 F 136.7.

118. As pointed out in n. 115 the letter from Augustus, according to both N and Josephus, mentioned that Acme had been put to death.

119. (i) N mentions a rising of the Jews against the Greeks (90 F 136.8) and mentions the number of 10,000 (Wacholder takes this to be the Jewish faction, but it could be the size of the Greek side or their combined numbers). (ii) Greek delegates before Augustus opposed Archelaus and wanted their own freedom (F 136.9).

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versa, but no parts in either account are irreconcilable.

The differences are probably due to condensation, and at times to a slightly different selection of details from the

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"Histories" account. Four things stamp the narrative of

122

Josephus as largely a derivative of Nicolaus: (i) The whole account from Herod's death until Augustus' settlement is generally favourable to Archelaus, Nicolaus' "candidate".

Although there appears to have been considerable opposition to him both in Judaea and Rome, the views of his antagonists

120. (i) A letter was sent to Augustus by Sabinus the procurator (AJ 17.9.4-5) accusing Archelaus. (ii) N seems to depict the examination before Caesar as taking place on one occasion only, for brevity's sake (90 F 136.9-11), and does not make it clear, as Josephus does, that the whole affair lasted a considerable length of time, and that there were at least two main audiences before Augustus (AJ 17.9.4-7; 10.1; 11.1-4). This was, however, doubtless clear in the "Histories".

121. Although Josephus does not mention a Greek delegation to Augustus at this time, nor N's advice to Archelaus not to oppose their wishes for freedom "since the rest of the kingdom was enough" (F 136.9-10), his statement that Gaza, Gadara and Hippus "were cities detached from allegiance to Archelaus and added to (the province of) Syria", i.e. under Roman not Jewish jurisdiction, confirms that the "Histories" original included some such representatives from the Greek element in Palestine.

122. The speech of the Jews is a violent tirade against Herod, and to a lesser extent Archelaus (AJ 17.11.2). Since N argued against them, it is probable that their views were in N's account, but toned down. Josephus' narrative (11.3) says "Nicolaus cleared the king of these accusations", but the ineffectuality of N's reply makes this seem exaggerated (and Nicolaan!).

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are given little prominence. (ii) The description of the Jewish length of mourning and of the Passover is non-

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Jewish. (iii) The actions of Archelaus from Herod's death until his ethnarchy was fixed are described in great detail,

but the next ten years of his reign are covered in about

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one twentieth of the space devoted to the year 4/3 BC;

Josephus' rich source for Herod and the first year of

Archelaus' rule had clearly dried up. (iv) The prominent

part in all this is played by Nicolaus. There can thus be

little doubt that this narrative (AJ 17.8.4-9.7 and 11.3

at least) was taken, perhaps wholly, from Nicolaus.

123. Jos. AJ 17.8.2-11.4.

124. (i) AJ 17.8.4 - Archelaus mourned for Herod 7 days - *τόσας γὰρ διαγορεύει τὸ νόμιμον τοῦ πατρίου* (ii) AJ 17.9.3 - The festival of the Passover, *ἐν ᾗ Ἰουδαίους ἄζυμα προτίθισθαι πάτριον· φάσκα δὲ ἡ ἑορτὴ καλεῖται, ὑπόμνημα οὕσα τῆς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἀπάρσεως αὐτῶν γενομένης, καὶ θύουσιν αὐτὴν προθύμως, πλήθος τε ἱερέων ὥς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῃ κατακόπτειν ἔστιν αὐτοῖς νόμιμον*. In this the description of the festival is impersonal ("they", "their", "them", in contrast to the "we", "our", etc. of earlier references to the Passover by Josephus - see AJ 2.14.6; 3.10.5; 3.11.48; 14.2.2). Cf. this usage with N's way (90 F 92 = Jos. AJ 13.8.4) - *Ἐρκανοῦ τοῦ Ἰουδαίου διὰ τινὰ ἑορτὴν πάτριον, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις οὐκ ἦν νόμιμον ἐξοδεύειν*. Notice also some other uses of "we", etc. to describe Jewish customs: AJ 15.1.2; 15.3.3; 17.10.2.

125. From 3 BC - 6 AD is found only in AJ 17.13.1-2; BJ 2.7.3.

(e) Summary:

The phrase "use of sources" can be a vague and sometimes misleading term. One cannot assume, for example, that Josephus used his sources in the rather crude and careless way that Nicolaus has been shown to use Ctesias. Nor is it safe to conclude that Josephus adopted a uniform method with his sources throughout his writings, and then to apply knowledge of his methods in other parts to his Herodian narrative - quality, availability, and detail of existing versions inevitably influence collation and selection.

If one views the account of Herod as a whole, there is a thread of tragedy running through it, but a tragedy with a melodrama for prologue, in which Herod after various adventures is confirmed as king by Augustus. His subsequent career is stained by crimes which seem to take place almost inevitably. He becomes increasingly savage and mentally blind until his crimes are as hurtful to himself as to his victims. He becomes an object of horror and pity - a portrait of the same school as Tacitus' Tiberius.

This construction of AJ 15-17.8 seems to be a deliberate design. If this view is correct, the literary architect could hardly be Nicolaus. Most of his "Histories" account of Herod seems to have been published before the king's death, and yet the design envisaged above surely demands

that the psychology of the account at least was composed
¹²⁶
 after Herod had died.

The examination of Josephus' AJ and BJ about Herod, and its possible debts to Nicolaus, has been restricted to those parts which can be contrasted with what is known about the tenor of Nicolaus' own writings. It has been argued that the AJ and BJ accounts are essentially the same, but that the psychology and some of the intimate details found there are unlikely to have come from any account published during Herod's lifetime, and therefore not from Nicolaus - unless he published an unknown monograph after 4 BC. Yet the evidence of the preceding paragraphs also shows fairly conclusively that the facts of large sections of Josephus' narrative about Herod and Archelaus are drawn ultimately from Nicolaus, particularly for the later part of Herod's reign. It is also therefore reasonable to assume that other parts favourable to Herod which concern personalities mentioned in these sections and which are in keeping with the tenor found there are likely
¹²⁷
 to have come from Nicolaus too. Clearly events in which

126. It is possible, but perhaps unlikely, that N wrote a résumé of Herod's reign after the king's death, and that Josephus followed this.

127. So also Büchler, JQR 9 (1897), pp.336 and 345; Schürer, Vol. 1.1, p.87; M. Noth, "Hist. of Israel²", p.413; Wacholder, p.64. See also Laqueur, RE 17. 393-399.

Nicolaus took a large part would be reported by him in
¹²⁸
 most detail, even if with bias. It seems reasonable to
 conclude, then, that substantial parts of AJ 16-17 and BJ 1
 in particular are based either directly or indirectly on
¹²⁹
 Nicolaus. But the part played by Josephus in adapting and
 rewriting this information should not be under-estimated.

Conclusion.

There is no evidence that Nicolaus gave an extensive account, either continuous or in episodes, of early Jewish history. Josephus' scattered references to comments made by Nicolaus about Biblical figures (Abraham and Noah) underline this conclusion. In the fragments dealing with the Hellenistic World of the third to early first century BC Jewish affairs are not treated separately, but are interwoven with Seleucid and Ptolemaic history. This linking may be purely coincidental, but there is no positive

128. See also Laqueur (RE 17.366f).

129. Jacoby (FGrH IIC, p.230) supports W. Otto (RE Supp. 2. 6ff; 9.2513) in believing that Josephus did not use N directly at all, but through two successive anonymous Jewish intermediaries. The possibility seems remote.

evidence that Jewish history of this period was treated in its own right. In dealing with the Herodians, with whom he had intimate contact, Nicolaus wrote in detail and with bias, particularly about the later years of Herod's reign. Considerable portions of Josephus' account about Herod and his father must ultimately be derived from Nicolaus' narrative.

PART II:

THE BIOGRAPHY OF AUGUSTUS.

CHAPTER 5:

CONTENTS AND STRUCTURE.

Contents.

The biography which Nicolaus composed about Augustus¹ is his only known attempt at this genre. That there may have been another on Herod, no longer extant, has been suggested by Thackeray, but it is extremely unlikely.² The present text extends to some 976 lines in Jacoby's text,³ and is based on two codices only. 90 FF 125-129⁴ are preserved in the Codex Peirescianus, and 90 F 130, by far the longest of the fragments,⁵ in the Codex Escorialensis - both again part of the "Excerpta Historica" commissioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. The extant text divides conveniently into three sections: §§ 1-57 (A), §§ 58-106 (B), and §§ 107-139 (C).

1. On the title of the biography see Appendix 11.
2. H. St. J. Thackeray, "Josephus, the Man and the Historian", p.40. But no ancient writer mentions such a work, nor does it seem likely that the considerable space devoted to Herod's reign in the "Histories" would have enabled him to contribute much more in a separate work.
3. FGrH IIA, pp. 391-420.
4. Pp. 391-397.
5. Pp. 397-420.

The biography as we have it is incomplete, and it is quite likely that we possess only a small fraction of the whole work.

The basic structure of the biography is straightforward. After a comparatively short introduction (§1-13 lines), and a statement of his purpose in writing (§2-8 lines), Nicolaus gives a very brief account of Octavian's ancestry (§3-4½ lines). §4 begins the account of Octavian himself, and the rest of section A unfolds his life story down to the time when he had set out from Brundisium to Rome in April, 44 BC, after crossing to Lupiae in Calabria from Apollonia on hearing the news of Caesar's assassination. Section B is a long episode on the motives of the conspirators, Caesar's activities during the months preceding his assassination, the actual assassination and the events of 16th-17th March. Section C resumes the story of Octavian. The last incidents mentioned occurred in early November, 44 BC.⁶

6. §§136-139 - O at Calatia and Casilinum. For the dating see Cic. Att. 16.8 (Puteoli, 2nd or 3rd Nov. 44 BC); 9 (Puteoli, 4th Nov.); and 10 (Sinuessa, 8th or 9th Nov.); T.R. Holmes, "Architect of the R. Empire", vol. 1, p. 31.

Below, the biography's contents are summarised in
⁷
greater detail:

<u>§§.</u>		<u>No. of lines.</u>	<u>%.</u>
<u>A.</u> 1	First introduction - praise of Octavian.	(13)	(1.3)
2	Nicolaus' reasons for writing; the difficulty of composition.	8	0.8
3	Octavian's ancestry.	4	0.4
4-15	Various aspects of his life, 54/53 (?) - 47 BC.	52	5.3
16-20	His increasing closeness to Caesar; his moral excellence.	41	4.2
21-24	He joins Caesar in Spain, and	27	2.8
25-27	travels with him to New Carthage.	19	1.9
28-30	His strength of character is noted by Caesar.	14.	1.4
31	His return to Rome.	1	0.1
32-33	His encounter with Herophilus (Amatius), the pseudo-Marius.	22	2.2
34-36	His modest demeanour while in Rome.	8	0.8
37	His departure for Apollonia.	3	0.3

7. 1 line of text = 0.102%. The percentage column does not total 100 because the individual figures are only taken to one decimal place. Some part of the first introduction is missing.

<u>§§.</u>		<u>No. of lines.</u>	<u>%.</u>
38-46	He hears news of Caesar's assassination, and prepares to leave Apollonia.	60	6.1
47-57	His arrival in SE Italy and departure from Brundisium to Rome.	82	8.4
<u>B.</u> 58	Second introduction - the conspiracy against Caesar; the rise of Octavian to power; his administration in peace and war.	7	0.7
59-64	Motives of the conspirators.	48	4.9
65-66	The conspiracy was not divulged; summary of motives.	9	0.9
67	Methods of arousing hostility to Caesar.	10	1.0
68	Current rumours of Caesar's future plans.	6	0.6
69-70	Caesar's dispute with the tribunes L. Caesetius Flavus and C. Epidius Marullus.	19	1.9
71-75	The affair of the Lupercalia.	34	3.5
76-77	Exiled tribunes recalled; Caesar appoints consuls for 43 and 42 BC.	8	0.8
78-79	Caesar's casual treatment of the Senate.	17	1.7
80-82	Final plans for the assassination.	26	2.7
82-90	Events of 15th March 44 BC, up to and including the murder.	58	5.9

<u>§§.</u>		<u>No. of lines.</u>	<u>%.</u>
91-102	Events of 15th March 44 BC, after the murder.	86	8.8
103-106	Weakening of the conspirators' position from 16th March.	40	4.1
<u>C.</u> 107-122	Antony's growing hostility to Octavian:		
	107-108 Antony's refusal to allow the exhibition of Caesar's chair and crown.		
	109-114 Opposition to Octavian from Antony and Dol- bella; the double- dealing of the "neutrals", especially Cicero; the political ambitions of many "duces".		
	115-122 The veterans encourage Octavian to be reconciled with Antony; their abortive meeting on the Capitol.	131	13.4
123-129	Antony alleges that Octavian had tried to kill him.	50	5.1
130-139	Octavian is compelled to take counter-measures:		
	130-134 Alternatives open to him, and his decision.		
	135 Brutus and Cassius leave Italy.		
	136-139 Octavian raises troops in Campania.	73	7.4

The work began, in biographical tradition, with some account of Octavian's ancestry (§3). It is much more difficult to be sure at what date it finished. Nicolaus

himself gives only slender clues. In §2 he states his intention to examine Octavian's *φρόνησις* and *ἀρετή* "partly from his *πολιτεία* in his own country, and partly from his conduct of the great civil and foreign wars (... *πολέμων ἐγχωρίων τε καὶ ἀλλοεθνῶν*)". At the beginning of his Caesar-narrative (§58) he promises to show at a later point "how he [*Sc. Octavian*] came to power and ... how great were the things he did in war and peace". Both extracts presuppose a period of *ἀρχή*, but the length and nature of it cannot be determined with any accuracy.

Octavian's campaigns in the civil war culminated in Actium. As for the *πόλεμοι ἀλλοεθνείς*, it is very probable, as will be argued later,⁸ that they are ones in which Octavian took personal command - such as those in Illyria of 35-33 BC, and conceivably those in Spain of 26-25⁹ BC. As for the mention of his peacetime administration, it need refer to no more than a few years following Actium. Jacoby is inclined

8. See pp. 283-286, 293.

9. Illyria - App. Illyr. 13, 15-28; Dio 49.34.2, 35-38; M.P. Charlesworth, CAH 10, pp. 84-88. Spain - R. Syme, CAH 10, p. 343f.

to accept 27 BC as the terminating date.¹⁰ His argument is plausible, but 25 BC, the concluding year of Octavian's "Commentarii",¹¹ seems more likely.

The original length of the work is difficult to assess. The problem is complicated by the great disparity of treatment of different stages of Octavian's life. Nothing survives of any account Nicolaus may have had of Octavian's birth or early years. The first information about him dates from the time when he was "about nine years old".¹² From that point until 47 BC various episodes of his childhood and youth are treated, but not in detail.¹³ Only 52 lines are devoted to it, 5.3% of the total text. Yet a comparatively trivial episode, at least from a factual point of view - Octavian's encounter with Herophilus on his return to Rome from Spain in 45 BC - is given 22 lines¹⁴ (2.2%).

Further comparisons underline this disparity of treat-

10. FGrH IIA, p.9: 63-27 (?). §3 shows the biography began earlier than 63 BC. See also IIC, p.263f. Laqueur (RE 17.422f) thinks it very possible that the "subscriptio" of chapter 31 (§139) is the end of N's entire work, i.e. in 44 BC. This must be wrong - this was the beginning not the end of O's career, and where are the *ἔργα* *εἰρήνης* ?
11. Suet. Aug. 85.1. See also chapter 6, where it is argued that the biography was composed in the late-twenties BC.
12. §4.
13. §§4-15.
14. §§32-33.

ment in different episodes. From the moment when Octavian heard at Apollonia the news of Caesar's assassination until his departure from Brundisium for Rome takes 142 lines (14.5%¹⁵). The period is treated in some detail, as befits the turning-point in his life. Nevertheless, slightly more space, 144 lines, is taken up by the Ides of March - 58 lines (5.9%) until Caesar was murdered and 86 lines (8.8%¹⁶) by the subsequent chaotic situation. When sections A and B are taken as units, the same feature emerges. Section A, the whole of Octavian's life from his ninth until his nineteenth year, comprises 355 lines (36.2%). Yet in section B, the story of the conspiracy against Caesar, there are 371 lines - 37.8% of the surviving text. Of course, the latter formed a much smaller proportion in the complete biography, where it must have been an important but not dominating part of the narrative. For the Caesar-narrative to be so integrated would require the whole to be several times longer.

This is confirmed by the scale of section C. By the time this begins, Octavian has reached Rome and experienced

15. §§ 38-57.

16. §§ 82-102.

¹⁷
 Antony's antagonism. The mention of the time "when the
 festival came round which his father founded in Aphrodite's
¹⁸
 honour", i.e. "Ludi Victoriae Caesaris", dates §108 to July
¹⁹
 44 BC. His last mentioned action is his collecting troops
 at Calatia and Casilinum for his moves against Antony, and
²⁰
 his sending agents to Brundisium. These can be fixed to
²¹
 late October and early November of the same year. To
 cover this brief period of $3\frac{1}{2}$ months Nicolaus takes 254
 lines, or 25.9% of the total text. If a similar coverage
 was applied to the narrative from March 44 BC onwards, a
 figure of about 870 lines per year would result. If this
 figure was extended to 27 BC, it would produce a total of
 over 10,000 lines, or a work approximately ten times the
 length of the present text. Such a computation must be
 hypothetical, but clearly suggests that undoubtedly a large

17. §§ 107-108.

18. § 108.

19. Cf. App. BC 3.28 - the games were *Ἀφροδίτη Γενετήρα*.
 These games were held from the 20th-30th July (CIL
 i.397). See also Syme, RR, p.117.

20. §§ 136-139.

21. See n. 6.

22

portion of the biography is lost.

There are gaps inside the present text, some of considerable length.²³ The Constantine Excerptors show that part of Nicolaus' preface (§1) was omitted from the "Excerpta De Virtutibus" (*Περὶ Ἀρετῶν*), and recorded in their no longer extant volume, *Περὶ Ἀνδραγαθημάτων*²⁴. The fact that it was considered worthwhile to transfer part of the introduction to the latter collection suggests it was originally much longer, and emphasised Octavian's military prowess and, perhaps, his organisational ability.

22. L. Dindorf ("Hist. Graec. Min.", vol. 1, p.vii), like Laqueur subsequently (see n.10), thought the fragments of N represented nearly all of N's writing about O, and R.J.H. Shutt ("Studies in Josephus", p. 83) has maintained that the biography "is preserved almost in its entirety"! On the other hand R.J.H. Jenkins ("Dumbarton Oaks Papers" 8 (1954), p.25) believes, without citing evidence, that "probably four-fifths of Nicolaus' work is lost".
23. No attempt has been made to catalogue lacunae of single or small groups of words. These are noted in Jacoby's app. crit.
24. FGrH IIA. p. 391.18.

Some text seems also to have been lost after §3. In §2 Nicolaus has briefly outlined the pattern his narrative will follow: "First I shall describe his ancestry and birth ²⁵ [?], the parents who gave him birth, and his upbringing and training from infancy". Yet only two small pieces of information, taking 44 words, are then given in §3 about Octavian's father and ancestors. Admittedly, there seems to have been little known in Classical times about them. Suetonius tells us that he himself had been ²⁶ unable to discover much. This must mean that Augustus was brief about them in his "Commentarii", since Suetonius ²⁷ made some use of this work for his biography of the Princeps. On the other hand, Nicolaus tells us much less than Suetonius, despite the fact that more information must have been available to him when he was writing a contemporary ²⁸ biography.

It could be argued that Nicolaus is brief about

25. "Birth" seems the most appropriate interpretation of N's *γένεσιν*, since the different aspects seem to be introduced in chronological order; but "background" or "character" cannot be ruled out.
26. Aug. 2.
27. Ib. 85.1; 2.3.
28. Cf. Suet. Aug. 1-4. Even if information was sparse about O's grandfather and before, more was available about his father - Suet. Aug. 3-4; Cic. Phil. 3.15.

Octavian's ancestors because he is seeking to stress the importance of his adoptive father, Julius Caesar. Throughout the biography the close ties between Caesar and Octavian, "the young Caesar", are strongly emphasised, and much is made of his adoption by Caesar. Nicolaus' brevity could thus conceivably be traced to a similar stress by ²⁹ Augustus on the paternity by adoption of Caesar.

On the other hand, the surviving text says nothing about ancestors on his mother's side either. Yet a great deal is later made of her influence over Octavian and his affection for her. Her pedigree, too - the daughter of ³⁰ Julius' younger sister, Julia, and M. Atius Balbus - was not undistinguished, and her Caesarian lineage would have ³¹ been underlined if Nicolaus was concerned to stress Octavian's Julian connections. Other information about Octavian's early years that might be expected and which is quite irrelevant to his Caesarian affinity is not found in the extant text either. We are, for example, told nothing about ³² τὴν ἐκ νηπίου τροφήν and very little about his παίδευσιν. Nothing is found giving such pertinent details

29. Note the unusual way N describes O's parents (§2): γεννητάς, ἀφ' ὧν ἦν. See chapter 6, n.46.

30. See pp. 325-329, 335.

31. Suet. Aug. 4.1; Cic. Phil. 3.15-16.

32. Most of the information about his formal education is found in §§ 5-6.

as his birth,³³ the fact that he was only four years old when his father died,³⁴ nor indeed anything about his life before the age of nine.³⁵

Furthermore, the subject's ancestry normally occupies an important place in ancient biographies. Isocrates devoted as much as 9.5% to the ancestry of Evagoras,³⁶ and Xenophon 2.1% to Agesilaus.³⁷ Suetonius certainly makes a very prominent feature out of it in his "Vitae Caesarum".³⁸ Tacitus is less detailed in the "Agricola",³⁹ but gives a more balanced and connected account than the meagre information of Nicolaus' short-sentenced, almost scrappy Greek. Plutarch puts less emphasis on this aspect than Suetonius,⁴⁰ but is much more detailed than Nicolaus. Compared with

33. Cf. Suet. Aug. 5-6.

34. Ib. 8.

35. §4.

36. Evag. 12-20.

37. Ages. 1.2-4.

38. Aug. 1-4 (3.2%); Tib. 1-4 (7.8%); Calig. 1-7 (8.8%); Claudius 1 (4.6%); Nero 1-5 (7.5%); Galba 2-3 (9.5%); Otho 1 (10.0%); Vitell. 1-3 (20.5%); Vesp. 1 (6.0%).

39. Agric. 4 (0.8% of the work).

40. Cf. Plut. Ant. 1-2.2 (1.0%); Pyrrhus 1 (1.4%); Alex. 2-3 (1.8%).

these, Nicolaus' percentage of 0.4 is very small. Since the complete biography must originally have been much longer, the figure shrinks to a very small proportion⁴¹ indeed.

Nicolaus thus seems to be giving less information about Octavian's ancestors than might be expected from the conventions of the genre, and less on this and related aspects than he has promised. It is very probable that this is due to omission or contraction of his text by the Excerptors.⁴²

Incomplete sentences show that there is a break between §§ 27 and 28.⁴³ Although the material of §§ 25-27 immediately preceding the break is found only in Nicolaus,⁴⁴

41. Very brief sections on a character's ancestry are not unknown - cf. Xenophon's "Cyropaedia" 1.2.1 (0.08%). However, Roman emphasis on ancestral tradition, and the fact that N's subject was contemporary in contrast to Xenophon's being semi-legendary makes the "Cyropaedia" not strictly comparable to N's biography.
42. The length of the information about O himself which is assumed to be missing may be small, since in N the five-year period c. 54 / 54 - *περί ἐννέα ἔτη*] - 49 BC (§§ 4-6) takes only 18 lines (1.84%).
43. App. crit. to Jacoby p. 396.5 - "excidit folium".
44. Suet. Aug. 8.1 and Dio 43.41.3 provide only a bare framework of the whole Spanish episode.

it is not difficult to reconstruct the lost narrative. Octavian joined Caesar in Spain after Munda, and finally caught up with him near Carteia (Calpiae). Sometime in May he travelled by sea to New Carthage with him, and allegedly made a big impression on his great-uncle.⁴⁵ § 27 is concerned with Octavian's abilities as a defence counsel and arbitrator, and the resumption of the text in § 28 deals with his moral excellence. Nicolaus is clearly concentrating at these two points on character assessment; this culminates in § 30 with his affirming Caesar's intention to adopt Octavian. The lost text is therefore likely to have treated⁴⁶ the same eulogistic and ethical topic.

The fragments from the "Excerpta De Virtutibus" end at § 36, and the remaining text, beginning with § 37, is supplied

45. §§ 25-27.

46. In §§ 28 and 29 N has an account of O's σωφροσύνη and αἰδώς, but no long character assessment of him survives. An inclusion of such at this point would be very appropriate, in that the grounds for Caesar's choice of O could be seen to be logically based, and not ὥσπερ οἰοῦνται τινες, διὰ τὸ γένος μόνον (§ 30, p. 396.14f). The reference in § 28 to O's dining often with Caesar, Philip and Marcellus must clearly be understood as a general comment on O's character and not restricted to Spain, since Caesar was not accompanied by the others there.

by the "Excerpta De Insidiis". About this point there is a further gap. Apart from giving the reasons why Octavian was going to Apollonia, the missing text very probably mentioned the companions he took with him.⁴⁷ Octavian's loyalty to his friends and his readiness to listen to their advice are recurring themes.⁴⁸ Certainly an individual named by the codex as Ἀλέξανδρος, and undoubtedly the "magister dicendi"⁴⁹ Apollodorus of Pergamum found in Suetonius, is first mentioned in § 44 with these words: "But Alexander [i.e. Apollodorus] put forward as a reason [for not going back to Italy with Octavian] his old age and ill-health, and went away to his home-city of Pergamum." Such information is irrelevant and incomprehensible unless he had been

47. The emphasis in §§ 34-36 and 37ff is again on O, and it is unlikely that the break in the biography had much, if any, comment on matters that were not immediately connected with O (and perhaps Caesar).
48. §§ 16, 40-41, 51, 55-57, 117, 126-127, 132-133.
49. Suet. Aug. 89. The agreement between Suet. and N both on the home-town of the individual and his age ("grandem natu"/ τὸ τε γῆρας καὶ τὴν ἀσθενείαν) is too close to be mere coincidence. Cf. also Strabo 13.4.3 - Apollodorus was exalted most through the friendship of O, who had him as his διδάσκαλον...λογων; Quintilian 3.1.17. For O's teachers - V. Gardthausen, "Augustus und seine Zeit", vol. 1, p. 50f.

referred to before Octavian left Italy for Epirus.

Suetonius tells us that he was one of the people "quem iam grandem natu Apolloniam quoque secum ab urbe iuvenis adhuc⁵⁰ eduxerat". It follows that his name originally occurred⁵¹ either between §§36 and 37, or §§37 and 38.

A final large break occurs between sections B and C after §106. The lacuna here is particularly unfortunate since it would have enabled us to see how Nicolaus re-introduced Octavian, his main theme, and linked this narrative with the political intrigues following Caesar's murder. The extent of the gap can be estimated from the surrounding material. §103 deals with the situation at Rome and the increasing support Antony and Lepidus gained on the 16th March. Encouraged by this, the Caesarians met⁵² to decide what their next move should be. Nicolaus' narrative suggests that this meeting also took place on the 16th, and breaks off before the convening of the Senate in the temple of Tellus on the 17th.

The surviving text resumes some four months later (§108).⁵³

50. Ibid.

51. The former is more probable since a change in the "Excerpta" volumes occurs there.

52. §106.

53. Jacoby has rightly put p. 413.6-8 in smaller print (see also IIC, p.283).

The occasion is the festival in honour of Venus Genetrix (20th-30th July)⁵⁴, when Octavian attempted for a second time to exhibit the golden chair voted Caesar by the Senate and the Lupercalia crown. Because of Antony's threats he did not go ahead with the scheme.⁵⁵ But Nicolaus makes it clear that this was not the first time such opposition had been met.⁵⁶ He had therefore mentioned the earlier occasion, when, according to Appian, Critonius was supported by Antony in banning Octavian's exhibition of these objects.⁵⁷ There are few indications of the substance of the lost material. In §117 we are told of a soldier shouting that "he would murder Antony with his own hands if he refused to recognise Caesar's will and the Senate's edicts". The nature of these may, therefore, have been elaborated earlier. Perhaps Nicolaus originally continued his account after §106 for at least a few days after the Ides, and possibly until Antony left Rome in late April to begin establishing new colonies for veterans

54. §108. See also R. Syme, RR, p.117.

55. §108. See also Dio 45.6.4-5; App. BC 3.28; Syme, RR, p.116.

56. P. 413.12 - *αὐθις προελθών . . .*; ib. 14 - *ὁ [sc. Ἀντώνιος] δ' ὅμοια ἠπείλησεν.*

57. App. BC 3.28.

in southern Italy. While Antony was engaged there, Octavian arrived in Rome, and Antony thought it wise to return to the capital. There would thus be a link between the beginning of section C (§107f), the end of B (§106), and section A, which concluded with Octavian leaving Brundisium for Rome.

Structure.

To investigate the way Nicolaus constructed his biography and to try to discover his position in the tradition of biographical writing is made difficult by the fragmentary state of the text. There is also a further complication, in that most of the material for the work came, as will be argued later, from the "Commentarii" of Augustus. The fragments of this are meagre indeed, and afford no guide to the principles by which it was constructed. It is highly probable, however, that the methods Nicolaus adopted were largely derived from those of his main source.

The problems of composition of biography are easier

58. It is only possible to make a detailed comparison between N and other biographers in the way they treated the early years of their subjects: see Appendix 14.

than those of history. Whereas the historian is often faced by a large number of personalities and events with complex ramifications which must be reduced to an intelligible and meaningful order, the biographer is fortunate in at least having a clear theme around which to build his material. Pliny felt that ^{Fannius?} biography lay "inter sermonem ⁵⁹ historiamque medius", and both Nepos and Plutarch emphasise that the biographer differs from the pure historian in not being primarily concerned with the "external man" and such things as the details of battles, but rather with the more ⁶⁰ intimate attitudes and qualities of his subject. They were of course oversimplifying the issues, in that the subject is usually of some importance in the political or military spheres, and it is neither feasible nor desirable to divorce completely the subject's public and private "persona". This particularly applies to Roman biography, which had a trad-

59. Ep. 5.5.3.

60. Nepos Pelop. 1; Plut. Alex. 1; E.I. McQueen, "Quintus Curtius Rufus", p.17ff; A.J. Gossage, "Plutarch", pp. 53-55.

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ition of writing closely linked to politics.

Though it is fundamentally true that in biography the individual must be made central to his environment, the many factors which may have moulded the subject, be they social, personal or political, must be introduced into the narrative in order to interpret and understand his actions and attitudes. Though the biographer had a narrower task than the pure historian, he still had to assemble and collate an often considerable volume of diverse material.

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61. This is also true of autobiographies destined to vindicate the writer's life and career - the writings of Sulla, Caesar and Augustus; cf. Tac. Agr. 1. This theme can be observed in biography - Nepos' "Atticus" vindicates Atticus' political neutrality, and Tacitus' "Agricola" the subject's moderation. The biographies of Plutarch are of general human interest, and not written with any political axe to grind - though, admittedly, this would hardly be expected at Plutarch's date. Roman biography seems more narrowly political and closely bound up with the Roman state; the same tendency can be seen in Roman history. See also J.C. Rolfe, OCD, p.137.
62. The comments of some ancient writers show that they did not always find it easy to construct their narrative - Cf. F. Leo, "griech.-röm. Biog.", pp.146f, 199, 205, and esp. Polybius 5.31.6-8; F.W. Walbank, "Polybius", vol. 1, p.562.

There are essentially two methods of presenting this material. One, the chronological method, allows the biographer to trace his subject's development with clarity - he can branch out into different aspects of his subject's life, and yet have a clear line running through his work to which he can return and which his reader can follow. Its opposite is an arrangement purely by ⁶³τόποι. The exclusive use of either method is rarely practicable. A chronological framework gives a unity to the whole, but assessment of character and ability is most effectively treated by grouping and examining together individual instances of ἀρεταί and κακία.

A combination of the two was generally adopted. A mainly chronological approach is to be seen in Xenophon's "Cyropaedia". The "Evagoras" of Isocrates, in contrast, lacks a strong core of factual information, and in encomiastic fashion is more concerned with its hero's virtues. Tacitus maintains a strict time-sequence in eulogising Agricola, but lays stress throughout the narrative on his subject's moral calibre; the two aspects are closely interwoven, in contrast to the tendency of Nepos to divide his brief biographies into separate "career" and "ethical" parts. Suetonius most happily combines the two methods. A

63. On biographical methodology see esp. F. Leo, p.178ff; A. Weiszäcker, "Unters. über Plutarchs biogr. Technik", p.3ff.

comparison of his and Plutarch's approach to the writing of their respective accounts of Caesar is instructive.

Plutarch transmits his material, largely concerned with Caesar as a public figure, in a temporally-consecutive manner,⁶⁴ and there is little attempt to illustrate a point by collating evidence from different periods.⁶⁵ Suetonius, on the other hand, devotes much less space to merely describing Caesar's career and much more to the task of cataloguing⁶⁶ and exemplifying his diverse talents and achievements.⁶⁷

At the beginning of the biography (§2) Nicolaus sets out clearly the arrangement he had in mind: "First I shall describe his [sc. Octavian's] ancestry ..., his parents ..., and his education, which enabled him to become so great". Later, at the beginning of the section describing Caesar's last months, he outlines how he intended to continue

- 64. Plut. Caes. 1-14 (82-59 BC), 18-56 (Gallic and Civil Wars), 60-68 (the Conspiracy, murder, and its results).
- 65. But cf. ib. 15 (Caesar's greatness as a general), 16 (devotion of his army to him), 17 (Caesar's hardiness), 57 (reactions to his power), 58 (his future schemes), 59 (calendar reforms), 69 (fate of the assassins).
- 66. The Gallic Wars are narrated in only one section (25), and the Civil Wars in four (34-37). Caesar's career is found mainly in §§1-37 and 76-88.
- 67. Ib. 38-44, 46-48, 53-75. H. Ailloud, "Suétone", pp.xxvif, xxxf. Suetonius also adds scandalous gossip (§§49-52).

developing his main theme (§58): "The account which follows traces how the assassins organised the conspiracy against Caesar and completely achieved their object, and what the results of this were when the whole political scene was thrown in turmoil. So I shall first describe the conspiracy itself, why and how it was formed Then I shall continue about the other Caesar and tell how he came to power, and, when he was established in Caesar's position, all the duties of peace and war he discharged."

In these two extracts Nicolaus sets before his readers the thread of the ensuing narrative, and emphasises that he approaches his task from a basically chronological angle. Such details of Octavian's and Caesar's lives as he presents in sections A and C are given in a chronological order throughout the 63-44 BC period. Only twice does he deviate slightly from this practice, but does so consciously. The first occasion is in §30, where he states that Caesar had already decided before returning from Spain to adopt Octavian, but that "he carefully concealed his intention and adopted him in his will". The will's contents are briefly given, but at the end Nicolaus puts as a parenthesis the words "as later became clear". The second example is found in §45 before Octavian had left Apollonia for Italy. He was deeply moved by the townspeople's attachment to him, and before setting sail "thanked them at that time, and when he

came to power gave them freedom, remission of taxes, and quite a few other benefits, so making their city very prosperous. But at the time Nicolaus therefore seems concerned to maintain a strict time-sequence.

Episodes of a moralising or apologetic nature are introduced throughout this chronologically-based narrative. In section B the same pattern can be seen. After the review of the conspirators' motives the narrative appears to unfold in chronological order. What remains of Nicolaus' autobiography follows the same structure.

In structuring his biography Nicolaus differs from both Plutarch and Suetonius. Plutarch, admittedly, writes about his subject's career in chronological sequence, but puts much greater emphasis than Nicolaus on giving a factual account of what his subject did. Though his interest too is in character and morality, he devotes much less space to

68. See Appendix 12, columns ϕ and α . See esp. §§4-35.

69. See Appendix 13. In section B N also tells the story of a note being given to Caesar shortly before his death informing him of the conspiracy, and of his neglecting to read it. "After his death it was found among the rest of his papers," but, continues N, "these facts came to light later" (§§66-67).

70. 90 FF 131-139.

pointedly giving examples of moral or immoral conduct. Suetonius leans to the other end of the biographical spectrum by being much more interested in showing character, and less concerned with adhering to a strictly chronological arrangement.

Nicolaus' mode of composition is well illustrated by the narrative dealing with Octavian's boyhood and youth. His biography is not intended to be a comprehensive factual account of what Octavian did. This is clearly shown by the comparatively small amount of concrete information given proportionate to the length of the text. Nicolaus is highly selective in the information and episodes he records, and intends primarily to show the great qualities of character⁷¹ of his subject.

This is achieved by direct comment or by tracing in the background to an episode and commenting on the excellence of *φύσις* shown by Octavian: He paid careful attention to the training of his *ψυχή* and *σῶμα*⁷². He was of quicker intellect than his teachers, hardworking, and⁷³ despite his *εὐπρέπεια* resistant to sexual temptations.

71. § 2.

72. § 6.

73. §§ 6, 9, 12f, 19f.

But most noticeable is the congruence of many of his qualities with those thought desirable in a Roman leader. Nicolaus praises his φύσεως ἀκρότητα⁷⁴, but by "excellence" he means Octavian's public oratorical ability. Many individuals sought his friendship, particularly those οἷς τὸ πράττειν δι' ἐλπίδος ἦν⁷⁵. Thus even in his adolescence he is depicted as a "patronus" - clearly an anachronistic position at this time. His widespread popularity is also commented on frequently.⁷⁶ As will be demonstrated later, Nicolaus' narrative shows that Octavian conforms morally and politically to the Roman ideal.⁷⁷

Nicolaus' methodology bears closest comparison with that of the "Agricola" of Tacitus. There are two similarities of particular note. Firstly, both writers integrate very closely factual and ethical information about their subject. On many occasions a piece of factual information is given, and a conclusion, often longer than the recorded fact, about the subject's character is drawn. For example,

74. § 4.

75. § 5; cf. also §§ 16 and 18.

76. Cf. eg. §§ 5 and 9.

77. See ch. 8.

in §23 of his biography Nicolaus tells of the difficulties Octavian faced in getting to Spain in 45 BC to join Caesar; the longer sequel records Caesar's pleasure at his grand-nephew's *ἐπιμέλεια* and *σύντασις*. §§ 32 and 33 narrate Octavian's meeting on his return from Spain with Herophilus. The latter's request for recognition as a member of Caesar's *γένος* posed a delicate problem, and Nicolaus recounts at greater length the tactful way Octavian resolved it. The similar technique of Tacitus can be seen clearly in chapters 5-8. Information about Agricola's career invariably induces a eulogistic character assessment. His military training under Suetonius Paulinus was pursued "nec ... licenter, more iuvenum, neque segniter, sed noscere provinciam, etc.". He was quaestor of the province of Asia under the rapacious Salvius Titianus, "quorum neutro corruptus est". The games he gave during his praetorship took a course "medio rationis atque abundantiae". An investigation entrusted to him by Galba was conducted "diligentissima conquisitione".

The second feature common to Nicolaus and Tacitus is their preoccupation with showing their subject's *φύσις*, commenting on it directly, and linking it with much apologetic material. This feature occurs frequently with the one mentioned above, but there are also instances where both writers give short, independent character-sketches.

Such are found in Nicolaus in §§1, 6, 28 (and in the text missing before §28?) and 36, and in the "Agricola" in parts of chapters 9, 19, 22 and 44.

The resemblances between Nicolaus' biography and the "Agricola" of Tacitus are not, however, simply those of form. Both writers are not exploring character purely for its individual interest or for drawing moral conclusions from it, like Plutarch, but are concerned to point out the existence of qualities which are desirable in certain political contexts.

Nicolaus' biography shows that young Octavian possessed the qualities which at the time of writing it was politically useful for him to be thought to possess. His moderation is stressed in all his dealings with Antony and in his rejection of advice of precipitate action.⁷⁸ His openness and frankness in discussion and personal relations is contrasted with the devious behaviour of his opponents.⁷⁹ Like a good, responsible Roman he holds consultations with friends before embarking on action.⁸⁰ His popular support is made one of the bases of his political career.⁸¹ The importance of the

78. §§41f, 43, 46, 56f, 108, 119-122.

79. §§110-114, 122.

80. §§40f, 43, 55, 56, 119, 126, 127, 132, 133.

81. See chap. 10, sect. 4.

political element in the biography can be clearly seen from the scatter-diagram in Appendix 12. In section A the concentration is on Octavian the human-being. By section C the wide number of *τόποι* developed up to this point has decreased, and most material is no longer personal but political. Tacitus' biography is similarly politically-orientated, in that it points out the qualities of person-⁸²ality required to do great deeds even under an emperor. Nepos' biography of Atticus in like manner stresses the virtues of non-alignment that enabled the subject to⁸³ survive civil war. The moral qualities commended in the three biographies are "virtutes" which might be thought appropriate in any "vir bonus" qua "bonus", but in each case they have been selected from a political point of view.

It is highly unlikely that Nicolaus' presentation had any direct influence on Tacitus, and perhaps even that Tacitus had read the earlier work. But the similarities are not surprising. As will be argued in chapter 7, Nicolaus' biography represents in essentials the tenor of Augustus' "Commentarii". Tacitus is very likely to have read this, and both works are in the tradition of Roman political biography.

The reader of the biography as a whole is left in no

82. Cf. W. Liebeschuetz, CQ 16 (1966), p.127ff.

83. § 7ff.

doubt that Octavian is its principal character. It is also evident that sections A and C are built round the career of Octavian and that all other characters, even Caesar, are subordinated to him. But this does not apply to section B, which appears to have been composed on a different principle.

In sections A and C (§§ 4-57, 107-139) Octavian is the main figure. Nicolaus places his subject against a historical backcloth, but the latter impinges only slightly on the narrative; rarely are broader issues allowed to intrude. For example, the confusion in Rome at the news that Caesar was marching south in 49 BC at the beginning of the Civil War is passed over in seven words.⁸⁴ A summary of Caesar's fighting in the Civil Wars during the period 49-47 BC takes only four lines,⁸⁵ and this synopsis appears to be included only to introduce the relationship which developed between Octavian and Caesar. Caesar's return to Rome from the African campaign likewise is used by Nicolaus to set the background for an episode which illustrates Octavian's concern for the ties of friendship.⁸⁶ In the resumption of the Octavian-narrative after § 106 this concentration on the central figure is even more pronounced.

84. § 7.

85. § 14, p.393.12-15.

86. § 16; background (p.393.22-24), episode (ib.25-34).

§§ 58-106 are completely different from this. The central character is of course Caesar, but wider material is also included. In §§ 59-65 Nicolaus investigates the motivation of the conspirators at length. His account of the aftermath of the assassination in §§ 90-106 reads like detached history - comparatively impartial, factual, having changes of scene,⁸⁷ and (originally) a speech of Brutus (§100). In short, though Caesar is drawn out from the historical background, other individuals and subjects are introduced and developed at length.

In a strict sense the whole of this section B is a digression, in that it is not concerned directly with the subject of the biography. The purpose of such digressions in biography and history may be elucidation, interpretation, information or entertainment. They are usually less tense and solemn;⁸⁸ hence the popularity of geography, over which⁸⁹ less trouble was often taken. All of course have some relevance, however remote, to their main subject; the deviation is essentially one of degree. The links with the

87. In the paragraphs about O the narrative follows his activities without such "scene-switching". See also ch. 7, pp. 362-364.

88. Cf. G.M.A. Grube, "The Greek and Roman Critics", p. 210.

89. Cf. Syme, "Tacitus", p. 126f.

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main theme are sometimes extremely tenuous, although a writer such as Plutarch tries to keep closely to his main subject, and feels it necessary to apologise for even slight diversions.⁹¹

In Nicolaus the excursus is linked with a central theme of the whole biography. Caesar is mentioned in every paragraph but one in §14-§33, and nearly two-thirds of the lines are given over to their relations. The main theme is of his growing attachment to Octavian. Nicolaus points this out in a similar manner throughout, first briefly tracing in the military and political situation in which Caesar is involved (p), introducing Octavian against this background, and then developing the relationship of *Καίσαρ* and *ὁ νέος Καίσαρ*.⁹² This whole part, built exclusively on

90. The epideictic "Encomium on Helen" of Isocrates attempts to justify the episode of Theseus (§§18-37), which takes up about one-third of the whole, on very slight grounds (§§21-22).
91. In his "Pelopidas" (25.7) Plutarch apologises for the short episode of Menecleidas the orator: *ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἔχει τινα καὶ τοῦ βίου ἀποθεώρησιν*. Cf. also Plut. Timoleon 14-15, and Dion 21; Nepos Pelop. 3 ("Hoc loco libet interponere, etsi seiunctum ab re proposita est nimia fiducia quantae calamitati soleat esse"). Cf. also Dio. 43.43.5; E.I. McQueen, "Quintus Curtius Rufus", pp.18-19.
92. Cf. esp. (i) §§14-16 / p = p.393.12-15 and 22-24. O and C = p.393.16-21. (§§14 and 15), 25-34 (§16)7. (ii) §§25-27 / p = p.395.21, 27-32. O and C = p.395.21-27, 32-p.396.57. (iii) See also §17 (p = p.394.1-2; O and C = ib.2-7), §18 (p = ib.7-9; O and C = ib.9-16), §§21-24 (p = p.394.31-32; O and C = ib.30-31, 32-35. / p = p.394.35-395.2; O and C = p.395.2-20).

the theme of the intimate connection of Octavian and Caesar, is to be the foundation of the political claims Nicolaus makes later for Octavian.⁹³

This digression in Nicolaus can be compared in tone with Sallust's brief account of the beginning of civil conflict in Rome.⁹⁴ It bears very close comparison with the history of Roman Britain in the "Agricola". Both Nicolaus and Tacitus narrate their subjects' activities in chronological sequence until they reach a turning-point in their lives - Caesar's death in Nicolaus, and Agricola's governorship of Britain in Tacitus.⁹⁵ Both writers then leave their main character to turn to the wider political background: Tacitus gives us details of the geography and ethnology of Britain and of Roman relations with the country before Agricola's governorship. Nicolaus narrates the political and social forces which had destroyed Caesar⁹⁶ and so paved the way for Octavian. In the same way as

93. See chapter 10, section 1.

94. "Jugurtha" 41-42. See also Syme, "Sallust", p.67f.

95. N §§ 3-57; Agr. 4-9.

96. N §§ 59-106; Agr. 10-17.

Agricola's governorship must be seen against the work of his predecessors, Nicolaus' digression gives the background information for the most important decision of Octavian's life.

Since Nicolaus intended the digression on Caesar to form the political background to his subsequent narrative about Octavian's career, where was he to make the break in his Octavian-narrative? At §§ 38 or 39 was possible. The challenging words of Atia and the messenger's grim news are undeniably points of drama, where Octavian realises he is at an important moment in his life. But Nicolaus passed this point over, presumably feeling that too much was still unresolved. A break after § 43, when Octavian had had time to consider his position and stated his decision to go to Italy, would also keep sufficient momentum for a future resumption.⁹⁷ This too was passed by.

The point Nicolaus actually chose after § 57 was regarded by Jacoby as the only place at which to make a break.⁹⁸ By this time Octavian's doubts in Calabria had given way to success in Brundisium. We are told of his decision to accept Caesar's name and inheritance. There is no longer vacillation as at Apollonia. He has support in Italy, and is embarking on what he believes is a just cause.

97. §§ 44-45, which add little of importance, could be omitted or re-arranged.

98. FGrH IIC, p.272f.

The scene is thus set for his journey to Rome. Nicolaus' choice therefore lay between the greater drama of Apollonia and anticipation of Octavian's arrival in Italy, or of recording Octavian's success at Brundisium, a good omen for the future. Nicolaus preferred the latter, perhaps also because he was able to link this up more easily with the events in Rome narrated in section B.

Conclusion.

Nicolaus' biography of Augustus probably treated the life of the Princeps down to the mid-Twenties. The text still extant represents only a fraction of its original length, and there are also many gaps in the surviving narrative.

The biography is constructed on a strict chronological basis. Nicolaus has not used information from different times in Octavian's life to illustrate set themes, but like Tacitus has integrated much ethical and politically-oriented material into this chronological account.

In biographical tradition nearly all facts not strictly relevant to the main theme, Octavian, are excluded. §§58-106, on the other hand, give much information about people other than the secondary theme, Caesar, and read more like

a historical than a biographical narrative. This excursus is nevertheless an integral part of the biography, in that it explains the background to Octavian's rise to ἀρχή.

Nicolaus' account thus combines elements of the factual and personality-revealing type of biography found in Plutarch and Suetonius, of the encomium, the "apologia",⁹⁹ and the personal memoir.

99. The parallel which Leo (p.190) draws between N and Plutarch and his designation of N as a "Peripatetic" is too facile. There is of course some similarity in the conventional but logical order in which the subject's ancestry and early years are introduced. There the likeness ends. N wrote only one biography (as far as is known) in contrast to Plutarch's large output; N was contemporary with his subject, and Plutarch was not (except perhaps for his "Galba" and "Otho"); N was involved personally and politically with O, but the same cannot be said of Plutarch's relations with his subjects. Plutarch's main aims were factual and ethical, N's apologetic and political. R. Jenkins ("Dumbarton Oaks Papers" 8, p.24) believes N's work is simply an "encomium"; it is clearly much more than that.

CHAPTER 6:

THE CIRCUMSTANCES OF COMPOSITION.

Time of Composition.

The time Nicolaus wrote the biography has been investigated by several scholars, and different dates put forward. The evidence, internal and circumstantial, is unfortunately open to a variety of interpretations, and widely differing dates have been deduced from it. Basically, three views have been put forward: (i) the Twenties BC;¹ (ii) about 12 BC;³ (iii) after 14 AD.⁴ In the following discussion it is argued that the date of composition should be placed about 25 BC.

The present text covers events only down to the end of 44 BC. Although the biography's original extent is unknown,

1. The history of the problem is briefly summarised by Wacholder, p.25. See also pp. 21, 23, 26 and 31.
2. F. Jacoby (1926), FGrH IIC, p.263f; W. Schmitthenner (1952), "Octavian und das Testament Caesars", p.12, n.4; B.Z. Wacholder (1962), pp.21, 25-26, 31; G.W. Bowersock (1965) "Augustus and the Greek World", p.136.
3. A. von Gutschmid, "Kleine Schriften" (1894), vol. 5, pp.539-540; W. Schmid (1920), "Gesch. d. griech. Lit.", vol. 2, pt. 1, p.375; cf. also C.M. Hall (1923), "Nicolaus of Damascus", p.iii - some time after 4 BC.
4. J. Asbach, "Rhein. Mus." 37 (1882), p.297; R. Laqueur (1936), RE 17, cols. 405-406; G. Turturro (1945), "Nicola Damasceno", pp. 9 and 12 - after 4 BC and probably after 14 AD. W. Steidle (1952), "Sueton und die antike Biographie", pp.133-134; R.J.H. Jenkins "Dumbarton Oaks Papers" 8 (1954), p.24; H.J.D. Lulofs (1965), "Nic. Dam. on the Philosophy of Aristotle", p.2.

it is evident that Nicolaus devoted a great deal of space to the period immediately after Caesar's assassination, and particularly on the rise of Octavian to ἀρχή⁵. Octavian was able to achieve a position of power, Nicolaus shows, because of his success in winning the support of Caesar's veterans. This power was to be used, ostensibly, to protect himself as Caesar's heir from the violence of Antony and in order to avenge Caesar (though less prominence than one might expect is given to the latter). It is quite clear that Nicolaus gives us the propaganda of a period⁶ before that of the "Res Gestae", since in this work Augustus subordinates self to country ("rem publicam dominatione factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi"⁷). Further, the great detail found in Nicolaus about the relationship of Caesar and Octavian and the events of 44 BC⁸ would be far more appropriate to a time when Octavian relied, at least in some degree, on the power of Caesar's name. The tone of Nicolaus' account would fit in well with the Twenties

5. 90 F 130, §§ 58, 107ff.

6. See chapter 10.

7. RG 1.

8. §§ 37-57, 69-139.

BC.

During the period c.20 to 4 BC Nicolaus' energies were being spent on the composition of that vast 144 book "Histories". In addition, he undertook a considerable number of diplomatic missions for Herod.⁹ It is therefore more likely that the biography was written either before or after this period. After 3 BC is unlikely. In his autobiography Nicolaus says that he wanted to retire from political life after Herod died, because he was about sixty years old, but went along with Herod's son, Archelaus, to Rome only to support his claims to his father's power.¹⁰ Shortly after this he mentions his dislike of aristocratic Roman society.¹¹ Here is a man losing interest in a life of officialdom, not one fired by zeal for eulogy and political biography.

Nicolaus' age, too, must tell strongly against a date of 14 AD or later. There is no evidence that he lived long

9. 90 TT 4-9; F 81. See also my pp. 5-7.

10. 90 F 136, § 8.

11. 90 F 138.

after his departure from the Jewish court in 4 BC, although it is not, of course, impossible. He would have been about 78 years old in 14 AD.¹² If Nicolaus wanted to write a laudatory biography of Augustus, there was no reason to wait until advanced age; death might forestall him. There was greater "gloria" to be gained from writing while the subject of the biography was still alive.

An incident in Nicolaus' autobiography also points to an early date for the Augustan biography. In F 135 we read of Herod's interest in philosophy and rhetoric. "But then a passion for history seized him", the text continues, "after Nicolaus had praised the subject" It was after this that Herod allegedly set Nicolaus the task of writing the "Histories". It would seem therefore that already sometime before 12 BC Herod regarded Nicolaus as something of a historian. Since the biography of Augustus is the only other historical work that Nicolaus is known to have composed, it is likely to have been the work which won him this reputation. It will therefore have been in existence by about 20 BC.

The proposition that the biography was written in the late Twenties is supported by the final sentence of the

12. In 4 BC he was *περὶ ᾧ ἔτη* (90 F 136, § 8).

introduction (§1), although this text has been used to argue for a late date of composition: "People had not even heard of their [sc. the peoples Augustus conquered] names before, nor had they been subjects of anyone to our knowledge; after pacifying all who live west [?] of the river Rhine, those beyond the Ionian Sea and the tribes of the Illyrians - they call them Pannonians and Dacians -,..." Here the text ends.

The events described in this sentence seem to be part of a rhetorical climax describing achievements which must be momentous. The real problem is to decide at what time these could be considered of such importance. Because the introduction is now incomplete, it is impossible to deduce the date by noting the important campaigns of Augustus' reign which Nicolaus omitted. The essential question is whether the achievements mentioned can be plausibly dated to before 25/20 BC.

There has been considerable speculation about the reference to the Rhine, and Jacoby went as far as to believe that it gave the only reliable means of dating the
¹³biography. There are two difficulties. Firstly, the text

13. C.M. Hall, o.c., p.76.1.3, thinks Drusus' expedition of 11 BC is probably alluded to. Laqueur (RE 17.406) believes the reference is to Varus' campaign of 9 AD and Germanicus' in 14 AD; but neither of these could be considered triumphs. Jacoby, FGrH IIC, p.263.

is corrupt at a crucial point. The MS assigns Augustus' operations *ἐντοῖς Ῥήνου*. Valesius' emendation to *ἐντός* is reasonable. Yet could a campaign in Gaul be described in the terms of Nicolaus' introduction after the publication of Caesar's "Bellum Gallicum"? Gaul, apart from Aquitania, was pacified by Julius; the Rhine was his¹⁴ frontier. Secondly, what exact interpretation is to be put on *ἡμερωσάμενος*? For Augustus to claim that he actually "subdued" Gaul as far as the west bank of the Rhine seems unlikely because of Caesar's achievements there. "Pacification" or "civilising" (i.e. "Romanising") is much more probable. It would represent Augustus as a statesman and peacemaker, not solely a "dux belli".

Another possible substitute for the MS *ἐντοῖς*, however, is *ἐκτός* (i.e. "beyond the Rhine"). This would give Augustus a claim to have added still further to Roman influence on the northern frontier. It is true that Roman power beyond the Rhine was precarious and ephemeral. The introduction is, however, eulogistic and rhetorical, and such an overstatement of the position cannot therefore

14. See R. Syme, CAH 10, pp.358-359.

be ruled out.¹⁵ On the other hand, etymology gives more support to *ἐντός*. If this is accepted as the correct reading, it would mean that the trans-Rhine campaigns of 12 BC and later had not yet taken place at the time that Nicolaus wrote. There would then be no difficulty in suggesting that Nicolaus had in mind the Gallic and Cantabrian fighting of 27-25 BC,¹⁶ or even the repulsion of the Suebi across the Rhine in 29 BC.¹⁷

As far as Illyria and Pannonia are concerned, Octavian's campaigns of 35/34 BC would fit Nicolaus' language admirably. Appian's "Illyrica", based largely on Augustus' "Commentarii",¹⁸ tells about these operations in some detail. There are

15. Augustus himself, it is to be noted, similarly boasts: "Gallias et Hispanias provincia(s et Germaniam qua inclu)dit Oceanus a Gadibus ad ostium Albis flum(inis pacavi)". "Clas(sis mea per Oceanum) - petierunt" (RG 26).
16. Dio 53.22.5.
17. See Dio 51.21.6. C. Carrinas was responsible for the actual fighting, but according to Dio O also celebrated it. Virgil gives little indication of Roman attitudes to the Germans in the 30's and early 20's, but see "Georgics" 1.509; also Catullus 11.11.
18. ch. 14-29.

distinct parallels of language between the pair in their
 claims for Octavian's achievements.¹⁹ The names of many
 tribes, which Augustus himself must have recorded, would
 fit well with Nicolaus' ὧν δὲ πρότερον οὐδὲ ὀνόματα
 ᾗπίσταντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι.²⁰ In 29 BC he celebrated a triumph²¹
 over them and the Dalmatians, and Dio records a speech of
 Augustus before the senate in 27 BC where he puts a boast
 into the Princeps' mouth about τὴν Παννονίας δούλωσιν.²²
 Further, this area was designated a senatorial province in
 the same year and must have been considered secure at this
 period.²³ One need not look as late as the campaigning of

19. Cf. N with App. Illyr. 14 (Augustus told ὡς δ' ἀποστάντας
 εἰς τοὺς φόρους ἐπανάγαγε, ἑτέροις ὡς ἀρχήθεν εἶπε ὄντας αὐτονόμους
 εἶλε καὶ πάντας ἐκρατύνατο ὅσοι τὰς κορυφὰς οἰκοῦσι τῶν Ἄλπειν,
 βάρβαρα καὶ μάχιμα ἔθνη); 16 (ὁ δὲ Σεβαστὸς πάντα
 ἐχειρώσατο ἐντελῶς, καὶ ἐν παραβολῇ τῆς ἀπραξίας Ἀντωνίου
 κατέλογίσατο τῇ βουλῇ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἡμερῶσαι δυσράχων
 ἔθνων θαρινὰ ἐνοχλοῦντων); 28 (οὕτω πᾶσαν ὁ Καῖσαρ τὴν
 Ἰλλυρίδα γῆν, ὅση τε ἀφειστήκει Ῥωμαίων, καὶ τὴν οὐ
 πρότερον ὑπακούσασαν αὐτοῖς, ἐκρατύνατο).
20. App. Illyr. 16f; cf. also M.P. Charlesworth, CAH 10,
 p.88.
21. Dio. 51.21.5.
22. 53.7.1. Cf. also Tibullus 3.7.107f.
23. Dio 53.12.4. It became an Imperial province again in
 11 BC (Dio 54.34.4).

M. Vicinius and Tiberius in 13-9 BC or the putting down of the Pannonian revolt in 8 AD for events to justify Nicolaus' assertion.²⁴ It should also be noted that Nicolaus and Augustus were probably referring to campaigns in which the latter took an active part, rather than those waged through "legati".

The same is true of the Dacians. Augustus does refer in the "Res Gestae" to the defeat of a Dacian army, probably that of 10 BC,²⁵ and this is mentioned also by Dio,²⁶ who adds that Tiberius "reduced them once again", thus implying that they were subject or had been decisively defeated before that time. Two earlier instances - Dacian envoys in 31 BC and the successful campaigning of M. Licinius Crassus in the Balkans in 30-28 BC -²⁷ are possible. But Appian states that during his Illyrian campaign Octavian captured Segesta to use

24. RG 30; Vell. 2.39.3, 96.2; Dio 54.28.1-2, 36.2.
25. RG 30. 10 BC is accepted by E.G. Hardy, "Monum. Ancyrr.", p.142; F.W. Shipley, "Res Gestae", LCL, p.395.
26. 54.36.2 (*τούτους ... ἀνεκτίσας*). Dio's text is slightly corrupt here. MSS V and M have *ἀνεστήσας*, clearly non-sensical in this context, and emended by Pflugk to *ἀνεκτίσας* (See E. Cary, LCL Dio, vol. 6, p.374, n.4).
27. Dio 51.22.7-8, 23.2; see also 23.3-27.3. Charlesworth, CAH 10, p.86, n.3, thinks Octavian may have met this embassy at Siscia in 35 or 34 BC.

as a base for operations against Dacia.²⁸ This seems more likely to be the correct interpretation of Nicolaus' reference, and the probability is strengthened by Nicolaus' linking the Pannonians and Dacians so closely together.

Two main points emerge from this examination of §1. Though there must be some uncertainty whether Nicolaus was referring to German tribes to the east or west of the Rhine, the latter seems probable. If this is so, it would suggest that the biography was written by 12 BC at the latest. Secondly, dates in the late Thirties or early Twenties can be apportioned to all the theatres of operations given in lines 16 and 17 of this paragraph.²⁹ The evidence of §1 thus in no way invalidates the suggestion that the biography should be dated to the early part of Augustus' reign. With the evidence preceding there are very strong grounds for believing that Nicolaus wrote his biography before the death of Augustus, probably within the period 25-20 BC.³⁰

There have, however, been several objections to such an

28. Illyr. 23f.

29. Neither coinage nor poetic allusions to Augustus' victories and prowess are specific enough to be of use as further evidence.

30. See also the discussion of N's sources in ch.7.

early date. Firstly, echoes of the "Res. Gestae" were noted in Nicolaus' introduction:

Nicolaus (§1).

- A. μακροτάτους τε
 ὄρους ἐποιήσατο
 τῆς Ῥωραίων
 δυναστείας. [line 10].
- B. οὐ τὰ φύλα ρόνον καὶ
 Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων.... τὸ
 μὲν πρῶτον σὺν ὅπλοις,
 μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄνευ
 ὅπλων.... ἐπεισεν ἑαυτοῦ
 ἀκροᾶσθαι. [11-14].

"Res Gestae".

- Πασῶν ἐπαρχειῶν
 δήμου Ῥωραίων....
 τοὺς ὄρους
 ἐπεύξε(ησ)α. [ch. 26].
- a. καὶ Κίμβροι καὶ Χάλυβες
 καὶ Σέρνονες ἄλλα τε
 πολλὰ ἔθνη Γερμανῶν
 τὴν ἐρὴν φίλιαν
 ἤτησαντο. [26].
- b. Πάρθους.... ἱκέτας
 φιλίαν δήμου Ῥωραίων
 ἀξιῶσαι ἠνάγκασα. [ch. 29].
- c. πρὸς ἐρὲ ἐξ
 Ἰνδίας βασιλέων
 πρεσβεῖαι πολλάκις
 ἀπεστάλησαν. [ch. 31].
- d. τὴν ἡμετέραν φιλίαν
 ἠξίωσαν.... Βαστάρναι
 καὶ Σκύθαι καὶ Σαρρατῶν
 βασιλεῖς, καὶ
 Ἀλβανῶν δὲ καὶ
 Ἰβήρων καὶ Μήδων
 βασιλεῖς. [ch. 31].

Nicolaus (§1).

- c. ὧν δὲ πρότερον
οὐδὲ ὀνόματα
ἠπίσταντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι
οὐδέ τινος ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο
διὰ μνήρης. [14-15].

"Res Gestae".

- e. τ)ὰ ἔθνη (....
ἔσωσα ρ)ᾶλ(λον)
ἦ ἔξέκοψα. [ch. 3].
- a. Στόλος ἐμός.... μέχρι
ἔθνους Κίμβρων
διέπλευσεν, οὗ οὔτε
κατὰ γῆν οὔτε κατὰ
θάλασσαν Ῥωμαίων τις
πρὸ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου
προσῆλθεν. [ch. 26].
- b. Παννονίων ἔθνη,
οἷς πρὸ ἐροῦ
ἠγερόνος στράτευμα
Ῥωμαίων οὐκ
ἠνγισεν.... [ch. 30].
- c. βασιλέων πρεσβεῖαι
.... οὐδέποτε πρὸ
τούτου χρόνου
ὀφθεῖσαι παρὰ Ῥωμαίων
ἠγερόνι. [ch. 31].
- d. Πλείστα τε ἄλλα
ἔθνη οἷς τὸ πρὶν
οὐδεμία ἦν πρὸς δῆμον
Ῥωμαίων π(ρε)σβειῶν καὶ
φιλίας κοινωνία. [ch. 32].

Nicolaus (§1).

- D. ἡμερωσάμενος
ὅποσοι κατοικοῦσιν
ὑπὲρ τε τὸν Ἰόνιον
πόντον καὶ τὰ Ἰλλυριῶν
γένη - Παννονίους
αὐτοὺς καὶ Δάκας
καλοῦσιν [I6-17].

"Res Gestae".

- a. Ἐπαρχείας ἀπάσας,
ὅσαι πέραν τοῦ
Εἰονίου κόλπου
διατείνουσι πρὸς
ἀνατολὰς
ἀνέλαβον. [ch. 27].
- b. Παννονίων ἔθνη
.... ἡσσηθέντα
ἡγερονία δήμου
Ῥωμαίων ὑπέταξα τά
τε Ἰλλυρικοῦ ὄρια
μέχρι Ἰστρου ποταμοῦ
προήγαγον· οὗ ἐπείταδε
Δάκων διαβᾶσα
πολλὴ δύναμις
κατεκόπη. καὶ
ὕστερον μεταχθὲν
τὸ ἐρὸν στράτευμα
.... τὰ Δάκων
ἔθνη προστάγματα
δήμου Ῥωμαίων
ὑπομένειν
ἠνάγκασεν. [ch. 30].

In the above passages there is some similarity. Territorial expansion is mentioned in "A". The embassies sent to Augustus from states on the periphery of the Roman empire could be a plausible interpretation of Nicolaus' "without armed force he persuaded peoples to hearken to him"³¹. An interest in the unknown and in geographical exploration can be seen in examples "C". The passages of "D" refer again to an accretion of territory and both Augustus and Nicolaus specifically mention the Pannonians, Illyrians and Dacians, as well as the Ionian Sea. Because of the similarity in the above passages it might thus be argued that Nicolaus adapted some of the contents and phraseology of the "Res Gestae" to form his own introduction.

This conclusion is by no means inevitable. Although in A-C parallels can be found in the "Res Gestae" to match Nicolaus' text, Nicolaus may have had other things in mind. It is possible, for example, to quote three passages from Nicolaus' introduction which can be matched in tone, and to some extent in vocabulary, with parts of the "Res Gestae"; yet the complete difference of context of the compared passages shows that their similarity must be purely

31. N's *ἄνευ ὅπλων ἔπεισεν ἑαυτοῦ ἀκροῶσθαι* is a nice turn of phrase, even outclassing Augustus' euphemisms.

32
chance.

The similarities of A-C are in fact a matter of form rather than context. They are eulogistic ³³τόποι - headings under which a ruler might be praised: He enlarged his empire;

32.	<u>N.</u>	<u>Res Gestae.</u>
(i)	ἀνα τε νήσους καὶ ἡπείρους.... καὶ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη. [Il. 6-7].	(καὶ κατὰ γῆν) καὶ κατὰ θάλασσαν ἔρφυ(λίου καὶ ἐξωτικούς/ὀθνείους) ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ. [ch. 3].
(ii)	τό τε μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τὴν εἰς σφᾶς εὐεργεσίαν ἀρειβόμενοι. [Il. 7-8].	ὅπ(λ)ον.... χρυσὸν ... ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐπείκειαν κα(ὶ δ)ικαιοσύνην καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἐροῖ μαρτυρεῖ. [ch. 34].
(iii)	δυνάμει γάρ καὶ φρονήσεως εἰς τὰ πρῶτα ἀνελθὼν οὗτος. [Il. 8-9].	ἀξιόρ(α)τι πάντων διήνεγκα, ἐξιομσίαις δὲ οὐδέν τι πλείον ἔσχον τῶν συναρξάντων μοι. [ch. 34].

33. Cf. Aristotle "Rhet." 1368a. 10ff; 1414a. 4-6; Plato, "Phaedrus" 267A; Cic. "De Orat." 2.85 (347f); Quint., "Instit. Or." 3.7.15f. Also Vell. 2.89, esp. 5f.

he succeeded not only in war, but also in diplomacy through his moral prestige. Such personal magnetism, inducing subject peoples to accept their position, is an important attribute of the ideal ruler.³⁴ These similarities, then are a form of ἀνέκδοτος, "amplificatio", which any rhetorically trained writer might adopt. Further, it was argued earlier that Nicolaus' mention of campaigning in the Balkans should be taken as referring to events in the Thirties or Twenties BC. Finally, though a writer may be greatly influenced by the character of his source material in the body of his work his introductory sentences are the most likely to be largely, if not exclusively, his own work. In short, the resemblances in A-C are inconclusive, certainly too vague to argue for Nicolaus' direct use of the "Res Gestae".

"D" at first sight seems to show a close affinity. Yet "D(a)" is a purely verbal similarity, perhaps unavoidable to describe lands east of the Ionian Sea, and the context is quite different. In the second pair the language is similar but different situations are described. Nicolaus tells us that the Pannonians and Dacians lived beyond the Illyrians and

34. Xen. Cyrop. 1.1.3-6 (very similar sentiments to N); Isoc. Evag. 45, 49f. Cf. also G. Misch, "History of Autobiography", vol. 1, p.163f, on the typical eulogistic features of the "encomium" as reflected in the "Evagoras" - a close resemblance to N.

that Octavian pacified them all. The "Res Gestae" states that the province of Illyricum was extended to the Danube, that a Dacian invasion was checked, and (misleadingly) that the Dacians themselves were subdued. It is conceivable that Nicolaus' version is simply a careless condensation of the "Res Gestae" but it is equally likely that Nicolaus is describing a different set of campaigns which did not yet establish the Danube frontier.

This view is supported, as noted earlier, by Appian's "Illyrica"³⁵. It is clear that Octavian claimed in his "Commentarii" that he planned an attack on the Dacians in 35 BC. No more is heard of it, but it is at least possible that in the full version of his memoirs as opposed to the contracted account of Appian he went on to claim some success over Dacians - presumably raiders to the west of the Danube - or over peoples misnamed as Dacians. Even if he did not claim success over them in 34, it is probable that he did so after the successful campaigning of 29.³⁶

Dependence on the "Res Gestae" cannot be disproved,

35. See pp. 283-286.

36. Cf. Dio 51.22.6-8; Hor. Odes. 3.8.18.

but it is far from inevitable. In fact the similarities are not nearly close enough to outweigh the evidence in favour of an early date for the biography. It is more satisfactory to explain such resemblances as there are in vocabulary and use of common-places of "amplificatio" between the "Res Gestae" and Nicolaus as a consequence of both works being influenced by Augustus' "Commentarii".³⁷

³⁸
Laqueur was persuaded by the tenses of the verbs in the introduction to the biography that it was written after 14 AD. The introduction reads: "People scattered over islands and continents, throughout cities and tribes, honour him with temples and sacrifices, and proclaim his great goodness and benefaction to them He ruled over the greatest number of people within memory, and pushed the boundaries of the Roman Empire to their furthest extent ... His settlement was based on arms at first, but after this he even dispensed with them He pacified all those who live west [?] of the river Rhine, those beyond the Ionian Sea and the tribes of the Illyrians - they call them Pannonians and Dacians..."

37. Cf. also the similarity of language between N, F 125 (passage C of text) and App. "Illyr." 28, the latter based on Augustus' "Commentarii" (see chapter 7, n.17)

38. RE 17.405.

§ 2 continues the laudatory tone: "To show the power of this man's wisdom and ability, both from the political career which he followed in his own country and from his conduct of great civil and foreign wars, is a challenge for men to set themselves..."³⁹ If §1 is taken with this early part of §2, there are thirteen finite verbs, of which eight are aorists. This preponderance of aorists, so the argument runs, implies that the acts or state they describe were over, and thus support a post-14 AD dating. Can this reasoning be reconciled with an early date for the biography?

From a purely grammatical standpoint the first, *προεῖπον* (line 5), could be a "gnomic" aorist; the actual giving of the title ("Augustus"?) was also a particular act in the

39. §1 εἰς τερῆς ἀξίωσιν τοῦτον οὕτω προεῖπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι ναοῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις γεραίρουσιν, ἀνά τε νήσους καὶ ἡπείρους διηρημένοι καὶ κατὰ πόλεις καὶ ἔθνη τό τε μέγεθος αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ τὴν εἰς σφᾶς εὐεργεσίαν ἀρειβομένοι..... οὗτος ὁ ἀνὴρ πλείστων μὲν ἤρξεν ἀνθρώπων τῶν διὰ μνήμης μακροτάτους τε ὅρους ἐποίησατο τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυναστείας..... Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων... αὐτὰς τὰς διανοίας κατεστήσατο τὸ μὲν πρῶτον σὺν ὅπλοις, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἀνεὺ ὅπλων ἐθελουσίους τε προσαγόμενος... τῇ φιланθρωπία ἐπεισεν ἑαυτοῦ ἀκροᾶσθαι. ὧν δὲ πρότερον οὐδὲ ὀνόματα ἠπίσταντο οἱ ἄνθρωποι οὐδέ τις ὑπήκοοι ἐγένοντο διὰ μνήμης, ἡμερωσάμενος ὅποσοι ἐντὸς Ῥήνου ποταμοῦ κατοικοῦσιν ὑπὲρ τε τὸν Ἰόνιον πόντον καὶ τὰ Ἰλλυριῶν γένη - Παννονίους αὐτοὺς καὶ Δάκας καλοῦσιν - ***
- §2 περὶ δὲ τούτου τοῦ ἀνδρὸς φρονήσεως τε καὶ ἀρετῆς ἰσχυρὸν δεῖξαι ὅποσον δύναται, τὰ μὲν ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας, ἥτινα ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἐπολιτεύσατο, τὰ (δὲ) κατὰ στρατηγίας, μεγάλων πολέμων, ἐγχωρίων τε καὶ ἀλλοεθνῶν, ἀγώνισμα μὲν ἀνθρώποις πρόκειται λέγειν καὶ γράφειν.

⁴⁰
 past. The tense of ἦρξεν (line 9), assuming that Nicolaus did not originally write ἦρχεν, could admittedly imply that Augustus was dead at the time Nicolaus wrote. On the other hand, it could equally well be "ingressive", and represent Augustus' entrance into power.⁴¹ κατεστήσατο (line 12) and ἔπεισεν (line 14) refer to his settling of Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων. The clauses are rhetorically vague, and it is impossible to be sure of the specific events, if any, that Nicolaus is thinking of. The aorists could refer to the settlement of Actium, which ushered in an era of peace, and thus be regarded as the end of one period and the beginning of another. It is also possible that once Nicolaus had used ἦρξεν, he put the other coordinate verbs into the aorist for the sake of symmetry. Lines 14 and 15 refer to European tribes on the periphery of the Empire. The aorists here do not raise any difficulty, because they do not refer directly to Augustus' activities. ἐγένετο (line 27) is a similar case. Here Nicolaus states he wishes to show the τροφήν τε καὶ παίδευσιν which enabled Augustus to reach such a high position of power. Actium could again be the culmination of Augustus'

40. It is contrasted with the present tense of γεραίρουσιν - an act still going on.

41. See W.W. Goodwin, "Syntax of Greek Moods and Tenses", p.16, 55. So also W. Witte, "De Nic. frag. Rom. fontibus", p.8.

direct military career, and 27 BC the corner-stone of his political power.

Three verbs remain. Nicolaus uses the verb *ἐποιήσατο* to describe territorial expansion. Symmetry has been suggested as a possible explanation. Another is that Nicolaus may have been referring with rhetorical overstatement to the military achievements of Augustus himself. Furthermore, the use of the aorist in such a context as this need not presuppose Augustus' death. It is permissible to use a past tense, not necessarily perfect, to summarise an important figure's achievements, although it would require a gap of some years after the actual events for this to sound natural.

The last aorist occurs when Nicolaus says he will attempt to describe Augustus' greatness partly *ἐκ τῆς πολιτείας, ἥντινα ἐν τῇ πατρίδι ἐπολιτεύσατο* (lines 20-21). There are two points here. Since Nicolaus intends to use as evidence Augustus' (surely personal) *στρατηγία* in war as well as his political career in Italy, he could well be thinking of Augustus' civil activities in the years after Actium, and perhaps even before.⁴² Secondly, Nicolaus could only describe

42. The reference is specifically to Augustus' political activities *ἐν τῇ πατρίδι*. N does not seem here to be concerning himself with the administration of the Empire. He could be referring to Augustus' attainment of political power, a process completed by 23 BC at the latest.

what Augustus had done up to the time he wrote the biography.
 The aorist in essence simply describes past events.⁴³ The
 final past tense - ᾗν (line 26) - was particularly seized on
 by Laqueur⁴⁴ as evidence of Augustus' demise. It could
 equally well be argued that since Augustus' birth occurred
 a long time previously, and both his parents were now dead⁴⁵
 there is nothing unusual in using the imperfect tense.⁴⁶

There is one further verb which should be examined here -
 γεραίρουσιν (p.391, line 6) - "they honour him with temples
 and sacrifices". These words could refer to the situation
 obtaining as early as 29 BC when Dio tells how certain Greeks
 in Asia were allowed by Augustus to worship him, probably in
 conjunction with "Roma".⁴⁷ Doubtless this lead was quickly
 followed in other parts of the empire.⁴⁸ The fact that Dio

43. See also Goodwin, SGMT, p.18, §58.

44. RE 17.405.

45. His father, C. Octavius (see §3) died in 59 BC, and his mother Atia in 43 BC.

46. The short clause including it - ἀφ' ᾧν ᾗν - has his parents as its antecedent. The only explanation of N's using such an odd phrase in addition to τοὺς ... γεννητὰς is that he wished to make a distinction between Augustus' real father, C. Octavius, and either his step-father, L. Marcus Philippus (§5), or his adoptive father Julius Caesar.

47. Dio 51.20.6-8; see also G. Herzog-Hauser, RE Supp. 4.823.

48. Temples had been erected to Rome as early as 195 BC by Smyrna (Tac. Ann. 4.56), and also to Roman generals and governors (cf. Plut. Flamin. 16; Cic. ad Quint. frat. 1.1.9.26). See also L.R.Taylor, "The Divinity of the Roman Emperor", pp.267-283, esp.p.270ff and n.51.

records under the year 25 BC that Agrippa wished to name the Pantheon after Augustus and set up a statue to him in it, even though he was refused, shows the way thankfulness and reverence for the Princeps might be expressed.⁴⁹ Such can be seen even earlier in Virgil.⁵⁰ Acceptance of such an honour in Rome, however, was a totally different matter to allowing it in the East, where Hellenistic kings had been so treated.⁵¹ In Cyprus and Pontus Augustus was worshipped alone.⁵² Egypt, where Nicolaus had probably been resident for some period in the Thirties and whose religious practices⁵³ he doubtless knew, substituted the worship of Augustus for that of the Ptolemies.⁵⁴

49. Dio 53.27.2-3. Cf. also Holmes, ARE, vol.2, p.69ff. The desire to flatter, to set a trend, and genuine thankfulness for peace must have been strong in the provinces too.
50. Georgics 1.24ff, 500f, 503-505.
51. W.S. Ferguson, CAH 7, pp.13-22; L.R.Taylor, op.cit., pp.73-76; M.P. Charlesworth, "Papers of the British School at Rome", vol. 15 (N.S.2), 1939, p.1. Cf. also the inscription on Pompey's tomb in Egypt: τῷ ναοῖς βρίζοντι πόση σπάνις ἐπλετο τύμβου (App. BQ2.86).
52. A.D.Nock, CAH 10, p.485 and n.3.
53. H.I.Bell, CAH 10, p.285.
54. G.M.Rushforth, "Latin Hist. Inscriptions"², p.55, no. 43 = CIL 10.837, and pp.56-58. See also Hor. Odes. 3.5.2-3, Epist. 2.1.15-17; L.R.Taylor, o.c., pp.277-280; F.Ribezzo, "Rivista I-G-L", vol.21 (1937), pp.117-125, who cites evidence for a private cult of Octavian before 30 BC.

Many of these forms of adulation had in fact already been anticipated by Julius Caesar.⁵⁵ The sacrifices Nicolaus mentions are probably part of the ritual of Hellenistic ruler worship, but sacrifices for special occasions in Augustus' reign are also known, dating from as early as 30 BC.⁵⁶ There is thus ample evidence from the early 20's onwards for both of Nicolaus' contentions. The present tense of *γεραιρουσιν* could refer to worship during Augustus' lifetime or after his death when he was officially deified.

The past tenses cannot therefore be taken as proof that Augustus was dead at the time Nicolaus was writing. A few of them could - but by no means need - have that interpretation put upon them. Wacholder supports an early dating by postulating that the tenses of these introductory sentences may have been changed from their originals by the Constantine Excerptors.⁵⁷ This is possible, but unnecessary. In his autobiography Nicolaus speaks of himself in past tenses, usually aorists, when describing and summarising his character and activities.⁵⁸ Caesar had already used this linguistic device to achieve an air of detached objectivity. Nicolaus may well

55. L.R.Taylor, o.c., pp.64f, 68-70, Appendix 3; G.Herzog-Hauser, RE Supp. 4.817f-after Pharsalus and Zela Caesar had "göttliche Ehren"; E. Meyer, "Caesars Monarchie", p.440f. See also n.51.

56. A.D. Nock, CAH 10, p.482. Cf. also RG 11 and 12, and W.C. Korfmacher, "Class. Journal" 51 (1956), p.333f.

57. P.25.

58. 90 FF 137-138, pp.425-426. Cf. also the discussion of

be aiming at the same effect in the introduction to his biography of Augustus.

It has been argued by Steidle that the tone of §1⁵⁹ indicates that the author is writing in an era of peace. The relevant words of Nicolaus, *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα καὶ ἄνευ ὅπλων ἐθελουσίους τε προσαγόμενος*.....⁶⁰, do intimate that conditions of peace existed and that diplomacy rather than force was being used. Nicolaus also talks of recording Augustus' *ἔργα πολέμου καὶ εἰρήνης*⁶¹. There are basically two questions: What length of time is one to suppose must pass before conditions are regarded as those of peace-time? What evidence is there of Augustus' early diplomatic activities?

As far as the first point is concerned, it would be unrealistic to think of stable conditions operating before late 29 BC, after Octavian's return from the East and his

N's careless use of tenses throughout his work in P. Jacob, "De N. D. sermone et arte historica", p.20ff, esp. p.24.

59. "Zetemata", vol.1 (1951), pp.133-134.

60. p.391.11-13.

61. §58; p. 402.10.

victory celebrations for Illyricum, Actium and Egypt in mid-August. But to a nation embroiled in civil strife for two decades such a respite was welcome.⁶² The sadness of Virgil in the closing verses of the first book of the "Georgics"⁶³ gives way to thankfulness for Octavian's bringing of peace. To him the Twenties were "aurea.....⁶⁴ saecula". Janus' doors were closed in 29 BC and again in 25 BC.⁶⁵ In such circumstances it is not necessary to posit any later period than the middle Twenties for this relief and thankfulness to find expression. It is also arguable that times of war are contrasted with those of peace most often when the former are fresh in the mind.

Diplomacy is a more difficult aspect to investigate. Without copious documentary evidence there must always remain doubts about the political and military background to Roman relations with peoples on her periphery. Indian delegations came to Augustus in 26/25 BC and 20 BC,⁶⁶ and the second of these occasions, incidentally, was described in detail by Nicolaus.⁶⁷ Under 30 BC Dio tells of rival Parthian factions appealing to Augustus for a *συνπαχίαν* and of his

62. Cf. the longing for the return of a Golden Age in Virg. Ecl. 4 (40 BC).

63. Georg. 1.489-end.

64. Aen. 6.791-794. Cf. also Vell. 2.89.

65. RG 13. See also Dio 51.20.4-5; 53.26.5; 54.36.2; Vell. 2.58.4.

66. RG 31.

67. 90 F 100 = Str. 15.1.73.

68

astute handling of the affair. If allowance is made for the highly rhetorical character of §1, and the vagueness of the wording, there is no need to search later than shortly after Actium. It is not impossible that Nicolaus has in mind the necessary realignment of those Greek cities and eastern peoples who had supported Antony.

To conclude. It has been argued that there are strong grounds for believing that Nicolaus wrote the *Bíos* in the late Twenties - the great detail in which the events of 44 BC are treated; the great stress put on Octavian's connection with Caesar; the time after 20 BC that Nicolaus must have devoted to the writing of the "Histories" would hardly allow much other composition; and he would have been nearly eighty years of age in 14 AD, even though there is no evidence that he lived so long. Further, the mention of campaigning near the Rhine and in the Balkans more aptly fits the Thirties and the Twenties BC than a later period. The objections to such an early dating, based on dubious interpretations of linguistic similarities and tense usages, are unconvincing.

Nicolaus' Motivation.

The motives which induce an individual to write are often complex, in which both the conscious and subconscious play a part. Ancient historians stressed a desire to provide "utilitas" (*ὠφέλεια*) and "oblectatio" (*τέρψις*)⁶⁹ for the reader; their criticism of predecessors or contemporaries for failures in either respect or for neglecting "veritas" (*ἀλήθεια*) frequently conceals a more personal motivation - by their work to give themselves as well as their subject immortality. So it probably was with Nicolaus.

Nicolaus states in clear terms at two points the objects he had in mind. §2 avows: "To show how powerful is the effect of this man's practical wisdom (*φρόνησις*) and ability (*ἀρετή*) is a challenge for men to set themselves, whether they are speaking or writing to become famous by describing noble deeds. Nevertheless I myself will describe his career, from which all can learn the⁷⁰ truth." And again, in §58: "Then I shall write about the

69. See P. Scheller, "De Hellenistica Historiae Conscribendae Arte", pp.72-78.

70. Such protestations of difficulty in writing are a stock theme, in many cases, of course, justified: Cf. Isoc. Evag. 8, 11, and Pan. 13; Xen. Ages. 1.1; Herodotus 2.19, 44; Thuc. 1.22, 2.35; Diod. 1.3-4; Sall. Cat. 3.2; Josephus BJ Pref. 5-6; Nicolaus 90 F 135. Claims to freedom from bias ("primam ... historiae legem" - Cic. De Orat. 2.62) too are common. The prejudice of §§108-139 show how seriously N's claims to truthfulness are to be taken!

other Caesar (Augustus), on whose account this work was started - how he came to power, and discharged the duties of war and peace when established as Caesar's successor".

Nicolaus' avowed object is to compose a laudatory account which would bring renown to both the biography's subject and author.⁷¹ A more material motive can, however, be suggested, if not incontrovertibly proved: The biography was the means by which Nicolaus successfully won Augustus' favour and, probably, eradicated the memory of his association with Antony and Cleopatra.

To establish this proposition it is first necessary to retrace briefly what is known about Nicolaus' life. He was born about 64 BC, but his visit to Antioch in 20 BC is the next event in his life that can be accurately dated.⁷² By 14 BC he was clearly at Herod's court.⁷³ But Sophronius of Damascus also tells us that he was the "tutor of the children of Antony and Cleopatra".⁷⁴ This information raises three possibilities: Nicolaus may have been in Alexandria teaching the children during the middle Thirties, but have left before the fall of his patrons. Alternatively, he could have still been in Alexandria until c.30 BC. Or, thirdly, he may never

71. A desire for "gloria" is a common, perhaps universal, motive: Thuc. 1.22; Diod. Sic.1.3.1; Dion. Hal. 1.1.3-4, 6.5; Sall. Cat. 1.3-4; Jug.1.3, 2.2-3, 4.1-2; Plin. Epist. 9.3; Cf. also Cic. Mil. 97, Marcell. 26, Sest.143; Horace Odes 1.1.29-36.

72. 90 F 100 = Strabo 15.1.73.

73. Cf. Jos. AJ. 16.2.3-5.

74. 90 T 2 = Sophronius of Damascus [c.560-638], "Encomium on St. Cyrus and St. John" 54.

have had contact with the children in Egypt at all, and tutored them solely when they came to Rome after Actium and were cared for by Augustus' sister, Octavia.

The first alternative is unlikely. Cleopatra bore Antony twins in 40 BC. It is hard to see how Nicolaus could have been of pedagogic use before 35 BC at the very earliest; even in 33/32 BC the children would have been only about seven or eight years old. It is also difficult to think of convincing reasons why Nicolaus should have resigned his post, assuming that he had it as early as 35 BC. He would, after all, have been only in his early thirties and have gained great prestige as palace tutor. This position and its attendant fame make it less likely that Nicolaus would have left voluntarily. Such a move would presuppose either a strong disagreement with his patrons, or a more interesting or lucrative position elsewhere. Neither is likely. The length of time and the number of crises through which he stayed with Herod during the period 14-4 BC suggests that Nicolaus could, in court fashion, compromise personal sensibilities. As for "promotion", it is difficult to think of a more influential, and at the same time scholarly, place during the Thirties than Alexandria.

The third possibility, it seems, has not been considered

hitherto. It is, however, conceivable that Nicolaus had nothing to do with Cleopatra's children by Antony until after Actium, when they were in Rome - Sophronius does not say where he actually tutored them. They would have been of an age when a tutor of Nicolaus' calibre was more relevant. But to accept this possibility, there need to be convincing reasons why Nicolaus should have been in Rome in the early Twenties BC, and, more important, why he rather than others should have been chosen for this important post so close to Augustus' own family. There are possibilities - fame as a philosopher, and a cultured Greek background, for example - but they can only remain speculation.

The most probable of the three possibilities thus appears to be that Nicolaus was still at Alexandria when Antony and Cleopatra were defeated by Octavian. If so, he was in a difficult position. We know that he eventually solved his problems by entering the service of Herod and winning the favour of Augustus. It is not known how he achieved this. The sources are silent about this part of his life, and the views of scholars differ, but circumstantial evidence suggests that he won the confidence and

75. Tarn (CAH 10, p.115 and p.36) believes N went immediately to Herod after Actium. Wacholder (pp.22-24) suggests that N may have stayed on in Alexandria during the Twenties, but very probably joined Herod sometime during this period. See also Hall, o.c., p.iii (Preface); S. Perowne, "Life and Times of Herod the Great", pp. 82-83.

support of Herod only because he was already known to be favoured by Augustus.

Nicolaus' influence with Augustus often proved of great value to Herod. For example, Syllaeus the Nabataean had accused Herod before Augustus in 8 BC and Herod's ambassadors were sent back with the presents they had taken.⁷⁶ Nicolaus was sent to Rome and reconciled Herod and Augustus. Again, when a dispute about the succession to Herod's throne arose between his sons in 4 BC, it was the support of Nicolaus which gained the throne for Archelaus.⁷⁷ We need not believe Nicolaus' self-praise uncritically, but that he had some influence with Augustus can hardly be doubted. At times of crisis with Augustus it was Nicolaus that Herod dispatched to Rome. This influence must have had a basis quite unconnected with Herod.

Herod's attitude to Nicolaus is also important. Suspicion rather than loyalty was a characteristic of Herod's - witness his murder of Mariamne and his treatment of his own sons. Yet throughout his life Nicolaus was trusted and respected by Herod. He was the king's *παιδευτής, ὑπογραφεύς*,⁷⁸ and a close friend. If there were private differences, we

76. 90 T 5 = Jos. AJ 16. 9.3-4; 10.8-9.

77. 90 T 8 = Jos. AJ 17.9.5-7.

78. 90 TT 2, 3 and 12.

79

hear little about them, though of course this is not surprising. But the very fact that Nicolaus remained at Herod's court right until the king's death in 4 BC is in itself an indication that Nicolaus' usefulness was indispensable.

Yet, if Nicolaus had been tutor in Alexandria, Herod must surely have been suspicious of a man who had been in the service of his arch-enemy, Cleopatra. It is hard to believe that Nicolaus would have been welcomed with open arms in Jerusalem. He must have been able to compensate well for his Egyptian associations. The most likely compensation is the favour of Augustus.

81

Nicolaus wrote his biography of Augustus in Rome. This

79. But see also my pp. 214f and 216.

80. Cf. A. Momigliano, CAH 10, pp.323-325.

81. Some, however, have believed it was composed in Apollonia - C. Müller, FHG 3.344 and 434, followed by Gutschmid, "Kleine Schriften" 5, p.539f; W. Schmid, "Gesch. d. griech. Lit.", vol. 2, part 1, p.375; Hall, p.iii - "very probably at Apollonia". This argument is based on the text of §37: *ὁ νέος Καῖσαρ τρίτον ἄγων [?] ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ μῆνα ἐνταυθοῖ παρεκδήμει.* The *ἐνταυθοῖ*, "here", clearly refers to Apollonia since §§38-46 are set in that place. Hall further points out to support this location that chapters 16 and 17 (§§37-50) "are written with considerable detail concerning the behaviour of the inhabitants prior to Augustus' departure, and the account is, among the historians, unique with Nicolaus". All this is true, but of no consequence. The *ἐνταυθοῖ* is easily explained. It comes only nine words after the beginning of the excerpts from the "Exc. De Insidiis". It is especially noticeable that Apollonia is not mentioned by name in the extant FF until §40. As it

is shown by the fact that in his introduction (§1) he gives his directions from the point of view of Italy. Augustus, he claims, pacified all those living "inside [i.e. west of] the river Rhine and beyond [i.e. east of] the Ionian Sea". As already mentioned, the introduction is the part which Nicolaus is most likely to have composed himself. It cannot therefore be argued that here he may have unthinkingly copied these geographical directions straight from his source. Thus the arguments from time and place of composition and from the known details of Nicolaus' own life show that Nicolaus must have been in Rome when he wrote the biography of Augustus, probably in the middle Twenties.

How, then, did Nicolaus reach Rome? If he had not had contact with Cleopatra's children in Egypt, he was perhaps

stands, *ἐν ταυθοῖ* makes no sense since it has nothing to which it can refer. N must therefore have originally mentioned the place somewhere between §36 and §37. He may very likely have given reasons, for example, why Octavian went to Apollonia, as other writers do. (Suet. Aug. 8; App. BC 3.9; Vell. 2.59.4; Dio 45.3; Livy epit. 117). In any case, it would be natural for N not to repeat the proper noun and simply use a pronoun. There is thus no evidence to support the claim of Apollonia as the place of the biography's composition.

part of that growing number of Greeks, including Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Strabo, who came to Rome soon after Actium from many parts of the east.⁸² He may still have been in Egypt when Augustus came after Actium. Cleopatra's children by Antony were taken to Rome by Augustus, and walked in his triumphal procession.⁸³ Who better to accompany them to Rome than their tutor up to that time, and to continue their education under Octavia's overall supervision?⁸⁴ He may simply have been among the pedagogues, including Apollodorus, taken from Alexandria by Augustus as teachers and advisers.⁸⁵ Whatever the circumstances of Nicolaus' arrival in Rome after Actium, it was shortly after this that he composed his biography of the Princeps. It is a reasonable assumption that it was through this composition that he won Augustus' favour and laid the basis for his later influential position at Herod's court.

We can go a little further. The biography was aimed

- 82. See G.W.Bowersock, "Augustus and the Greek World", p.123. Cf. also Plut. Demos. 2.1 on the benefits Rome could give a writer.
- 83. Tarn (CAH 10, p.112).
- 84. Cf. Bowersock, pp.34-38.
- 85. Ib., p.31; cf. also pp.3-5 and 30ff.

by language at the Greek-speaking East. Its Greek orientation is also shown by the fact that many Roman institutions are described from a non-Roman point of view and interpreted for a Greek readership. This may be in the form of a purely factual note: At the Lupercalia Caesar was sitting ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμβόλων λεγομένων⁸⁶, a location described a little later as a ὑψηλός.... τόπος⁸⁷. An event in such a well-known place as the Campus Martius is described as ἐν τῷ πρὸ τῆς πόλεως πεδίῳ⁸⁸. More indicatively, Nicolaus feels obliged to explain what a λεγεών⁸⁹ is. The significance of two Roman festivals, and⁹⁰

86. §71, p.405.13. The λεγομένων suggests that N did not wish non-Roman readers to miss the special significance for the Romans of the ἐμβολαί (Rostra). One would however have expected the qualification to have been put with the slightly earlier reference to the platform in §69 (p.404.23). Cf. also §81: διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς καλουμένης ὁδοῦ.

87. §71.

88. §81.

89. §132: ἡ γὰρ ἡ λεγεών καὶ ἡ ὁγδόη (οὕτω γὰρ τὴν σύνταξιν καλοῦσι Ῥωμαῖοι).....

90, §§13 and 71.

the difference between the Greek and Roman theatre is described.⁹¹ The meaning of Octavian's assumption of the "toga virilis"⁹² and the constitutional basis of Caesar's powers too are noted.⁹³ In §69 he tells of the golden statue of Caesar, and pointedly remarks about the crown on its head that "the Romans were very suspicious of it and regarded it as *δουλείας σύμβολον*". In the context of Hellenistic monarchy such a token of worldly power would have called for no comment, but Nicolaus feels he should point out the emotional repercussions it had in the Roman situation. A little later, when he is narrating the Lupercalia affair, he tells of the people's reaction to Antony's second attempt to offer Caesar the crown: "The people shouted in their own language "Hail, king"."⁹⁴

Evidently, then, the biography was designed to introduce Augustus in a favourable light to his Greek subjects.⁹⁵ In

91. §19.

92. §8.

93. §18.

94. §73: *ὁ δῆμος ἐβόησε "Χαίρε, βασιλεῦ", τῆς ἑαυτοῦ γλώττης.*

95. N could also denigrate Antony in the East more effectively than Augustus since his work was written in Greek. It is possible that N received official encouragement to do so, as is stressed by G. Turturro, "Nicola Damasceno", p.8; Laqueur, RE 17.365 and 402; and E.B.Veselago, "Vestnik Drevnei Istorii", vol. 73 (1960), p.236. Cicero's comment is also worth noting (Pro Arch. 23), that greater renown comes to Romans from Greek writings, "quod Graeca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus." Even

this way Nicolaus won the emperor's favour by helping him to gain the support of the eastern provinces - a work he continued when he was for many years, in a sense, Augustus' representative at the court of Herod.

Conclusion.

The composition of the biography should be dated to the middle Twenties BC. None of the objections to such an early date is strong enough to invalidate it. The work, written in Rome, was the means by which Nicolaus won the favour of Augustus. It also gained him the prestige that brought him to Herod's attention and to his subsequent court career in Jerusalem.

if N did not show Augustus the biography until it was completed, he could still have thought that spreading Augustan propaganda would have brought him imperial favour. In this context cf. also Bowersock, pp.5-6.

CHAPTER 7:

SOURCES.

The Problem.

Many scholars have tried to identify the sources Nicolaus used to compose his biography of Augustus. This is not surprising, since the work is the earliest detailed surviving account not only of Caesar's murder, but also of the first nineteen years of Octavian's life. Laqueur has gone further, and has tried to show, as he did about the ¹ "Histories", that Nicolaus used two sources simultaneously. Such an argument seems mistaken.

All the arguments advanced by Laqueur can be countered; there is no need to resort to a two-source theory to explain away the difficulties he finds. As will be shown later, ² inconsistencies in the narrative suggest that Nicolaus did not take a great deal of trouble over details, and therefore make it unlikely that he composed an original version out of several sources. ³ Furthermore, if he wrote the biography in the Twenties BC, that is at the most within about twenty years of the events he was narrating, there can have been few accounts to use - the earlier the date of composition, the less literary source material would be available. The use of one source at a time, as in the ⁴ "Histories", is the

1. RE 17.410ff.
2. There is no real evidence that N combined subsidiary sources with his main ones - see Appendix 15, and Steidle, o.c., p.135, n.4.
3. See pp. 344 - 350.
4. See chapter 2.

most likely.

The consensus of opinion is that Nicolaus relies, in greater or lesser degree, on the writings of Augustus⁵. This view is reasonable. Since Augustus had devoted thirteen books to his own life story down as far as the Cantabrian War of 25 BC, there was considerable material at hand for a biographer. Further, Nicolaus is motivated to write by a desire to praise Augustus⁶. The "Commentarii" of the Princeps would certainly have provided suitable material. It would have been undiplomatic, to say the least, for him to produce a historical narrative that contradicted Augustus' own version of the same events.

Nicolaus and Augustus' "Commentarii".

It is impossible to make direct comparison between

5. The literature is considerable. See esp. F. Blumenthal, "Wien. Stud." 35 (1913), pp.113-130; F. Jacoby, FGrH IIC, pp.263-265. Also W. Witte, p.22; A. von Gutshmid, "Kl. Schriften", vol. 5, p.542; E. Schwartz, Hermes 33 (1898), pp.200f, 211; H. Hahn, N. Clio 10, p.137ff; E.B. Veselago, o.c., vol.73, p.242; A. Krawczuk, "Meander" 18 (1963), p.283f; Wacholder, p.84.
6. Suet. Aug. 85.1; Suda, s. *Αὐγ. Καίσαρ*.
7. §§2, 58.

parallel parts of Augustus' "Commentarii" and Nicolaus' biography. Both are in a fragmentary state, and the former⁸ is reduced to a mere handful of disjointed passages. Nothing survives of Nicolaus' biography after 44 BC. Augustus mentioned an event of July, 44 in the second book of his memoirs - the sighting of a comet during the funeral games for Caesar. Nicolaus takes about 10,000 words to⁹ reach events of November, 44, (out of which nearly 4000 words¹⁰ were spent on Caesar in section B), while Augustus himself devoted not less than two books to the same period. Though

8. See "Imp. Caes. Augusti Operum Fragmenta"⁴, ed. H. Malcovati, pp.84-97.
9. Pliny NH 2.93 = Malc. p. 86f; Serv. ad Verg. Buc. 9.46 = Malc. p. 87; cf. also Suet. Caes. 88.
10. (i) O's winning of support in Calatia (§136) and Casilinum (§137 - τὴν δευτέραν ἀποικίαν) can be dated to the end of October, 44 BC (cf. Cic. Att. 16.8.1, from Puteoli on 2nd November). (ii) O sends agents to Brundisium to win the support of the recently arrived Macedonian legions for himself (§139). Dio dates this to the same time as O's Campanian journey (45.12.1-2).

the length of the latter is unknown, it is reasonable to believe that Nicolaus was more compact in his narration than Augustus, and that his narrative was possibly only half as long, or even less.¹¹ At any rate, the "Commentarii" could provide sufficient material for him.

There is thus circumstantial evidence that Nicolaus could well have used Augustus' writings in some degree. To substantiate this view there are two possible lines of approach: Firstly, to compare Nicolaus' text with Augustus' "Commentarii", as far as the remnants allow. Secondly, to examine Nicolaus' account for information which cannot have come from any other source but Augustus himself. As far as the first method is concerned, there are four passages in the biography which are worth comparing with Augustan frag-

11. On p.19f it was argued that the 18000 words of N's "Histories" which have survived must represent at least the equivalent of one book of the original. To deduce the length of Augustus' "Commentarii" is impossible. The nearest political personal memoirs to them are Caesar's. But even here the books are of disparate length - book 7 of the "Bellum Gallicum" at about 12000 words is over three times the length of book 3; book 3 of the "Bellum Civile", at over 16000 words, is more than double the 7000 words of book 2.

ments.

1. Octavian's Balkan Campaigns: Some affinity of expression was noted earlier between Nicolaus and the "Res Gestae"¹². But since Nicolaus wrote his biography towards the end of the Twenties BC, his narrative cannot have been dependent on the "Res Gestae". Yet the similarities between the two, particularly the mention of Pannonia, Illyria and Dacia, seem too great to be mere chance. Almost certainly the resemblances trace their origin to Augustus' "Commentarii".

The evidence for this is Appian's "Illyrica". In this work he states that he had examined Augustus' account of his campaigns there, in order to narrate the history of relations between Rome and Illyria, but had been able to find very little.¹³ A little later he finds himself unable to state how many Illyrian tribes came into Roman power, οὐ γὰρ ἀλλοτρίας πρᾶξεις ὁ Σεβαστός, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἑαυτοῦ συνέγραφεν.¹⁴ He also found no mention of wars against the Rhaetians, Noricans and Mysians in Augustus' account, and has to assume they were conquered along with neighbouring tribes.¹⁵ Appian thus tells us three times that he does not give information because

12. See pp. 287 - 290.

13. Illyr. 14.

14. Ib. 15.

15. Ib. 29. Notice also that N does not mention these peoples either, presumably because his source did

Augustus' "Commentarii" had not. The latter were therefore his only available source at this point. Further, from this point to the end of his Illyrian narrative Appian only deals with Octavian's personal leadership and triumphs in these wars, but does so in detail.¹⁶ The conclusion is inescapable that Appian here used the "Commentarii", and that he did so exclusively.¹⁷

not have them - Παννονίους αὐτοὺς καὶ Δάκας καλοῦσιν (§1).

16. O is consistently the hero, around whom the whole action revolves (cf. esp. §20 - the Metulians felt they were assailed ὑπὸ γνώρης ἀράχου). Note too the Augustan apologetics in §§21 (acc. to Appian, the Metulians with their wives and children set fire to their council-chamber so that all the city was destroyed without a trace. This frightened the rest of the Iapydes into surrender); 24 (O captured Segesta after the 30th day of siege, but he only fined the population); 28 (O's second five-year term of triumviral power was "confirmed by the people"); esp. §16 - ἐν παραβολῇ τῆς ἀπραξίας Ἀντωνίου. His clemency is noted in §§16, 18 and 22.
17. That Appian used Augustus' "Commentarii" is accepted by A. Migheli ("Annali Cagliari", vol. 21.1 (1953), p.201, n.1), who cites earlier support. The thesis was however denied by Schwartz (RE 2.228f), followed by Blumenthal ("Wien. Stud." 35, p.113), on the grounds of an alleged discrepancy between App. Illyr. 22 and Dio 49.37.3 about a canal at Siscia, which was not built until the time of Tiberius. Therefore, Schwartz claims, Appian cannot have used Augustus' "Commentarii" at first hand. But Veith ("Schriften der Balkankommission" 7 (1914), col. 54ff, quoted by Migheli) has shown the existence of a disused branch of the river Kulpa which could easily be identified with the Τάφρω of Appian. It might also be added that Dio's source could be wrong. See also Migheli, pp.202-210.

If one then refers back to Nicolaus' introduction (§1), one can see that he praises Augustus' victories in Illyria as an achievement of great importance. Of course, the fragment does not tell us what Nicolaus may have mentioned besides. But the priority of Illyria, which from a modern point of view was not outstanding, needs an explanation. Nicolaus' selection of it is likely to have been determined by the time he wrote and by his source. Nicolaus is likely to have emphasised the extension of Roman power in this area through Octavian because the "Commentarii" had already done so.

2. Octavian and Cicero: Octavian is alleged to have admitted that after Mutina he made use of τῇ Κικέρωνος ἐν δέοντι φιλαρχία, since he was afraid of finding himself stripped of power by the senate. Still more revealing of his attitude to Cicero are Velleius' comments about the latter's double-dealing: "Ut recessit metus, erupit voluntas protinusque Pompeianis partibus rediit animus"; and again, "Cicero ... Caesarem (i.e. Augustus) laudandum et tollendum censebat, cum aliud diceret, aliud intellegi vellet" - very

18. Cf. also the boasts about territorial expansion in "Res Gestae" 26-27, 30.

19. Plut. Cic. 45.5, Comp. Dem. cum Cic. 3.1.

20. Vell. 2.62.1.

21. Ibid. 6.

probably from the "Commentarii", and at the very least²² propagating the pro-Octavian line. Cicero's correspondence²³ also shows that Octavian knew about the orator's intrigues. In Nicolaus we find Cicero singled out as a prominent member of the *οἱ ἐν μέσῳ*²⁴. Octavian, we are told, was well aware that Cicero and his associates were "using" him as a tool to attack Antony, but he did not reject their support,²⁵ so that he could secure his own position.

The treatment of Cicero in Nicolaus is therefore consistent with what is known of Augustus' oral and written comments about him.

3. Augustus on his lineage: "Ipse Augustus nihil amplius quam equestri familia ortum se scribit vetere ac locuplete, et in qua primus senator pater suus fuerit".²⁶ Velleius repeats the same tradition: "Fuit C. Octavius ut

22. There can be little doubt on this - cf. 2.61-62 with their consistently laudatory tone towards O. Cicero's murder and the rest of the proscription is put down to the "furor" of Antony and Lepidus, against whom O's protests were of no avail ("frustra adversus duos"). But see also n. 32.
23. Ad Fam. 11.20.1,
24. §111.
25. Ibid.
26. Suet. Aug. 2.3. On his "ordinariness" see also §§71, 72, 73, 76, 77.

non patricia, ita admodum speciosa equestri genitus familia, gravis, sanctus, innocens, dives.²⁷ Nicolaus too makes only modest claims for Octavian - his father C.²⁸ Octavius, was τῶν ἐκ τῆς συγκλήτου ; his πρόγονοι were men who were κατά τε πλοῦτον καὶ ἐπιείκειαν ὀνομαστότατοι.²⁹

4. Velleius and Nicolaus: Velleius' account about Octavian's life until his entry into Rome in 44 BC, though brief,³⁰ makes interesting comparison with that of Nicolaus. His statements about Caesar's great love of the youth, his being joined by Octavian in Spain, and his subsequent treatment of him - "numquam aut alio usum hospitio quam suo aut alio vectum vehiculo" - and Octavian's reactions on hearing at Apollonia of Caesar's assassination are exactly mirrored by Nicolaus.³¹ Velleius does not explicitly say that his account is drawn from Augustus' "Commentarii", but it is difficult to see what other account he could have used - his admiration for the imperial family in general and his fervent bias for Augustus all make it very likely that his narrative

27. 2.59.1-2; For family background - V. Gardthausen, "Augustus und seine Zeit", vol. 1.1, pp.45-47.

28. N does not know, or at least does not repeat, the patrician tradition found in Suet. Aug. 2. Presumably the first possibility is correct, and that patrician nobility was a later invention. Cf. also T.P. Wiseman, "Historia" 14 (1965), p.333.

29. § 3.

30. 2.59.3-6.

31. §§ 20-24, 38-44, 47.

32

is based on the memoirs of the Princeps. Because of the similarities of Velleius and Nicolaus their ultimate source

33

must be the same.

It has been argued that Nicolaus is intrinsically likely to have made use of Augustus' writings, and from the above paragraphs it can be seen that the tone of Nicolaus' account is perfectly compatible with what is known of Augustus' "Commentarii". In the case of the Illyrian wars the argument in favour of Nicolaus having used these is strong. If the parallels between Nicolaus and Velleius are taken into account, plausibly explained by common use of Augustus' writings, the link becomes almost irrefutable. Further, the early date of the Twenties BC for Nicolaus'

32. So also M.P. Charlesworth, CAH 10, p.871; A. Dihle, RE 8 A 1, col. 645. Here, however, there is a great risk of circular argumentation - it is usually assumed that Velleius is based on Augustus because N is.
33. Velleius did not use N's account, since in §41 N does not mention Salvidienus and Agrippa by name. There is a slight discrepancy also. Velleius, wishing to emphasise O's resolution and achievement, declares that he was in such haste that he reached Brundisium before learning details of the assassination and the will (2.59.5). N, on the other hand, says that O was more cautious and decided to travel first to Lupiae because he was unsure of the reception he might get in Brundisium; it was there that he was told of the will and of the political situation in Rome (§§47-51). The clearer grasp of the problems facing O at this juncture, which N displays, and the realistic avoidance of Brundisium makes its preferable to accept N's account of what actually took place. N's account, too, is careful to explain the reasoning behind the actions O took, and must almost certainly record the motivation given by O himself in the "Commentarii". The slight discrepancy is probably due to Velleius' great contraction of his source.

composition and the previously-argued prime motivation - to win Augustus' favour - not only strengthen this link, but would also mean that Nicolaus used the "Commentarii" directly.

The second method of assessing Nicolaus' dependence on the "Commentarii" is to show that there is information in his narrative that must have come from Augustus' writings. Since the biography divides conveniently into three sections - A and C (§§1-57 and 107-139) centred around Octavian, and B (§§58-106) built around Caesar - they will be investigated separately. It will be argued that A and C are drawn from a different source to section B.

Section A: §§ 1-57.

These sections take up eleven pages in Jacoby's text, and cover Octavian's early life until his time abroad in Apollonia, where he hears of Caesar's murder, and end with his departure from Brundisium for Rome.³⁴ They have several features of note:

(a) Much is made of Octavian's mother, Atia - both her influence over him, and his respect for her. She is mentioned on no fewer than sixteen occasions, and about one-tenth of this first section is given over to her.³⁵ The correspondence between him and his mother is particularly interesting.

34. Jacoby, pp.391-402.

35. §§ 5-7, 10, 12, 14, 22, 31, 32, 33, 34, 38, 48, 51, 52, 54.

According to Nicolaus, it was from a courier sent by his mother from Rome that Octavian first heard the news of Caesar's assassination.³⁶ In her letter, briefly given by Nicolaus,³⁷ Atia told her son he must act like a man and make the best of his fortune and opportunities. On arriving at Lupiae in Calabria he waits for news (*ἕτερα γράμματα*)³⁸ from his mother and friends before moving on to Brundisium. Once there he receives an *ἐπιστολή* from Atia with the same plea as before: he should come to her *ὥς ρήτις ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἐξῴθεν*

36. §38.

37. It is rather contradictory. She first of all asks him to come back to her because of the danger of the political situation (p.397.32f). But then the synopsis (?) continues, *δεῖν δὲ ἤδη ἄνδρα γίγνεσθαι καὶ γνώμῃ τε ἀχρὴ φρονεῖν καὶ ἔργῳ πράττειν ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ τε καὶ τοῖς καιροῖς* (Ib.33-34). This second part is vague in meaning, but seems to mean that he should act boldly as he thought fit - clearly contradictory advice. Probably N's source gave a longer version of what the letter contained. It seems likely there was more material between the *ἐσόμενα* and *δεῖν* of line 33, emphasising the dangers and the fluidity of the situation, but also considering O's position, and perhaps weighing the pros and cons, as is done in §54, and thus leading on to the *δεῖν δὲ ἤδη, κτλ.*

38. §51.

*ἐπιβουλὴ συσταίῃ παῖδα Καίσαρος ἀναδεδειγμένον.*³⁹

No authority mentions Augustus publishing his correspondence. The fact that Suetonius refers to "epistulae autographae", and therefore had had to look in archives at the originals, shows that there was no comprehensive published collection.⁴⁰ Nicolaus, unlike Suetonius, will not have had access to archives; probably nobody had while Augustus was still alive. The ultimate source of this correspondence (if it existed in actual fact), must be⁴¹ Augustus. The text of these must therefore have been found

39. §52.

40. Suet. Aug. 71.2, 87. See H. Malcovati, pp.xviii-xix; A. Macé, "Essai sur Suétone", p.117; Quint. 1.7.22; Pliny NH 13.83, 18.139, 21.9. These ancient writers, by talking of the original letters, show that they did not know of copies. Doubtless, many of O's letters would be kept by their recipients for sentimental or other reasons, and the contents of some of these would be more widely known. This would not apply to correspondence between O and Atia. See also E.S. Shuckburgh, "Suetoni Augustus", p.xxxi, n.58; G.B. Townend, "Suetonius and his Influence", p.87f. Note also Cic. Phil. 2.7; "Quis enim umquam, qui paulum modo bonorum consuetudinem nosset, litteras ad se ab amico missas... in medium protulit palamque recitavit? ... Quam multa ioca solent esse in epistolis, quae prolata si sint, inepta videantur, quam multa seria neque tamen ullo modo divulganda! Sit hoc humanitas." The political context is clearly different, but it is very unlikely that N would have violated this convention without taking the lead from Augustus himself.

41. Atia died very shortly afterwards in 43 BC.

in a work by him which covered the period of the assassination and its aftermath. Only the thirteen-book "Commentarii" is known to fit these requirements. If the dating of the late Twenties for Nicolaus' biography is accepted, he must have used them directly and not another source itself dependent on these.

The same argument is even more true of the eleven lines in § 54 where Nicolaus describes Atia's mixed feelings about the position of her son. Again the section is rhetorical:⁴² Atia appreciated τὸ εὐκλείς τῆς τύχης καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς δυναστείας but also realised μεστὸν τὸ πρᾶγμα φόβων τε καὶ κινδύνων. "She seemed to be caught between two points of view - that of her husband Philip and that of her son", Nicolaus continues. The only factor which made her hesitate, we are told, was τὸ ἄδηλον τοῦ δαίμονος (line 16). It is inconceivable that Nicolaus should have introduced this mental conflict of Atia's purely out of his own imagination.⁴³ He

42. Atia's feelings are elaborately presented. All sides of the (alleged) arguments and thoughts which swayed her are developed. There is a certain amount of tautology (lines 6f) and rhetorical expansion (φόβων τε καὶ κινδύνων - 8), but the careful balance of opposing ideas is especially noticeable - τὸ μὲν εὐκλείς ... ἔχαιρεν ὀρώσα ..., εἰδυῖα δέ οὐ πάνυ προσίετο πάλιν (lines 6-9); τότε μὲν ... τότε δέ ... (lines 11-14). It can only be speculation how far this results from N's working on more prosaic material.

43. It would not be inconceivable in an ancient historian such as Tacitus, writing about a dramatic scene, but this is obviously not the case here. N would have to be careful about what he put into the mouth and head of the emperor's mother! Even if Atia recorded her feelings in her personal diary, though none such is

must have followed the lead of Augustus in giving such a prominent part in the strengthening of his determination to his mother. Since §54 is an integral part of the sounding out of opinion in Rome which Octavian is alleged to have done while he was still in Calabria,⁴⁴ it must have occurred in his account of this crucial period - the "Commentarii".

Nicolaus frequently mentions the care Atia took to give her son a good education; throughout his adolescence she guided his steps. Assuming that these references to Atia's influence are also from the same source as the two main parts earlier mentioned (and there is no reason to doubt it), it must be concluded that §§ 5-12, 14, 22, 31-35, 38-39, 51-52 and 54 are drawn from the Augustan "Commentarii".⁴⁵ It is also reasonable to argue that no-one else except the Princeps⁴⁶ would have given such prominence to Atia and Philip.

(b) There is considerable detail of Octavian's own

known, it could only have come to N's attention through Augustus.

44. See §§ 51 and 55.

45. Perhaps § 48 should also be added.

46. If the same argument is applied to the correspondence between O and his step-father, Philip, § 53 can also be added. Philip is mentioned alone in §§ 5, 28 and 53; and in association with Atia in §§ 6, 7 and 34.

thoughts and plans - his tact in approaching Caesar to ask for the release of M. Agrippa's brother, a Catonist; the dilemma presented by the "pseudo-Marius", and his skilful resolution of it;⁴⁷ the careful deliberations he made with his friends at Apollonia as he pondered the different actions he could take after Caesar's death, and the conflicting advice offered him at Brundisium by his mother, by Philip and by his associates.⁴⁸ Invariably, the different alternatives are set out, the points for and against each course of action are presented, and a conclusion is then reached. Such detailed investigation of motive and policy must have agreed with that which Augustus himself gave.

Further, an account of Octavian's reactions at Apollonia, the turning and starting point of his career, must have been in the memoirs.⁴⁹ It was to this "official" account that writers in Augustus' principate must have turned.⁵⁰ This period is

47. No other account of this confrontation is extant.
48. §§16, 32-33, 40-43, 53-56.
49. §§38-46. The benefits which O is said to have conferred on Apollonia when he came to power (§45) suggest O's pen; similar statements of his *εὐεργεσίαι* are found in the "Res Gestae" (esp. 15-16, 21, 24). The great detail of §§21-27 persuaded Hall (p.80.12.1) that they were compiled "with much dependence upon Augustus' memoirs". His *φιλευθροπία* was also publicised - see n.16; RG 3 and 34.
50. Appian BC 3. 9-10 has marked parallels with N, §§41 (some urged O to go to the Macedonian army) and 38 (the contents of Atia's letter), though there is some difference in the arrangement of the material. See also Vell. 2.59.5.

given in great detail by Nicolaus, and there is every reason to believe that he, writing soon after the publication of the "Commentarii", made use of them. Not to do so would be inconsistent with his avowed intention of writing a laudatory biography.⁵¹

(c) Caesar's relations with Octavian are given a prominent position. His alleged concern for the young man's health is twice mentioned - once at length and in melodramatic fashion.⁵² Much is made of actions which Nicolaus accepts as his grooming Octavian for power. Early in the narrative we are told that Caesar intended to make Octavian his son, and it was for this reason, it is suggested, that "he told Octavian to attend his personal chariot and decorated him with a general's insignia".⁵³ His concern at Octavian's ill-health and his joy at receiving his grand-nephew safe in Spain are described in almost rapturous terms.⁵⁴ Naturally, Caesar's motives and attitudes in his relationship with Octavian were known largely to Caesar alone. As far as his alleged dynastic intentions are concerned, probably no-one

51. § 58.

52. §§ 15, 20-21.

53. § 17.

54. §§ 20-21, 24.

but Caesar himself knew the existence or extent of these.⁵⁵
 Nicolaus' claims seem to reflect the propaganda of Augustus.

(d) Nicolaus describes (C. Claudius) Marcellus as⁵⁶
 "a very prudent man and by birth one of the noblest Romans."⁵⁷
 He had been, however, a strong opponent of Caesar, and this
 brief laudation could appear incongruous if Nicolaus was
 using Augustus' "Commentarii". One would expect to find
 scant praise of the dictator's opponents. But Marcellus was
 also married to Octavia (Minor), the sister of Augustus him-
 self, and had been a strong supporter of the youthful Octavian.⁵⁸
 He was also the father of M. Claudius Marcellus, the youth
 immortalised by Virgil, and for whom a glorious future seemed
 marked out.⁵⁹ It is probable that Nicolaus is here repeating
 the praise that Augustus gave the Claudii Marcelli.

(e) In § 35 Nicolaus claims that while in Rome after his
 return from Spain Octavian *ὕπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀποδείκνυται εἶναι τῶν*

55. See chapter 10, section 1.

56. § 28. He was consul in 50 BC (Cic. Fam. 15.7-11) and died in 41.

57. App. BC 2.26; Dio 40.63. See also F.E. Adcock, CAH 9, pp.631, 635-636.

58. See Syme, RR, pp.142 and 182.

59. Virg. Aen. 6.860; H. S. Jones, CAH 10, pp.133, 135f.

πατρικίων . Yet by the "Lex Cassia" this power had been granted to Caesar, and both Suetonius and Dio state that he was instrumental in giving patrician rank to Octavian. Such⁶⁰ deference to the senate, both as a token of respect to it and giving his elevation greater prestige through its being given by the whole body rather than the whim of one man, has⁶¹ many parallels in the "Res Gestae".

From the evidence cited above the conclusion seems indisputable that Nicolaus drew on the "Commentarii" of Augustus for ~~§§~~⁶² 3-57, and that he used them directly.

Section C: §§ 107-139.

This last group is examined next because it continues the narrative about Octavian. By § 107 he has reached Rome and has come up against the hostility of Antony, and to the end of the extracts this theme is developed at large. There are two main questions to be considered: Are there strong

60. Suet. Caes. 41, Aug. 2; Dio 43.47.3, 45.2.7. See also D-G 4.266; B. Kübler, RE 18.2230; Fitzler-Seeck, RE 10.279; M. Gelzer, "Caesar", p.310. There is no evidence that the Senate had to, or did, vote approval for those Caesar chose.

61. RG 1, 4-6, 8-14, 20, 22, 34-35.

62. Possibly also for some of the language of §§1-2.

enough links with section A to show that Nicolaus was using the same source? Secondly, is there additional evidence to support the conclusion that large parts at least of the content of §§3-57 are based on Augustus' writings?

On the first question, there are many details which show that in main outline and sympathy his account here is a continuation and development of the themes of section A. There are similar claims put forward for Octavian's entitlement to Caesar's power.⁶³ In both sections it is asserted that Caesar decided to adopt Octavian not simply "because of his family or kinship".⁶⁴ Octavian's political motivation is once again put forward as one of avenging Caesar's murder. Antony and Dolabella were "friendly to the assassins" and no longer concerned to avenge Caesar. "Only Octavian was now left to exact vengeance for his father".⁶⁵

Several themes stressed in section A are even more prominent in C. Octavian is careful to observe legal and social formalities. He asked Antony as consul to allow Caesar's curule chair and crown to be exhibited, but on being threatened by him "went away and made no trouble in the face of the consul's veto".⁶⁶ Despite further provocation he "went

63. §§53 and 113.

64. §§30 and 120.

65. §110. Cf. this with the similar attack on Antony in §50.

66. §108.

every day to Antony's house, as was his duty, since he was a consul as well as an old friend of his father's⁶⁷. In contrast to other prominent individuals, Octavian took no part in the general scrambling for offices and armies.⁶⁸

On a more personal level, section C develops the earlier characterisation of Atia and Octavian's attitude to her. Both she and her husband are concerned about the dangers to him which Antony's animosity might bring, and advise their son to withdraw from the political scene.⁶⁹ When shortly afterwards Octavian proceeded to enlist support from the colonies in Campania settled by Caesar, "he decided not to reveal his intentions to his mother; he was afraid that if he did she would be carried away by her tender feelings and nervousness for him, and try to oppose his great plans."⁷⁰ There is also a notable emphasis on the value Octavian placed on his friends' advice. Nicolaus had already recounted two incidents exemplifying his concern for the ties of friendship,⁷¹ and describes in detail Octavian's consultations with them in the critical days at Apollonia and later in Calabria.⁷²

67. §122.

68. §§111-114.

69. §126. Compare with §§38, 53-54. See also Hall, p.96. 31.3.

70. §134.

71. §§16, 25 (ὕπὸ φιλοστοργίας).

72. §§40, 41, 43, 55-57.

They figure largely in his plans once he arrives in Rome.⁷³
 Octavian's basic stability of character too is commented on
 in both sections.⁷⁴

There is considerable evidence that section C reproduces attitudes actually held by Octavian. Antony, the "bête noire" of Actium, is subtly vilified on every occasion: He was arrogant and threatening,⁷⁵ a dissimulator,⁷⁶ false to Caesar's memory,⁷⁷ and an embezzler.⁷⁸ He even "circulated a story to further his own ends" that there was a conspiracy against him,⁷⁹ hinting that Octavian was responsible. Throughout section C the same technique is employed to assail Antony. Attacks are made on him from a variety of angles, and Octavian's actions - invariably the opposite of Antony's - are noted. Before Antony's brusqueness Octavian is polite.⁸⁰

73. §§ 107, 108, 117, 119, 126, 132, 133.

74. Cf. §§ 127 (ὥσπερ εἰώθει ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοτε εἰώθει μὴδὲν ἐναλλάξας τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν ἔθους), and 10, 11, 12, 27, 28, 29, 36.

75. §§ 108, 114, 115.

76. §§ 116, 121f.

77. § 110; cf. also §§ 50 and 106.

78. § 110.

79. §§ 123-129. This was believed by Cicero (Fam. 12.23.2: "multitudini fictum ab Antonio crimen videtur... Prudentes autem et boni viri et credunt factum et probant".) and Sen. "De Miser." 9.2. Plutarch (Ant. 16.4) and Dio (45.8.2) are non-committal. Velleius (2.60.3, 5) rejects it, as does Appian (BC 3.39), but the latter records some views about it which are unfavourable to O. Suetonius (Aug. 10.3) accepts it. See also Seneca De Clem. 1.9.1; Cic. Phil. 3.19.

80. §§ 108, 122.

Others intrigue against him, but he accepts their protest-
⁸¹
 ations in good faith.

There is also the converse of this line of argument -
 Nicolaus' omission of aspects damaging to Octavian and favour-
 able to Antony. For example, he does not mention the fact
 that at about the time of his reconciliation with Antony
 Octavian wished to succeed a tribune who had died, despite
 his youth and patrician status, an illegality which brought
⁸²
 a strong reaction from Antony. The protestations of Nicolaus
 that Octavian was peace-loving but forced to take action by
 Antony are not confirmed by Cicero - Octavian and his support-
⁸³
 ers "all fear peace no less than we fear war", he declares.
 The uniform moderation, kindness and honesty which Nicolaus
⁸⁴
 finds in Octavian's character is contradicted by Plancus and

81. §§111-113, 116, 122, 124, 126.

82. The incident is mentioned by Plut. Ant. 16.1; App. BC 3.31; Suet. Aug. 10.2; Dio 45.6.2-3. See also Charlesworth, CAH 10, p.11; M.A. Levi, "Ottaviano Capoparte" I, p.103; Fitzler-Seeck, RE 10.283.

83. Att. 15.2.3 (18th May). This comment is Cicero's reaction to O's speech, in which he accepted Caesar's inheritance (Att. 14.20.5, 21.4; Dio 45.6) and probably intimated something of what he intended to do, since Cicero found little comfort in it (Att. 15.2.3). See also Att. 14.22.1 (14th May).

84. §§108, 113-114, 117-118, 120, 124, 130, 132.

⁸⁵
 D. Brutus. There also is evidence that Octavian's main preoccupation was his power struggle with Antony, and that to this end he was in reality prepared to engineer some compromise with Caesar's assassins,⁸⁶ despite Nicolaus' attacks on Antony for this very attitude⁸⁷ and Octavian's later making⁸⁸ their punishment an important part of his political testament.

85. Cic. Fam. 11. 10.4 (D. Brutus to Cicero from Dertona, 5 May, 43 BC): "sed neque Caesari imperari potest, nec Caesar exercitui suo". Ib. 10.24.5-6 (L. Munatius Plancus to Cicero, 28th July, 43 BC) - Admittedly Plancus tells Cicero he had found O, as far as he knew him, "moderatissimi atque humanissimi fuit sensus", but he also blames O for the fact that Antony and Lepidus were thriving; he also finds aspects of his conduct very puzzling: "Quae mens eum aut quorum consilia a tanta gloria... avocarint, et ad cogitationem consulatus bimestris summo cum terrore hominum et insulsa eum efflagitatione tratulerint, exputare non possum". These two letters, though written some six to eight months after N's narrative of section C, show some of the flaws in O's character. Other more compromising letters may have been destroyed on O's orders - see W.W. How, "Select Letters", vol. 2, p.541. Also ib. p.544; Cic. Fam. 11.13A.1 (D. Brutus to Cicero, after 19th May, 43 BC) and 11.20.1 (the same, 24th May, 43 BC).
86. Cic. Att. 16.15.3 (before 9th Dec., 44 BC - LCL; after 12 Nov. 44 - Shackleton-Bailey, "Cicero's Letters to Atticus", vol. 6, p.205); ib. 15.12.2 (9th or 10th June, 44). Cf. also Cic. Phil. 13.22, 23, 25, 38, 39, 42, 46 (Antony's attack on O and Hirtius for siding with Brutus and Cassius).
87. ~~§§~~ 50, 110, 118. Cf. also Cic. Phil. 1.8 and 31; 2.5, 31, 109; App. BC 3.16; Syme, RR, p.118f.
88. RG 2.

There is also clear evidence that Nicolaus' source omitted material favourable to Antony. This is shown by a letter of Cicero's to Atticus of May, 44 BC. Cicero states: "Balbus... told me Antony's plans; he is going round the veterans and asking them to support Caesar's acts"⁸⁹. A different line is taken by Nicolaus. One of the reasons he gives why the veterans supported Octavian was their belief that it was through him and not Antony that Caesar's ⁹⁰ *ὑπορνήματα* would be preserved. Antony too was more hostile ⁹¹ to the conspirators than Nicolaus allows. In four letters covering the period May to August, 44 BC Cicero has preserved ⁹² the antipathy existing between the two sides.

Finally, Cicero's letters also provide positive evidence

89. Att. 14.21.2 (11th May, 44 BC).

90. §115.

91. Cf. § 110: *τοῖς σφαγεύσαι φίλοι ᾗσαν* (i.e. Antony and Dolabella). Appian (BC 2.132) defends Antony's action as brought about *ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης*. A more reasoned defence is also given in 3.18 and 34-38.

92. Fam. 11.2 (end of May, 44 BC); Att. 15.20.2 (17-21 June): "Postea vero quam tecum Lanuvi vidi nostros tantum spei habere ad vivendum, quantum acceperant ab Antonio, desperavi"; Fam. 11.3 (4th August, Brutus and Cassius to Antony); Att. 16.7.1 (19th August), which perhaps shows some slight rapprochement beginning. Cf. also Att. 16.9 (4th November): "Si firmas copias habet (sc. Octavianus), Brutum habere potest". In the first few weeks Antony was conciliatory - Cic. Att. 16.6.1 (12th April); Phil. 1.2; Cicero also received a request from Antony - Att. 14.13 (a).2 (late April). By 1st June there was a fundamental change (Phil. 1.6). D.W. Knight (Latomus 27 (1968), p.158) thinks that this was due to the fact that Antony had no quarrel with the

that Nicolaus is adopting the same line as Augustus about the latter's troop-recruiting in Campania at the end of October and the early part of November, 44 BC. Cicero writes to Atticus telling him of a letter he had received from Octavian - "He has won over to his side the veterans at Casilinum and Calatia; this is not surprising when he gives them 500 denarii each." Nicolaus repeats the same story, but

"liberatores" and republicans as long as political primacy was not taken out of the hands of the Caesarians. "However", he continues, "there seems little doubt that in late April interference in this primacy did take place - although its exact nature is not really known - in the form of Republican support for the claims of Octavian". Apart from being inherently unlikely at this early stage, the letters of Cicero which Knight quotes in support of his view (Att. 14.5.3, 11.2, 12.2 - p.158, n.4) allow no such conclusion to be drawn - Cicero did not support O until much later. Antony's change of attitude is much more likely due to O's propaganda against him; O was another Caesarian and one who could claim he was "loyal" to Caesar, unlike Antony. O is the threat which faced Antony.

93. Att. 16.8.1 (Puteoli, 2nd and 3rd November, 44 BC).

puts down Octavian's success to his oratory - after he had won the colonists over he "called them to where he was staying and gave them 500 drachmas [⁹⁴= denarii] apiece". Cicero continues: "He is thinking of visiting the other colonies", and two days later states he had learnt from two letters of Octavian's that "he is dividing the men up into centuries and giving them their pay. I see that war is very near"⁹⁵. Nicolaus again agrees: "He persuaded both legions [⁹⁶the 7th and 8th] to go with him through the other colonies on the way to Rome.... He also enrolled some other soldiers by large bounties. He trained and instructed the new recruits ..."⁹⁶ Also "he told his men he was going against Antony". The same message had been sent to Cicero: "The obvious conclusion", he writes to Atticus, "is that a war should be fought against Antony under his leadership..... He offers us his leadership and thinks that we ought not to fail him."⁹⁷

94. §136, 138. N makes O's personal appeal sway the colonists; nothing is said about Antony's unpopularity with the veterans there because of his founding another colony near the one of Caesar's (see Cic. Phil. 2.100-102). Cf. also RG 1: "exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi".
95. Att. 16.9 (Puteoli, 4th November): "Centuriat Capuae, dinumerat...".
96. §138.
97. Att. 16.8. The same theme is observable also in RG 1.

The similarities between the accounts of Cicero and Nicolaus could simply be due to the fact that the essence of their narrative is fact. On the other hand, it is very unlikely that Octavian could at this time have persuaded the veterans to march on Rome solely to attack Antony. They were anxious about Caesar's "acta" and eager for revenge, but not for splitting the Caesarians.⁹⁸ That Nicolaus and Cicero agree in stressing the misleading motive of the attack on Antony is probably a result of both having obtained their information by different ways from the same tendentious source - Octavian.

One can therefore conclude about section C: It continues, and enlarges upon, the themes found in section A, a section which it was argued must be dependent on Augustus' "Commentarii". There is also external evidence that information and tendencies found in this section are similar to those known to have been propagated by Augustus. For instance, the uniform character of the section in eulogising Octavian and vilifying his opponents, Antony in particular, points to the "Commentarii" of Augustus as the source of Nicolaus' material. Since the factual material is tightly interwoven with the political and personal apologetics of Octavian's conduct, it is highly probable that the general layout and careful argumentation came from the same source.

98. See also chapter 10, p.547f.

Section B: §§ 58-106.

The character of this section is quite different. The central figure is not Octavian but Julius Caesar. These paragraphs deal with the motives of the conspirators, their organisation, and the murder of Caesar. Could this section too be based on Augustus' "Commentarii"? The surviving fragments of the latter do not indicate whether Augustus dealt with the conspiracy at all as a theme in its own right, as opposed to the second-hand reports of the assassination given in §§ 38 and 49. It has nevertheless been argued that this part of Nicolaus' biography is based on the "Commentarii".⁹⁹ To the present writer this appears very unlikely.

Augustus must have made some reference to the murder of Caesar.¹⁰⁰ But in spite of his acknowledgement of his debt to Caesar he did not want to seem a mere shadow of his great-uncle. For example, although Nicolaus mentions their *συγγένεια*, he points out that it was not this but the fine qualities Caesar saw in Octavian which persuaded him to adopt the youth.¹⁰¹ Worth noting too is Appian's comment about Augustus' writings: οὐ ... ἀλλοτριὰς πράξεις ὁ Σεβαστὸς ἀλλὰ

99. F. Blumenthal, "Wien. Stud." 35 (1913), p.125;
F. Jacoby, FGrH IIC, pp. 272f, 281f.

100. Augustus mentions the link between Caesar and himself in "Res Gestae" 2. See also Cic. Att. 14.22.1. N, undoubtedly following the "Commentarii", does the same (§§ 48-51).

101. §§ 30; 120.

τὰς ἑαυτοῦ συνέγραψεν.¹⁰² Thus it is possible that Nicolaus' account in §§38f and 48-50 of how Octavian learnt the news of Caesar's death and its immediate aftermath represents the whole of the narrative on the subject in the "Commentarii".

Be that as it may, there is strong positive evidence that in some parts of section B Nicolaus used a source he did not use for sections A and C, and which is unlikely to have come from a work by Augustus. This can be deduced from three characteristics of the section - the treatment of Antony; inconsistencies between sections A and B; and Nicolaus' attitude in section B to the conspirators and Caesar.

The hostility shown to Antony in §§107-139 is not found in section B. He is first introduced in the Lupercalia episode (§§71-75): "Mark Antony was chosen leader"¹⁰³, says Nicolaus. "Caesar was sitting on what is called the Rostra ..., when Licinius first climbed up to him with a laurel wreath which had a glistening crown inside it... Licinius laid the crown down before his feet. The people clamoured for Caesar to put it on his head, and... one of the conspirators called Cassius Longinus... quickly snatched up the crown and placed it on his knees. The people shouted, and Antony quickly ran forward naked and oiled, just as he was in the procession, and placed it on his head. Caesar, however, snatched it off

102. Illyr. 14.

103. Presumably of the Lupercal priests - Dio 44.11.2; Appian BC 2.109. See also Cic. Phil. 2.85.

and hurled it into the crowd... When Antony placed it on his head a second time, the people shouted "Hail, King".

In contrast to the continuous vilification of Antony found in §§107ff, the above narrative is not unfavourable. Antony is said to have been only the third person to offer the crown to Caesar as he sat on the Rostra, and not the originator of the idea. Other writers either state that Antony was the only participant in the proceedings or¹⁰⁴ emphasise his part in them. Antony's action, too, according¹⁰⁵ to Nicolaus, had popular approval. A less favourable interpretation of Antony's doings - "that he did this out of a desire to gratify Caesar (so he hoped), and also nursed an ambition of being adopted as his son" - is put in the

104. Possibly under the influence of later Augustan propaganda: Plut. Caes. 61.3-4, Ant. 12.2-3; App. BC 2.109; Dio 44.11. 2-3; Suet. Caes. 79.2; Vell. 2.56.4. Cicero (Phil. 2.85): "Tu ergo unus, scelerate, qui..." was clearly trying to arouse antagonism against Antony, and therefore his account cannot be accepted simply at its face value. His comments on the crown, however, are obviously the same, less favourable ones which N does not use as his main narrative (see §74).

105. §72, p.405.22 (τοῦ δήμου βοῶντος) - the verb, though neutral in meaning, seems to mean a shout of approval; i.e. it was because of popular support that Antony ran forward. The second occasion (line 32) evoked a favourable response. Line 34 (καὶ πάλιν ἐκρότησαν οἱ αὐτοὶ ὥσπερ καὶ πάλαι) confirms this interpretation.

narrative as a comment made by some spectators, not by the
¹⁰⁶author. Whether Nicolaus' account is the true one, and the
 others simplified or inaccurately informed, matters little
 in this context. The tone of his narrative is generally
 favourable to Antony in giving him a subsidiary, if not
 altogether altruistic, role in the proceedings.

The same treatment can be seen in the narrative after
 Caesar's assassination. Here Nicolaus contrasts the
 dictator's past glories with his utter desertion in death:
 "Though he had many friends none stood by him, either at the
 murder or afterwards, except Calvisius Sabinus and Censor-
¹⁰⁷inus." He does not name those who "abandoned" Caesar, but,
 if he was using Augustus' writings, one would have expected
 Antony to be named as one of those friends "who were outside
¹⁰⁸
 [the senate-house] and hid themselves in houses". This

106. §§ 72-74 (p.404.21-24, 31-34). The *ἕτερος λόγος* is in
 §74. This "bystander comment", a technique much
 favoured by Tacitus, need not mean that the author
 wanted to put forward the view that Antony was simply
 a flatterer with selfish motivation. For an examin-
 ation of Caesar's alleged political intentions towards
 Antony, see R. F. Rossi, "Marco Antonio nella lotta
 politica", pp.38f, 44ff.

107. §96.

108. §95.

would be consistent with the treatment of Antony in §§107-139. His search for seclusion after Caesar's murder¹⁰⁹ is commented on by other writers.

There is, however, one point of agreement between sections B and C, namely, Antony's policy towards the conspirators. According to Nicolaus, Antony supported Hirtius' view that discussions should be started with them, and said¹¹⁰ they should be kept alive. But, in contrast to the tendency of later passages, Antony's conciliatory attitude is here not made the basis of criticism and abuse. The narrative appears to be impartial. Further, Antony did not originate the proposal; he only supported Hirtius. The sentence following ("Still others urged that they should be sent from

109. Plut. Ant. 14.1, Caes. 67.2; Dio 44.22.2; See also Cic. Phil. 2.88. Jacoby's argument (IIC, p.281.43ff) that silence about Antony here shows N was using the "Autobiography" (cf. Augustus' practice in RG 1) cannot be accepted. The whole of the subsequent defence of O's conduct depended on N being able to contrast the actions of O and Antony. It would be nonsense to suppose that O did not criticise Antony by name in this part, but later did so freely in section C. Antony is mentioned in §§71-74, 78, 101, 103 and 106 of section B. Since his name is given, why should he not be criticised in the same manner as later? The only answer can be that N was using a source more favourable to Antony in this part.

110. §106.

Rome under safe conduct") shows that Nicolaus did not include Antony among their number. Yet in § 50, in section A, Nicolaus had laid this charge against Antony. Thus the treatment of Antony throughout §§ 58-106 is less partisan than that in the ^{preceding} ~~subsequent~~ paragraphs.¹¹¹

The second argument in favour of a different source for section B is based on inconsistencies between §§ 1-57 and §§ 58-106. The first discrepancy is found between the account Nicolaus says Octavian was given at Lupiae about the funeral arrangements for Caesar and his later version. § 48 reads: "Caesar had ordered Atia the mother of Octavian to have charge over his burial, but the mob had used violence..." But later in §§ 97-98 Nicolaus tells of Calpurnia's reaction to the murder: "She rushed out with a great number of women and servants, calling her husband's name aloud and tearfully criticising herself.... And they began to arrange his funeral." Though the first of these is reported to Octavian, it is introduced as a first-hand account. If it was incorrect, one might expect Nicolaus to have given a note to this effect.¹¹² More important is the political situation.

111. See also § 78 - another paragraph not critical of Antony.

112. Perhaps some phrase similar to the ὅπερ ὕστερον ἐγένετο (δηλον) of § 30.

In this same report received at Lupiae it is stated that "On the first and second days after the murder, while Caesar's friends were still confused, many had joined the assassins. But when the colonists.... came from the neighbouring cities in great numbers to Lepidus.... and Antony and their supporters with promises to avenge the murder, most of them were scattered." ¹¹³ The implication is clear. On the 16th and 17th March Antony and Lepidus were not strong enough to oppose the assassins.

Yet the aftermath of the murder, described in greater detail later in section B, contradicts this. §§99-101 tell how the conspirators came down from the Capitol, made a speech to the people, and withdrew to the Capitol again on the 15th. Their reception had not been favourable, and they decided to send representatives to Lepidus and Antony to unite their interests. The latter "told the representatives who came that they would give a reply the next day". Panic gripped the city during the evening, but by the following day, the 16th March, Antony and Lepidus seem to have ¹¹⁴ been in control. Appeals were sent out to the veterans, and

113. §49.

114. Cic. Phil. 2.89 shows Antony and Lepidus had the situation well under control by the 17th. Nothing is said about Antony's hiding (see n.104); in fact exactly the opposite, it appears, even on the 15th.

reinforcements were not long in coming. "However, Antony and his supporters sent envoys and held talks with those on the Capitol until their own preparations were made."¹¹⁵

Though Jacoby believes the Lupiae report is "misleading because of its conciseness",¹¹⁶ in the essential point of the conspirators' movements and reactions it is clearly at variance with §§99-106.

Finally, there are distinctive features about the treatment in section B of the conspirators and Caesar himself. In general, §§58-106 are critical of the conspirators: Cowardice, greed, ambition, ingratitude and deceit figure large in Nicolaus' appraisal of their motives and actions.¹¹⁷ Exceptional, however, is the favourable treatment of Marcus Brutus, a man "as highly spoken of as any Roman at that time",¹¹⁸

115. §§101-106. Antony's parleying with the conspirators is sympathetically explained here also.

116. IIC, p.281 and supported by Bowersock (p.136, n.4). Laqueur (RE 17.403) accepts that two separate accounts were used by N, but argues (ib. col. 410ff) that they were not used individually for specific sections but together throughout the entire biography - see however Appendix 15.

117. §§59, 60, 62, 67 and 80 in particular.

118. §59.

noted for his *σωφροσύνη, εὐκλεία προγόνων* and *ἐπιείκεια* ¹¹⁹.

It was his moderating influence which dissuaded his fellow ¹²⁰ conspirators from killing more than Caesar alone. The only set speech known to have been in Nicolaus' biography is that ¹²¹ made by Marcus to the people on the 15th March. If the version of it recorded by Appian is a reliable guide to that of Nicolaus, there was a mixture of defence of the assassins ¹²² and patriotic appeal. The Junii Bruti in general are praised by Nicolaus: "There were some who threw in their lot with the

119. §100.

120. §93.

121. §100 (p.411.20 *ἔλεξε τοιάδε*). It is a pity that the speech has not been preserved here, but moved by the Constantine Excerptors to the section *Περὶ Δημηγοριῶν*. It was presumably at some length.

122. App. BC 2.122-123. Appian agrees with N that the conspirators went to the Capitol, came down to the Forum, and returned to the Capitol on the 15th (T.R. Holmes, "The Roman Republic", vol. 3, p.568 is mistaken in taking App. BC 2.125 and 126 as the parallel to N's account here), but gives little indication that Marcus Brutus and Cassius made long set speeches. Acc. to Appian, M. Brutus and Cassius praised each other and especially D Brutus *ὅτι τοὺς μονοράχους σφίσιν ἐν καιρῷ παρὰσχον* (cf. this with §98 in N). They proposed recalling Sextus Pompey, *τοῦ Καίσαρι περὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας πεπολεμηκότος*, and the tribunes Caesetius and Marullus who had been exiled by Caesar (so also N, §69). Appian's references to Caesar's ruling *ἐκ βίας* and not being chosen *ὑπὸ νόμοις* may have been tempered in N (cf. §18).

conspirators... out of esteem for them, and incensed that the power of one man had arisen from the Republican democracy.... A great incentive too was the noble reputation the Bruti enjoyed of old, for their ancestors had put down the kings at Rome descended from Romulus, and had established the Republic for the first time.¹²³ After the murder the conspirators' cry was κοινὴ ἐλευθερία and their actions¹²⁴ were moderate.

Not unexpectedly, the tendency of B is generally pro-Caesar. His famous "clementia" and general concern for the well-being of others was basely repaid.¹²⁵ Despite his great ability and achievements, he was essentially a simple-hearted character.¹²⁶ Criticism is made, however, of some of his actions and of his position. This is usually introduced as crowd or anonymous comment. The main attack was on his power - the autocratic, arbitrary element in it, and its incompatibility with democracy.¹²⁷ The episode of the Golden Statue of Caesar, which was found with a crown on its head, was regarded by the Romans as a δουλείας σύμβολον, the sort of slavery which had removed magistrates from office

123. §61. Cf. Plut. Brut. 1.

124. §§94, 104.

125. §§59, 62.

126. §§79, 80, 95, 67 (ἀπλοῦς ὢν τὸ ἦθος καὶ ἄπειρος πολιτικῆς τέχνης) [! - see n. 135]

127. §§60, 61, 63, 67, 73.

and deprived the people of the power to appoint their own
¹²⁸
 officials.

It is a debatable point how far and at what period
 Augustus allowed literary criticism of Caesar to develop.
 In the "Aeneid" this tendency may perhaps be seen in the
 treatment of Caesar and Pompey as equals, and both as
¹²⁹
 dangers to peace. Augustus may have been encouraging or at
 least allowing a certain amount of criticism in order that
 his own respect for the "res publica" might stand out by
¹³⁰
 comparison with Caesar's disrespect. But the important
 point in the present context is that while section B shows
 sensitivity to criticisms made of Caesar's power sections
¹³¹
 A and C give no sign of it. In fact, exactly the opposite.
 Thus the source of B about Caesar cannot be the same as that

128. §§63, 67, 69.

129. Aen. 6.826ff.

130. See chapter 10, section 2. Furthermore, the treatment
 of Caesar was bound to be a delicate matter; a diplomat,
 as Nicolaus was, must surely have been aware of the
 implications of what he wrote, and must have had good
 reason to suppose that his account would be approved
 by Augustus.

131. See chapter 10, section 1. Cf. also N §§53 and 57;
 also Cic. Att. 16.15.3. The taunt at Caesar's dead
 body - ἄλῃς τυράννου θεραπείας (§96) - can surely not
 have come from Augustus.

of A and C. The conclusion must be drawn that the evaluation Nicolaus makes of the conspirators and Caesar is not taken from Augustus, but from a source which was favourable to, but not uncritical of, Julius Caesar, which treated sympathetically some of the conspirators' motives,¹³² and which held M. Brutus in high regard.

It might be suggested that Nicolaus himself is responsible for the collection of material and the composition of the narrative of this section. This is unlikely on general grounds which have been discussed earlier. It is made more unlikely still by the character of section B. The portions of his narrative which deal with the reasons for the conspiracy and with the murder and its aftermath are skilfully constructed. Yet even in the former Caesar's *ποναρχία*, the basis of the political claims Nicolaus puts¹³³ forward for Octavian, is consistently attacked.¹³⁴ Also Marcus

132. There is some evidence that Augustus may have been kind to Brutus' memory - Cf. Plut. Comp. Brut. et Dion. 5; Dio 53.32.4. It seems very unlikely, however, that this attitude could have been adopted in the context of Caesar's assassination, or to the degree shown in N.

133. Cf. esp. § 58.

134. §§ 60, 61, 63, 67, 73.

Brutus is praised and Antony treated largely impartially.

If Nicolaus had taken the trouble to compile his own narrative, it would have been absurd to make it critical
135.
of Caesar and laudatory of Brutus.

Further evidence is provided by the literary composition

135. §67 should however be noted: The conspirators voted for honours for Caesar to throw off suspicion, and Caesar, says N, "because he was a naturally simple-hearted man (ἀπλοῦς ὢν τὸ ἦθος) and without experience in political manoeuvring (ἀπειρος πολιτικῆς τέχνης) through his foreign campaigns, was easily taken in by these things". One cannot imagine any Roman making such a naive statement; the most likely explanation is that N added this himself. Several scholars have believed that N invented some of his material in section B and grossly distorted other parts. The evidence for this view, where any is cited, is the assumption that because N is so biased in favour of Augustus his whole work is unreliable, and that where he is contradicted by other accounts the latter are to be preferred. Cf. Gutschmid, "Kl. Schriften" 5.536f: "a miserable ("elendes") book"; N gives nothing but a "shortened rhetorical account for provincials".. "Precision is replaced by clouds of incense". E. Kornemann, "Jahrb. für class. Philol.", Suppl. 22 (1896), p.586: N responsible for an "eigenartige Färbung" of concrete information. E. Schwartz, "Hermes" 33 (1898), p.211f: N purposely distorted history, and yet Schwartz calls him "maassloser Eitelkeit"; N is merely a "lying Oriental orator", and other accounts are to be preferred. W. Witte, pp.33ff: N probably added to his sources, but Witte is not sure where. E. Hohl, "Klio" 34 (1942), p.100: Agrees with Jacoby (IIC, p.276) that much of the Luperalia episode (§71ff) is an invention of N's, "niederträchtig". This view again is based on the fact that only N has a three-fold attempt to put the crown on Caesar's head. Most of Hohl's article, however, is spoilt by its violent abuse of N and its strings of mixed metaphors. C. Brutscher ("Analysen zu Suetons Divus Julius", p.131) believes that N's reliability is very small, and that his great ability was in concealing the truth. Only O. E. Schmidt ("Jahrb. für class. Philol.", Suppl. 13 (1884), p.677f) would free N from all charge of deliberate falsific-

of section B. The narrative of these paragraphs can be divided into three parts - a review of the conspirators' motives; some episodes which illustrate how opposition against Caesar was aggravated; and an account of the assassination and its consequences. The first and last parts, and particularly the last, are closely knitted together internally into units, and are artistically constructed - themes are balanced, changes of scene well prepared, the narrative flows. The middle part, §§67-79, is held together much more loosely. The joints between the episodes are brief and rather crude: "This was discovered later, but at that time..." (§67); "the following event also particularly aroused...." (§69); "this, then, is what was said at that time, but after this...." (§71); "not long after" (§76); "after this there was also another thing

ation; he goes too far, however, when he calls N "umsichtigen und gründlichen" (p.663f). Drumann - Groebe (4.263, n.3), probably rightly, believe that N's narrative is to be preferred for accuracy to those of Plutarch, Appian or Dio. It is also worth pointing out that since most ancient historians are only as reliable as their sources, the same applies to the others - and more so, since Nicolaus' account alone is almost contemporary. The contents and general layout of section B are likely to have come from his source.

done..."¹³⁶ (§78). This contrast suggests that the smoother, more flowing parts of section B may well be fairly close transcriptions of his source, but that the lack of artistry in §§67-79 is due to Nicolaus selecting the episodes himself from a longer narrative and perfunctorily threading them together. Actual rewriting of source material would then be minimal.

Can any conclusions be reached about the author of the source of section B?

An examination of the accounts of Plutarch, Dio, Appian

136. Three events are selected for fuller treatment (§§69-70, 71-75 and 78-79) and the minor paragraphs (§§67 end, 68, 76, 77 and 78 beginning) are fitted very loosely into the narrative. For example, Caesar's overriding power is given yet again in §67 as a ground of anger felt by οἱ ἐν τέλει, although it is also defended by Nicolaus - ὥσπερ τὸ δόγμα ἐκέλευεν οὐ πρὸ πολλοῦ κεκυρωμένον. It is only in §77 however that an example of Caesar's use of this power is recorded in the consular appointments for 43 and 42 BC, ὥσπερ ἐκέλευε τὸ δόγμα. The dovetailing of these two parts would have illustrated the point more effectively. Again, the banishment of the tribunes (§70) is widely separated from their recall (§76). Although it could be argued that it would be a weakness to follow their exile immediately by their return, Nicolaus does point out that the motion of the praetor (L. Cornelius) Cinna was proposed μετ' οὐ πολὺ (§76), and the link words between §§70 and 71, especially the τότε, would represent an adequate break in time. The sequence of §§70 and 76 would give greater cohesion and clarity, and the transposition of both §§76 and 77 to a place after the first five words of §71 would produce a more co-ordinated account.

and Suetonius, where they can support or contradict the tradition recorded by Nicolaus, unfortunately give little positive information. From the comparative table¹³⁷ it is clear that though there may be agreement in broad outline among them on matters of detail (especially on the sequence of events leading up to the assassination) there is quite considerable divergency. The factual basis of these accounts may have originally stemmed from one single main writer, have been added to from other accounts, and embellished by later apocryphal stories, such as the banquet at Lepidus' house on the 14th March and the large number of omens which¹³⁸ allegedly preceded Caesar's death. The source(s) of none of the accounts parallel to Nicolaus is definitely known, though¹³⁹ many have suspected that Pollio or Livy form a basis.

137. Appendix 16.

138. Omens - Suet. Caes. 81.1-3; Dio 44.17, 18.2; Plut. Caes. 63. Dinner at Lepidus' house - App. BC 2.115; Plut. Caes. 63.4.

139. E. Schwartz (RE 2.226): Pollio is somewhere in Appian's version, but Livy is likely to have come into the transmission as well; see also 227f. P. Groebe (RE 2.1596): Pollio used certainly by Livy and Suetonius, perhaps also by Dio; he is also at the base of Appian and Plutarch. E. Meyer ("Caesars Monarchie", p.613): the ultimate source of Livy, Plutarch, Appian and Dio is some single historical source, but probably not Pollio. E. Gabba ("Appiano", pp.244-249, esp. p.246): Appian used Pollio directly in parts. Cf. also E. Kornemann, "Jahrb. für class. Philol.", Suppl. 22 (1896), pp.585ff, 644ff; H. Frisch, "Cicero's Fight for the Republic", p.52; M.P. Charlesworth, CAH 10, p.1, n; M. Gelzer, "Gnomon" 30 (1958), pp.216-218; M.A. Levi "Ott. Cap" I, p.69, n.2; J. Werner, "Kleine Pauly" 1.464;

The source of B has some interesting characteristics. The author of the events leading up to Caesar's assassination is remarkably detached from the events he narrates. No simple view of human action is given his support: The conspirators' motives, like those of all human groups, are mixed, and his narrative justifies some of their attitudes. This can be seen in Nicolaus' description (§78f) of Caesar's arrogant reception of the Senate. The treatment of Antony in the Lupercalia scene (§71ff) is similarly detached. The reader is left to provide his own interpretation.

Section B also reads like a history rather than a biography. The detailed reports of variation in public reaction to events which involved Caesar have a place in a general narrative¹⁴⁰ history rather than in a biography,¹⁴¹ and cannot have been in Augustus' "Commentarii". The biography here reads like an account derived from another which merely gave background information to Nicolaus for his Life of Augustus.

H. Homeyer, "Die antiken Berichte über den Tod Ciceros und ihre Quellen", p.34, n.78 (common points of N and Appian); see also esp. pp.15, 25, 27, 30.

140. §§60ff, 69f, 72-75.

141. Cf. esp. the comments of Polybius, 10.21.5-8.

The source also had an interest in the psychological investigation of character and motive. It is to be clearly seen in the assessment of the conspirators' attitudes. In §§60-64 their αἰτίαι are given in detail. Some are relatively simple - the ambition of those who hoped "they would be leaders in his place"¹⁴²; the anger of those who attributed their losses of substance and position during war to Caesar;¹⁴³ the individuals who were attracted by the ἀξίως¹⁴⁴ and εὐκλεία of the leading conspirators, or friends of others already in the conspiracy.¹⁴⁵ But the writer also delves below the surface. He comments with perspicacity on the sullen jealousy of those pardoned by Caesar and their resentment at his having the power to forgive.¹⁴⁶ He comprehends frustrated ambition, and the specious language used to hide it.¹⁴⁷ He can understand the natural resentment of

142. §60.

143. §§60, 62.

144. §61.

145. §60.

146. §§60, 61, 62, 63.

147. §§60, 64.

of the loyal supporter who is treated not better than his
¹⁴⁸former enemy. He can even appreciate the timid idealism
 which knows what is right and wishes to do it, but is afraid
¹⁴⁹of giving a lead. The psychological probing of the writer
 is deep and perceptive.

It is also to be seen in Nicolaus' description of
 reactions to the assassins and the Caesarians after Caesar's
 murder. Some joined Antony and Lepidus "because of fear" or
¹⁵⁰"to further their future prospects". The writer's realistic
 cynicism shows through in his inclusion of those too wary
 to commit themselves, who through *προμήθεια* and *πείρα*
 of Sulla's times advised neutrality until the situation
¹⁵¹became clearer. This detailed probing into motivation
 obviously bears close resemblance to that of §§60-64. It
 is also an important feature of the description of such
¹⁵²episodes as the Lupercalia and the conflicting emotions ex-
¹⁵³hibited before Caesar's entry into the Senate.

Finally, section B reveals careful literary composition.

148. §§62, 63.

149. §61.

150. §103.

151. §105.

152. §§71-75, esp. §73.

153. §§83-87.

This can be seen in the parts treating the conspirators' motives and in the sequence of the events leading up to the Ides. It is especially prominent in §§ 80-87, where there is a sequence and repetition of four main themes: the scheming of the conspirators (m); the part played by Brutus in persuading Caesar to attend the Senate (B), despite advice to the contrary (f^c); and the use of the supernatural to increase the dramatic impact (Θ). Into the narrative structure of §§ 80-82, 85 and 88, which detail the preparations of the conspirators (m), are woven the other three motifs. Tension is built up by the strongly antithetical arrangement of Caesar's friends and enemies. Contrasted with the conspirators' plans are the strong pleas of Caesar's φίλοι and ἰατροί; and the entreaty of Calpurnia that he should not meet the Senate is juxtaposed with the subtle and persuasive rhetoric of Brutus which induced him to do so. To heighten the effect still further, reflections on the power of "fortuna" are introduced - a *τόπος* that belongs to the grand style of ancient historiography: Caesar's sudden eclipse shows the instability of human existence, and the fact that he died before Pompey's statue underlines life's irony; the unfavourable sacrifices

154. Cf. W. Liebeschuetz, JRS 57 (1967), pp.50-51.
P. G. Walsh, "Livy", pp.54f, 56f.

155. § 83.

before he met the Senate and his facing the setting sun¹⁵⁶ inevitably presage his doom. The sequence and repetition¹⁵⁷ of these four themes shows the writer paid careful attention to the dramatic structuring of his material.

There is also a similar repetition of scene and themes in §§91-106, where the movements of the "liberatores" are contrasted with Caesar's dead body and the actions of the Caesarians. The narrative, in parts highly dramatic, is arranged in ABAB form. First, in §§91-94, the confusion created by Caesar's murder is vividly described by the use of emotive words: *κραυγή* *ρυρία* arose; everywhere was *φευγόντων πλέα μετὰ κραυγῆς*; the masses fled *οὐδενὶ σὺν κόσμῳ* and *ὑπὸ ... τῆς πάντοθεν βοῆς ταραττόμενος*; *ἄκριτος* ... *τάραχος*¹⁵⁸ gripped the people. Frequent changes from the reactions of one group to another heighten the effect by mirroring the confusion as the assassins make their way to the Capitol.

§§ 95-97, on the other hand, are slower moving and empathetic. The emphasis is immediately on the *νεκρός*, which lay *ἀτίρως πεφορρένος αἵματι*. The capriciousness and sadness of life is underlined by the contrast between Caesar's worldly success and his utter desertion

156. § 86.

157. m (§§80-82), θ (83), f^c (83), B (84), / m (85), θ (86), f^c (86), B (87).

158. §§ 91-92.

in death. The taunt " *ἄλις τυράννου Θεραπείας* " points out the equalising power of death.¹⁵⁹ The pathos of the scene is maintained by the description of the transport of Caesar's body home - the drooping arms and facial blows to be seen when the covers were drawn back; the wailing that greeted it from house, street, and doorway; and the shrieking of Calpurnia as her worst fears were realised.¹⁶⁰ §§98-102 are in a lower key and narrate the further moves of the assassins, including originally the speech Brutus made to the people. §§103-106 return to the Caesar-theme, and describe the gradual strengthening of the Caesarian opposition and its policy.

Whoever the source of Nicolaus' material was, his writing has recognisable characteristics. He is dramatic in his presentation of events, recreating mood by the selection of emotive details of a scene and by bystander comment. He is "pathetic" by his climactic references to the power of *Τύχη* in human affairs. The subtlety and perceptiveness of his analysis of the conspirators' motivation in particular shows his interest in psychology. Most important, he is not openly partisan.

The writer of this must have completed his account of

159. §95f.

160. §97.

the events of 44 BC by the mid-Twenties BC. Few are known to fit these requirements, and nearly all are known in name only, apart from isolated references in later writers. Of Greek authors, on present knowledge, only Socrates of Rhodes is conceivable as a possible source, but he is little-known.

161. For a brief review of the literary authorities known to be available see CAH 9, pp.883-885, 888-889; CAH 10, pp. 866, 868-870. See also F. Jacoby, FGrH Nos. 88 - Timagenes of Alexandria; 190 - Hypsicrates of Amisus; 191 - Empylos of Rhodes, who wrote *περὶ τῆς Καίσαρος ἀναίρέσεως, ὃν Βρούτος ἐπιγέγραπται*, and was therefore presumably pro-conspiratorial (see 191 T 1 = Plut. Brut. 2); 192 - Socrates of Rhodes, who wrote a work entitled *Ἐμφύλιος Πόλεμος* of unknown scope (See IIA, p.9.6 and IIB, p. 927.1). Only two parts of it are known, both recorded by Athenaeus (192 F 1 = Athen. 4.29, p. 147E-148B, referring to 41/40 BC; and 192 F 2 = Athen. 4.29, p.148B-C, referring to 39/8 BC); 194 - Boëthus of Tarsus (Strabo's comments on him in Geog. 14.5.14 = 194 T 1); 196 - Polyaeus of Sardis (but only on Antony's Parthian campaigns, it would appear - 196 T 1).
162. FGrH IIB, No. 192, pp. 927-928.

With Roman historians the position is a little clearer. Livy published his account of the Caesarian era at too late a date to have been used by Nicolaus, if the biography's dating in the period 25-20 BC is accepted.¹⁶³ In any case, the parts of his work of relevance here, books 115-117, now surviving only in epitome-form, give sufficient detail to show fairly conclusively that he cannot have been Nicolaus' source.¹⁶⁴ Little on the period by Cornelius Nepos is known.

163. Livy was born in 59 BC and began to write his history at the age of 30. See P. G. Walsh, "Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods", p.8.

164. Page references are to the edition of O. Rossbach, "T. Livi Periochae" (Leipzig 1910).

(i) It is likely that at least half of book 115 dealt with Caesar's Spanish campaign, of 46/5 BC, and that it recounted the positions and actions of both sides (p.110.2-7). The Spanish War is to N merely a backcloth against which to detail O's prowess (§§21-24). Cf. too N's impression of the comparative ease of Caesar's task (διαπεποληρηκότι ἤδη τὸν σύμπαντα πόλεμον ἐν μηνὶ 3 - §22, p.395.9f) with Livy's "multis utrumque expeditionibus factis....summam victoriam cum magno discrimine ... consecutus est" (p.110.3-6).

(ii) Three episodes alleged to have antagonised the conspirators still more are given in exactly the opposite order by N and Livy - Caesar's remaining seated when the Senate approached him with honours (N §78f; Livy p.110.14-16 in book 116); the Luper-calia affair (N §§71-75; Livy p.110.16-18. Livy's text says that Caesar "diadema...in sella reposuit", but E. Schwartz (app. crit. ad loc.) thinks the last three words are corrupt. If genuine, they are clearly at variance with N (§§72-73 and 75, p.405. 24, 32f and p.406.3-5); thirdly, Caesar's anger at the tribunes Caesetius Flavus and Epidius Marullus (N §§69, 76; Livy p.110.18-20. N refers to them only as Lucius and Gaius)

(iii) Epit. 116 says merely of the tribunes that "potestas abrogata est" (p.110.20); N (§69, p.405.1) however that Caesar ἤλασεν αὐτοὺς φυγάδας. καὶ οἱ μὲν

There are references in his "Atticus" to the important figures of the post-44 period, and here he seems to have maintained an impartial attitude.¹⁶⁵ But neither his plain style of writing nor his known output favour him as a possible source.¹⁶⁶ Nothing from the prolific output of M. Terentius Varro is known to have treated the period in detail and Nicolaus' moderate tone towards Antony in section

ἔχοντο φεύγοντες . § 76 tells of their recall.
(iv) Livy agrees with other writers that Caesar died of 23 wounds (p.111.2); N alone says the number was 35 (§90; N's text corrupt?). Livy alone says that O was "heres ex parte dimidia" (p.111.6), but N (§48) that O inherited $\frac{3}{4}$ of Caesar's estate.

(v) N has nothing reflecting Livy's statement that "oblivione deinde caedis eius a senatu decreta" (p.111.3f).

165. He was however in his late sixties by the time of Actium. For Octavian - Att. 12.1; 19.2-4; 20.3,5. Antony - 8.5f; 9.2f,6; 10.1.4; 12.2.4; 20.4f. Caesar - 7.3. Cf. esp. 12.2 and 20.5 for his attitude to O and Antony. There was also a "life" of Cicero - Gell. 15.28.2.
166. Cf. F. Leo, "Die griech-röm. Biographie", pp. 169, 216ff. H. Peter, HRR 2, pp. 1, liii-lv, 25-40.

B is unlikely to have been echoed by this proscript of
¹⁶⁷
 Antony's.

The biography of Caesar written by C. Oppius, a
¹⁶⁸
¹⁶⁹ Caesarian agent who also rendered service to Octavian,
¹⁷⁰
 would seem from Plutarch's comment to have been too partisan
 to include the sympathetic motivation of the conspirators or
¹⁷¹
 praise of M. Brutus. The fact that he wrote a volume denying
¹⁷²
 Caesar's paternity of Caesarion reinforces the argument -
 more would be expected in Nicolaus than a one line denial,
 and based at that on one of the most well-known documents of

167. For remains of his three-book "Annales" - Peter HRR 2, pp. xxxviii and 24; the relations between Antony and Varro - Cic. Phil. 2.103; his proscription - App. BC 4.47.
168. Suet. Caes. 52-53; Plut. Pomp. 10, Caes. 17.4,6; Peter HRR 2, pp.48f and lxiiiif.
169. Cic. Att. 12.13.2, 13.47a, 13.50.1,3; Fam. 6.8.1, 7.7.1. He is nearly always linked with L. Cornelius Balbus by Cicero; Tac. Ann. 12.60.
170. He tried to win over Cicero on O's behalf - Att. 16.15.3 (before 9th December, 44 BC). Cf. also Att. 14.1.1 (7th April, 44): "O prudentem Oppium".
171. Plut. Pomp. 10 = Peter F 5: ἀλλ' Ὀππίῳ μὲν, ὅταν περὶ τοῦ Καίσαρος πολέμιων ἢ φίλων διαλέγῃται, σφόδρα δεῖ πιστεύειν μετὰ εὐλαβείας.
172. Suet. Caes. 52.2.

the period, Caesar's will.¹⁷³ In a similar position to Oppius
 is L. Cornelius Balbus.¹⁷⁴ After Caesar's death he supported
 Octavian, and it is clear from Cicero's correspondence
 that his attitude to the conspirators was far from what
 Cicero would like.¹⁷⁵ More conclusive are Nicolaus' own words.
 When the Caesarians were discussing what attitude to take
 towards the assassins, Balbus was insistent on vengeance:¹⁷⁶
 "Balbus opposed this proposal [of Hirtius] and supported
 Lepidus, emphasising that it was disloyal to allow Caesar's
 murder to go unpunished, and in any case an unsafe move for
 all who were Caesar's friends."¹⁷⁷ Even if his sentiments are

173. §68.

174. Peter HRR 2, pp.lxi-lxiii, 46 = Suet. Caes. 81. Cf.
 also Cic. Att. 9.7c.1 (a letter of March, 49 BC from
 Caesar to Oppius and Balbus probably meant for wider
 circulation).

175. Att. 14.20.4 (where Balbus is mentioned as the obstacle
 to Cicero's making Hirtius "melior") and 21.2f (despite
 his well-known reserve, he told Cicero, much to the
 latter's surprise apparently, about Antony's plans).

176. Cod. ἄλλος, emended to Βάλβος by Schwartz (Jacoby
 FGGrH IIA, p.412, app. crit.).

177. §106.

not taken at face value, the fulsome praise of M. Brutus¹⁷⁸ would have struck an absurd note in his narrative.

There are several points in favour of M. Valerius¹⁷⁹ Messalla Corvinus. He probably saw service on Caesar's¹⁸⁰ behalf in the African War, but joined M. Brutus when he left¹⁸¹ Italy, and fought on the Republican side at Philippi. In¹⁸² his writings both Cassius and Brutus are praised. On their¹⁸³ death he transferred his allegiance to Antony, but later¹⁸⁴ became disillusioned and had joined Octavian by 36 BC. Under¹⁸⁵ the Empire he attained both power and prosperity. Two factors,¹⁸⁶

178. Even if one takes into account that Balbus and Oppius may have written when Lepidus, Brutus' brother-in-law, was still a political force.

179. Peter, HRR 2, pp. lxxviii-lxxxiii and 65-67.

180. Bell. Afr. 86. See W. W. How, o.c., vol. 2, p.251.

181. Cic. ad M. Brut. 1.12.1, 15.1; Plut. Brut. 41; Tac. Ann. 4.34; Vell. 2.71.1; App. BC 4.38.

182. Tac. Ann. 4.34; Dio 47.24.

183. App. BC 4.38, 136, 5.113; Plin. NH 33.50.

184. App. 5.102-3, 109, 112; R. Syme, RR, p.237.

185. Tibull. 1.7. An augur (Dio 49.16.1); in charge of Syria after Actium (Dio 51.7.7); campaigned on O's behalf against the Salassi (Dio 49.38.3; App. Illyr. 17); "praefectus urbi" for a short time in 26 BC (Tac. Ann. 6.11); proposed the title of "pater patriae" for Augustus (Suet. Aug. 58.2).

186. Dio 53.27.5; Tac. Ann. 11.7.

however, must tell against him - the earliest part of his writing known concerns Philippi, and he may therefore have told only of the civil wars after Caesar's death;¹⁸⁷ secondly, his known antipathy to Antony is not consistent with the moderate treatment he receives in section B.¹⁸⁸¹⁸⁹

Deserving of serious attention is C. Asinius Pollio.¹⁹⁰ His history began in 60 BC and extended at least to Philippi,¹⁹¹ it would seem. Born some eleven years before Nicolaus in 76 BC, he had supported Caesar during the civil wars. Though he professed a desire to be neutral, he chose Caesar because of his personal friendship for him, and crossed the Rubicon

- 187. Peter HRR 2, p. lxxxiii; p.65f, FF 1-3 = Plut. Brut. 40, 42, 45. Cf. also Tac. Ann. 4.34.
- 188. Ib., p. lxxx; Charisius, Gram. Lat. 1,104.18 (= Peter F 7), 129.7 (= F 8), 146.34 (= F 9).
- 189. Peter (p.lxxxiii) conjectures the work was written after 23 BC.
- 190. Peter HRR 2, pp. lxxxiii-lxxxvii, 67-70; and leaving aside the insoluble question of a Pollio, "anonymus Graecus" - on this see P. Groebe, RE 2.1595; R. Daebritz, "Philologus" 70 (1911), pp.267-273; J. André, "La vie et l'oeuvre d'Asinius Pollion", p.53f. If a Greek version of Pollio's history existed c.25 BC, it would have been an attractive source for N.
- 191. Cf. Suet. Caes. 56 ("existimat...fuisse") = Peter F 4; Tac. Ann. 4.34 = Peter F 6. It may have gone as far as Actium - see Groebe, RE 2.1595; André, pp.46-51.

with him.¹⁹² On Caesar's death he was in Further Spain, where he stayed with his troops, apparently waiting for a clarification¹⁹³ of the political position. Despite his protestations¹⁹⁴ of loyalty to the "respublica" he joined Antony. He soon became governor of Gallia Cisalpina with seven legions under him, and was hostile to Octavian during the Perusia campaign¹⁹⁵ of 41-40 BC. He remained firmly neutral during the hostilities between Octavian and Antony, though disillusioned by Antony's conduct with Cleopatra,¹⁹⁶ and seems to have maintained a similar attitude to Octavian even after Actium.¹⁹⁷ If any inference can be drawn from his life and from comments on his attitude, he wrote with the pen of an unpartisan, if not completely detached observer.¹⁹⁸

His politics have already been touched on. He told

192. Cic. Fam. 10.31.2-3 (Pollio to Cicero, 16th March, 43 BC): "Natura autem mea et studia trahunt me ad pacis et libertatis cupiditatem. Itaque illud initium civilis belli saepe deflevi. Cum vero non liceret mihi nullius partis esse, quia utrobique magnos inimicos habebam,... Caesarem... dilexi summa cum pietate et fide." Cf. also App. BC 2.40; Plut. Caes. 32; P.Groebe, RE 2.1590.
193. App. BC 3.46. Acc. to App. 3.74 he was ordered by the senate to fight against Antony at Mutina, but he made no move. He was defeated in Spain by Sextus Pompey (Dio 45.10.3-5); J. André, pp.17-19.
194. Cic. Fam. 10.31.1,6; 10.32.4; 10.33.
195. App. BC 3.97; 5.31-35. R.Syme,RR, p.189. Pollio's retort to O's antagonism towards him is a masterpiece of realistic humour:"At ego taceo; non est enim facile in eum scribere qui potest proscribere"(Macrob. 2.4.21).
196. Vell. 2.86.3; see also Charis. 1,80.2; P.Groebe,RE 2.1592.

Cicero he preferred "nullius partis esse" and was led by sentiment "ad pacis et libertatis cupiditatem". His attitude in early 43 BC to a concentration of power in one man's hands is developed later in the same letter: "Ita si id agitur, ut rursus in potestate omnia unius sint, quicumque is est, ei me profiteor inimicum."¹⁹⁹ His support of Antony does not negatethis, and his coolness to Octavian substantiates it. Velleius thought Pollio's attitude to the latter a "factum et dictum memorabile", and felt obliged to quote the reply he gave Octavian, when asked for his support at Actium: "Mea... in Antonium maiora merita sunt, illius in me beneficia notiora; itaque discrimini vestro me subtraham²⁰⁰ et ero praeda victoris." Because of his service under

197. Plin. NH 36.33; Seneca Contr. 4, praef. 3; cf. also Val. Max. 8.13.4 ("nervosae vivacitatis haud parvum exemplum"), and J. André, p.24f.
198. H. Bardon, "Litt. latine inconnue", vol. 2, p.94f, thinks (but on little evidence) that Pollio's object in writing was mainly to compose an "apologia" of his actions in the civil wars and "hide the truth".
199. Cic. Fam. 10.31.2, 3.
200. Vell. 2.86.3. Cf. also Suet. Aug. 43: "Asinio Pollione oratore graviter invidioseque in curia questo...", and 54.

Caesar and the deep attachment he felt for him,²⁰¹ Pollio's assessment of him must inevitably have been favourable. On the other hand, his loyalty to Caesar was not blind.²⁰² Also, according to Tacitus, Pollio's treatment of Brutus and Cassius preserved their "egregiam...memoriam".²⁰³

We therefore have some idea of Pollio's attitude to Caesar, Brutus, Cassius and Antony, the central figures in section B. Cicero's letters add a little more. Writing to the orator a year after Caesar's murder, Asinius declared his opposition to autocracy, and continues: "Think of me as one who firstly strongly desires peace; for I really wish all citizens to be secure."²⁰⁴ Such sentiments are notoriously susceptible to change, but in Asinius' case, as pointed out, there is little to suggest that he abandoned them.

201. See n.192.

202. Suet. Caes. 56 = Peter F 4: "Pollio Asinius parum diligenter parumque integra veritate compositos putat (sc. Commentarios Caesaris), cum Caesar pleraque et quae per alios erant gesta, temere crediderit et quae per se, vel consulto vel etiam memoria lapsus perperam ediderit, existimatque rescripturum et correcturum fuisse." Though recognising Caesar's susceptibilities, as did Cicero (Brut. 262; Suet. Caes. 56), he is not over-critical.

203. Tac. Ann. 4.34 = Peter F 6.

204. Cic. Fam. 10.31.3, 5 (from Corduba, 16th March, 43 BC).

It is tempting to find in Nicolaus' similar comments the pen of Pollio. Several times this theme of *ἐλευθερία* and *ἰσονομία* is raised. The first is when Nicolaus is dealing with those who "had suffered during the war - had lost their possessions or been deprived of their property or magistracies in Rome". These people "concealed their anger and put forward the somewhat specious argument that they disliked the rule of a single individual and desired the state to be run with equality under the law"²⁰⁵. Nicolaus further comments: "There were some who threw in their lot with the conspirators....., annoyed at the power of one man having arisen from the Republican democracy" (§61). "To many, even to those who were prospering under him by gifts of money and appointments to offices, it was particularly invidious that it was in one man's power only to do this, while all others were pushed aside as nobodies." (§63). And again, in reference to the golden statue of Caesar on the Rostra: "The people of Rome were very suspicious of it and regarded it as a symbol of their slavery". (§69). The assassins' cry, *ὑπὲρ κοινῆς ἐλευθερίας*, "for the liberty of all", is likewise mentioned (§94).

Another letter written on 8th June, 43 BC by Asinius

205. §60 (p.402.28-30). *τὸ εὐπρεπές* does not however invalidate *τὸ ἀληθές* of the statement.

to Cicero complains about the activities of his quaestor,
²⁰⁶
 L. Cornelius Balbus Minor. One of his acts, in which he
 resembled Caesar, says Pollio, was his making appointments
²⁰⁷
 for two years in advance. That Caesar did this with the
 consulships for 43 and 42 BC is recorded by Nicolaus and
²⁰⁸
 confirmed by Cicero. In the same section Pollio expresses
 his disapproval of Balbus in giving magistracies to anyone
 he wished after the manner of Caesar. Section B, in
 mentioning Caesar's act as one that gave offence to many,
²⁰⁹
 has the same attitude as Pollio is known to have had.

Apart from the solitary reference in Tacitus very little
²¹⁰
 is known of Pollio's relationship with Brutus and Cassius.

206. Cic. Fam. 10.32.

207. Ib. 2: "ut ipse gloriari solet, eadem quae Caesar...
 comitia bienni biduo habuit, hoc est, renuntiavit,
 quos ei visum est."

208. §§ 76-77, in accordance with the decree mentioned in
 §67. Cicero (Att. 14.6.2, of 12th April, 44 BC) con-
 firms N's two years. See also Phil. 3.37-39.
 Suetonius (Caes. 76.3) is vague: "eadem licentia spreto
 patrio more magistratus in pluris annos ordinavit."
 There are two dissenters: Dio 43.51.2 (magistrates
 to be appointed three years in advance, since this
 was thought to be the length of time necessary for the
 Parthian campaign, and would avoid Rome's being with-
 out magistrates or in *στράσις*); Appian BC 2.128 -
 Caesar made appointments for five years ahead *ἐς τε τὰς*
ἀρχὰς τὰς ἐν ἄσσει καὶ ἐς ἑρωσούνας καὶ ἔθνων ἢ στρατοπέδων
ἡγεμονίας; 2.138 (Brutus' speech to the plebs on the
 Capitol) confirms this. It is therefore clear, in-
 cidentally, that Dio and Appian did not take these
 parts of their narrative from Pollio.

209. § 67.

210. See n.203.

Brutus mistrusted his protestations, and so it seems did
²¹²
 Cicero. If indeed Pollio gave Brutus and Cassius an
 "egregiam...memoriam", and was used by Nicolaus, traces
 should be expected in the latter's writing. This is certain-
 ly true of M. Brutus, but little is said of Cassius. He is
²¹³
 mentioned as one of the leaders of the conspiracy. He also
 took part in the Lupercalia affair, according to Nicolaus
 alone: "One of the conspirators called Cassius Longinus,
 pretending to be well-disposed to Caesar, so that he might
 better throw off suspicion, quickly picked up the crown and
²¹⁴
 placed it on Caesar's knees." His agitation during the
 actual murder is graphically depicted: "Cassius had dealt
 Caesar a slashing cut in the face ... In his eagerness to
 inflict another blow he missed Caesar and hit M. Brutus'
²¹⁵
 hand." Nothing in Nicolaus bears out Tacitus' remark about
 Cassius, but it may well be that Tacitus was thinking

211. Cic. Fam. 11.9.1 (29th April, 43 BC); Ib. 11.11.1 (6th May, 43).

212. Cf. Fam 12.6.2 (late March/early April, 43), where he writes to Cassius that if Mutina fell "omne perfugium bonorum in te et Bruto esse positum". See also W.W. How, o.c., vol. 2, pp. 392f, 473.

213. §59.

214. §72.

215. §89.

216

especially about Philippi.

A further intriguing piece of information is provided by Josephus: "Herod decided to send his sons Alexander and Aristobulus to Rome [in 22 BC] When they arrived there they lodged at the house of Pollio, *ἀνδρὸς τῶν μάλιστα σπουδασάντων περὶ τὴν Ἡρώδου φιλίαν*.²¹⁷ The exact identity of this Pollio is not given, but this itself points to²¹⁸ Asinius, the best-known bearer of the name at this time. Thus Pollio was the Roman with whom Herod, Nicolaus' later patron, had the closest personal ties. He was undoubtedly a man whose recommendation he would seek when he needed a confidential adviser acceptable to the Romans. It is therefore not unlikely that it was Pollio who introduced²¹⁹ Nicolaus to Herod.

In short, a good case can be made out for Nicolaus

216. André's (pp. 48 and 59) belief that it was in the form of a "laudatio" would support this view. E. Gabba, "Appiano", p.237, however, believes that Pollio spoke well of the Republican cause, and Brutus and Cassius - surely an overstatement.

217. AJ 15.10.1.

218. So also L. H. Feldman, TAPA 84 (1953), p.79. But see also Syme, JRS 51 (1961), p.30 (addendum): "Perhaps Vedius Pollio".

219. The literary interests of Pollio and N would probably bring the two of them into contact.

having used Pollio. Nowhere does he contradict what is known of his writings, and several parallels can be cited. It is also possible that the two had close personal contacts. Though certain evidence for direct use is lacking, it is possible that Nicolaus has preserved more of Pollio's account of the events of 45 and early 44 in unadulterated form than any other writer.

Conclusion.

There is overwhelming evidence that §§ 3-57 and 107-139 are based on Augustus' "Commentarii". Thus Nicolaus' biography is a reliable source for Augustus' views and propaganda in the early Twenties BC. §§ 59-106 are not drawn from this source, but from a writer favourable to Caesar, more favourable than the "Commentarii" to Antony, and impartial towards M. Brutus. The characteristics of this source show through clearly in Nicolaus' account. They suggest that Nicolaus has done little to alter its tone or arrangement, although he has probably abbreviated it. This source may be Asinius Pollio.

CHAPTER 8:

EDUCATION AND ETHICS.

It has been shown that in writing his biography of Augustus Nicolaus followed two Roman sources closely. The question now arises whether he contributed anything of his own, particularly in the field of educational ideas. This chapter is concerned with the nature of his views on ethics and education. There is first an examination of their relationship to Aristotelian and Jewish ideas. After this attention returns to the biography, and the essentially Roman character of its outlook is demonstrated.

Nicolaus on Himself.

He has much to say on education. He was interested in both its theory and practice. He had been tutor of the children of Antony and Cleopatra,¹ and devoted a part of his autobiography to the subject.² In the biography of Augustus the Princeps' education is treated as an important contribution to his later success.³

1. 90 T 2 = Sophronius of Damascus, "Encomium on St. Cyrus and St. John" 54.
2. 90 FF 132, 135.
3. 90 F 126, § 2. But, as will be shown, Turturro is wrong (o.c., p.13) in believing that N set himself above all a "pedagogic objective" in the biography. On the theme of the importance of education for a ruler's future success cf. Xen. Cyrop. 1.1.6; Isoc. Nicocles 2, 4, 8, 12-14.

Nicolaus' education is described by Suda, which undoubtedly took the material from sections of his autobiography which are now lost: "Nicolaus received a broad-based education (*ἐν τῇ ὅλῃ παιδείᾳ*), since his father put very great importance on it and owed his wealth and position to it. Though he was of more than average ability, he educated himself still more through an amazing love for it - so much so that by his early teens he was well-known in his own land and far above his contemporaries. He had studied grammar, and through it all forms of composition, on a wider scale than most, and wrote highly-praised tragedies and comedies. Later on, he studied still more to increase his ability, and turned to rhetoric, music, mathematics and all branches of philosophy (*φιλοσοφία πάντα*). He became an enthusiastic follower of Aristotle, and marvelled at the variety of subjects on which he was an expert. He always ^{used to say that he felt grateful for all} ~~told all his pupils that he was~~ ^{those teachings which contained great liberality, great} ~~very pleased with those who had independence of mind and~~ ^{usefulness for life,} ~~did something useful with their lives,~~ but most of all those ~~who~~ could treat youth and old age with equal respect.....

"Nicolaus used to say that all education was like being away from home. For just as those abroad and going on long travels like to stay awhile in some places, and only spend the night in others, to dine in some, stay more days in others, and see other places on excursions, but are very glad

to come back and live in their own homes; so those who journey through the whole field of knowledge should spend different times on different topics - more on some and less on others. They ought to study some completely, some in part, and the basic elements only of others, and by selecting anything of value in them return once more to philosophy as to their ^{native hearth} ~~true birthright~~."

Education to Nicolaus thus has a utilitarian, intellectual and ethical purpose. In his case, he claims, it made him pre-eminent in all three fields. He had a successful public career at the courts of Augustus and Herod. In scholarship he was so advanced *ὥστε πρὶν γενεῶν εὐδόκιμος εἶναι ἐν τῇ πατρίδι καὶ τῶν ἡλικῶν διαφέρειν*. The subjects he studied were broadly-based, an *ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία*, to reach what he considered the goal of education - *φιλοσοφία*. As a teacher the precepts he imparted were designed to stimulate intellectual curiosity, an interest in the Arts, respect for one's fellow men, and theoretical guidelines for the practical problems of living.

In the Autobiography FF 137-138 give most detail about his ⁴ethics. Certain themes stand out. His sense of honour

4. F 137 contains an extensive lacuna (a leaf of the codex is missing between §4 and §5). Since the narrative before and after it deals with ethical matters, the intervening portion probably also did. If so, it would show that N intended his autobiography to be not so much concerned with giving a comprehensive factual account of his activities and movements (Only FF 134 and 136 give information about his movements, covering the period 14-4 BC; the rest of the FF are concerned with education-

in personal and judicial matters was such that written agreements were unnecessary, and this widely-known probity brought him *εὐδοξίαν τε καὶ τιμὴν*⁵. His *δικαιοσύνη* and *σωφροσύνη* earned him the respect of the high and lowly, and he was able to employ them to assist both individuals and communities - notably Herod's repeated differences with Augustus⁶, and his successful pleading for the people of Troy⁷. Such influence as he gained did not make him boastful or ambitious, as he argues from his desire (in old age) to associate rather *μετὰ τῶν δημοτικῶν* and avoid *τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ ὑπερπλούτους τῶν ἐν ᾿Ρώμῃ*⁸. Nor was his education or public career used *πρὸς ἀργυρισμόν*⁹.

In making these comments Nicolaus' aim appears to have been to present his own life as a model for living, as a

al or ethical matters), but was written in the tradition of biography with a predominantly moral aim.

5. Ib. 2-3, 5.
6. 90 F 136.1, 3, 6, 7, (10).
7. 90 F 134.
8. 90 F 138.
9. 90 FF 132.2; (137.1, 6; 138).

synthesis of *σωφροσύνη*, *δικαιοσύνη* and *φιλανθρωπία*. He puts himself forward as a fully-rounded and integrated personality - a man of intellect who also involved himself in practical affairs; who was familiar with the powerful, but preferred the humble; who was honoured and wealthy, but used these worldly attributes for universal benefit.

A similar presentation is found in the brief account¹⁰ Suda gives of his father Antipater, which can only have come from Nicolaus' autobiography. Both his father and his mother Stratonice were well-known *κατά τε σωφροσύνην καί... λαμπρότητα*, but neither their wealth nor their *εὐδοξία* occasioned self-glorification.¹¹ The *λόγου δεινότης* which Antipater possessed was used for public, not private benefit. His *δικαιοσύνη* earned him universal respect and selection as an arbitrator¹² in internal and external disputes. The nobility of his life was matched by the piety of his death and by his concern that his sons should finish a sacrifice to Zeus he had been unable to complete.¹³ The accuracy of such a laudatory account is of

10. 90 F 131 = Suda s.v. *Ἀντίπατρος*.

11. 90 F 131.1.

12. Ib. 2.

13. Ib. 3. Cf. Socrates in Plato, "Phaedo", 118a.

little importance. But the characterisation demonstrates clearly which qualities Nicolaus himself felt were required by the ideal public figure.¹⁴

Nicolaus and Aristotle.

We are told by Suda of Nicolaus' tremendous admiration for Aristotle. Other writers too stress his Peripatetic adherence.¹⁵ This can be studied at first hand in a Cambridge Syriac MS, where Nicolaus states his belief that only the shortness of human life prevented Aristotle recording all his vast knowledge.¹⁶ There are 51 leaves of this MS (Gg. 2.14.II) of his work on Aristotelian philosophy extant, the first five books of which have been translated from the Syriac by H.J.D. Lulofs.¹⁷ From an earlier study of Nicolaus' *Περὶ Φυσῶν*, a work usually included in the Aristotelian corpus, Lulofs

14. Cf. also Laqueur (RE 17.363), who shows how common Antipater's qualities are on inscriptions in Hellenistic regions.
15. Cf. 90 TT 1 (Suda), 10a and 11 (Athenaeus), 10b (Plutarch)
16. W. Wright, "A Catalogue of Syriac MSS in the Library of the Univ. of Cambridge", Vol. 2, p. 1020g (MS Gg 2.14.II, leaf 366b), from the 7th book. Cf. also H.J.D. Lulofs, "Nic. Damascenus on the Philosophy of Aristotle", pp.60 and 97 (Preface, 4).
17. Leaves 328-354 and 363-386 are devoted to N. On its tradition and the contents of its first five books see Lulofs, pp. 6ff, 23ff, 35ff, 45ff.

formerly concluded that Nicolaus had adopted a "shallow method of compiling", and that the same inadequate rendering and "superficial survey" of Aristotle's text could be seen in his work *Περὶ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους φιλοσοφίας*¹⁸. In his fuller study of it, however, he concludes that although Nicolaus at times rearranged and conflated the contents of Aristotelian treatises (and defended such methods)¹⁹, he adhered in large measure to Aristotle's opinions, and interpreted them with intelligence. Deviations, he adds, "were certainly not dictated by conflicting views of other schools"²⁰. Thus this MS (assuming that "Nicolaus", its author, is the same as our present subject)²¹ reveals even more conclusively than the "Autobiography" that the epithet *Περιπατητικός* applied to Nicolaus is justified.²²

It is therefore relevant to compare Nicolaus' ethical beliefs with the full Aristotelian corpus to evaluate

18. JHS 77 (1957), pp. 75-80, esp. 76. Cf. also Wacholder, pp. 1, 2-3, 20; Laqueur (RE 17.365).
19. "Nic. Dam. on the Philos. of Aristot.", pp. VII, 12, 33f.
20. Ibid., pp. VIII, 21, 92. Wacholder (p. 20f) cautiously supports Jaeger's view (see RE 17.1269, line 47ff) to the contrary. It is a pity that Lulofs has not given a synopsis to show the trend of these deviations, which have to be searched out in the Commentary (p. 95ff). In his commentary to p. 74, § 20.3a f (discussing the "Arts") on p. 138 Lulofs might have noted N's comment in his autobiography on the same topic (90 F 132.2).
21. See M. Steinschneider, "Die arabischen Übersetzungen aus dem Griechischen", pp. 100-102 = "Beiheft zum Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen" 12 (1893), pp. 228-230; Lulofs, "Nic. Dam.", pp. 42-44.
22. Cf. also Lulofs, *ibid.*, pp. 6-14.

Aristotle's possible influence of Nicolaus. There are four aspects in particular which allow close comparison:

(i) Education:

On educational philosophy there is some similarity. Nicolaus follows a list of the subjects he had studied by²³ praise of Aristotle, in particular admiring τὸ ποικίλον τῆς περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα παιδείας. Because of the juxtaposition of the contents and this eulogistic phrase, both containing approval of broad-based education, he shows his sympathy with the Greek pedagogic and philosophic ideal of ἐγκύκλιος²⁴ παιδεία to which Aristotle subscribed. Accuracy and effort²⁵ in the pursuit of knowledge was a virtue to both. But a

23. Of its early content we are told of γραμματική and ποιητική, *πάσα*. Later it included ῥητορική, μουσική, ἢ περὶ τὰ μαθήματα θεωρία and φιλοσοφία *πάσα* (F 132.1). N nowhere mentions γυμναστική (cf. Aristotle "Pol." 1337b.23-25); his passing over music with a single word is in contrast to Aristotle's long discussion of its importance (ib. 1339a.11-1342b.34).
24. F. Kühnert, "Allgemeinbildung und Fachbildung in der Antike", p.121ff. Cf. Aristot. "De Part. Animal." 639a for the distinction between τὸν ὅλως πεπαιδευμένον and the single subject specialist, and greater approval of the former.
25. 90 F 137.2 and 6. (Cf. also F 135); Arist. "Nic. Eth." 1094b.23.

broader theme stands out - that the pursuit of knowledge was an aim, almost a sacred ideal, in itself, and that knowledge gained was to be used for universal benefit.²⁶ The theme is not uncommon, and it finds a similar emphasis in the "Politics". Here Aristotle examines the study of subjects for intrinsic merit and practical usefulness. While arriving at the inescapable conclusion that utility must play some part in this choice, he leans heavily to the view that intellectual and ethical improvement is a far more valid criterion.²⁷ To deny this is to live the life of a brute beast or slave.²⁸ There is thus broad agreement between Nicolaus²⁹ and Aristotle.

26. Ib. FF 131.2 (Antipater); 132.2; 134 (an example of its practical application, *φιλανθρωπία* to the Trojans) 135 (the "Histories" allegedly begun for Herod's information); 136 (N's representations for Herod and Archelaus before Augustus); 137.1, 3, 6; 138.
27. "Pol." 1337b.4-5, 1338a.11-12, 1338b.2ff (*τὸ δὲ ζητεῖν πανταχοῦ τὸ χρήσιμον ἥκιστα ἀρμόττει τοῖς μεγαλοψύχοις καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθερίοις*); cf. also 1334b.4.
28. Ib. 1337b.19-21 (*... θητικὸν καὶ δουλικόν...*)
29. A much closer identification can be made between N and the Plutarchian "De Liberis Educandis", esp. §10. With this cf. 90 FF 131.3 (Worship of the gods); 131, 132.1 (attitudes to parents); 132.2 (respect for elders); 139 (treatment of slaves); 132.3 (*φιλοσοφία* is the goal of life); 132.3 (education like a journey; on this commonplace see also F. Kühnert, p.82, and G. Misch, o.c., p.314).

(ii) Wealth:

In what remains of Nicolaus' autobiography comments on wealth take a fairly prominent part. "He showed himself oblivious to material things"; *αὐτάρκεια* and *ἐπλότης*³⁰ he commended. But he also felt it necessary to present a comparatively long apologia of his attitude.³¹ The gist of his argument is that it is the utilisation, not the possession of the commodity, which should be examined. As long as it was used *εἰς σὺφρονά τε καὶ κόσριον καὶ κοινωνικὸν καὶ φιλόανθρωπον* (sc. *βίον*), or for providing for one's children, there could be no slur attaching to the rich man.³² Nicolaus reinforces the argument by linking it with another criticism allegedly brought against him, that he associated with the *δηροτικοί* in Rome. He avoided important and wealthy people because he found more goodness and affinity with those of lower station: "The rich man needs a lot of luck to keep himself fair and honest."³³

This noble, but all too often theoretical, attitude to

30. 90 F 137.1-2.

31. Misch ("Hist. of Autobiog." 1, p.311) represents imagined criticism as a device to enable N to express his views more fully.

32. F 138.

33. Ibid. Cf. also Aristot. "Nic. Eth." 1096a.5-7. This is a reversal of the opinion of Theognis (lines 31-38) that the "right people" are not found among the lower classes, who are to be avoided.

the life of moneymaking is the philosophic ideal. Aristotle recognises the acquisitive urge (*κτητική*) in mankind,³⁴ but like Nicolaus is more concerned to investigate what motivation lies behind its possession in individual cases. He concedes that, although the life of a philosopher is eminently preferable to one devoted to the pursuit of money, such a state is unattainable if the necessities of life are lacking.³⁵ Money is not therefore to be equated with happiness, nor to be debased into an end in itself.³⁶ This is not however to deny its usefulness, or that it can contribute to human happiness.³⁷ His regret is that money, like a malignant disease, can debase the good character or noble quality. He therefore draws the conclusion, in similar terms to Nicolaus, that wealth tends to be found more often in the hands of the bad than the good.³⁸

Aristotle does not, however, leave the question in a

34. "Pol." 1256b.41-42 (the second category of this he designates as *χρηματιστική*).
35. "Topica" 118a.11.
36. "Nic. Eth." 1095a.22, 1096a.5-10; 1097a.27; "Topica" 116a.6; Plut. Pelop. 3.1 = Rose F 56.
37. "Nic. Eth." 1099b.1, 1120a.5; "Rhet." 1360b.21, 1361a.12-24.
38. "Nic. Eth." 1125a.1-14; (Arist.) "Problem." 950b.36-39. N concludes *ἐκτρέπει γὰρ τοὺς πλείους εἰς φιληδονίαν τε καὶ ὑπερηφανίαν* (90 F 138, lines 19-20). In N's treatment of the rich there is a difference. When he is generalising in an aphorismic manner (F 138, lines 18-20), he naturally uses the term *πλοῦτος* . In his defence of his conduct he refers only to his avoidance of *ὑπερπλοῦτους* (ib. line 8) or *τοῖς βαρυπλούτοις* (ib. line 17f), so making different grades of wealth, and seemingly implying his personal assets were only "moderate".

vacuum, but proceeds to lay down practical guide-lines. The man who has τὴν περὶ τὰ χρήματα ἀρετὴν will put it to its best use. This pecuniary ἀρετή consists in knowing one's obligations and in assessing both the needs and character of the potential recipient. The use of money (χρήσις) seemed to Aristotle to be δαπάνη καὶ δόσις, a much superior object to its possession, which consisted solely of λήψις καὶ³⁹ φυλακή. The mean to be aimed at is identical to that of Nicolaus - the quality of liberality (ἐλευθεριότης),⁴⁰ the mid-point between the giving and taking of money. The wise man will receive his due, and will likewise dispense his substance to those who have claims upon him, but must be^{41.} sure that such giving is in the best interests of the recipient. Although he should not neglect τὰ ἴδια through his desire⁴² to help others, he will not find it easy to be rich.

The Cynic scorn of wealth and materialism is general, the Stoic indifference to it, and the Platonic Utopian denial of private means to the philosopher are alien to Nicolaus. He had fame and fortune. These were not to be rejected but justified. In accordance with Aristotelian teaching he regarded himself as an entrepreneur of bounties. The wealth he had was used only ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ.

39. "Nic. Eth." 1120a.6, 7-9.

40. Ib. 1120b. 27-28.

41. Ib. 1120a.9-11, 25f; 1120b.2-4, 20-21.

42. Ib. 1120b.2-4, 14f.

(iii) Slavery:

Aristotle's attitude to this condition is too well-known to need much elaboration. His definition of the slave as κτήρ⁴³ά τι ἔρψυχον is the basis of the conclusions he draws about the nature and function of slaves in general. Without taking cognisance of the varied causes which brought the individual into the condition of a slave, he avows that some men are born to be slaves by their very natures,⁴⁴ and proclaims the dogma that the slave as a species is capable of only inferior virtue.⁴⁵ The ability to think constructively is slight or non-existent.⁴⁶ As a consequence communication between the free and the slave is hampered by the latter's physiological disabilities, so that close ties cannot exist between the two groups.⁴⁷

In the practical problems of the mode of treatment to be adopted towards slaves Aristotle is less sure, recognising that leniency engendered a tendency to rebelliousness, in-

43. "Pol." 1253b.32; Cf. also 1253b.23-1254a.17.

44. Ib. 1254b.2-1255a.2. Cf. esp. 1255a.2: εἰσὶ φύσει τινὲς οἳ μὲν ἐλεύθεροι οἳ δὲ δούλοι, φανερόν

45. Ib. 1259b.21-1260b.7.

46. Ib. 1260b.12: ὁ μὲν γὰρ δούλος ὅλως οὐκ ἔχει τὸ βουλευτικόν.

47. "Nic. Eth." 1160b.29, 1161b.1-10. Cf. esp. 1161b.5f: (φιλία δ' οὐκ ἔστι ...) πρὸς ἵππον ἢ βοῦν, οὐδὲ πρὸς δούλον ἢ δούλους.

subordination and conspiracy, while strictness could produce similar reactions with violence all the greater for being repressed.⁴⁸ In general, he seeks to provide a philosophical and physiological basis for the institution of slavery, in good part the foundation of Greek economic life. On the other hand, slave-treatment and the theory of *φύσις* are not the same thing. Aristotle may well have treated his slaves humanely, even though making an inhuman assumption in his theoretical justification of slavery.

Nicolaus refers to slaves in only two parts of the autobiography. Firstly, he tells us that he considered those who could not resist pleasure-seeking were *ἀνδραποδῶδεις*. By this he presumably means that their desire for *ἡδονή* reduced them to a condition in which they would compromise themselves in order to gain this end.⁴⁹ This statement can therefore not be regarded as an implication that the *φύσις* of the slave was inferior to that of a free man. On the contrary, in F 139 he states: "He educated his servants (*οἰκέτας*)... and treated them no worse than his friends." The meaning of the few words omitted in the quotation is not

48. "Pol." 1269b.9; "Oeconomica", 1344a.23-b. 15. This commonplace of mental enslavement to the physical is found as early as Plato (e.g. Phaedrus 239E, 251E).

49. 90 F 137.2.

⁵⁰
clear, but the whole sentence shows conclusively that Nicolaus claimed his treatment was humane, and suggests that he regarded the *φύσις*, as distinct from the condition, of a slave as no different from that of a free man.

The principle of the brotherhood of man had been slow
in gaining acceptance. Euripides intimates it, but Plato,
though not specifically introducing slavery as a constituent
element of his ideal society, clearly did not intend his
citizens to be without their services. The humanity
Epicurus showed to his slaves and his living with them was
an indication to Diogenes Laertius, living admittedly in a
different social climate to that of the fourth century BC,
of Epicurus' great goodness. Nicolaus' similar *φιλανθρωπία*
to his slaves thus rejects Aristotelian dogma (but perhaps
not practice), and probably reflects current Hellenistic

50. 90 F 139: *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ συζῆν ἀεὶ πολλὴν ὁμοίθειαν αὐτοῖς*
(Valesius, *αὐτούς* cod.) *ἐρποιήσας* The *συζῆν* must
surely refer to N's living with them, rather than their
living closely with one another, about which there
would be nothing remarkable. *ὁμοίθειαν* (L. and S.
"agreement of habits") is abstruse. It suggests that
N gave them an example to follow and instilled a uniform
code of behaviour into them - almost an "esprit de
corps" (cf. Müller, FHG 3, p.356). Wacholder's "treat-
ing them as equals" (p.49) is also possible.
51. "Ion" 854-856. Cf. also his sympathetic portrayal of
slaves - "Medea" 54f, "Orestes" 868-870, "Helen" 728-733.
52. Cf. "Republic" 469B.
53. Diog. Laert. "Vita Epicuri" 10.

54
thought.

(iv) Ἡδονή:

A clear difference of opinion exists between Nicolaus and Aristotle on their attitudes to pleasure. Nicolaus, perhaps in an attempt to dispel the image others had of him from the luxury associated with Hellenistic monarchy, draws a portrait of himself full of the "gravitas" which might have delighted a Cato. "He frowned on pleasure of any kind (which some might think surprising) and he often kept this attitude even in the company of kings and leaders. He was in fact a naturally austere man (αὐστηρὸς φύσει) and felt repugnance at amusement.... In Rome he avoided the great and wealthy individuals, whom he never visited although many famous men kept asking him, and spent the whole day in

54. Cf. W.L. Westermann, "The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity", pp.39-41; J. Vogt, "Sklaverei und Humanität", p.70f. Cf. also Wacholder's inconclusive comparison of Jewish attitudes to slavery with those of N (p.49). Misch. (p.311, n.) believes that N's attitude "may be attributed to Jewish influence". This is rather unlikely. Although the Essenes condemned slavery (Jos. AJ 18.1.5 - information which Carmignac, "Revue de Qumran" 4 (1963/64), p.46, thinks without good reason Josephus obtained from N), "For Judaism in the time of Jesus, as for the Greek world, the slave was on a lower level of humanity. By law the (Canaanite) slave was classed with immobile goods, had no rights of law and could not own property. Even his family did not belong to him" (So K.H.Rengstorff, "Theol. Dict. of the New Test.", vol. 2, p.271). A more favourable view of Jewish master-slave relations is however given by J. Abelson ("Encyc. of Relig. and Ethics", vol. 11, p.619). According to E.J.Bickerman (Harv. Theol. Rev. 44 (1951), p.155f), it was rare for slaves to eat with their masters in Hellenistic Jewry.

philosophical studies."⁵⁵

Such an attitude, whether a posture or approximating to the truth, is incomprehensible to Aristotle. He accepts the seeking for pleasure and avoidance of pain as an inbred and unimpeachable feature of human life.⁵⁶ It is an *ἀγαθόν* of life, a view challenging, if not contradicting, that of Plato that *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡδονὴ τἀγαθόν*.⁵⁷ His conception of *ἡδονή* is in philosophic tradition not confined to bodily pleasure or transitory enjoyment.⁵⁸ It involved a more stable and long-term aim, *εὐδαιμονία*, the spiritual contentment to be gained from a virtuous and well-ordered life. Nevertheless he is not prepared to condemn all pleasures after the fashion of the Cynic Antisthenes or Plato's nephew and successor Speusippus.⁵⁹ On repeated occasions this view comes in for attack.⁶⁰ He regards a man of such temperament as a rare phenomenon, and is in consequence in difficulty as to the

55. 90 F 138.

56. "Nic. Eth." 1175a.10-21; the view of Eudoxus in ib. 1172b.9f. Cf. also [Aristot.] "Magna Moralia" 1189b.30-32, 1190a.7; "Rhet. ad Alex." 1422a.17.

57. "Nic. Eth." 1172b.9-1173a.13, 1153b.4, 1154a.15-21; "Eud. Eth." 1237a.26-27; Plato "Philebus" 60B-E. In the "Politics" (1264b.16) Aristotle criticises Plato for depriving his guardians of pleasure.

58. "Eud. Eth." 1215b.30-1216a.10, 1258a.5; "Nic. Eth." 1095b.14-17. Music is cited as one non-physical example ("Politics" 1339b.21, 1340a.3, 15, 1340b.16, 1341a.15).

59. "Nic. Eth." 1152b.1 - 1154b.34. "Antisthenes Socraticus summum malum dicit esse voluptatem" (Aul. Gell. 9.5). See also Eusebius "Praep. Evang." 15.13.

60. Ib. 1152b.8-11, 1104a.25 (ὁ δὲ πᾶσαν [sc. ἡδονήν] φεύγων,

term by which to call him - οὐ γὰρ ἀνθρωπικὴ ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαύτη
⁶¹
 ἀναίσθησία. The individual must be ἀγροίκος and ἀναίσθητος,
 epithets our cosmopolitan and cultured Nicolaus could hardly
 have relished.

In the fields of ethics and education, then, Nicolaus
 was evidently not a dogmatic Aristotelian. Nor was he a
 rigid adherent of any other philosophical system. His views
 belong rather to a κοινὴ shared by many other Hellenistic
 writers. The ideas are ultimately derived from Plato,
⁶²
 Aristotle, and other schools of philosophy, but have become
 detached from the systems of thought to which they once
⁶³
 belonged.

ὥσπερ οἱ ἀγροικοὶ, ἀναίσθητός τις), 1107b.6-8 (ἐλλείποντες δὲ
 περὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς οὐ πᾶν γίνονται· διόπερ οὐδ' ὀνόματος τετυχήκασιν
 οὐδ' οἱ τοιοῦτοι, ἔστωσαν δὲ ἀναίσθητοι). Cf. also 1109a.3-4;
 ["Mag. Mor." 1186b.10, 1191a.38;] "Eud. Eth." 1231a.
 26, 1230b.13-20, esp. 18-20. Cicero too held it to be
 rare, part of the legendary past ("Pro Caelio", 39-42).

61. "Nic. Eth." 1119a.5-7.

62. Philosophy for N is both the base and pinnacle of
 education and life (90 FF 132.1, 3; 133; cf. Arist.
 "Metaph." 993b.19f; Plato "Rep." 535A, 540). It in-
 volved long contemplation (90 F 138, line 9; Arist. "Pol."
 1324a.28) and wide investigation (90 F 132.1, lines
 14-15; Arist. "Metaph." 1004a.34), but it also needed a
 base of ability and predilection (90 F 137.5-6, lines
 28-30; Plato "Rep." 485, 490, 535, 540; Arist. "Top."
 163b.10-16, "Metaph." 980a.21-23). The philosopher's
 tendency to melancholy is noted by the Pseudo-Aristot.
 "Problemata" 953a.10-33, 954a.13-955a.40.

63. Lulofs ("Nic. Dam.", p.20) concludes that N was "rather
 a kind of free-lance" in philosophy.

Nicolaus and Judaism.

There must have been influences other than Greek philosophy working on Nicolaus. In his travels throughout the eastern parts of the Roman Empire at least he inevitably came into contact with a wide variety of cultures - Roman, Jewish, Hellenistic and Syrian. Nor was this only a passing acquaintance. His own Hellenistic background was doubtless affected in some degree by his long stay at Herod's court and his prolonged contact with Roman officialdom both in Rome and in the East.

The effect which Judaism had on Nicolaus has been investigated by Wacholder, who concludes that Nicolaus' autobiography is compounded of both Greek and Jewish elements. His argument is based primarily on the generalisation that in Jewish autobiographical writing, with its strong moral and theological content, there was a strong tendency for the author to cite himself as an ethical model, albeit with imperfections. This tendency may be supposed to have had some influence on the method which Nicolaus adopted. The similarity

64. Wacholder pp. 43-44. Reviewers have accepted this thesis without contradiction - see L. Foucher, "Cahiers de Tunisie" 11 (1963), p.113; P. Benoit, "Rev. Bibl." 71 (1964), p.302. G. Fohrer ("Zeitschrift für Alttest. Wissenschaft" 75 (1963), p.262) goes even further, and claims that N is "nearer in spirit to Pharisaic tradition than the work of the Pharisee Josephus" - a gross overstatement in keeping with the rest of his review.

is, however, superficial. Wacholder admits that self-examination and a pious search for truth and goodness were important constituents of Jewish moral and religious writing. In Nicolaus, however, we have no gradual attainment of σοφία; as a model he stands perfect, the essence of ἀρετή. More important, Jewish writing is God-centred, Nicolaus self-centred.

Wacholder has also attempted to view Nicolaus' autobiography against the contemporary Jewish theosophical scene. As a prominent representative of this he selects Hillel the Elder.⁶⁵ There is some resemblance in the qualities which Nicolaus and Hillel considered as virtues and vices - a condemnation of ἡδονή, seeking after wealth, sexual aberration, and a commendation of those qualities of personal control, stability and courage which lifted the soul and intellect to seek after τὸ καλόν.⁶⁶ These broad similarities exist here and in other Rabbinic teachings,⁶⁷ but it is doubtful whether any valid conclusions can be drawn from them - certainly not that Nicolaus and Hillel, or in the broader

65. P.44ff; several of his references are wrong. On Hillel's thought cf. also A. Büchler, "Types of Jewish Palestinian Piety", pp. 22-27; N. Bentwich, "Hellenism", p.254f; A. Kaminka, JQR 30 (1939), pp.115-120.

66. Wacholder, p.46; "Aboth" 2.4-7; Büchler, p.26f (cf. also p.45); Kaminka, p.115-117.

67. Cf. "Kiddushin" 16a, 40b; "Aboth" 4.13, 6.5f; "Nazir" 23b.

context the Hellenistic and Jewish elements in Herod's kingdom, had common links or developed a common philosophy. This is precluded not only by the antagonism existing between the two cultures which Herod's attempts to synthesise them had produced,⁶⁸ but also by the universality of the moral themes found in Nicolaus and Hillel and their completely different theological views. Even the qualities attributed to Hillel by later writers and those which Nicolaus claims he himself possessed have only slight affinity. Admittedly both were claimed to possess a far-ranging intellect and compendious knowledge,⁶⁹ but such attributes are of the type any admirer might attach to his "master",⁷⁰ or which the immodest might claim for himself. Even in the case of Hillel it has⁷¹ been suspected that he may have been influenced by Hellenism.

There is therefore no evidence that Nicolaus was in-

- 68. See A. Momigliano, CAH 10, pp.321f, 326-328, 332, 335f; A.C. McCready, "Cosmopolitanism and the R. Empire", p.133f. The relations between the two were not as peaceful as Wacholder states (p.48).
- 69. N, F 132, 137.1; Hillel - "Aboth" 1.13. The personal qualities of N and Hillel which Wacholder quotes as being similar are insignificant (Pp. 47 and 113, n.104).
- 70. E.g. those of N himself for Aristotle (90 F 132.2), or of Lucretius for Epicurus.
- 71. Bentwich, p.255; Kaminka, p.117. Dogmatism on the whole question of the Hellenisation of Judaism is unwise (cf. esp. E.R. Goodenough, "Jewish Symbols in the Greco-Roman World", vol.12, p.4). Because of their very cosmopolitanism and Hellenisation such Jews as Philo and Josephus are of little relevance to the above brief examination.

fluenced by Jewish tradition. It is of course necessary to accept that through his presence at Herod's court for many years he must have become acquainted with Jewish thought. But it is doubtful whether it made a strong impact on him. When he came to Herod's court as *παιδευτής* and court secretary/historian, he was probably in his forties, his personal philosophy presumably already largely matured.

The Biography's Roman Character.

There are several passages in Nicolaus' autobiography which are similar in outlook to features recorded in his biography of Augustus. For example, we read in both of parental interest in education, of the subject's early maturity and prowess in academic matters, and the admiration it evoked from contemporaries and elders; both Nicolaus and Octavian undertook the defence of political cases; *σωφροσύνη*

72. N - F 132.1; O - F 127, §§ 4-6, 10.

73. N - F 134 (cf. also F 136); O - F 127, §§ 16, 27.

was an outstanding feature of their characters;⁷⁴ so too was
bravery and endurance.⁷⁵ On the other hand, it is impossible
to build up from these similarities the thesis that Nicolaus
consciously modelled the virtues found in his biography of
Augustus on his own preconceptions. These topics are common-
places of laudatory biography. In fact, as will be shown,
there is nothing in Nicolaus' account of the youth of Octavian
which would have been out of place in a thoroughly Roman work
or indeed in Augustus' autobiography.

Nicolaus gives some details of Octavian's early life in
§§ 5-6: "Every day crowds of young boys, grown men and youths
of his own age used to accompany him when he left the city
either for some horse-riding or to visit his relations and
other acquaintances. He used to steep his mind in the liberal
arts and train his body in the noble pursuits of war. He
put what he learnt to practical use quicker than his teachers,
so much so that he won much admiration among the people
because of it. His mother and her husband Philippus kept
their eye on him and enquired every day from the teachers and
guardians whom they had set over the young man what he had
done, where he had been, how he had spent the day and the
studies he had been working at."⁷⁶

74. N - FF 137.4, 138; O - F 127, § 18; F 128, § 28; F 129,
§ 36.
75. N - F 137.2; O - F 127, §§ 23-24.
76. §§ 5-6. For the typical Graeco-Roman education of boys
see H.I. Marrou, "History of Education in Antiquity",
p.256f; Quintilian 2.1.7; Aristot. Pol. 1336a.23ff.

There are three features in particular which stand out of this narrative, and which are developed at length in later parts of the biography. First is the practical emphasis of Octavian's education. This shows itself not simply in the physical exercise, the military training and horse-riding which formed part of his curriculum, but in the wider social⁷⁷ and political context. A boyhood oration brought him renown. Through Caesar's influence he had experience of *δικαιοδοσία*⁷⁸ during the "Feriae Latinae". Caesar allowed him to take part in the victory celebrations for his African and other campaigns in July, 46 BC, and gave him charge of *ἀγωνοθεσία*⁷⁹ in the theatre. According to Nicolaus, only illness prevented Octavian from going with Caesar on the whole of his Spanish⁸⁰ campaign. His purpose in being in Apollonia was to gain military experience rather than intellectual training, although the latter was not neglected.⁸¹

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Secondly, the influence of his mother Atia is stressed:

77. § 4.

78. § 13.

79. §§ 17, 19. For details of the celebrations see T.R. Holmes, "Rom. Rep.", vol. 3, pp.279-282.

80. § 21.

81. Cf. §§ 41-42, 46, 56; App. BC 3.9, 20; Suet. Aug. 8; Vell. 2.59.4; "Ad erudiendum liberalibus disciplinis singularis indolem iuvenis Apolloniam eum in studium miserat." The fact that the rhetorician Apollodorus of Pergamum, one of his tutors, accompanied him there (N § 44; Suet. Aug. 89) and that Apollonia was not highly renowned as a centre of higher learning (though Hirschfeld, RE 2, col.113, calls it "ein Studiensitz") makes it likely that the main object was military

His early life and the overall control of his education, we are told, under the influence of either Atia alone, or her and her husband Philippus. They kept strict watch over him, and expected regular, even daily reports from his tutors on his activities and progress.⁸³ Even when he donned the "toga virilis", it is emphasised, Atia made her son continue to follow the same manner of life, waking or sleeping, that he had had before it.⁸⁴ Right to the end of the extant fragments his mother plays a prominent part - giving him advice, guiding his steps,⁸⁵ and playing a decisive part in his activities and decisions.⁸⁶ Thirdly, his formal education came largely, if not exclusively,⁸⁷ from private tutors.⁸⁸

It is not difficult to show that the first two features experience.

82. See also pp. 325-329, 335.

83. §6.

84. §§10-11. Note esp. νόμῳ τε μόνον ἀνὴρ ἦν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα παιδικῶς ἐπεστέλλετο.

85. §§22, 38, 52, 125.

86. §§12, 54.

87. §§14, 31, 32, 34, 51, 54.

88. §6. Cf. also §37 and n.81.

are more typical of Roman rather than Greek education and have little in common with Nicolaus' own background or with Aristotelian theory. The aim of the Roman aristocrat was public life. For this he needed careful training. He was expected to conform to the moral "virtutes" of his ancestors, but his life was incomplete unless his private practice of these virtues was projected into the service of the "res publica", his fellow men in general.⁸⁹ To prepare him for this stage was the prime function of aristocratic republican education.

The family background was the important formative influence on the child. In particular in this context, the strong influence of a mother over her son that we see in Nicolaus seems to be a wholly Roman phenomenon. In the "Dialogus" much of the current decadence was caused in Tacitus' eyes by "desidia iuventutis et neglegentia parentum et inscientia praecipientium et oblivione moris antiqui".⁹⁰ The contemporary scene lacked that "severitas" and "disciplina" which had produced the Roman character of bygone days, when the personal influence of a mother rather than an "emptae nutricis" was paramount. The Atia-Augustus relationship is

89. See D.C. Earl, "The Political Thought of Sallust", pp. 21-27.

90. 28.

put forward as one of three examples of the method and its⁹¹ resulting instillation in the child of the "mores maiorum". Such close supervision was clearly common enough and strict⁹² enough for Horace to label it the "dura... custodia matrum". Roman traditionalists did, however, take pride in this personal surveillance they made of their children's education, either teaching their children personally,⁹³ or, as in the case of Atia, asking for regular and detailed reports of progress⁹⁴ from tutors.

But by far the most convincing evidence that Nicolaus' account of Octavian's upbringing is Roman in content and outlook is found in Seneca's "Consolatio ad Marciam", 24:

91. Ibid: "Sic Corneliam Gracchorum, sic Aureliam Caesaris, sic Atiam Augusti praefuisse educationibus ac produxisse principes liberos accepimus." Cf. also Cic. Brutus 104 ("Diligentia matris a puero doctus"), 211; Tac. Agr. 4; Quintilian 1.1.6; Plut. Tib. Gracch. 1;
92. Horace Epist. 1.1.22; Odes 3.6.39f ("severae/matris ad arbitrium"). Cf. also Cic. Ad Q. Fratrem 3.9.9.
93. Plut. Cato Censor 20; Pliny Epist. 8.14.4f, 3.3.3; Cf. also Cic. Ad Q. Fratrem 3.17; Repub. 4.3, 5.5; Suet. Aug. 64; Quintilian 1.1.6; T. Frank, "Aspects of Social Behaviour in Ancient Rome", p.24f; D.A. Kidd, "Roman Attitudes to Education", p.8; A. Gudeman, "Taciti Dialogus" (ed.), p.403f.
94. Plut. Aemil. Paull. 6; Horace Sat. 1.6.81f: "Ipse (sc. pater) mihi custos incorruptissimus omnes / circum doctores aderat." Also recommended by (Plut.) "De Liberis Educ." 13.

Nicolaus.

- A. §3: οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ πρόγονοι ... ὀρφανῶ
ὄντι, ἐκείνῳ τὰ χρήματα
ἐλείποντο.
- B. §6: ἡ μήτηρ, καὶ ... Φίλιππος...
πυνθανόμενοι παρὰ τῶν διδασκάλων
τε καὶ ἐπιμελητῶν, οὓς παρακατ-
έστησαν τῷ παιδί, ὅτι πράξειεν, κτλ.
- C. §§5: παρὰ τῇ μητρὶ ἐτρέφετο Ἀτία...
(6) ἐφειστήκει δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἡ μήτηρ
..... (10) καίπερ δὲ κατὰ νόμον
εἰς ἄνδρας ἐγγεγραμμένον διεκώλυεν
ἡ μήτηρ ἔξω τῆς αὐλείου θύρας
χωρεῖν, πλὴν ὅπῃ καὶ πρότερον, κτλ.
(12) ... ἡ μήτηρ ἀπήρκεν αὐτοῦ
φυλάττουσα καὶ οὐδαρὸσε μεθιεύσα...
- D. §§31: ἐδεήθη δὲ συγχωρῆσαι αὐτῷ
παρὰ τὴν μητέρα ἔλθειν εἰς τὴν
πατρίδα, καὶ δόντος ὥχετο... (34),
κατάγει πλησίον τῆς Φιλίππου οἰκίας
καὶ τῆς μητρὸς καὶ τὴν διάσταν εἶχε
σὺν ἐκείνοις, καὶ οὐκ ἄνευ τούτων
διῆγεν... (38) ἡξίου [sc. Ἀτία] δὲ τὸν
παῖδα ἐπανελθεῖν ὡς αὐτήν... (52)
ἐγγράπτο δέησις ἰσχυρὰ ὡς τάχιστα
ἀφικέσθαι καὶ ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνη τε
ἀποδοῦναι καὶ τῷ σύμπαντι οἴκῳ.
- E. §14: βουλόμενος συστρατεύειν αὐτῷ ὁ
νῆος Καῖσαρ, ὡς καὶ πολεμικῶν
ἔργων ἐμπείρος εἴη, ἐπεὶ ᾗσθετο
ἐναντιουμένην Ἀτίαν τὴν μητέρα,
οὐδὲν ἀντειπὼν ἡρέρα εἶχε.
- F. §10 (C above); §34 (D above).
- G. §§4: θαῦμά τε οὐ μικρὸν παρέσχε
ῥωμαίοις, φύσεως ἀκρότητα
δηλώσας ἐν τοιαύτῃ ἡλικίᾳ
..... (5) ἀξιότιμος καὶ
τοῖς ἡλίξιν ἐφαίνετο τοῖς
εὐγενεστάτοις παισι... (6) καὶ
τῶν διδασκόντων θάττον αὐτὸς
τὴν μάθησιν ἐπὶ τῶν ἔργων
ἀπεδείκνυτο, κτλ.

Seneca.

- (24.1): Pupillus
relictus,

sub tutorum cura usque
ad quartum decimum
annum fuit,

sub matris tutela semper.

Cum haberet suos penates,
relinquere tuos noluit
et in materno
contubernio, cum vix
paternum liberi ferunt,
perseveravit adules-
cens.

Statura, pulchritudine,
robore castris natus,
militiam recusavit,
ne a te discederet...

(24.2) Numquam e con-
spectu tuo recessit;

sub oculis tuis studia
formavit excellentis
ingenii et aequaturi
avum,

Nicolaus.

- H. §29: αἰδῶ δ'..... διαφανέστατα
καὶ ἐν ἔργοις ἐδήλου ἐν τῷ βίῳ
παντί.
§16: ὑπὸ δὲ αἰδοῦς ὤκνει.....
θαρρήσας δ'οὖν ποτε ᾔτησε καὶ
ἔτυχεν.
- I. §12: ἐφοίτα δὲ καὶ εἰς τὰ ἱερά...
νύκτωρ..., ἅτε δὴ καὶ πολλὰς
γυναῖκας ἐκρήνας εὐπρεπείᾳ
καὶ λαμπρότητι γένους. ἐπιβουλ-
εὐόμενος δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν οὐδαμῇ
ἐφαίνετο ἄλωτος ὢν.....
- J. §9: ἐνεγράφη εἰς τὴν ἱερωσύνην....
καὶ ὁ δῆμος μάλα προθύμως
ἐχειροτόνησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν... τῇ
καλλίστῃ τιμῇ κοσμηθεὶς ἔθυσεν
(τοῖς θεοῖς).

Seneca.

nisi obstitisset
verecundia....

(24.3) Adulescens
rarissimae formae, in
tam magna feminarum
turba viros corrum-
pentium nullius se spei
praebuit, et, cum
quarundam usque ad
tentandum pervenisset
improbitas, erubuit,
quasi peccasset, quod
placuerat.

Hac sanctitate morum
effecit ut, puer
admodum, dignus sacer-
dotio videretur,
materna sine dubio
suffragatione, sed ne
mater quidem nisi pro
bono candidato
valuisset.

Strong similarities can be seen between this
"consolatio" of Seneca's and Nicolaus' biography. Both
approve of long guidance by "seniores", be they "tutores" or
"magistri". Both commend the close attachment their subjects
felt towards their mothers, even when "adulescentes", and
note the careful supervision given by the respective mothers.
Each of the youths was of a high moral and intellectual

calibre, but despite their preeminence both felt due "verecundia" (αἰδώς) towards their elders.

In a solemn composition such as the "Consolatio ad Marciam" with a self-avowed motive of providing comfort for a grieving mother, there was every inducement to attribute to a son all that was noblest and best in Roman idealism. The strong resemblances which exist between Seneca's work and the portrait of Octavian in Nicolaus' account are very significant. Tacitus' "Dialogus" also shows that Octavian's upbringing was founded on the best Roman traditional principles.

It is thus clear that the educational ideal Nicolaus upholds in his biography of Augustus is not his own. Virtually nothing of what we know of his educational interests is to be found in the biography - no description of syllabus or of aim; nothing in common with Aristotelian educational theory; no generalised statements on pedagogy, as in his own autobiography, or on the problems of educating the future leader; no personal comments such as are to be found even in the brief account he gives of his contribution to Herod's studies.

95. 90 F 135, p. 422.20-22. This aphorism has direct echoes in Arist. "Pol." 1334a.26-34.

The whole ethos of the work is Roman. It is undoubtedly the picture which Augustus wished to present of himself as a Roman steeped in the "mores maiorum", and the epitome of that careful private and public training which was the acknowledged Roman educational ideal.⁹⁶ Nicolaus seems to have transmitted this ethos intact.

Can similar conclusions be drawn about Nicolaus' treatment of the biography's ethical content? Virtually all the surviving text of it is concerned with Octavian's youth. It is this which must be examined to see how far the ethical standard is Roman. Whether these standards were actually followed matters little.⁹⁷ It is the ideal rather than the practice which is relevant.

Three documents are particularly valuable in assessing the biography's tone - Cicero's "Pro Caelio", Tacitus' "Agricola", and, again, the "Consolatio ad Marciam" of Seneca. Among the mass of advice to youth in ancient literature these

96. Cf. Suet. Aug. 64 for the close interest which Augustus took in the education of his grand-children: "Nepotes et litteras notare aliaque rudimenta per se plerumque docuit ac nihil aeque elaboravit quam ut imitarentur chirographum suum."
97. Cf. Seneca, De Miseric. 11.1: "In adulescentia (sc. Aug.) caluit, arsit ira, multa fecit ad quae invitus oculos retorquebat"; Dio 51.2; Syme, RR, p.191.

stand out as representative of Roman idealistic thinking. Each author was clearly anxious to present standards to be admired or vices to be avoided.

The "Consolatio ad Marciam" has already been cited for its broad educational content. Its more specifically moral elements follow very closely the pattern of Octavian's life. Marcia's son, like Octavian, was orphaned, and though having private tutors was carefully brought up and watched over by his mother. Even when married he was deeply attached to her. His handsome looks attracted women but his own "verecundia" prevented his succumbing. Such "sanctitas morum" earned him⁹⁸ a priesthood. Tacitus too is concerned to emphasise that it⁹⁹ was Agricola's own nature which kept him from moral pitfalls. His military service was a model of soldierly efficiency and leadership ("nec licenter... neque segniter"), so much so that he quickly came to the notice of his general and won¹⁰⁰ his praise. Similar qualities aroused Caesar's attention

98. See pp. 407f.

99, "Agr." 4: "(sc. Massilia) arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam." He attained the golden mean in his conduct - "retinuit... ex sapientia modum".

100. Ib. 5, (8).

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in Octavian and brought similar rewards.

Cicero's defence of Caelius, which develops into a more general survey of youth, is of course particularly valuable, because it presents current use and abuse, and contrasts these with traditional morality. Because of the nature of the case and plaintiff, the emphasis tends to be on sexual matters. Nevertheless we are led to believe that the strength of his own character and his father's "diligentia" kept Caelius out of trouble. His father, like Octavian's mother, still supervised his general education after he donned the "toga virilis". Subsequently the young man frequented the houses of none but relations and highly reputable acquaintances, a practice Nicolaus also attributes to

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Octavian. The tenor of Nicolaus' writing, then, can be seen to conform very closely to Roman tradition.

It is, however, in detail rather than in overall pattern

101. N §§16-18, 24-25, 27, 30.

102. "Pro Caelio" 9: "Qui ut huic virilem togam dedit... dicam hunc a patre continuo ad me esse deductum".
N §10./Cic. ibid: "Nemo hunc M. Caelium in illo aetatis flore vidit nisi aut cum patre aut mecum aut in M. Crassi castissima domo, cum artibus honestissimis erudiretur."
N - §§28, 34.

that one would expect to find any divergence from Roman tradition, if Nicolaus contributed ethical ideas of his own. There are several aspects of character and attitude which would seem to repay fuller investigation.¹⁰³

A quality of Octavian's which Nicolaus emphasises is ¹⁰⁴ *αἰδώς*. When M. Agrippa asked Octavian to beg his brother's life from Caesar, at first he was reluctant *ὑπό* ... *αἰδοῦς* and because of Caesar's attitude to prisoners of the African campaign. At last he plucked up courage and was successful ¹⁰⁵ in his request. In the triumphs Caesar celebrated in 46 BC after his return from Africa Octavian was honoured by him. More "friends" and citizens began to ask him to intercede with Caesar for them. He waited for the right moment and respectfully put his requests, although he was careful not ¹⁰⁶ to ask for things contrary to Caesar's policies or interests.

103. There is a division of subject-matter at § 36. Up to this point N has described O's boyhood and adolescence from the aspect of youthful morality. After this the emphasis is decidedly political. We are thus concerned here with §§ 4-36 which cover in varying detail O's life up to his return from Spain in mid-45 BC.

104. The nearest English equivalent is perhaps "respect" (see L. & S.). Latin equivalents include "pudor", "verecundia", "reverentia", "modestia", and extending into the province of "temperantia" and "moderatio" (*σωφροσύνη*) - cf. Cic. "Tusc." 3.16, "Invent." 2.164.

105. §16.

106. §18.

It was this quality, displayed throughout his life, which particularly endeared him to Caesar and persuaded him to adopt him.¹⁰⁷

That Nicolaus too admired this quality is shown by what appear to be his own comments on the third example just quoted: "Anyone would admit that *αἰδώς* is a fitting attribute to a person of Octavian's age, since after this stage of maturity Nature sacrifices it for the sake of other good points."¹⁰⁸ His personal moralising here cannot however invalidate the fact that since *αἰδώς* episodes are an integral part of the account and have political overtones they were undoubtedly in Augustus' original account. Further, because Nicolaus links *αἰδώς* particularly with youth we may surmise, as the first two episodes suggest, that Augustus portrayed himself as a youth of distinction, but in good Roman tradition respectful for his elders and therefore unwilling to appear presumptuous or insolent.¹⁰⁹ From playwright to orator

107. §§29-30.

108. §29. The view that it was a quality rather of youth was held by Aristotle, who adds: *περὶ δὲ αἰδοῦς ὥς τινος ἀρετῆς οὐ προσήκει λέγειν. πάθει γὰρ πολλὸν εἴκειν ἢ εἶναι, ὁρίζεται γοῦν φόβος τις ἀδοξίας* ("Nic. Eth." 1128b.10-12). Cf. also Xen. Cyrop. 1.4.4; Horace Sat. 1.6.56-57.

109. Roman education stressed such modesty - Tac. "Dial." 29; Cic. "Rep." 4.4,6; Dion. Halic. 2.26; Livy 39.11.2. Cf. also Plut. "Pomp." 1.3; Hor. "Epist." 1.7.37. In the fact that O waits for the right circumstances to petition Caesar his *αἰδώς* has resemblance also to the Stoic *εὐταξία* (L. & S., p.734, s.v.c. II). O later stresses his respect for Antony, despite the latter's hostility (§108). Cf. also Cic. Ad. Q. Fratr. 3.1.10: "Caesar... rescipsit meamque in rogando verecundiam obiurgavit."

Romans regarded such reserve as one of the glories of youth.¹¹⁰

Octavian's home background too is emphasised. Atia's profound influence on her son's education is very closely in line with the best Roman tradition. She had a strong¹¹¹ "custodia" over Octavian. Such submission on the son's part, while overdrawn by modern standards, was clearly regarded by contemporary Roman society as a virtue. A similar claim¹¹² to motherly guidance is made for Agricola. Cornelia, the¹¹³ mother of the Gracchi, was frequently cited as a model mother. When the fledgling Octavian followed Caesar to Spain despite his mother's opposition, it was because of his desire to gain more experience and thus make himself a better citizen - and¹¹⁴ it was still a family call. On his return from Spain he was

110. Cic. Pro Cael. 8, Pro Planc. 27, In Verr. 2.1.139; Plaut. Asin. 5.1; Horace Sat. 1.6.56-57, 82-84; Sall. Cat. 3.3; Juvenal 14.47.

111. N § 10. Widowhood, Plutarch feels compelled to observe, is no hindrance to a child's achieving excellence and fame ("Coriol." 1.2).

112. Tac. "Agr." 4.

113. Plut. "Tib. Gracch." 1.4-5; Cic. "Brut." 211; Quint. 1.1.6.

114. N § 22: κατὰ τὰς τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐντολὰς. Cf. also Seneca "Consol. ad Marc." 2.3: "Marcellum... quantumcumque imponere illi avunculus et, ut ita dicam, inaedificare voluisset, laturum."

careful to avoid incurring moralistic censure for "comissatio",
 by not dining before the tenth hour except with close members
 of his family.¹¹⁵ His ties remained close since his own lodgings
 were near the house of Atia and Philippus, and he spent much
 time with them,¹¹⁶ both strong indications of filial "pietas"
 to Cicero.¹¹⁷ Cicero too strongly upheld, against Plato, the
 sanctity of family life as a whole, and the close surveill-
 ance exercised by the older members over the younger.¹¹⁸ The
 strong sense of family loyalty which pervades Nicolaus'
 biography is in the Roman traditional mould, the same trad-

- 115. N § 28: Caesar, Philippus and Marcellus are mentioned. Similar "supervision" is attributed to Caelius by Cicero ("Pro Cael." 9).
- 116. N § 34. Caelius ("Cael." 18) was apparently attacked by the prosecution "a patre quod semigrarit", and is defended on this by Cicero.
- 117. "Planc." 29: "Ut vivat cum suis, primum cum parente - nam meo iudicio pietas fundamentum est omnium virtutum."
- 118. Cic. "Rep." 4.5 (against Plato "Rep." 457B ff), 4.3, 5.5, (Cf. also Sabine & Smith, "Cicero: On the Commonwealth", p.66).

ition Octavian was following in avenging Caesar, and in his¹¹⁹
supervision of his own grand-children's upbringing.¹²⁰

This leads to the broader subject of what constituted the ideal of Roman Youth. Complaints about youth's degeneracy are as common in Roman as in the literature of other peoples. But the Roman aristocracy in particular seems to have regarded youthful aberrations as not only a personal matter but as a concern for the whole community, since they lowered the efficiency and competence of the individual's contribution to the state's good. The virtues and vices of youth tended therefore to be judged as con-
formation, or deviation from the standards of adulthood as represented by such qualities as "pietas", "gravitas",
"probitas", and "dignitas".¹²¹ In such defences of youth as the "Pro Caelio" can be seen, from a negative point of view, what were "vitanda" - wildness, corruption, excess of every
kind.¹²² But by far the most criticism is levelled at two

119. Cf. "Res Gestae" 2.

120. Suet. "Aug." 64.

121. Cic. "Catil." 2.25, "Pro Sest." 136; see also P.G. Walsh, "Livy", p.66.

122. "Pro Cael." 25 ("incontinentia", "intemperantia"), 29 ("corruptela", "protervitas"), 30 ("petulantia"), 35 ("Baias, actas, convivia, comissationes, cantus, symphonias, navigia iactant").

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aspects - sexual promiscuity and wasteful extravagance.

Nicolaus' biography deals with Octavian's attitude to both.

Sexual temptations came his way: "His handsome appearance and noble birth sent many women into raptures. But even when they had designs on him, he was never seen to give way at all. It was partly his mother's watchfulness and refusal to let him go too far away which kept them away from him, but also his own common sense (*ἐννοὺς ὧν* ¹²⁴)." 124

123. Ibid. 17 ("Nam quod aes alienum obiectum est..."), 25 ("dixit... multa de luxurie, multa de libidine"), 29 ("Facile est accusare luxuriam... de adulteriis, de protervitate, de sumptibus"), 30 ("invidia communis... aeris alieni, petulantiae, libidinum iuventutis"), 35 ("Accusatores quidem libidines, amores, adulteria... iactant"), 39 ("...in amore atque in voluptatibus"); cf. also 42 and 48. Sallust. "Catil." 7.4; Seneca "Consol. ad Marc." 2.3 ("adulescentem...voluptatibus alienum"), 23.3; Tac. "Hist." 4.49 ("sumptuosae adulescentiae, neque modica cupiens"); [Sallust] "Ad Caes. Or." 5.5; Tac. "Agr." 6 ("longe a luxuria"); Cic. "Murena" 13 ("nullum turpe convivium, non amor, non comissatio, non libido, non sumptus ostenditur"); Polyb. 31.25.3-5; Diod. 31.26.6f.

124. N §12. Cf. also the very similar sentiments of Tacitus ("Agr." 4: "Mater.. arcebat eum ab inlecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam") and of Cicero ("Pro Cael." 11). On the Roman attitude to male handsomeness, a good thing when linked to "virtus", cf. the "elogium" of L. Corn. Scipio Barbatus (cos. 298BC)-CIL 1, part 2², no. 7, p.377: "Quoius forma virtutei parisuma fuit".

But a little later Nicolaus gives rather curious information: "He lived soberly and kept control of himself. His friends knew another amazing thing also. At that age when young men are at the height of their sexuality, and the rich among them even more so, he had no love-affairs for a whole year. His object in doing this was to look after his voice and strength." ¹²⁵ Quite apart from dubious callisthenics, there is an implicit assumption that Octavian divulged his erotic fancies outside this period of a year. Although it is perhaps justifiable to regard the reference to the greater temptations of the rich (*οἱ εὐτυχεῖς*) as being a contri- ¹²⁶ bution of Nicolaus, it is highly unlikely that he would have even implied that Octavian was guilty of promiscuity, unless the latter had claimed sexual restraint for himself first in his Memoirs.

This poses the interesting question of why Augustus did not claim that he avoided sexual entanglements altogether throughout his youth, rather than, as Nicolaus says, for only ¹²⁷ a short period. He could thus be an idealised figure-head

125. N § 36.

126. Cf. N's autobiography (90 F 135) - Herod abandoned *τὸν φιλοσοφίας ἔρωτα, ὃ φιλεῖ τοῖς ἐν ὑπεροχῇ οὖσιν συρβαίνειν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἐξαλαττόντων αὐτοὺς ἀγαθῶν*. Also 90 F 138 and F 128, 30.

127. Assuming of course that *ἐπ' ἐνῆαυτον... ὅλον* (§ 36) has not been corrupted.

for his moral reforms. It could indeed be argued that Roman society was now in the condition when it no longer had to, and could not, maintain such a posture. Moralists might look back to the past to hold it as a mirror to contemporary youth, but from the evidence it is by no means certain that youthful sexual escapades were completely frowned upon.¹²⁸ On the other hand promiscuity is rarely advertised in any age, and Nicolaus' information seems compromising. Since Nicolaus' account is very scrappy at this point, due either to his own or the Excerptors' contraction, it may have misrepresented by its brevity the point that Augustus was trying to make.¹²⁹ In its fuller version and context "the whole year" may well have appeared in a much more moral light.

But this comment must also be seen in a political context. There can be no doubt that a considerable propaganda war existed in which Octavian's enemies sought to emphasise his sexual immorality, perhaps with considerable justification.¹³⁰

128. Cic. "Pro Cael." 48: "Verum si quis est qui etiam meretricibus amoribus interdictum iuventuti putet, est ille quidem valde severus..., sed abhorret non modo ab huius saeculi licentia, verum etiam a maiorum consuetudine atque concessis"; cf. also ib. 28, 40-42; O. Kiefer, "Sexual Life in Ancient Rome", p.55f.
129. It may even be that in Roman society a particular kind of sex life (with a freedwoman without cohabitation?) might be considered normal, and did not contradict "pudor".
130. Suet. Aug. 69: "Adulteria quidem exercuisse ne amici quidem negant". Such attacks were common in Republican political life - D.C. Earl, "The Polit. Thought of Sallust", p.1.

Cicero's Third Philippic refers in general terms to some of these "maledicta", and defends Octavian by emphasising his "castitas" and "modestia".¹³¹ Sextus Pompeius had referred to him as "effeminatum", M. Antony had alleged "stuprum" with Julius Caesar in order to gain adoption, and the same charge which also involved Hirtius was brought by L. Antonius.¹³² It is not too fanciful to see in Octavian's manliness, his readiness to face dangers, and the admiration Caesar had for his courage, all features Nicolaus mentions, an attempt by the Princeps to subtly rebut these charges.¹³³ Thus, Nicolaus' comment that Octavian was capable of controlling his sexual impulses to an unusual degree may well be part of Augustus'

131. "Phil." 3.15: "In Caesarem maledicta conguessit deprompta ex recordatione impudicitiae et stuprorum suorum. Quis enim hoc adulescente castior, quis modestior?" Cicero's defence is of course worthless for any reliable assessment of O's character to be made from it. Cf. also ib. 2.44-45 for a similar attack by Cicero on Antony's youth.
132. Suet. "Aug." 68.
133. Suetonius' comment that "infamiam impudicitiae facillime refutavit et praesentis et posteræ vitæ castitate" ("Aug." 71) unfortunately gives no indication of how far O rebutted these charges by literary means. The fact that he probably mentioned in his Memoirs (as Malcovati, p.94, n., believes) his divorcing of his wife Scribonia for her "morum perversitatem" (Suet. Aug. 62.2 = Malcovati p.94, XIV) shows that he adopted a high moral tone. On his statement about his daughter Julia's adultery see Suet. Aug. 65 and Seneca "De Benef." 32.1.

defence against these charges.

On matters which fall broadly under the category of "res sumptuariae" the information in Nicolaus about Octavian is rather scanty, but sufficient to convey a clear picture of his alleged attitudes. Until his middle teens at least he was under the close supervision of his mother, who made sure of his habits and acquaintances.¹³⁴ Gradually he seems to have come under Caesar's wing and to have fulfilled many tasks to his great-uncle's approval.¹³⁵ Two later paragraphs tell how rarely he entertained his friends, and usually spent his time with Atia and Philippus, and lived a sober, restrained life.¹³⁶ The most important section, however, is § 28, regrettably now incomplete. The first extant word, ... *γυρου* (*κατὰ τὰ πατρια*) has been plausibly completed by Müller as *ἀργυροῦ*.¹³⁷ This would fit in with the tone of what follows: "He did not associate with young men who were in the habit of being drunk, spend too much time till as late as evening at a drinking party, and did not even dine before the tenth hour except [or except?] with Caesar, Philippus or the

134. N § 10.

135. §§ 14-27, 30.

136. §§ 34, 36 (*ἐνήφε καὶ ἐγκρατῶς διήγεν*).

137. FHG 3, p.433.

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Marcellus who married his sister..." "Moderatio" or "temperantia" (σωφροσύνη) in appetites epitomises this youthful portrait.

Restraint in food and drink figure prominently in this laudatory characterisation. There is no doubt that the tendency of the biography in this field was a common one at Rome. Sallust, among others, looked back to the "good old days" when men had been frugal in their habits; degeneracy had resulted from wealth and its help-mate greed. The Augustan poets echoed the search for simplicity, restraint

138. §28.

139. Sallust, "Catil." 9.2, 11; "Jug." 4.4, 4.7 ("At contra quis est omnium his moribus, quin divitiis et sumptibus, non probitate neque industria cum maioribus suis contendat?"); "Catil." 12.2 ("Igitur ex divitiis iuventutem luxuria atque avaritia cum superbia invasere; rapere, consumere, sua parvi pendere, aliena cupere, pudorem, pudicitiam, divina atque humana promiscua, nihil pensi neque moderati habere."); [Sallust] "Ad Caes. Or." 5.4, "Ep. ad Caes." 8.4; Seneca "Consol. ad Polyb." 3.5 ("antiqua frugalitas"); Cic. "Deiot." 26 ("Ego frugalitatem, id est modestiam et temperantiam, virtutem maximam iudico"); Seneca "Ep." 17.5 ("frugalitas autem paupertas voluntaria est"); Cic. "De Or." 2.287; "Flacc." 71; D.C. Earl, o.c., pp.11, 16, 25-28, 41-59.

and frugality.¹⁴⁰ Cicero pleads for Caelius' case to be free
 "ex communi infamia iuventutis" on these matters.¹⁴¹

The significance of Octavian's avoidance of dining
 before the tenth hour becomes apparent from contemporary
 and later use of dining habits as a criterion of moral
 character. Cicero, for example, can attack some of
 Catiline's supporters for imagining that "omnis industria
 vitae et vigilandi labor in antelucanis cenis expromitur".¹⁴²
 He can likewise defend Archias for not indulging himself in
 "tempestivis conviviis".¹⁴³ The gluttony of Nero and Vitellius
 often ordained that the "cena" began at noon, according to
 Suetonius.¹⁴⁴ The "hora nona" seems to have been the generally
 accepted earliest time for the Roman of principle to take
 his "cena",¹⁴⁵ although in winter it could be slightly earlier.¹⁴⁶

140. Cf. Horace Odes 1.38, 2.15, 3.16, 3.24, Epodes 1.2,
 Sat. 2.2 and 6, Epist. 1.10; Tibullus 1.1.1-52;
 1.10.39-44; 3.3.1-32.

141. "Cael." 29.

142. "Catil." 2.22.

143. "Pro Archia" 13. On the moral significance of dining
 see also Cic. "Pro Cael." 35; Juv. 1.94-95, 135-146;
 Seneca "Consol. ad Helviam" 10. It is all the more
 surprising to find that "ceno" does not occur in Ovid,
 and "cena" ("coena") only once (Am.1.4.2).

144. Suet. "Nero" 27, "Vitell." 13. Cf. also Dio 65.4.3.

145. Cf. Cic. "Fam." 9.26.1; Mart. 4.8.6.

146. Plin. "Ep." 3.1.8-9. On "tempestiva conyivia" see
 J. Marquardt, "Das Privatleben der Römer²", p.291, n.5;
 W.W. Fowler, "Social Life at Rome", pp.276-277; P. Mau,
 RE 3.1895.

Not unnaturally Augustus erred on the right side of tradition
 in his "Commentarii".¹⁴⁷

On the more positive side a youth was commended for the
 qualities which his Roman seniors considered "virtutes".¹⁴⁸ In
 his growth to adulthood his moral worth could best be judged
 from his readiness to learn and develop in accordance with
 "optima exempla" - in the narrow sense his parents and
 relatives, but in the broader context to practise those
 concepts which had been enshrined in the "mores maiorum".
 Octavian is depicted by Nicolaus as willingly guided and
 controlled by his mother, as Agricola was, and as Cicero
 alleges Caelius was by his father. In Octavian's case this
 extended to Julius. He was eager to please him, and even
 rejected his mother's attempts to restrain him.¹⁴⁹ Avuncular

147. The tenth hour had considerable significance for the
 Romans (cf. Seneca "De Tranq. Anim." 17.7; Martial
 3.36.5, 7.51.11. It seems to have been the time when
 business of all kinds was brought to an end, if
 possible). According to Suetonius, Augustus in later
 life ate when and where inclined ("Aug." 74, 76).

148. See n.121; Seneca "Consol. ad Marc." 2.3, 12.3, 23.3,
 "Consol. ad Polyb." 3.5; Sallust "Catil." 3.3-5.

149. N §§14-27, esp. § 22.

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"pietas" was also part of this tradition.

In his boyhood Octavian had great ability and was
 often quicker than his teachers. The practical applications
 of his "ingenium" brought him the praise of both his con-
 temporaries and older Romans. Biographical and apologetic
 writings in general were quick to point out their subject's
 intellectual excellence and the resulting popular acclaim.

150. See n.114.

151. N §§4-6.

152. Ibid. Popular enthusiasm for him is a recurring theme throughout sections A & C of the biography - §§13, 16, 20, 22, 27, 33, 37, 40, 45, 46, 53/108, 109, 110, 115, 117-119, 121, 133, 136.

153. Plut. "Tib. Gracch." 4.4 (ταχὺ δὲ τῶν νέων πάντων ἐπρώτευσεν εὐταξία καὶ ἀνδρεία), "Cic." 2.2; Sall. "Jug." 6.1 (... "cum omnis gloria anteiret, omnibus tamen carus esse"); Cic. "Pro Archia" 3.4 ("celeriter antecellere omnibus ingenii gloria cepit"); Plut. "Them." 2.1 (φύσει συνετός), 2.2, "Cato Utic." 1.2; Seneca "Consol. ad Marc." 2.3 ("Marcellum adolescentem animo alacrem, ingenio potentem"), 12.3. The early dullness of Fab. Maximus noted by Plutarch ("Fab. Max." 1.5) is in the same vein. On a boy mastering subjects well enough to be a teacher (N §6), see Seneca "De Brev. Vit." 7.3.

154. Cf. also Cic. "Pro Caelio" 5: "Quod est obiectum municipibus esse adolescentem non probatum suis"; "Pro Archia" 36: "Eum non solum colebant qui aliquid percipere atque audire studebant, verum etiam si qui forte simulabant"; "De Amicitia" 3.11, on Scipio Aemilianus: "qui summam spem civium, quam de eo iam puero habuerant, continuo adolescens incredibili virtute superavit."; Xen. "Cyrop." 1.4.4; Plut. "Cic." 2.2.

The same is true of ability at two things on which the Romans particularly prided themselves - public-speaking and soldiering. Eloquence lifted his esteem in the eyes of his fellow-citizens;¹⁵⁵ military courage, initiative and endurance brought a private soldier to the attention and favours of his general.¹⁵⁶ The approval of superiors and elders thus extended throughout Roman public life and the training for it.

In both fields Octavian was eminent. His forceful oratory was successful in winning over the reluctant senate of Calatia when the emotional speech he had made to the ordinary colonists failed.¹⁵⁷ In military matters his enthusiasm was particularly noted. He was eager to accompany Caesar on both the African and Spanish campaigns *ὡς καὶ πολερικῶν ἔργων ἔμπειρος εἶη*, but was prevented by his mother's wishes and his own illness.¹⁵⁸ On regaining his health however he disregarded all objections and with great difficulty made his way to Caesar at Carteia in Spain.¹⁵⁹ His

155. Cf. Plut. "Cato Utic." 5; D.C. Earl, "Pol. Thought of Sall.", p.23f.
156. Plut. "Tib. Gracch." 4.4, "C. Gracch" 2.1, "Marius" 3.2-3; Tac. "Agr." 5.
157. N §136; Suet. "Aug." 84: "Eloquentiam studiaque liberalia ab aetate prima et cupide et laboriosissime exercuit." Cf. also N §6.
158. N §§14-15, 21.
159. §§22-23.

diligence endeared him to Caesar who was further impressed by finding him in ordinary conversation *εὖστοχον καὶ εὖσ-
160
ύνετον καὶ βραχυλόγον*. It was this close contact in Spain, Nicolaus avers, which finally decided Caesar to adopt 161 Octavian, and not merely because of their family connection.

The similarity of the ethics of Nicolaus' biography to that of Roman traditionalism can also be taken one stage further, and compared with what is known of Augustus' own moral views. The moral climate of Italy that he wished to improve upon can be seen in the social legislation he pro- 162 mulgated during his principate. The increase in private wealth during the last century of the Republic and its use

160. N § 24, almost Seneca's "senilem in iuvene prudentiam" ("Consol. ad Marc." 23.3). On *βραχυλογία* (besides its usual "Laconic" association) cf. Hor. "Sat." 1.4.84f: "Commissa tacere / qui nequit... hunc tu, Romane, caveto"; also [Plut.] "De Lib. Educ." 14.

161. N §§ 30, 120. On the importance of "virtutes" and "ingenium" more than "genus" to a Roman: Cic. "Verr." II.v.180: "Cato... qui cum se virtute non genere populo Romano commendari putaret, cum ipse sui generis initium ac nominis ab se gigni et propagari vellet." Cf. also Plut. "Tib. Gracch." 4.1; Cic. "In Pisonem" 2, "Pro Sestio" 136, "Pro Balbo" 51, "Pro Murena" 17, "Verr." II.iv.81; Plaut. "Trin." 645f: "Tibi paterque avosque facilem fecit et planam viam / ad quaerundum honorem."

162. H. M. Last, CAH 10, pp.425-464, (946-950).

for private and political purposes, the economic problems associated with civil war, and the resultant deterioration in social life posed him serious problems. Some references to the "mores maiorum" and "antiquitas" were doubtless found in his "Commentarii", if not because they were traditional or on philosophic grounds, at least to put the case for the social and moral legislation he felt was required, and may have already attempted to introduce.¹⁶³

In later life Augustus held certain attitudes which are similar to those Nicolaus attributes to his youth. In the same way as his mother and step-father had taken great pains over the way in which he was brought up,¹⁶⁴ he too was careful in his supervision of his daughter and grand-daughters;¹⁶⁵ in both cases this surveillance included practical aspects as well as moral welfare. Even as a boy, we are told by Nicolaus, "he never rejected his ancestral mode of dress

163. ? in 28 BC - Propertius 2.7; Suet. Aug. 34; Livy Praef. 9; CAH 10, p.441, n.3; P. J. Enk, "Sex. Propertii Eleg. Lib. Sec.", p.112.

164. 90 F 127, §§ 5-6, 10, 11.

165. Suet. Aug. 64; Horace, Odes 4.4.25-28.

[i.e. the toga¹⁶⁶], but always wore it"; in later life he made strenuous efforts to maintain and extend its use.¹⁶⁷ In his youth Nicolaus states he avoided feminine attempts to entrap him;¹⁶⁸ his concern to increase family stability and fecundity may reflect the same moral outlook.¹⁶⁹ The apparently ineffectual sumptuary legislation (? 18 BC) which he passed¹⁷⁰ can be seen in embryonic form in Nicolaus' account of his youthful avoidance of frequent dining away from home, drunken acquaintances or long banqueting.¹⁷¹ Augustan sentiment is clearly detectable in Nicolaus' account.

166. §11.

167. Suet. Aug. 40.5, esp: "Negotium aedilibus dedit, ne quem posthac paterentur in foro circove nisi positus lacernis togatum consistere." Hadrian made a similar edict: "Senatores et equites semper in publico togatos esse iussit, nisi si cena reverterentur" (Spart. Hadr. 22). Cf. also Suet. Aug. 44, 73; Cic. Pro Rabir. Post. 25-27, Phil. 2.76; Livy 29.19.

168. §12.

169. For legislation: H. Last, CAH 10, pp.441-456. Cf. also "Res Gestae" 6; Dio 54.16, 55.2, 56.1; Horace Carm. Saec. 20; Tac. Ann. 3.25, 15.19.

170. Dio 54.16.3ff; Gellius, NA 2.24.14-15; Last, CAH 10, p.456, esp. n.4.

171. §§28, 34.

Conclusion.

The biography of Nicolaus presents the childhood and youth of Octavian largely, and sometimes exclusively, from an ethical angle. Virtually none of Nicolaus' own views, with the exception perhaps of the occasional philosophical platitude, can be detected. Nor is Aristotelian thought or any other creed which could conceivably have influenced him represented in the work.

In general he appears to have transmitted the educational and broader ethical point of view in a manner faithful to the letter and spirit of Augustus' "Commentarii". There can be no doubt that the whole ethos of the work is Roman, in that it emphasises the veneration for tradition, the respect for authority, and the "pietas" towards deity, family and friend¹⁷² that characterised all that was thought best in Roman life. The close parallels to Nicolaus' language in Tacitus, Seneca and Cicero, among others, confirm this. Augustus' known attitudes, as revealed by his legislation, by Suetonius and by contemporary writers, are completely consistent with the characterisation of Octavian found in Nicolaus. The biography transmits the morality of Augustus' own "Commentarii".

172. A tradition specifically referred to by N in §28 (κατὰ τὰ πατρία). Cicero, though not from altruistic motives, could characterise O thus: "Quod in iuventute habemus illustrius exemplum veteris sanctitatis?" ("Phil." 3.15).

CHAPTER 9:

OCTAVIAN'S EARLY YEARS - FACT AND FICTION.

The Problem.

The biography of Nicolaus is by far the earliest extant source, Cicero's letters excepted, for Octavian's early life. It also provides more information about this early period than any other work. The worth of section B too, on the conspiracy against Caesar, should not be underestimated. There is as much discrepancy among modern as among ancient accounts¹ of the events leading up to the assassination. The seemingly unbiased position of Nicolaus' source and the early date of his writing invite credibility. Even so, many parts of his narrative raise problems.

This chapter examines specific sections of the work with two main aims: To note where Nicolaus deviates from the truth about Octavian, and to throw further light on some of the more obscure parts of his account. An attempt is thus made to assess the usefulness of the biography for the historian.

1. Octavian's Childhood and Adolescence (63-46 BC).

The factual details which Nicolaus gives about this period are often brief, and this brevity raises doubts about interpretation. In §4 Nicolaus records how Octavian was a *θαύρα*

1. See Appendices 13 and 16.

to the Romans when he revealed his *φύσεως ἀκρότητα* in a public speech. Since his age is dated by the existing text as *περὶ ἐννεία ἔτη*, the event would refer to sometime in 54 or 53 BC. The text is not, however, clear on the occasion for the speech. The crux of several problems in §§ 4 and 5 are the words *ἀποθανούσης δ' αὐτῇ τῆς τηθῆς* (§ 5). Before them comes the reference to Octavian's speech, and the statement that he was brought up by Atia and Philippus follows them. The connection between these three events is left vague.

The central event is the death of Octavian's grandmother, Julia, the younger sister of Caesar, in 51² BC. The context would suggest that the speech mentioned by Nicolaus was delivered at her funeral, when Octavian is known to have³ spoken. But Nicolaus makes Octavian only nine years old, when his real age at the time of his grandmother's death was c. twelve.

There have been various attempts to explain the difficulty.

2. Suet. Aug. 8; Quintilian 12.6.1.
3. Suet. Aug. 8: "Iuliam defunctam pro contione laudavit" (cf. Suet. Cal. 15.1: "pro contione"). Young members of the Imperial Family fulfilled this duty on later occasions: Suet. Aug. 100.3, Cal. 10.1.

It has been suggested, for example, that Nicolaus may have confused the death of Caesar's daughter Julia in 54 with that of his younger sister in 51.⁴ It is likely that Octavian was present at the funeral ceremonies in accordance with Roman tradition. Whether he read a brief encomium composed for him, as Tiberius did at the age of nine,⁵ and Nicolaus has exaggerated its reception must be an open question.⁶ The rioting at the funeral, however, must tell against such an occurrence.⁷ Another suggestion is that Nicolaus was referring to the speech which Octavian is recorded as having made for his grandmother in 51, but that his intention in stating Octavian was only nine at the time was to increase the reader's admiration of the achievement.⁸

4. K. Fitzler-O. Seeck, RE 10.278.
5. Suet. Tib. 6. Jacoby (FGrH IIC, p.267) is right to dismiss the suggestion of A. von Gutschmid (Kleine Schriften 5.540) and supported by W. Witte (p.28) that N was influenced by Tiberius' feat (i.e. of late 33 or 32 BC; Tiberius was born on 16th November 42 BC - Suet. Tib. 5).
6. But since Suetonius (Aug.8: "Duodecimum annum agens") and Quintilian (12.6.1: "Duodecim natus annos") consider it worthwhile to mention the speech he made at the age of 11 or 12 for Caesar's sister, they are unlikely to have found a record of an earlier one of any importance.
7. Plut. Pomp. 53.4-5, Caes. 23.4; Diod 39.64. Julia's body was cremated in the Campus Martius, despite the opposition of the tribunes (Plutarch) or the consul Domitius (Dio). See also Cic. Fam. 8.9.1, Quint. frat. 3.1.17, 25; 3.8.3; Vell. 2.47.2; Livy Epit. 106; Val. Max. 4.6.4; Florus 2.13.13; Appian BC 2.19.
8. F. Blumenthal, Wiën. Stud. 35 (1913), p.123. So also Jacoby, IIC, p.267; H. Malcovati, "Aug. Operum Frag.", p.xxx, n.3; On the social and political importance of the "Laudatio funebris" see O.C. Crawford, CJ 37 (1941), p.17ff. Occasional exaggeration of this kind would

There are thus three alternatives, if the text remains unchanged: Nicolaus has confused the two Julias; he was referring to Caesar's younger sister, but was minimising Octavian's age, either to exaggerate Octavian's early intellectual development, or because he was not concerned to be accurate in small details; or, thirdly, he was referring to some speech not known to us through other sources, perhaps an unimportant one exaggerated by him. All are open to objection. Although the third alternative is attractive but undocumented, it would be strange if Nicolaus completely passed over the speech of 51 which both Suetonius and Quintilian thought worth mentioning. It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude that the speech was the "laudatio funebris" for Julia in 51. If this is the event Nicolaus means and the present text is retained, one must assume that Augustus referred to Julia's death in the year 51 in his "Commentarii", but that Nicolaus for some reason made Octavian two or three years younger than he actually was at the time. Müller's emendation of *ἐννέα* to *ἐνδεκα* seems preferable to

have been quite acceptable to Augustus.

9. Especially as N was writing for Greeks who would be unable, or not sufficiently interested, to check his account against Augustus' "Commentarii".

assuming that Nicolaus falsified Octavian's age.¹⁰

The same passage also raises the interesting question of whether Octavian's upbringing by his mother Atia had lapsed when his father, C. Octavius, had died in 59 or 58¹¹ BC and had been resumed after the death of the younger Julia. Nicolaus' account after all links Octavian's rearing very closely with her death. The imperfect tense of the main verb in the sentence (*ἐτρέφετο*) must mean either that Octavian was being reared by Atia and his step-father L. Philippus in 51, or began to be so otherwise it is an irrelevant insertion. If the first alternative is correct, there would be little point in mentioning Julia's death in this context; if the second, it would show that Julia assumed some, perhaps considerable, responsibility for Octavian's upbringing after his father's death.

The second possibility must be somewhat weakened by the

10. C. Müller, FHG 3, p.428. It is noteworthy that N only twice mentions O's age, and uses *περί* both times: §4 (*περί ἑννέα ἔτη μάλιστα γεγονώς*) and §8 (*περί ἑτὴ μάλιστα γεγονώς ἰδ'*). The *περί* may conceal N's uncertainty about the operation of the Roman calendar at this time (i.e. "Unreformed" or "Julian").
11. C. Octavius was proconsul in Macedonia in 60 and 59 BC (Broughton MRR 2.185 and 191), and still in his province at the end of October 59 (cf. Cic. Quint. Frat. 1.2.7: "tuus vicinus C. Octavius"). He died when O was four years old (Suet. Aug. 4) - i.e. between the 23rd September 59 and 58. The latter year is most probable - D-G 4.247: the beginning of 58.

silence of Suetonius, in his admittedly brief account of Octavian's early years, on any such influence of Julia.¹² Yet even to mention his upbringing in the same context as his grandmother's death suggests a close relationship between the two. It was perhaps through this especially that Octavian came to Caesar's attention during his boyhood. He may also not have lived with Atia and Philippus until the late fifties, because their marriage had only recently taken place.¹³ The difficulty may, however, be only superficial and simply due to Nicolaus' garbled condensation.

In §8 Nicolaus mentions the ceremony when Octavian assumed the "toga virilis". This can be dated to the 18th

12. Though he does say that O was brought up for some time "in avito suburbano iuxta Velitras" (Aug. 6).
13. N first mentions Atia and Philippus together as married in §5, i.e. in 51 BC. The year of their marriage is not definitely known. Münzer (RE 14, col. 1568) inclines to c. 57, and Drumann too feels it was not long after Octavius' death (4.249). Similarly, V. Gardthausen, o.c., p.47; D.C. Earl, "The Age of Augustus", p.18. Dio (45.1.1) is inconclusive. But the imperfect tense might mean that the marriage of Atia and Philippus was comparatively recent - i.e. O had lived with his grandmother for some time before the marriage, and this arrangement was continued until her death.

of October, ¹⁴48, and since Octavian's birthday fell on the
¹⁵23rd of September, he would have been just fifteen years old.
 Nicolaus, however, says that he was "about fourteen years
 old" (*περί ἑτῆ... ἰδ*) at the time. Assuming that Augustus
 himself did not falsify his age and that the *ἰδ* is not
 corrupt, Nicolaus is responsible for making Octavian younger
 than he actually was. But was this intentional?

It could be argued that he did this because he wanted
 to suggest that Octavian acted "like a man" in his early youth.
 It is also possible that since he was writing primarily for a
 Greek-speaking public he may have been afraid that the close
 watch and fuss Atia subsequently made over him, though good
 Roman practice, might have seemed somewhat ludicrous to his
 readers. By putting Octavian's age as fourteen and adding a
περί, this impression was mitigated. The "falsification"
 would then be a simple way of avoiding the necessity to go
 into a long discursus on Roman educational ideals, and so

14. CIL I², p.332.

15. Suet. Aug. 5. Suetonius (Aug. 8) makes O 15 years old
 at the time.

16. To point out specifically how O conformed to a Roman
 ideal would lack any subtlety.

detract from the main line of his story. The correct explanation may, however, be simpler. When he tells us in his autobiography of his intention to retire from public life after Herod's death in 4 BC, he puts forward the reason that he was *περὶ ἡμέτης*¹⁷. He could, of course, have been more specific. The similar vagueness and inaccuracy of age in §8 could thus be due merely to a personal unconcern for¹⁸ chronological precision.

Some misunderstanding of his source seems likely in §13. This paragraph tells of Octavian's role in Rome during the celebration of the "Feriae Latinae". Here we read that "when a certain Latin festival came round, the consuls had the duty of climbing the Alban Mount to make the traditional sacrifice, and the priests took over jurisdiction from them. On this occasion Octavius sat on the platform in the middle of the Forum".

Nicolaus' reference to "consuls" would seem to fix the date to 47 BC, when Q. Fufius Calenus and P. Vatinius held office. In 48 Caesar, who was consul, was involved in the

17. 90 F 136.8.

18. See also p.435.

East, and cannot therefore be considered. It could be argued that Nicolaus is not referring to any particular consuls but only stating the custom and the officials involved. Nevertheless in chronological sequence he places the event after the "toga virilis" ceremony of 48, but before Caesar left for Africa in 47.¹⁹ If the celebration is, as seems likely, that of 47, it would have occurred between Caesar's return to Rome in September, when the consuls were appointed,²⁰ and the end of November when Caesar left Rome.²¹

But Nicolaus is not clear on what Octavian's position was at this time. He implies, but does not explicitly state, that Octavian was responsible for *δικαιοδοσία* by virtue of his pontificate, and erroneously states that the "pontifices" as a group were normally given legal jurisdiction during this festival.²² It has been reasonably assumed that through Caesar's influence Octavian had in fact been appointed "Praefectus Urbi Feriarum Latinarum causa".²³ Nicolaus,

19. §§ 14-15.

20. See Broughton, MRR 2.286, 290, 291.

21. T.R. Holmes, RR, vol. 3, pp.236 and 540, n.1.

22. § 13.

23. Jacoby, FGrH IIC, p.268.12-14; Broughton, MRR 2.292; Fitzler-Seeck, RE 10.278; Grosse, "Kl. Pauly" 1.745; Hall, p.78.5.2 (who erroneously implies that N is correct in his designation of O). The appointment, one of slight powers, was theoretically a prerogative of the consuls, who in any case in 47 BC were Caesar's legates (BMRR 2.290-291). For the functions of the "Praefectus Urbi Fer. Lat. causa" see E.Samter, RE, 6.2214f.

however, only says that Octavian was consulted on private matters.²⁴ It is conceivable, therefore, that again through Caesar's influence he was selected as the "pontifex qui praeesset privatis", mentioned by Pomponius as one member of the pontifical college,²⁵ and allowed to exercise more influence under a Caesarian "Praefectus Urbi".

There does not, on the other hand, appear to be any evidence that this priest was a judge rather than a consultant, and the specific association of Octavian's function with the "Feriae Latinae" still makes it much more likely that he was "Praefectus Urbi".²⁶ If this is correct, Nicolaus would be wrong on a point on which Augustus' "Commentarii" cannot have been. If Augustus had actually quoted the office he held, and explained its function, it is difficult to see how Nicolaus could have been careless in transmitting it, even granting that he would have had to find some Graecism for

24. §13, p.393.8-9.

25. Pomponius, Dig. 1.2.2.6. See also H. F. Jolowicz, "Roman Law", p.86; F. de Zulueta, CAH 9, pp.845-846.

26. Augustus later appointed *παῖδες ἄνιπτοι* of equestrian rank as "Praefecti Urbi" - Dio 49.42 (under 34 BC), 53.33.3 (under 23 BC); cf. also Strabo 5.32. Young nobles were also appointed during the Republic - Gell. 14.8. The "Praefectus" also had jurisdiction - Tac. Ann. 4.36; Suet. Nero 7.

²⁷
 "Praefectus Urbi".

It seems reasonable to assume, then, that Augustus was not (and had no need to be to a Roman audience) very detailed about the constitutional aspects of this episode, and used some expression such as "praefectus urbi fui cum consules....". Nicolaus could well have misunderstood the meaning of the Latin, and thought it referred not to an office but rather to what Octavian did. He then assumed that Octavian carried out this function by virtue of his priesthood.

A final section of Nicolaus' narrative about Octavian's early youth is particularly interesting. In §16 an example is quoted of Caesar's "clementia". "When Caesar had brought the African War also to an end, he returned to Rome. He had pardoned very few of the prisoners who came into his hands, and maintained this attitude because they had not learnt the lesson of the previous wars." Nicolaus then tells how Octavian secured the release of M. Agrippa's brother, a Catonist.

There is a conflict between his evidence and that of other writers on Caesar's attitude to the prisoners of the African campaign. Nicolaus emphasises Caesar's anger and

27. Dio uses *πολίάρχος* (40.46.3) or *πολιαρχέω* (53.33.3).

intransigence, but is not specific on the fate of the opposition. His main grievance against them, according to Nicolaus, was that they had fought him a second time. It is true that Caesar seems to have favoured the death penalty for those captured twice,²⁸ but it was not rigorously enforced.²⁹ According to Cicero, Caesar was enraged with those who were opposing him in Africa, but his attitude later softened.³⁰ After the victory was won, "clementia" was again his guide-³¹ line: "nec dissimilis ibi adversus victos quam in priores

28. Dio 41.62; 43.17; 44.45-46 [the parallel to N's account is 43.12, where Dio implies but does not actually give the same reason as N. Editors have justifiably wished to add *ὡς καὶ πρὶν* or *ὡς δὲ*. N's reading would support such an emendation]; Suet. Caes. 75.3. Cf. also Bell. Afr. 64.1 ("Quam ob periuri perfidiam Caesar iussit necari"); Pliny NH 7.94; Florus 2.13.90.
29. Cf. the case of Q. Ligarius (T.R. Holmes, RR, vol. 3, pp.289 and 292).
30. Cic. Fam. 6.13.3: "Aditus ad eum difficiliores fuerunt, et simul Africanæ causæ iratior diutius velle videtur eos habere sollicitos, a quibus se putat diuturnioribus esse molestiis conflictatum. Sed hoc ipsum intellegimus eum cotidie remissius et placatius ferre." Cf. also ib. 4.4.2.
31. M. Gelzer, "Caesar", p.269, n.4., Bell. Afr. 86.2 ("Caesar... suam lenitatem et clementiam commemoravit"), 88.6 ("Caesaris clementia"), 89 ("pro natura sua et pro instituto; ex sua consuetudine"), 92.4 ("de eius lenitate clementiaque"); Suet. Caes. 75.3; Dio 43.12.1; Livy Epit. 114 ("Catonis filio venia data"); Cic. Fam. 9.7.1; Plut. Caes. 48.2; Plut. Cato 72.2, 73.1; Sallust, Cat. 54.3. Plut. Caes. 53.3 does, however, charge Caesar with the capture and then murder of some of consular and praetorian rank. See also T.R. Holmes, RR, vol. 3, pp. 269, 271-273, 288-291, 539; F.E. Adcock, CAH 9, p. 688.

32

clementia Caesaris fuit."

Nicolaus is thus harsher towards Caesar than other writers. This seems at first sight surprising. The reason is surely to be found in the sequel. In this he carefully builds up to the request which Octavian made for Agrippa's brother.³³ His success in this is recorded as a notable feat. But many successful appeals to Caesar's "clementia" were made,³⁴ and Cato's son, let alone a probably insignificant supporter,³⁵ was pardoned. Dio further records that Caesar spared many who fought against him in Africa *διὰ τοὺς φίλους*;³⁶ his companions and soldiers were allowed to ask for the life of one citizen each.³⁷ There is therefore nothing remarkable in Octavian's achievement. Nicolaus' account has therefore

32. Vell. 2.55.2.

33. M. Vipsanius Agrippa himself is praised (p.393.25-36). His brother's support of Cato is excused as *κατὰ φιλίαν*. The origins of M. Agrippa are obscure (see R. Syme, *Rom. Rev.*, p. 129, n.3). M. Agrippa's brother is unknown, but was almost certainly older than Marcus (Cf. N, p.393.27f; Seneca *Epist.* 15.2.46; F.A. Wright, "M. Agrippa", p.8).

34. Holmes, *RR*, vol. 3, pp. 289-290. Cf. also Cic. *Fam.* 4.4.3; Seneca, *De Ira* 2.23.4.

35. Livy, *Epit.* 114; Plut. *Cato* 73.1;

36. 43.13.3; see also 41.62; 43.17.3-6.

37. The same concession had been made after Pharsalus (Suet. *Caes.* 75.2).

exaggerated both Caesar's anger and Octavian's successful pleading to increase the latter's ἀρετή and δόξα. The tenor of the story was doubtless taken straight from the "Commentarii". The intention of the original may also have been to point out subtly to Agrippa, with Actium only recently in mind, that he had been given favours at an early period; his military support had not, and would not, go unrewarded.

2. Octavian and the Spanish Campaign (46-45 BC):

Caesar set out for Spain sometime at the beginning of November 46 (Julian calendar), leaving Octavian behind in Rome to improve his health and with instructions to follow him when well again. Whatever the nature of this illness,³⁸ it lasted a long time, if we are to believe Nicolaus. It began about the end of July 46, and over three months later Octavian was not fit enough to go with Caesar when he left Rome for Spain.³⁹

There is no detailed account of the route or time of Octavian's travels to Spain. Such information has to be

38. Probably sunstroke (Hall, p.79.9.2); cf. also Suet. Aug. 82.

39. §21.

gleaned from Suetonius and Nicolaus.⁴⁰ Of the route Nicolaus⁴¹ says little. The meeting of Octavian and Caesar was at Carteia (Calpias) on the Bay of Gibraltar. On the way Octavian had called at Tarraco but had pushed on further south when he did not find Caesar there.⁴² It seems quite clear that no pre-arranged plans or route had been made by the pair.⁴³

The exaggerated tone in which Augustus must have described much of his travels, and indeed the whole Spanish episode, can be seen in Nicolaus' account. According to §23 Octavian joined Caesar in Spain when "the whole war had been brought to an end in seven months". If the figure $\bar{3}$ is

40. Aug. 8.

41. N §§ 22-23. Vell (2.59.3) is of no help. Dio (43.41.3) seems to imply (συνεστρατεύετό τε γὰρ αὐτῷ) that O was with Caesar throughout the campaign, which is disproved by N's denial, and the silence of Suetonius and Velleius. Dio must mean the time O was with Caesar sometime after Munda. See n.43.

42. § 23.

43. Cf. also § 24: ὅρᾱν [sc. Καίσαρ] ἀδοκήτως ἡσπάζετο. This suggests that Caesar no longer expected to see O in Spain, and confirms N's statement that O arrived when the fighting was over.

⁴⁴correct, Octavian's meeting with Caesar should be put about late May or early June, since the latter had set out for Spain sometime at the beginning of November, ⁴⁵46. Octavian must then have left Rome only when news of Caesar's victory at Munda (17th March) reached the capital, ⁴⁶and when he would be comparatively safe in Spain. Nicolaus' account of his endurance and bravery in reaching Spain and Caesar's commendation of his energy and other "virtutes" was doubtless taken straight from Augustus' pen.

Octavian travelled with Caesar to New Carthage, where Caesar had various matters to settle, ⁴⁷and while there asked Caesar's permission to return home. ⁴⁸But after the close understanding supposedly built up between the two during the

- 44. Undue reliance on the numeral is perhaps unwise, because of its easy confusion with ξ (6).
- 45. Gelzer ("Caesar", p.299) believes O reached Caesar in May.
- 46. 20th April 45 (D-G, vol. 3, p.580).
- 47. §§25-27. The information is found only in N, and probably alludes to its establishment as a "colonia" (M. Gelzer, "Caesar", p.297).
- 48. §31.

Spanish campaign this seems a little surprising. The reason given is that he wished to see his mother - despite the fact that he had gone against his mother's wishes in leaving Rome.⁴⁹ Further, Octavian's leaving Spain before Caesar would mean that he had stayed only a matter of weeks in the province.

The exact time of Caesar's entry into the city from Spain is not precisely known. Cicero writes to Atticus from Tusculum about the 24th August, 45 BC: "De adventu Caesaris.. quaeris, quid cogitem de obviam itione. Quid censes nisi Alsium? Et quidem ad Murenam de hospitio scripseram..."⁵⁰ . Caesar was therefore travelling south through Etruria and expected soon in Rome.⁵¹ The comments of "Ad Fam." 7.25, "Magister (i.e. Caesar) adest citius quam putaremus", suggest⁵² Caesar was in haste. On the 26th we find an anxious Cicero:

49. §§22 and 31. Presumably O returned to Rome from New Carthage. Unfortunately a "folium" is missing between §§27 and 28.
50. Att. 13.50.3.
51. Alsium is only 24 miles from Rome.
52. It is a pity that this letter from Tusculum can not be precisely dated. Tyrrell and Purser ("Correspondence of Cicero", vol. 5, p.168) say about the 25th, but W.G. Williams (LCL, Ad Fam, vol. 2, p.75) does not specify more than "August".

"Etsi hercle iam Romam veniendum est, ne ille ante advolet".⁵³

Only two days previously he had intended to travel north to Alsium to meet Caesar, but now has to hurry to reach Rome before the "magister" does. Caesar must have been expected in Rome before the end of August. On 13th September at Lavicum, i.e. south of Rome, Caesar made the will in which

he adopted Octavian.⁵⁴ It is improbable that he made a detour and purposely avoided the capital. He must have arrived in Rome sometime towards the end of August, or very early September - the former being the most likely.⁵⁵ Since rumours were circulating in Rome by about the middle of August that Caesar was approaching the city, it is reasonable to assume that he had left Spain by early August.⁵⁶ If Nicolaus' account is correct, Octavian must have left Spain for Rome by about mid-July, at the latest. He would thus have been with Caesar for only a few weeks.

He must also have been in Rome when Caesar himself arrived later, although Nicolaus does not mention the latter's return.

53. Att. 13.51.2, also from Tusculum.

54. Suet. Caes. 83.2.

55. Velleius (2.56.3) says Julius returned to the city in October, but though it is accepted by Gelzer ("Caesar", p.306) and Balsdon ("Historia" 7 (1958), p.83) it seems too late. A September return is suggested by Drumann (D-G, 1.55), Adcock (CAH 9, p.695), Holmes (RR, vol. 3, p.312) and Groebe (RE 10.249).

56. On the outward journey Caesar reached Obulco in 27 days (Suet. Caes. 56.5). See also Strabo 3.4.9; App. BC 2.103; Holmes, RR, vol. 3, p.296f, n.7.

This, however, conflicts with Plutarch, who states that Octavian was one of those who accompanied Caesar through Italy on his way back from Spain. The explanation for the difference in their versions is almost certainly to be attributed to some more information Plutarch gives us. He describes how Caesar honoured Antony *ἐκπρεπῶς*, and that throughout Italy had him ride in his chariot with him, while Brutus Albinus and Octavian came *ὀπίσθεν*⁵⁷. It is, admittedly, possible that Octavian returned to Rome and subsequently went out from the capital to meet Caesar, although Nicolaus mentions no such journey, and the time for it was very short. In any case Plutarch's account of Octavian's return, apparently all the way from Spain with Caesar, is more convincing than the very short stay in Spain necessary in that of Nicolaus⁵⁸. The latter's source was Augustus' "Commentarii". Thus the princeps appears to have falsified his movements in order to avoid any comparison with the treatment Antony received from Caesar.

57. Ant. 11.1.

58. Both Drumann (D-G 1.85) and Gelzer ("Caesar", p.299) believe that O travelled all the way back from Spain with Caesar. Fitzler-Seeck follow N in believing that Caesar sent O ahead to Rome from Spain (RE 10.279).

3. Octavian's relations with Philippus.

To determine the state of relations between Octavian and his step-father is made difficult because Philippus is a rather shadowy figure in Nicolaus' biography. We are given only a few details about him. The exploits of his ancestor, Q. Marcius Philippus are noted in §5.⁵⁹ Octavian was brought up in his house, *ὡς παρὰ πατρὶ τρεφόμενος*.⁶⁰ Philippus helped Atia to supervise his education.⁶¹ During the confusion in Rome in 49 BC, he took Atia and Octavian *εἰς τι τῶν πατρῶων χωρίων*.⁶² Parental concern seems to be matched by filial respect.⁶³

Nevertheless some cooling of relations can perhaps be

59. ... Φιλίππῳ Λευκίῳ, ὃς ἦν ἀπόγονος τῶν τὸν Μακεδόνα Φίλιππον κεχειρωμένων. Q. Marcius Philippus (Praetor 188, consul 186 and 169; cf. Broughton, MRR, vol. 1, pp.370f, 365, 423, 429) did have dealings with Philip V of Macedon (Livy 39, 48; 40.2-3), but the military operations referred to by N were against his son Perseus (ruled 179-168 BC).

60. §5.

61. §6.

62. §7.

63. Cf. §28.

detected in §34: "When Octavian came back (from Spain in 45 BC) to Rome, he resided near the house of Philippus and his mother. He spent his time with them ... except when he wished to entertain some of his young friends by himself; but this did not often happen". Despite Nicolaus' (i.e. Augustus') assurance, it is strange to find that he spent nearly all his time with Atia and Philippus,⁶⁴ and yet found it desirable to live apart from them. This may mean nothing more than adolescent independence,⁶⁵ but could conceal deeper strains.

From two later paragraphs we learn only a little more of Octavian's contact with him. When Octavian landed in Calabria on hearing of Caesar's death, Philippus gave him

64. Notice N's emphatic tautology: *τὴν δαίταν εἶχε σὺν ἐκείνοις, καὶ οὐκ ἄνευ τούτων διήγεν....*

65. J. A. Crook ("Law and Life of Rome", p.113) points out that once all male ascendants were dead a child was "sui iuris". O would thus be master of his own house and head of his own family; Atia and Philippus did not belong to it. His living apart from them could simply mean he had taken his ancestral home. On the other hand, N states that as late as the end of 48 BC Atia decided where he lived and slept (§10), even after he assumed the "toga virilis". Cf. also §§12, 14.

advice in a letter to proceed with caution: "He begged Octavian not to touch his inheritance from Caesar, and even to beware of his very name, things for which he might suffer, and advised him to live a life of seclusion in safety."

Nicolaus continues: "Octavian knew it was Philippus' concern⁶⁶ that prompted this advice". We last hear of him and Atia expressing their indignation at the charges of attempted⁶⁷ assassination that Antony levelled against Octavian. On this occasion also "they advised him to keep out of the way for a few days until the whole business was straightened out and cleared up."

Philippus' advice could be interpreted as due either to a genuine personal concern for Octavian's safety, or, on a wider plane, political opposition. But further light is thrown on his attitude by Cicero's letters. On the 22nd of April Cicero wrote to Atticus: "Nobiscum hic perhonorifice et peramice Octavius. Quem quidem sui Caesarem salutabant,⁶⁸ Philippus non, itaque nos quidem." This refusal had political and personal implications, and also points to strong dis-

66. §53. Appian (BC 3.23) states that Philippus was one of those who gave O financial assistance.

67. §126.

68. 14.12.2 (from Puteoli).

agreement between Philippus and Octavian's mother Atia. Cicero states specifically that Philippus was opposed to calling Octavian "Caesar", while Nicolaus, drawing on the "Commentarii", equally emphatically says that Atia agreed to the name.⁶⁹

That Philippus disassociated himself from Octavian's activities emerges from another letter of 9th/10th June, 44.⁷⁰ Cicero found it difficult to decide what position to adopt towards Octavian, and had consulted Philippus: "Sed quid aetati credendum sit ... magni consilii est. Vitricus quidem nihil censebat ... Sed tamen alendus est." The last four words show that at best Philippus was apathetic about Octavian, while the stronger words "nihil censebat" in which he described Philippus' attitude suggest a political stand against him.⁷¹ Thus from Nicolaus we gather only that Philippus gave Octavian advice.⁷² Cicero shows that the rift in mid-44 was deeper. Suetonius too, though brief, mentions Philippus'

69. §54.

70. Att. 15.12.2 (from Antium).

71. E. O. Winstedt (LCL, ad loc.) renders: "His father-in-law [a mistake for "step-father"] ... thinks he is not to be trusted at all." Shackleton-Bailey, o.c., vol. 6, p.103, concurs in sense.

72. §§53 (δεόμενος ; ὑπ' εὐνοίας παραινούντα), 126 (παρήγουσιν).

⁷³
strong opposition.

On the other hand, by September neither Philippus nor C. Claudius Marcellus, Octavian's brother-in-law, seemed reliable from Cicero's point of view.⁷⁴ By mid-November they may have been feeling that it was the right time to show their support, and have tried to exert some influence on Cicero. If so, they were unsuccessful.⁷⁵ The extent and manner of Philippus' support cannot be discovered with any certainty, but his known political caution points to a role passive rather than active.⁷⁶ It is true that at a meeting of the Senate on 1st January 43 a gilded statue was decreed to Octavian on his proposal,⁷⁷ but this pales into insignificance when compared with Cicero's motion.⁷⁸

There is in fact some evidence that Philippus may have

- 73. Aug. 8: "Vitrico vero Marcio Philippo consulari multum dissuadente."
- 74, Cic. Att. 16.14.2 (Arpinum).
- 75. Ibid: "Nec me Philippus aut Marcellus movet. Alia enim eorum ratio est et, si non est, tamen videtur." Shackleton-Bailey (vol. 6, p. 203), however, takes this to be an example of their cautious attitude, and not that they actually tried to win Cicero to O's side.
- 76. See Syme, RR, pp. 36 (n.2), 62, 64, 128.
- 77. See Holmes, ARE 1, p. 40.
- 78. Cic. Phil. 5.45-46, 53.

been playing a double game. His poor showing with Antony when he was one of the consulars who conveyed the Senate's resolutions to him at Mutina in January 43 disgusted Cicero.⁷⁹ It seems too that he had ambitions for his own son by a previous marriage,⁸⁰ and may have hoped to obtain the consulship of 41 from Antony for him in place of either Brutus or Cassius.⁸¹ A letter of Brutus to Atticus also shows Philippus' firm public opposition to Octavian in June 43.⁸² But the most

- 79. Cic. Phil. 8.28: "Sed, ut suspicor, terror erat quidam ... nec vos vestram nec rei publicae dignitatem tenere potuistis. Et tamen nescio quo pacto sapientia quadam, credo, quod ego non possem, non nimis irati revertistis": (Is there a hint of their collusion with Antony here?); Fam. 12.4.1.
- 80. Also named L. Marcius Philippus. For his career see Broughton, MRR, vol. 2, pp.225, 322, 412, 416, 426, 445; M. Fluss, RE 14.1571f; J. van Ooteghem, "L. Marcius Philippus", pp. 181-183.
- 81. See Syme, RR, pp. 134 and 228. The text on which this is based is Cic. Fam. 12.2.2 (Cicero to Cassius, late September 44): "Alter item affinis novis commentariis Caesaris delentus est". The identification of the "affinis" is disputed. Syme accepts the case made out for Philippus the father (cos. 56).
- 82. Ad Brut. 25 (1.17.5).

fascinating piece of information is found in what may be the last extant letter of Cicero's, written in August 43. It is written to Octavian: "I am glad twice over that you grant leave of absence to me and Philippus; for you pardon⁸³ our past actions and show your indulgence for the future." What the fault was we shall probably never know. But the letter underlines the coolness and, at times, active opposition of Philippus to his step-son.

Of Philippus' waverings and political opposition we get no hint in Nicolaus. The advice he gave Octavian stemmed, according to the biography, from personal concern rather than from opposition of political principle. Octavian rejected such advice not because of personal animosity but because his professed duty to avenge Caesar required personal political involvement. Such characterisation of Philippus as does appear is favourable. He is not linked with Cicero as one of those *ἐν μέσῳ*⁸⁴. Nor does his son appear to have

83. "M. Tulli Ciceronis Epistulae", vol. 3 (OCT), p.160, ed. W.S. Watt: "Quod mihi et Philippo vacationem das, bis gaudeo: nam et praeteritis ignoscis et concedis futura". See also Holmes (ARE 1, p.67f).

84. §111.

85

fallen foul of Octavian's favours. The considerable strains that must have developed in the elder Philippus' relations with Octavian are suppressed. Augustus was clearly concerned in his "Commentarii" to show the correctness and justice of his own behaviour. Principled opposition from so close a relative, and a consular at that, would throw doubt on his motives.

4. When did Octavian hear about Caesar's murder?

Nicolaus is not specific about this: "In the fourth month there came to Octavian from Italy a freedman ... As soon as Caesar was killed", he said, "I was sent off and have not wasted any time anywhere".⁸⁷ The time of his arrival was evening. The messenger states he was in a hurry to reach Octavian as soon as possible. The words Nicolaus puts into his mouth (ἐφῆ... ὡς παραχρῆμα Καίσαρος ἀναιρεθέντος πεμφθείη)⁸⁸ suggest he left Rome on the 15th March. This seems to be confirmed

85. Cf. Fluss. RE 14.1572; Münzer, RE 14.1571. He had a Spanish triumph on 27th April 33 BC, and restored the Temple of Hercules and the Muses (Ovid Fasti 6.801; Suet. Aug. 29.5; Tac. Ann. 3.72) - see E.S. Shuckburgh, "Suet. Vita Aug.", pp. 64-65; F.W. Shipley, "Chronology of the Building Operations in Rome", p. 29ff.

86. §§38-39.

87. §40. So also Appian BC 3.9.

88. §39.

by his belief that the conspirators were still in control⁸⁹ of the political situation, whereas §102 states they were on the defensive before the day was over, and that on the 16th Antony and Lepidus had the upper hand.⁹⁰

The problem therefore resolves itself into the question of how soon a man could reach Apollonia from Rome. The distance from Rome to Brundisium is approximately 380 miles. We are given no indication of the method of transport, but the messenger's protestations of speedy travel⁹¹ would suggest horse-back riding. It seems to have taken Galba's freedman, Icelus, seven days to cover a similar distance in taking the news of Nero's death to Galba in Spain.⁹² In Nicolaus, too,

89. Ibid.

90. §103. §§102-103 were however taken from a different source to §39. See also §43.

91. §39: *ὡς παραχρήμα... περφθείη καὶ οὐδαμῇ διατρίψειεν, ὡς θάττον ἔχει.....*

92. Plut. Galba 7. But Titus Vinius reached Galba from Rome according to Plutarch *ibid.*, *δυσὶν ἡμέραις*. The text is uncertain here, however, and Coraës proposed adding *ὑστερον* after *ἡμέραις*. G.H. Stevenson in "Legacy of Rome" (ed. C. Bailey), p.152 states that the news of Nero's death was taken by a freedman the 332 miles to Galba from Rome in 36 hours, but quotes no source. It seems that he may have taken his interpretation from Plutarch. M. Fluss (RE 2nd Series, 4 A 1, col. 782) takes Vinius' arrival to be two days later than Icelus. Cf. also H. G. Pflaum, "Le Cursus Publicus", pp. 192-200.

we are dealing with one man who had no opportunity to plan ahead such arrangements as a speedy change of horses, and who may have been unaccustomed to making long journeys on horseback, at least those of the scale under consideration. On the other hand, if he was a freedman of Caesar's, he is likely to have had all possible assistance along the way. Further, the messenger seems to have been the first to bring the news of Caesar's death to Apollonia,⁹³ and must therefore have travelled fast. Under such circumstances it would be unwise to set much less than 100 miles per day to his credit.⁹⁴ The accumulating demands on his physique and stamina make it unlikely that he could far exceed this.⁹⁵

The messenger thus left Rome late on the 15th March, and

93. Cf. §§ 38 and 40. It cannot be ruled out that Augustus or N was tempted by the dramatic possibilities of the messenger's arrival to exaggerate his importance, but the realism and consistency of §§ 38-40 make this unlikely.
94. Cicero (Pro Roscio 19) alleges that a freedman, Mallius Glaucia, travelled 56 miles in 10 hours in the darkness.
95. The comments of "Buffalo Bill" are worth noting: "15 m.p.h. on horseback would in a short time shake any man all to pieces." The exploits of the French-Canadian rider François Xavier Aubrey in 1848 are monumental in horse-riding annals - the 800 miles between Santa Fé and Independence, Missouri covered in 5 days and 16 hours, with an actual travelling time of 4 days, 12 hours (i.e. c. 6 m.p.h. overall, and c. 7½ m.p.h. riding time). Cf. also D.B. Chidsey, (Nat. Geog. Mag., vol. 122, no. 2 (August 1962), p.194): Israel Bissel rode from Boston to Philadelphia (nearly 400 miles) in a little over five days, including rests, and covered the distance between Waterton (Boston) and Worcester, some 36 miles, in about 2 hours.

probably arrived in Brundisium about the 19th or 20th. The distance from Brundisium to the coast near Apollonia (Pojan) is approximately 75 miles. With favourable weather, no more⁹⁶ than a day need be allowed for the crossing. The evening of the 20th or 21st seems likely for the messenger's arrival in Apollonia. Because of the nature of the news it is highly unlikely that the arrival date should be put later than the⁹⁷ 22nd.

5. Octavian's movements in late March and April, 44.

Knowledge of Octavian's movements between his hearing

96. Cicero (Att. 15.21.3) mentions a five-hour crossing of the Adriatic from Hydrus (Hydruntum, Otranto). See also Appian, Maced. 19. M.P. Charlesworth ("Trade Routes and Commerce of the R.Empire"², p.258) comments that "100 miles per diem was quite possible for an ancient ship"; see also pp. 139 and 155. Duttlinger ("Unters. über den hist. Wert des N.D.", p.19) is much too cautious in believing that the crossing would take 2-3 days.
97. Groebe (D-G 1, p.425f): a 20th-25th March arrival. The latter date is given by Gardthausen (I.1, p.51, n.*) and Duttlinger (p.12). Earl ("The Age of Augustus", p.21) believes the news took "almost two weeks" to arrive. But it is unlikely to have taken more than a few days - Caesar was shortly expected from Brundisium for the Parthian War, and there were frequent crossings of troops from Italy.

of Caesar's murder and his arrival at Naples on 18th April is rather sketchy. The route he took is well attested - Apollonia to Lupiae (Lecce) in Calabria, thence to Brundisium, ⁹⁸ Naples and Rome, but the timing of the various stages is obscure.

Nicolaus and Appian give the most complete accounts and are largely in agreement. According to Nicolaus, ⁹⁹ preparations ¹⁰⁰ for the voyage from Apollonia were begun at once. There is no suggestion that he stayed long after this in the town:

"The people of Apollonia gathered to a man, and because of the affection they felt for Caesar (i.e. Octavius) they kept asking him to stay among them... It was better for him, they suggested, to watch future developments in a friendly city when so many enemies were about. But he wished to watch for his opportunities by being present in person among the intrigues going on, and did not change his mind but said he had

98. N §§47, 51, 57; App. BC 3.10-12; Dio 45.3-4 (O crossed to Brundisium, according to 3.2, but the account is brief - the contraction may be responsible for the error); Plut. Brut. 22; Suet. Aug. 8.2-3; Vell. 2.59.5-6, 60.1; Cic. Att. 14.10.3, 11.2, 12.2.
99. Appian has none of the apologetics found in N §§42-43. He says that O received copies of Caesar's will (BC 3.11), but N that he was given a verbal report (§§48-50). The contents of a letter N says O received at Brundisium from Philippus (§53) are the same as a letter Appian (ibid.) records at Lupiae. N is more plausible.
100. §44. O is represented as coming to his decision to go to Italy the same night as he received word of Caesar's murder (§40: *περί ἀκραν ἔσπεραν . . . πόρρω τῆς νυκτὸς ἤδη διεληλυθυίας*).

to set sail." The alleged support he had from "knights,
private soldiers, tribunes, centurions and very many other
individuals"¹⁰² presumes a short delay, unless this wide-based
support is purely propaganda, but the impression of speed is
confirmed by §47: *Καίσαρ δ' ἀνέχθη τοῖς ἐπιτυχούσι πλοίοις
χειρῶνος ἔτι ὄντος σφαλερώτατα.*¹⁰³

Octavian avoided Brundisium, because he was unsure of
the reception he would receive there, and made for a more
remote part of Calabria,¹⁰⁴ "where no clear news had yet reached
the people living there of the upheaval (*νεωτερισμοῦ*) in
Rome".¹⁰⁵ This last statement strengthens the belief that he
did not stay long in Apollonia once he knew of Caesar's
death. He could have arrived in Lupiae, to where he travelled
by foot the eight miles from the coast, as early as the 23rd

101. §45.

102. §46.

103. "Boats" may mean that O took a large company with him,
although little indication is given of this in the
succeeding sections (cf. § 56, p.401.25-26). It is more
probably meant to underline O's concern to reach Italy
as soon as possible - i.e. he travelled "in one of the
boats that happened to be in Apollonia" even though the
weather was bad (? *χειρῶνος ἔτι ὄντος*), without waiting
for ideal conditions or a particularly sea-worthy vessel.
See also n.106.

104. §47. From the coast west of Pojan (Apollonia) to S.
Cataldo (Calabria) is about 58 miles.

105. Ibid.

or 24th March, and certainly did so before the end of the
¹⁰⁶month. The avowed object of being at Lupiae was reconnais-
¹⁰⁷ance, and Appian suggests that his stay was not a short one.

It was while he was there that he was given further news
¹⁰⁸of what happened to Caesar after the Ides. The contents of
 Caesar's will are of course noted, but the latest event
 which can be dated in §§48-50 (the eye-witness account from
 travellers who had been in Rome in mid-March) is the funeral
¹⁰⁹of Caesar with its accompanying violence on 20th March. We

106. Gardthausen (I.1, p.52f), and followed by M. Levi ("Ottaviano Capoparte" I, p. 65, n.2), is obviously wrong in suggesting that O did not land in Italy until mid-April. D-G (4.267, 6.293) put his arrival at the beginning of April, but Duttlinger (p.19) to the "last days of March". Velleius concurs with N about O's speed, if not on the locality (2.59.5).
107. §51; App. BC 3.10.
108. §§48-50.
109. N's reference to the withdrawal of the conspirators from Rome to Antium with Antony's connivance (§50, p.400.9-10), which probably occurred between c. 9th and 13th April 44 (Cf. Cic. Att. 14.5.2. and 7.1) presents a slight difficulty. It was clearly impossible for the travellers to leave Rome even on the 9th April and reach Lupiae in time to give O this news, since by the 18th he had already gone through Brundisium to Naples. In any case, O would have heard about the will (opened on 17th March) and Caesar's funeral from other sources before mid-April. The only reasonable explanation is that N wanted to emphasise Antony's duplicity, as a continuation of the polemical tone of lines 6-9 (p.400), and that the words were meant to be introduced parenthetically.

are given no information about whether the travellers came to Lupiae individually or as a group, the pace of their journey, or how long they had been there. Yet even if they left Rome on the 21st, their arrival in Lupiae is unlikely to have occurred before the 28th, and possibly a day or two later. There is thus every indication that Octavian did not finally leave Lupiae before the very end of March. But neither Nicolaus nor any other writer gives an accurate idea of when Octavian reached and left Brundisium; only Cicero's letters offer a guide. Even here it is a question of working back in time from the known to the unknown.

Cicero first heard of Octavian's "adventus" in Italy itself on the 11th April, when he was at Astura on his way south from Rome to Puteoli. The letter from Atticus giving him the news must have been written on the 9th or 10th April. We do not know exactly what Atticus told Cicero, but from the information

110. Ib. 14.5.3. Cicero left Rome on 7th April (ib. 14.1.1) and was at Puteoli by the 17th (ib. 14.9). No letter appears to have been written on the 16th, and so Cicero may have reached Puteoli by that day (cf. ib. 14.7.1).
111. Att. 14.2.4 (8th April) shows that the letter must have been written early in the day, and the same applies to 14.3 (Tusculum, 9th April), possibly also 14.4 (Lanuvium, 10th April). 14.5 was written as Cicero was leaving Astura (§3: "Haec scripsi ad te proficiscens Astura III Idus"), and therefore was also written in the early part of the day. It seems to have been Cicero's practice throughout the journey to keep up his daily correspondence with Atticus (cf. ib. 14.4.2) by writing in the morning before setting out on the next stage of his journey south (cf. also 14.7.1). Several men were engaged in the delivery of correspondence (ibid: "A te scilicet nihil; nemo enim meorum"). Since Cicero gave Atticus notice that he intended pushing on to Astura

which Cicero asks for in his reply it was obviously scanty, probably because Atticus himself had little knowledge of what was happening in Brundisium.¹¹² The "adventus" must in fact refer to Brundisium for two reasons - it was the natural point of arrival from Apollonia, and anything to the contrary would have elicited fuller comment from Cicero; secondly, Octavian's travels to Lupiae were supposed to be a close secret. From the bare details Atticus gave Cicero we must conclude that information had only just reached Rome that Octavian was in Brundisium, in reality from Lupiae but assumed by Cicero and Atticus to be from Apollonia. Clearly Atticus would tell Cicero as soon as he could of the movements of Caesar's heir.¹¹³ It is reasonable to assume that news of

on the 10th (cf. 14.2.4), he may well have found a letter waiting for him when he arrived at Astura later on the 10th, since the couriers knew where to aim for. The letter to Cicero would then have been written on the 9th.

112. The news of Brundisium would inevitably reach Rome before Cicero would hear of it on his journey south. cf. Att. 15.13.1: "Quod scribis legiones duas Brundisium venisse, vos omnia prius: Scribes igitur, quicquid audieris". See also n.113.
113. Cicero repeatedly asks Atticus to send him any news he can, no matter how trifling - Att. 14.1.2: "Quicquid erit non modo magnum, sed etiam parvum, scribes"; 3.2: "Tu, si quid pragmaticum habebis, scribes"; 4.2: "Tu si quid novi (nam cotidie aliquid exspecto) confestim ad me...". These pleas may, of course, suggest that Atticus was being somewhat lax in his correspondence. But news of O would in any case prompt Atticus to write as soon as he heard it.

his arrival at Brundisium first reached Rome on the 8th or 9th April. Octavian can not therefore have left Lupiae and reached Brundisium after the 4th or 5th April, and the date can be safely put within the range end of March - 5th April.¹¹⁴

No more is known of his movements until he arrived at Naples on the 18th of April.¹¹⁵ The route he followed from Brundisium may have been along the Via Appia as far as Beneventum or Capua, and then south to Naples.¹¹⁶ Balbus met him there on the morning of the 19th. On the 21st he went to Cumae and stayed at his step-father's villa, next door to Cicero's.¹¹⁷ He was still there or at Puteoli next day.¹¹⁸

114. Att. 11.21.1 (25th August 47) shows a letter reaching Cicero in Brundisium from Rome on its 7th day. News of O is likely to have travelled at least as fast, if not faster. H. Botermann (*Zetemata* 46 (1968), p.17, n.5) suggests that O may have left Brundisium for Rome about 1st April. This must be too early.

115. Cic. Att. 14.10.3.

116. He may however have taken the route through Barium (Bari) and Canusium (Canosa) - cf. Horace Sat. 1.5.77ff; also Cic. Att. 1.13.1. This road went over less moorland, and may therefore have been more popular.

117. Cic. Att. 14.11.2.

118. Cic. Att. 14.12.2: "Nobiscum hic ... Octavius". Cicero was writing from Puteoli, but the "hic" may mean no more than that O was in the area.

After that Cicero's letters are silent on his progress to Rome. At Terracina, about ¹¹⁹63 miles south-east of Rome on the Via Appia, he was given further news of political developments in Rome. His entry into the city must have been ¹²⁰at the end of April or beginning of May. About seven weeks thus elapsed between Caesar's murder and Octavian's arrival in Rome.

The section concerned with his stay in Brundisium, however, needs further comment. §55 reads: "Octavian immediately sent for the resources (*παρασκευάς*) in Asia and the money which Caesar had earlier sent on ahead for the Parthian War. When these were brought, and with them the annual tribute from the peoples of Asia, Octavian was satisfied with his inheritance and restored the state money into the city treasury." Appian and Dio also state that Octavian acquired

119. App. BC 3.12 (c. 400 stades from Rome). 400 "stadia" = c. 46 miles.

120. O spent at least 5 days around the Bay of Naples (18th-22nd April), and does not appear to have been in great haste to reach Rome. Cicero (Att. 14.20.1; Puteoli, 11th May) shows that "L. Antonius produxit Octavium" (§5) on or after the 9th May. There is no clue as to how much earlier that this O actually reached Rome. Hall's strange view (p.84.18.11) that this was in early April is clearly wrong. Groebe (RE 1.2600): "towards the end of April".

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both men and money at Brundisium. Between the three there is such similarity of detail and vocabulary that it is difficult to reject the idea that all are referring to the same time. On the other hand, Nicolaus talks about the money being "in Asia" and clearly states that as soon as Octavian received it he put it in the *ταμείον*.

There are several weaknesses in his account. He mentions an illegal action taken by Octavian, but does not defend it adequately.¹²² He had earlier stated quite categorically in §§41-42, 46 and 56-57 that Octavian had rejected the idea of using soldiers either from the colonies in Italy or from Macedonia, and yet affirms here that he sent for the "resources"

121. App. BC 3.11; Dio 45.3.2.

122. By his brevity N makes the information appear rather pointless - there is no indication of why O sent for the money (even though there was a propaganda point here - to save it from "misuse"!), nor when he received it. N's statement that O actually sent to Asia for the money and received it from there could be construed as conflicting with Plutarch (Brut. 24.3-25.1), who records that when Brutus learnt that transports *μετὰ χρημάτων* were making for Rome from Asia, he persuaded its commander at Carystus to hand it over. Later in 44 BC Appuleius (so Cic. Phil. 10.24, 13.32 and Ad M. Brut. 1.7.2; App. BC 3.63; 4.75; but Plutarch calls him Antistius), the pro-quaestor in Asia, gave Brutus 500,000 drachmas (16,000 talents - App. ibid.) from the money he was taking personally to Italy. As Appian shows (3.63), some at least of Brutus' resources came from Caesar's stock-piling.

from Asia where he had no influence and which was further away. Again, if Octavian needed money quickly, sending to Asia would not provide it. It is also at variance with Appian and Dio. Appian says that at Brundisium Octavian was joined by soldiers taking ἀποσκευὰς ἢ χρήματα to Macedonia or bringing in χρήματα καὶ φόρους ἐξ ἔθνων ἄλλων. Dio adds that he had χρήματα πολλὰ καὶ στρατιώτας συχνούς συμπροπεμφθέντας. All three place the information at identical points in their narrative, though admittedly Dio is brief. In short, the baldness of Nicolaus' Greek, its lack of real connection with the surrounding text and its failure to extract much propaganda value from such fertile material suggests that something is wrong with his composition or the transmission of his text.

An attempt to solve the difficulties must inevitably put this fiscal activity in a political context. Nicolaus' source, Augustus' "Commentarii", must have included the information the biography gives for some purpose. Since the gist of it is that Octavian received state money, to which in fact he had no claim, and then put it into the state treasury, there must be Augustus' answer somewhere here to the charge that he had misappropriated state funds. Since Nicolaus must have in general contracted his source, he may here well have missed out a justification of his conduct which

Augustus included, or have garbled the propagandist argument of his source because he did not fully understand the implications of the Latin.

There are two likely alternatives about what Augustus could have written in the original version. He may have argued that since he knew in Brundisium the contents of Caesar's will (~~§§~~ 48-50), he regarded it as justifiable to take immediately from the money at Brundisium some portion¹²⁴ which he argued belonged to Caesar, and therefore now to him.¹²⁵ Although this would harmonise with the versions of Appian and Dio, it would not account for Nicolaus' assertion that Octavian¹²⁶ actually sent for *παρασκευαί* and *χρήματα* from Asia.

The most likely explanation is that Nicolaus gives us part of Augustus' defence to the charge that he had embezzled Asian tribute-money. His reply would have been that he had merely called for certain private money that Caesar had sent to Asia for his Parthian campaign, but that he had been sent, without it being requested, tribute-money also. He had at

124. Note too the chiastic juxtaposition *τοῖς πατέροις τὰ δημόσια* (p.401.24), which might support this interpretation.

125. To inherit Caesar's estate, O had to show that he accepted the position of "heres" by some public act ("pro herede gestio") or by making a formal declaration to the same effect ("cretio") - see Ulpian Epit. 22.26; Gaius 2.164-173; H.F. Jolowicz, "Hist. Intro. to R.Law", p.262ff; F. Schulz, "Classical R. Law", pp.216, 288-290, 294. By taking Caesar's name at least O had therefore registered his claim at Brundisium.

126. Assuming N's text should have *ἐν Ἀσίᾳ*, and the verb is *προύπερψε* and not *προύπερπε* [i.e. "was sending", and could therefore still be in Brundisium].

once dutifully separated Caesar's money from that which
¹²⁷
 belonged to the state. The fact that he was sent the Asian
 tribute might have been due to the dynastic sentiments of
 the soldiery who put loyalty to Caesar before that to the
 "government"; this would harmonise with Appian. The fact
 that the whole episode does not fit in smoothly with the
 surrounding material points to a severe contraction by
 Nicolaus of a fuller, propagandist Augustan account.

6. The Games of §§107-109.

In order to provoke a demonstration of Caesarian feeling,
 Octavian aggressively insisted that a decree passed by the
 Senate in Caesar's lifetime was still valid. This decree
 stated that the crown Caesar had been offered at the Luper-
 calia by Antony and the gilded chair the Senate had voted
¹²⁸
 him should be displayed in the theatre. Nicolaus mentions
 two occasions when Octavian tried to do so, the second of
 which was during the "Ludi Victoriae Caesaris" which lasted
¹²⁹
 from 20th-30th July. Cicero also refers to a similar ex-

127. In the "Res Gestae" Augustus is proud of his generosity
 [cf. 1,5,15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 24], but naturally
 silent on its source.
128. Dio 44.6.3, 45.6.5; Plut. Ant. 16.2; Suet. Caes. 76.1.
129. N §108; App. BC 3.28; Plut. Ant. 16.2; Dio 45.6.4-5;
 Suet. Aug. 10, Caes. 88; Pliny NH 2.93-94; Cic. Att.
 15.2.3.

hibition. The problem is to establish how often and at what festivals Octavian attempted to display these relics of Caesar's. A postponement from their normal time of the "Ludi Cerialia", though undocumented, seems to be generally
¹³⁰
 accepted as the first occasion.

Cicero has been cited to establish the date of this. Writing to Atticus on the 22nd of May from Arpinum, he was jubilant at news Atticus had sent him about some slight offered to Caesar's chair: "De sella Caesaris bene tribunum;
¹³¹
 praeclaros etiam XIV ordines". Un-

130. The "Cerialia" were normally held 12th-19th April, the 19th being the culminating point (CIL I2, p.315), when there was a procession to the Circus (Ovid, Fasti 4.393; Varro, De Re Rust. 1.2.11). A month's postponement would chronologically tie in with Cicero's comments on some games (Att. 15.3.2; Arpinum, 22nd May). If the "Cerialia" were held at their usual time, these are clearly not the games we are looking for, since O was in Campania. Hall (P.92.28.3) is in favour of the "Ludi Florales" (28th April-3rd May). These can be rejected - O was only just arriving in Rome - unless they were postponed. Holmes (ARE I, p.191) favours a postponement of the "Ludi Cerialia", and is supported by Syme (RR, p.116, n.3). Broughton (MRR 2.322f, s.v. Critonius), and apparently followed by Shackleton-Bailey ("Cicero's Letters to Atticus", vol. 6, p.248), accepts the "Ludi Cerialia" for Critonius' objection, but puts the date as April; the two things are, however, irreconcilable. A. Alföldi ("Studien über Caesars Monarchie", p.77) and H. Botermann (p.26, n.5) put O's first attempt to mid-May. Drumann (D-G 1.89) thinks an error by Appian is more likely than a postponement, but does not rule it out.

131. Att. 15.3.2.

fortunately, he gives no clue to the identity of the individual(s) responsible for the exhibition. In the first of the two incidents mentioned by Nicolaus the name of the person who opposed Octavian's attempt to display the relics has been lost from the text. But from Appian's very similar narrative there can be little doubt that the individual missing from Nicolaus' account was the aedile Critonius.¹³²

It is generally believed that the incident referred to by Cicero is the same as the first occasion mentioned by Nicolaus and Appian when Critonius turned down Octavian's request.¹³³ This view must be erroneous: (i) Cicero is referring to an exhibition of the chair which actually took place. Appian on the other hand makes it clear that despite Octavian's bravado Antony was successful in preventing the exhibition. Nicolaus also shows that Octavian accepted Antony's refusal.¹³⁴ (ii) Cicero refers to "tribuni", whereas

132. Groebe (D-G 1.427) is, however, non-committal on accepting that N (§108, p.413.8-10) is referring to Critonius, and therefore parallel to Appian BC 3.28. There can be little doubt that the two correspond.

133. See n.130; also Fitzler-Seeck, RE 10.281f; Müller, FHG 3.449.

134. App. BC 3.28; N §108; cf. also Dio 45.6.4-5.

Appian and Nicolaus mention only one individual being concerned, and an aedile at that - Critonius.¹³⁵ (iii) The action taken by the tribunes about Caesar's chair was clearly regarded by Cicero as favourable to the Republican cause, and therefore in mid-May unfavourable to Antony. The occasion to which Appian and Nicolaus refer shows that Antony too was opposed to the exhibition. (iv) Antony was in Rome, according to Appian and Nicolaus, on the first occasion also, and supported the opposition of Critonius to Octavian's intentions.¹³⁶ Appian is quite clear that Critonius raised his objection before any of the games had begun.¹³⁷ For Critonius' objections to be made before postponed "Ludi Ceriales" would require Antony to be back in Rome from Campania by 11th May at the latest. All the evidence is against such an early

135. App. 3.28 (*Κριτώνιος ἀγορανομῶν*). To complete the sense of N's account at this point (§108, p.413.9f) clearly requires a singular subject.
136. App. *ibid.* N (§108) suggests the unnamed antagonist to O was a supporter of Antony's.
137. Appian (*ibid.*) uses imperfect tenses (*ἔρελλε* and *παρεσκεύαζεν*) to describe both Critonius' and O's actions.

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return. (v) Cicero's words "praeclaros etiam XIV ordines" seem to be concerned with the same event as the "tribuni". He is referring to some large-scale demonstration, it would seem, against the Caesarians. Appian, on the other hand, intimates that Critonius made his objections personally to Antony. Nicolaus too seems to concur.

139

There must, then, have been three, not two, separate occasions when attempts were made to exhibit Caesar's relics:

138. Antony was away from Rome by about 25th or 26th April. Cic. Phil. 1.5 and 2.107 show that he was absent when Dolabella had the column pulled down that had been erected on the spot where Caesar's pyre had been (Suet. Caes. 85; Dio 44.51.1). Cicero wrote to Dolabella congratulating him on the action from Puteoli on 1st May (Att. 14.15). See also Holmes, ARE I, pp. 190-191; D-G 1.428; Gelzer, RE 7.1 (2nd series), col. 1034. He did not return until mid-May - Holmes, ARE I, pp. 13, n.7, and 191 (before 21st May); D-G 1.89 and 428, and Groebe, RE 1.2600 (between 18th and 21st May); G. Ferrero, "Greatness and Decline of Rome", vol. 3, p.52 (19th or 20th May); Frisch, p.81, n.84 (about 20th May), p.85 (about 18th May); Botermann, pp.19 and 26 (about 20th May).
139. If Cicero's words about the "XIV ordines" are meant to refer, as seems likely, to the episode of Caesar's chair, this would place the particular episode in the theatre, where the first fourteen rows of the "cavea" were reserved for "Equites". G. Wissowa (RE 3.1980f) argues that scenic productions did not appear at the "Cerialia" until the Empire. This view seems correct, but the evidence (see RE *ibid.*) is not conclusive. Clearly, however, if Wissowa is correct, the (postponed) "Cerialia" can not have been the occasion of O's first attempt to make the exhibition.

(i) The incident, between the 19th and 21st May, which elicited such rapturous approval from Cicero. The mass outburst from the "equites" against Caesarianism, which Cicero's comments suggest, may mean that Antony, who put himself forward in public as the champion of the Caesarian party, had not yet returned to Rome.¹⁴⁰ (ii) The occasion of the dispute between Octavian and Critonius, to which Appian refers, and at which Nicolaus hints. (iii) At the "Ludi Victoriae Caesaris". At (i) Caesar's chair was displayed: (ii) and (iii) were unsuccessful attempts by Octavian to do so.

The next problem is the identification of the games given by Critonius. The first scheduled series after mid-May were the "Ludi Apollinares" in July, put under the superintendence of the "Praetor Urbanus", who on this occasion in 44 was M. Junius Brutus. But in view of his absence from Rome his duties were taken over by the praetor C. Antonius.¹⁴¹

Could the Apollinaria be the games in which Critonius

140. Cf. Cic. Phil. 2.108: "Qui vero inde reditus Romam, quae perturbatio totius urbis! ... Ista vero quae et quanta barbaria est! Agmine quadrato cum gladiis secuntur, scutorum lecticas portari videmus... Kalendis Iuniis ... metu perterriti repente diffugimus." Even with due allowance for Ciceronian exaggeration, it would seem that Antony's strong-arm methods at the time would have discouraged such an open demonstration from the "equites".

141. See Broughton, MRR 2.319 and 321.

was involved? Support for such a view can be adduced from Appian's account. After narrating the altercation between Octavian and M. Antonius on the matter, he continues: *ἐκώλυσε* [sc. Ἀντώνιος] *δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἐξῆς θείαις, ἃς αὐτὸς ὁ Καῖσαρ*¹⁴² *ἑτέλει*. If Appian's *ἐξῆς* is correct, the games in which Critonius was involved in BC 3.28 can be none other than the¹⁴³ Apollinaria.

On the other hand, there are three difficulties in accepting this proposition. Firstly, Critonius was a plebeian aedile, and it is therefore most natural to associate him with Plebeian games.¹⁴⁴ Against this it can be argued that games could be managed by aediles even though presided over by other magistrates.¹⁴⁵ Critonius may have been chosen by

142. BC 3.28.

143. Cf. also BC 3.23f for O's activities during these games.

144. Broughton (MRR 2.323) queries whether he was one of the newly constituted "Aediles Plebis Ceriales" mentioned by Dio (43.51.3). Drumann (D-G 1.89) accepts that Critonius and M. Fannius held this position.

145. The "cura ludorum" - see J. W. Kubitschek, RE 1.457.

C. Antonius to carry out for him the detailed organisation of the Apollinaria which he had undertaken in Brutus' ¹⁴⁶ default. The second difficulty is Appian's comment that Critonius was providing the games "at his own expense" (*ἐν ταῖς αὐτοῦ δαπάναις* ¹⁴⁷). This is put forward by Critonius as his reason for rejecting Octavian's request that Caesar's chair should be exhibited at these games. It is true that an aedile's games were an important weapon in ¹⁴⁸ the armoury of political advancement. It may be that Critonius wanted the political publicity of contributing to the games. C. and M. Antonius would presumably have allowed him to do so in order to avoid spending money themselves on behalf of Brutus. ¹⁴⁹ The greatest difficulty, however, is the fact that Appian narrates Brutus' games separate to

146. Critonius could have given the "Ludi Ceriales" at their usual time, and been later chosen by C. Antonius because of his recent organisational experience.
147. BC 3.28.
148. Cf. Cic. Mur. 40; Plut. Sulla 5.
149. Despite Cicero's comments on Antony's "leniency" towards Brutus - cf. Phil. 2.31: "Cur ludi Apollinares incredibili M. Bruti honore celebrati? ... Atqui haec acta per te." Cf. also Kubitschek, RE 1.458.

¹⁵⁰
 those of Critonius. On the other hand, this need not preclude the same games being meant. The Apollinaria are described before the games of Critonius, but the latter could hardly have been put on in the few days between the end of the Apollinaria on 13th July and the beginning of the "Ludi Victoriae Caesaris" on the 20th. The reversal of the order of the two games could conceivably result from the use of two different sources which related different incidents of the "Apollinaria", but which Appian understood to be separate games.

The identity of the games at which the dispute between Octavian and Critonius took place must therefore remain
¹⁵¹
 problematical. They could be the Apollinaria, though there are difficulties in such an interpretation of Appian's account. It is conceivable that the "Floralia", normally held 28th
¹⁵²
 April - 3rd May, may have been postponed. It is even possible that they may have been some "ludi extraordinarii", perhaps
¹⁵³
 held in June and provided with the backing of M. Anton-

150. BC 3.23 and 28.

151. Alföldi, o.c., p. 77: "unüberwindliche Schwierigkeiten".

152. Wissowa, RE 6.2750. See Alföldi, p.78.

153. Appian's chronology is confused at this point. BC 3.27 clearly refers to the plebiscite ("lex de permutatione provinciarum" = "lex tribunicia de provinciis") of early June. §§29 and 30 also do so, but §28 runs ahead chronologically until the end of July. Alföldi (p.78) dates a second attempt to exhibit the chair "probably in June"; by his reckoning, however, O would have made three attempts to display it - the first one in May (p.77) should be omitted.

¹⁵⁴
ius. Whatever the festival, it is clear that Octavian began to stir up Caesarian sentiment from the very beginning of his arrival in Rome from Apollonia.

7. Octavian's departure from Rome to Campania, October 44 (~~5~~132).

Nicolaus represents Octavian's action as a counter-move ¹⁵⁵ to Antony's march to Brundisium for soldiers. By the time

154. See n. 136. The most recent comments on this problem are by Z. Yavetz (" 'Plebs' and 'Princeps' ", p.73f). Unfortunately, his account is in parts inaccurate and undocumented: (i) He cites no evidence for his statement (p.73) that O entered Rome on 11th May. His first entry should probably be put at least a week earlier (see my n.120). (ii) He alleges (p.73) that O tried to exhibit Caesar's relics in mid-May at the "Ludi Martiales". These games did not exist until 2 BC (RG 22; Holmes, ARE 2, p.97). (iii) He dates Critonius' disagreement to postponed "Ludi Ceriales et Florales" (p.74). There is no evidence that these games were held simultaneously. (iv) His account of O's second attempt is confused (p.74), in that he alleges Antony stopped O in July, "repeating the prohibition of September 44 at the time of the "Ludi Romani". The anachronism is obvious. Points (iii) and (iv) appear to be garbled versions of Alföldi, pp.78-79. His reference (p.73) to Alföldi's discussion should be pp.76-79.

155. ~~55~~130-131. On O's movements in Campania see H.Botermann, pp. 36-42.

Cicero at Puteoli received a letter from him on 1st of November 44, Octavian had already won over to his side Casilinum and Calatia, had the support of 3000 veterans, and also intended to canvass the rest of the Campanian colonies. He had thus, it appears, only just been successful in winning these recruits over at the end of October. Nicolaus' account suggests that he needed only a few days to achieve this. Octavian must have reached Calatia by the 25th of October, and possibly a little before. He therefore probably left Rome with his retinue on the 130 miles journey to the area around Capua about the 15th-20th of October.

But Nicolaus also gives another piece of intriguing information. When he has set the scene for Octavian's journey to Campania, he introduces Brutus and Cassius into his narrative (§135). They were allegedly at this time in

156. Att. 16.8 (2nd or 3rd Nov. 44 - on the date see Shackleton-Bailey, vol. 6, p.297). The letter arrived on the evening of the first (§1) and was probably written on the same day, since O was nearby and apparently urgent for a reply.
157. He had not yet had time to organise them (cf. Cic. Att. 16.9 of 4th November: "Centuriat Capuae, dinumerat").
158. N states that O required only three days to win Calatia (§136) and suggests that Casilinum (τῆς ἀστυγείτονος ἀποικίας) required no longer time (§137). This was the state of affairs when he wrote to Cicero about the 1st of November.

October still at Puteoli: "On learning the numbers of those who had accompanied Octavian out of Rome ... they were perturbed and very frightened, thinking that this sort¹⁵⁹ was directed against them. So they fled across the Adriatic Sea ...". Nicolaus thus dates the departure of the pair from Italy to the same time in mid-October.

To test his statement Cicero is the main guide, but his evidence has been interpreted in several ways. Dates ranging from July to October have been put forward for their departure. The consensus of opinion is that Brutus left Italy towards the end of August¹⁶¹, but there is greater divergency about Cassius.¹⁶² Hall and Duttlinger seem to be alone in taking

159. N §135; Dio 47.20.3. Plutarch (Brut. 23.1, 24.1) states that Brutus went through Lucania to Elea and sailed from there to Athens.
160. Appian (BC 3.24) says wrongly that Brutus and Cassius left Italy in July soon after the "Ludi Apollinares". Dio (47.20.3-4) states that the pair stayed some time in Italy and implies that they went to Athens together.
161. So Groebe (D-G 1.104f, 431; 4.34, n.13); M.P.Charlesworth, CAH 10, p.10; Syme, RR, p.119; cf. also pp. 124 and 140; W.W. How, p.468; Broughton, MRR, 2.321.
162. Groebe (ibid.) thinks Brutus and Cassius departed together, i.e. in August. Charlesworth (ibid.) suggests the same. Broughton (MRR 2.320) and F. Fröhlich (RE 3.1731) put it down to the end of September. Holmes ARE I, p.44, n.7) supports O. E. Schmidt (Rh. Mus. 53 (1898), p.235) in dating it to October. See also n.160.

Nicolaus' date at its face value.¹⁶³ "Philippic" 10.8 gives the most reliable indication. Here Cicero states that he saw Brutus at Velia just before he left Italy, a meeting which can be fixed to 17th August.¹⁶⁴ Cassius' fleet was a few¹⁶⁵ more days in Italy before it too left.

But how many days did in fact elapse before Cassius departed cannot be determined with any accuracy.¹⁶⁶ A letter of Cicero's to Cassius, written probably in late September,¹⁶⁷ shows with little doubt that Cassius was still in Italy. Another letter of early October is more problematical, but¹⁶⁸ could support the view that Cassius had already left. It

163. Hall, p.96.31.4; Duttlinger, pp.30-34, esp. p.33.

164. Cic. Att. 16.7.5 (19th August 44).

165. According to Phil. 10.8: "Cassi classis paucis post diebus consequebatur".

166. It is possible, but perhaps unlikely, that Cassius' fleet left without Cassius himself.

167. Fam. 12.2.3: "Quare spes est omnis in vobis; qui si idcirco abestis ut sitis in tuto ne in vobis quidem. Sin aliquid dignum vestra gloria cogitatis, velim salvis vobis". His comment in section 1 ("Vehementer laetor tibi probari sententiam et orationem meam") about Cassius' approval of the First Philippic (delivered 2nd September) surely means that Cassius must still have been in Italy to have read it.

168. Fam. 12.3. The section in question (§2) reads: "Cetera cuiusmodi sint, ex hoc iudica, quod legato tuo viaticum eripuerunt". Gelzer (RE 10.999) holds that this shows Cassius was already out of Italy.

is, however, noticeable that we do not possess any more letters from Cicero to Cassius until sometime in February ¹⁶⁹ 43, and even then Cicero had no idea of Cassius' intentions ¹⁷⁰ or whereabouts. If this situation obtained in February 43, it would appear absurd for Cicero to send a letter chasing Cassius overseas in October 44. It therefore seems likely that Cassius left Italy shortly after Cicero wrote "Ad Fam." 12.3 - i.e. early-mid October. This may well have formed the basis for Nicolaus' account that both Brutus and Cassius left Italy when Octavian left Rome in mid-October.

Whatever the exactitude of these deductions, two points clearly emerge: Brutus and Cassius left Italy on separate occasions, and not, as Nicolaus says, together. Secondly, Brutus had left well before Octavian departed for Campania, but it is quite possible that Cassius' and Octavian's movements approximately coincided. Augustan propaganda then interpreted Cassius' withdrawal as a direct result of his fear of Octavian's intentions to avenge Caesar, and also postponed the actual time that Brutus left to heighten the ¹⁷¹ effect; Caesar's murderers were thus allegedly afraid of

169. Fam. 12.4.

170. Cf. § 2: "Sed tu quid ageres, quid acturus, ubi denique esses, nesciebam".

171. Cf. Cicero's equally partisan interpretation of Brutus' departure in Phil. 10.8: "ne qua oreretur belli civilis causa propter se".

Octavian, but not Antony. Octavian was the only true
¹⁷²
 Caesarian.

8. Augustus' comments on Cicero and Pansa.

In §§110-111 we read: "Many joined Octavian and quite a few others joined the supporters of Antony and Dolabella. But there were others who were "neutral" (*ἐν μέσῳ*) The chief of these were Publius, Vibius, Lucius, and most of all Cicero." Of this supposedly "neutral" group only C. Vibius Pansa and M. Tullius Cicero can be confidently identified.

(i) Octavian and Cicero.

Cicero's relations with Octavian present many contrasts - age and youth, fame and obscurity, well-known politics against dubious intention. Cicero probably saw Octavian fairly frequently before he was thrust into the limelight by the events of March 44: Philippus and Cicero were friends¹⁷³ and had neighbouring houses at Cumae. What then were the reasons which induced Augustus in his "Commentarii" to attack Cicero's memory? It is beyond the scope of the present study to give a detailed account of the many factors which were working on Cicero between Caesar's death and his own. But some of the intrigues to which he and Octavian were party are clearly revealed in the former's correspondence.

On his way to Rome from Apollonia in 44 BC Octavian

172. Although Antony seems also to have claimed responsibility for the departure of Brutus and Cassius (Cic. Phil. 2.33).
173. Att. 14.11.2. Note also the dream of Cicero recounted by Plutarch (Cic. 44.2-3), and the subsequent deferential treatment he is said to have given O.

came to Cumae on the 21st of April, and stayed with his step-father next door to Cicero. Balbus and those other Caesarians,¹⁷⁴ Hirtius and Pansa, were also assembled. The meeting was a success from Octavian's point of view, in that he convinced Cicero of his moderation. This is shown by Cicero's violent criticism to Atticus of the ἀκολασία of the Caesarians in general,¹⁷⁵ and his own favourable reactions to Octavian.¹⁷⁶ To judge from Cicero's praise and yet the scanty information he gives in writing to Atticus Octavian won it mainly by his "comitas",¹⁷⁷ not by giving Cicero definite information of what he intended to do in the political sphere in relation either to Antony or to the conspirators. But he may have been disappointed to find that neither his step-father nor Cicero¹⁷⁸ would call him "Caesar".

But as the summer wore on Cicero was uncertain of Octavian's "reliability" and indeed of his own feelings towards him. His real desire was to remain passive, even

174. Att. ibid.

175. Ib. 14.11.1: "Ἀκολασίαν istorum scribis. An censebas aliter? Equidem etiam maiora exspecto. Cum contionem lego "de tanto viro, de clarissimo civi" ferre non queo. Etsi ista iam ad risum".

176. Ib. 14.11.2: "Modo venit Octavius et ... mihi totus deditus"; 14.12.2: "Nobiscum hic perhonorifice et peramice Octavius".

177. O also called Cicero "pater" - cf. Cic. Ad M. Brut. 1.17.5; Plut. Cic. 45.1.

178. Cic. Att. 14.12.2.

though instinctively supporting the "liberatores". He¹⁷⁹
 maintained his interest, however, in Octavian's activities
 in Rome. Although he found the tone of a speech Octavian¹⁸⁰
 made in mid-May disagreeable, and disliked the fact that he
 was already preparing to celebrate the "Ludi Victoriae
 Caesaris" two months hence with the wealthy backing of¹⁸¹
 radical Caesarians, he realised his potentiality as a
 foil to Antony; he must try to exert some influence over the
 youth and at least prevent him allying himself with Antony.

179. Cf. Att. 14.13.2: "Quid nobis faciendum sit ignoro. Neque enim iam licebit, quod Caesaris bello licuit, neque huc neque illuc ... Res odiosa et aliena nostris aetatibus". 14.14.5: "Sed de omnibus meis consiliis, ut scribis, existimo exploratius nos ad K. Iunias statuere posse". 14.15.2 (1st May): "Incipit res melius ire quam putaram. Nec vero discedam, nisi cum tu me id honeste putabis facere posse. Bruto certe meo nullo loco deero". Contrast these with his bogus claims in Phil. 1.1. Cf. also Att. 15.18.2, 20.2; 16.6.2, 7.7; Fam. 12.3.
180. Att. 15.2.3 (18th May): "De Octavi contione idem sentio quod tu", etc. Cf. also 14.20.5 and 21.4 (11th May); Dio 45.6.3 (inaccurate).
181. Att. 15.2.3.

On the other hand, the only thing about Octavian that inspired him with confidence were signs of some softening in his attitude to Brutus. And then silence. He is mentioned no more in the extant correspondence until 2nd November.

We thus have no contemporary reference, or evidence of what Cicero's reactions were, to the rift between Octavian and Antony in July over the "Ludi Victoriae Caesaris", or to the subsequent deterioration of relations between them with little or no break, as reported by Nicolaus and Appian.

On his recruiting campaign in Campania in October and early November Octavian attempted to enlist Cicero's active support. The time was a moment of crisis for both men and for Rome. In a letter he gave Cicero at least an outline

182. Ib. 15.12.2 (9th/10th June 44, Antium): "In Octaviano, ut perspexi, satis ingenii, satis animi, videbaturque erga nostros ἦρως ita fore, ut nos vellemus, animatus. Sed quid aetati credendum sit, quid nomini, quid hereditati, quid κατὰ φύσιν, magni consilii est. Vitricus quidem nihil censebat... Sed tamen alendus est, et, ut nihil aliud, ab Antonio seiungendus."

183. Nor in the first two Philippics.

184. Att. 16.8 (Puteoli). No letters are extant for September or October 44, and only one (ib. 16.7) for August.

185. N §§ 107-134; App. BC 3.28-32, (33-38), 39-40.

of his plans to combat Antony, and requested a secret meeting¹⁸⁶ with him either at Capua or in the neighbourhood. If we are to judge from Cicero's comments, the reply was short and discouraging - disillusioned age dealing with impetuous youth.¹⁸⁷ But Octavian was not to be dissuaded so easily. He reinforced his case by sending his close friend, Caecina of Volaterra, to emphasise the imminent danger from Antony, and his readiness to go against him. "Of course he puts himself forward as our leader and thinks we ought not to fail him",¹⁸⁸ Cicero wrote ruefully to Atticus. His reasoned answer to Octavian was that he should make for Rome. But this left Cicero himself in a perplexing quandary: Should he go to Rome with its dangers,¹⁸⁹ or to Arpinum with its safe disgrace?

Octavian kept up the pressure on Cicero by frequent¹⁹⁰ correspondence, and subtly and politely carried Cicero's

186. Cic. Att. 16.8.1: "Magna molitur... Cogitat reliquas colonias obire. Plane hoc spectat ut se duce bellum geratur cum Antonio. Itaque video paucis diebus nos in armis fore."
187. Ibid: "Puerile hoc quidem, si id putat clam fieri posse. Docui per litteras id nec opus esse nec fieri posse". O's move was probably not as "puerile" as Cicero thought - a well-publicised meeting was all to the advantage of O.
188. 16.8.2.
189. Ibid: "Nunc tuum consilium exquiro... Numquam in maiore ἀπορία fui".
190. Ib. 16.9: "Binæ uno die mihi litterae ab Octaviano". Cf. also n.192.

logic to its conclusion - he should also go to Rome to support him. Cicero's reservations on Octavian's age and disposition persisted. Yet the "boy" was playing the game¹⁹¹ openly and might have a chance of success. Octavian continued his appeals to Cicero's sense of duty, but the latter still wished to be sure that Octavian's success in Campania¹⁹² and Samnium would not desert him when he reached Rome. His¹⁹³ advice to Atticus summed up his own attitude - wait and see.

It was relatively easy in March 43 for Cicero to commend Octavian for his patriotism in raising troops to defend the state against Antony.¹⁹⁴ At the time this was taking place in

191. Ibid: "Velle se rem agere per senatum... Ille autem addit "consilio tuo". Quid multa? Ille urget, ego autem σκήπτωμαι".
192. Att. 16.11.6 (Puteoli, 5th November): "Ab Octaviano cotidie litterae, ut negotium susciperem, Capuam venirem, iterum rem publicam servarem, Romam utique statim. "Αἰδέσθην μὲν ἀνήνασθαι, δέισαν δ' ὑποδέχθαι". Is tamen egit sane strenue et agit. Romam veniet cum manu magna, sed est plane puer.... Pueri municipia mire favent... Mirifica ἀπάντησις et cohortatio. Hoc tu putares? Ob hoc ego citius Romam quam constitueram".
193. Att. 16.13b (11th Nov): "Quod praeterea consulis, quid tibi censeam faciundum, difficile est, cum absim. Verum tamen, si pares aequae inter se, quiescendum, sin latius manabat et quidem ad nos, deinde communiter".
194. Cic. Fam. 12.25a.4 (c.20th March 43, Rome): "Puer enim egregius praesidium sibi primum et nobis, deinde summae reipublicae comparavit; qui nisi fuisset, Antoni reditus a Brundisio pestis patriae fuisset". Cf. also the half-truth boastfulness of Phil. 3.19 (20th December 44): "Quorum consiliorum Caesari me auctorem et hortatorem et esse et fuisse fateor".

November his letters reveal a different tone. Earlier
 195
 flattery from Octavian had achieved nothing concrete. Cicero
 took as dispassionate a view of the rival factions as he
 could. The conclusion was unpleasant - If Octavian gained
 the upper hand, Caesar's "acta" would be further confirmed;
 his defeat would mean that there was no longer any restrain-
 196
 ing force on Antony.

Octavian continued to press Cicero to come to Rome. Yet
 even in early December Cicero was stalling for time and
 197
 results. Things seemed to be moving in Octavian's favour,
 but as Cicero recognised this was not without its dangers.
 What particularly alarmed him was Octavian's posturing: in
 a "contio" he had avowed his aim of seeking "parentis
 198
 honores". Cicero's immediate reaction needs no elaboration.
 But expediency prevailed over instinct. He seems to have

195. Att. 16.11.6 (5th November): O begged Cicero "ut ...
 iterum rem publicam servarem".

196. Ib. 16.14.1.

197. Ib. 16.15.3: "Quamquam enim ↑potest et↑ in praesentia
 belle iste puer retundit Antonium, tamen exitium ex-
 spectare debemus".

198. Ibid: "At quae contio! nam est missa mihi. Iurat,
 ita sibi parentis honores consequi liceat, et simul
 dextram intendit ad statuum".

199

arrived in Rome on 9th December - but it was financial
 200
 embarrassment which induced him to do so. The "concordia"
 of Octavian, D. Brutus and all "boni" against Antony and
 anarchy persuaded him finally to throw in his political
 weight behind Octavian. On 19th December he appealed to
 201
 D. Brutus to take resolute action and support him. Next
 day he delivered Philippic 3, an unequivocal public declar-
 202
 ation of faith in Octavian.

His relations with Octavian until his death a year hence

199. Cic. Fam. 11.5.1. See Holmes, ARE I, pp. 35 and 204. Plutarch (Cic. 44.1) mentions a secret compact arranged by Philippus and Marcellus between O and Cicero: Cicero should support O with his eloquence, and O in return would protect Cicero. Cicero allegedly welcomed this. If Plutarch is correct in his facts, the time must be sometime in mid-December. Its first fruit would be Philippic 3. Cf. also Phil. 11.20: "At enim (nam id audio) C. Caesari adolescentulo imperium extraordinarium mea sententia dedi. Ille enim mihi praesidium dederat; cum dico "mihi", senatui dico populoque Romano".
200. Att. 16.15.3. and 6.
201. Fam. 11.7.2: "Caput autem est hoc... ut ne in libertate et salute populi Romani conservanda auctoritatem senatus exspectes nondum liberi, ne et tuum factum condemnes,... et adolescentem, vel puerum potius, Caesarem, iudices temere fecisse, qui tantam causam publicam privato consilio susceperit".
202. Cf. esp. Phil. 3.3-5, 7-8, 11, 15, 27, 31, 34, 38.

on 7th December 43 are known in large measure from his Philippics and his letters "Ad Familiares" and "Ad M. Brutum". None of the Philippics are as full of praise for Octavian as the third, fourth and fifth, but even in the last, delivered on 21st April 43, there is still acknowledgement of Octavian's magnificent contribution to baulking Antony's schemes. Nevertheless, his correspondence reveals much more clearly his fluctuations and eventually the disappearance of his confidence in Octavian. After the buoyancy of February and March 43, disillusionment set in. By May there was mutual distrust - the Senate's slight of Octavian, Decimus

203. Phil. 14.28. Cf. also Phil. 5.49-51.

204. Phil. 14.28: "An vero quisquam dubitabit appellare Caesarem imperatorem? Aetas eius certe ab hac sententia neminem deterrebit, quandoquidem virtute superavit aetatem. Ac mihi semper eo maiora beneficia C. Caesaris visa sunt, quo minus erant ab aetate illa postulanda". Cicero certainly had great reservations about supporting Octavian for the very reason he is here defending - his youth.

205. Fam. 11.8.2 (end Jan. 43): "Caesar meus"; Ib. 10.28.3 (c. 2nd Feb. 43): "Puer egregius Caesar, de quo spero equidem reliqua". Ib. 12.5.2 (late February): "Ad Forum Corneliū Caesar... cum firmo exercitu"; ib. 12.25a.4 (c. 20th March): "Puer... egregius"; cf. also Ad Brut. 1.3.1 (22nd April 43).

206. Vell. 2.62.5; Dio 46.40.6, 41.2; Cf. also Livy Epit. 119f; Plut. Brut. 27.1, Cic. 45.4; App. BC 3.74, 80, 76, 86; F. Blumenthal, "Wien. Stud. 35 (1913), pp.270ff; H. Botermann, o.c., pp. 131-154.

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Brutus' mistrust of his intentions, and Octavian's belief
208
 that Cicero was playing a double game.

At last the light of realism can be seen in Cicero's
 plea to M. Brutus to bring his army from the East to rescue
209
 the state, and equally clearly in Brutus' refusal. Brutus
 realised the peril of his so doing, and that Octavian was a
210
 greater potential threat than Antony. Cicero too was losing
211
 any hope fast, and Plancus merely emphasised Octavian's un-
212
 reliability to the Republican cause. Solid confirmation that

207. Fam. 11.10.4 (5th May 43): "Sed neque Caesari imperari potest, nec Caesar exercitui suo"; ib. 11.13a.1 (after 19th May): "Caesari non credebam prius quam convenissem et collocutus essem". Cf. also Appian's statement (BC 3.73; April) that O declined to work with D. Brutus because he was one of Caesar's murderers (later propaganda, or an opportune time for O to show his real intentions?).
208. Fam. 11.20.1 (24th May, D. Brutus to Cicero): "Labeo Segulius... narravit mihi apud Caesarem se fuisse multumque sermonem de te habitum esse; ipsum Caesarem nihil sane de te questum, nisi dictum quod diceret, te dixisse laudandum adulescentem, ornandum, tollendum; se non esse commissurum ut tolli possit. Hoc ego Labeonem credo illi rettulisse aut finxisse dictum, non ab adulescente prolatum". Cicero comments on this in his reply (Fam. 11.21.1; 4th June 43): "Di isti Segulio maleficient... tu illum tecum solum aut cum Caesare?... Te tamen, mi Brute, sic amo, ut debeo, quod istud, quidquid esset, nugarum me scire voluisti". Cicero seems to admit to making the remark Brutus quoted. Even if he did not, Fam. 11.20.1 shows that O thought, or pretended that he thought, Cicero had done so. Cf. also ib. 11.14.1 (end of May): "Mirabiliter, mi Brute, laetor, mea consilia measque sententias a te probari de decemviris, de ornando adolescente".
209. Ad. Brut. 1.10.4 (mid-June): "Quamobrem advola, obsecro, atque eam rem publicam... exitu libera".
210. Ib. 1.16 and 17 (early July?).
211. Ib. 1.10.3 and 5 (mid-June); 1.15.6 (mid July); 1.18.3-4 (27th July).
212. Fam. 10.24.4-6 (28th July).

Cicero's fears were well-grounded came when soldiers arrived in Rome and demanded their promised bounty and the consulship for Octavian. On 19th August he was ²¹³"elected" consul after marching on the capital with his eight legions. ²¹⁴The meeting of would-be patron and reluctant protégé can not have been pleasant. According to Appian, Cicero was granted his request for an interview, but was scoffed at by Octavian for being the last of his friends ²¹⁵to greet him. The conclusion of the Triumvirate of Octavian, Antony and Lepidus sounded his death-knell.

The twenty months of dialogue between Octavian and Cicero had seen many changes of fortune. Both were committed to ideas, at time perhaps to ideals. But without doubt each had used the other to achieve personal objectives. ²¹⁶Cicero

213. Suet. Aug. 26.1; App. BC 3.88; Dio 46.41.3, 42.4; 43.1.3-4.

214. Broughton, MRR 2.336; D-G I, pp. 242-245, 462.

215. BC 3.92 (perhaps apocryphal).

216. As Plutarch (Brut. 22; Cic. 45.1, 2, 5) states. Cf. also Appian, BC 3.21; Plut. Cic. 5.2-3, Comp. Dem. cum Cic. 3; Ps-Sallust, Invect. in Cic. 4.7; Seneca Contr. 7.3.9. Syme (RR p.143) is surely correct in believing that in November 44 Cicero intended to use O against Antony and then discard him if not pliable. D.W. Knight (Latomus 27 (1968), p.161) argues unconvincingly to the contrary that "there was no question of discarding Octavian". Yet Cicero's letters show his mistrust of O's youth and intentions; particularly relevant is Att. 16.14.1.

had with good reason distrusted Octavian's age, position and intentions; he had thus been hesitant in his support until mid-December, despite Octavian's strong pleas for assistance. Only when convinced that he had good chances of success against Antony had he declared himself openly for him. Sad disillusionment followed. Octavian on the other hand could with some justification feel that Cicero had withheld his "auctoritas" when he needed it most, and would support him only so long as it suited his objectives - of curbing or destroying Antony, the obstacle he saw to the restoration of the republic. Their mutual needs therefore corresponded exactly for no more than two months - mid-December 44 to February 43. Mutual trust, if ever it existed, was consequently tenuous, and their expectations from the association were diametrically opposed. Octavian aimed at power for himself and for the avenging of Caesar; Cicero sought influence for himself, the rebirth of the Republic, and the safety of Caesar's murderers. Differences of objectives, of age and of temperament rendered their relations precarious from their inception. Nicolaus' naivety of interpretation in regarding Cicero as "uncommitted" is drawn of course from Augustus' Memoirs. This, then, was the "official" view soon after Actium. In later times the emperor could well afford to eulogise Cicero to his grandson: "An eloquent man, my child - eloquent, and a lover of his

²¹⁷
country."

(ii) Octavian and Pansa.

The second of those *ἐν μέσῳ* seems to be C. Vibius Pansa, but it is somewhat surprising to find him put in the same group as Cicero. He had been a Caesarian tribune in 51 and as such had vetoed several Senatorial resolutions aimed at curbing Caesar's power.²¹⁸ Such loyalty had brought rewards in rapid political advancement, including governorships and being designated consul for 43 along with Aulus Hirtius.²¹⁹ On Caesar's death it did not disappear.²²⁰

His contacts with Octavian began at the latest in mid-²²¹ April 44, but the earliest knowledge of his political position after this event is found in Cicero. The latter told Atticus of Pansa's anger at Antony's restoration of Sextus Clodius and of his conciliatory attitude to Deiotarus, king of Galatia.

217. Plut. Cic. 49.3: *Λόγιος ἀνὴρ, ὃ παῖ, λόγιος καὶ φιλόπατρις*. Cf. also 49.4. The cruelty of the proscriptions is put down to Antony and Lepidus rather than O - Vell. 2.66; Plut. Ant. 21; Dio 47.7; Syme, RR, p.191.

218. Broughton, MRR 2.241; Cic. Fam. 8.8.6-8.

219. Governor of Bithynia and Pontus, 47-46 BC (BMRR 2.290, 299), and of Cisalpine Gaul 45-44 (ib. 310, 331). For the rest of his career, much of which is uncertain, see BMRR 2.258, 274, 314, 357, 334f, 455.

220. Cic. Att. 14.19.3.

221. Ib. 14.11.2 (21st April).

It seems to have puzzled Cicero that he could also condemn Dolabella's actions over the pillar erected in the Forum in honour of Caesar at the instigation of Herophilus.²²² Pansa was beginning to show his opposition to the excesses of both Antony and the assassins. The views of his running-partner Hirtius were similar. Both desired peace, but feared the intentions of Antonine and Republican supporters alike.²²³ Although Cicero could not rely on them as "boni",²²⁴ he still wished to consult Pansa before taking a firm decision on

222. Att. 14.19.2 (8th May 44); cf. also 14.13.6, 13a, 13b.

223. Ib. 14.20.4 (11th May): "Quod Hirtium per me meliorem fieri volunt, do equidem operam et ille optime loquitur, sed vivit habitatque cum Balbo... Cum Pansa vixi in Pompeiano. Is plane mihi probabat se bene sentire et cupere pacem". Ib. 15.1.3 (17th May): Cicero states that he discovered "omnem eius sensum" when he left Puteoli on the 16th to meet Pansa at Naples - "Seduxi enim et ad pacem sum cohortatus. Non poterat scilicet negare se velle pacem, sed non minus se nostrorum arma timere quam Antoni, et tamen utrosque non sine causa praesidium habere, se autem utraque arma metuere. Quid quaeris? οὐδὲν ὑγίης ". But Hirtius does not appear to have come in for Augustus' criticism.

224. Ib. 15.12.2 (9th/10th June): "(C. Claudius) Marcellus.. Pansae autem et Hirtio non nimis credebat". Cicero is still puzzled on 27th June what to think of the pair - ib. 15.22: "Pansam bene loqui credo. Semper enim coniunctum esse cum Hirtio scio; amicissimum Bruto et Cassio puto, si expediet, inimicum Antonio, quando aut cur? Quousque ludemur?... Utrobi (sc. Pansa) erit, si bellum erit?" Cf. also 16.1.

whether or not to support Octavian in November ²²⁵44 - thus showing that some dialogue had continued between Octavian and Pansa through the summer and autumn of 44. As the year drew to its close the consuls-designate still seem to have been pursuing a median-course between extremists. ²²⁶

As soon as the new consuls came into office, they opened the senatorial debate of 1st January 43, and stated their views on the political situation, and in particular about what should be done with Antony. Their positions were similar, if not identical, and did not displease Cicero. ²²⁷ When L. Piso and Philippus returned from Antony at the beginning of February, a rift had opened. ²²⁸ Cicero pressed for Antony to be declared "hostis", but Pansa supported the more moderate proposal of Antony's uncle, L. Caesar, that the term should be toned down. ²²⁹ Against other extreme measures

225. Ib. 16.9 (4th November 44): "Nil sine Pansa tuo volo".

226. Fam. 11.5.1 (9th December); 12.22.2 (after 20th Dec). The reaction of Q. Cicero to them both was derogatory and violent - ib. 16.27.1 (late December 44).

227. Cic. Phil. 5.1. "Oratio consulum animum meum erexit...". The fact that Cicero does not specifically refer to or support any of their proposals probably means that they took a more moderate line than Cicero himself. On the debate in general - Holmes, ARE I, pp. 37-40.

228. Holmes, ARE I, pp. 42, n.5 and 205, n.10.

229. Phil. 1.8.1, attacking Pansa. Fam. 10.28.3 (c.2nd February 43) avows, however, "consules egregii".

of Cicero he adopted a similar attitude, and even provided for the ratification of Caesar's "acta" and for the re-enactment of useful Antonian legislation which had been annulled.²³⁰

His consistent policy throughout the year since Caesar's death, as far as can be seen, was one of moderation, of being the honourable man.²³¹ It was in deference to the senatorial decree at the beginning of February 43 that Pansa recruited his army and went to join Octavian and Hirtius. His death from wounds received at Forum Gallorum and the subsequent death of Hirtius were a blow to all those who desired an end to civil strife. Henceforth the struggle was one to the bitter end between extremists. In Augustus' Memoirs, meant for public consumption, the virtue of moderation, which Pansa's career exemplified, in his concessions to Antony and his relationship with the assassins and Cicero was interpreted as the vice of any civil war -
²³²
 "nullius partis esse".

230. Phil. 10.17; 13.31; Holmes, ARE I, pp.45-47: Fam. 12.7.1 (c. 6th March): "Quae mea sententia in senatu facile valuisset, nisi Pansa vehementer obstitisset".
231. Fam. 12.25a.1 (c. 20th March): "Sed Pansa clementior"; ib. 11.9.1 (29th April, D. Brutus to Cicero): "Pansa amisso, quantum detrementi respublica acceperit, non te praeterit." Cf. also Syme, RR, pp. 100, 162, 172, 176.
232. The insinuations that O may have hastened Pansa's end by poison (Tac. Ann. 1.10; Dio 46.39.1; cf. also Cic. Ad Brut. 1.6.2) are probably Antonian propaganda (see M.P.Charlesworth, CAH 10, p.5, n.1) and were perhaps

Conclusion.

This chapter has highlighted some of the defects in Nicolaus' account of Octavian's youth - a lack of clarity and lack of concern for detailed accuracy due perhaps to careless condensation of fuller source material. But the defects should not be allowed to detract from the work's real value. It is the earliest continuous account about Octavian, and probably reflects very closely the tone of Augustus' "Commentarii". It also provides many glimpses of the way Augustan propaganda attacked opponents, concealed what was unfavourable, and dealt expansively with his own achievements. It is the political side of this propaganda which is treated in the last chapter.

started after O's refusal to hand over Pansa's troops after his death to D. Brutus (Cic. Fam. 11.14.2, 20.4. Cf. also D-G 1.227). The death-bed speech which Pansa made to O (App. BC 3.75-76) reads like a later invention.

CHAPTER 10:

THE SELF-JUSTIFICATION OF AUGUSTUS.

The political aspects of Nicolaus' biography have surprisingly received scant attention.¹ Yet, as has been shown, he modelled his narrative about Augustus' early years very closely on the latter's "Commentarii". Nicolaus' work is therefore of prime importance in evaluating the manner in which Augustus himself in the early Twenties was treating his ascendancy to ἀρχή - his relations with, and indebtedness to, Caesar; his attitude to the assassins and to Antony; and, above all, the justification of his own conduct and aims.

Testamentum Caesaris.

The relationship of Octavian and Julius Caesar must inevitably be the starting-point, especially in view of the strong claims Nicolaus makes for Octavian from it. Caesar, we are told, adopted Octavian in his will and made him heir

1. The subject of late Republican propaganda in general has been quite extensively treated. See especially A. Alföldi, "The Main Aspects of Political Propaganda on the Coinage of the Roman Republic"; M.P. Charlesworth, "Some Fragments of the Propaganda of Mark Antony" (CQ 27 (1933), pp.172-177); K. Scott, "The Political Propaganda of 44-30 BC" (Mem. Amer. Acad. in Rome 11 (1933), pp. 7-49); R. Syme, RR, esp. pp. 104, 149-161. Only a small portion of this field is directly covered in the present chapter - from March to early November, 44 BC (5538-57, 107-139).

τῆς τύχης πάσης². This vagueness is later clarified: "For both naturally and legally Caesar's powers belonged to Octavian, as he was next of kin and had been made his son by Caesar himself". His country called him ἐπὶ τὰς πατρίους τιμὰς³, but Octavian "was anxious to seek τὰς πατρίους ἀρχάς⁴ legally and so avoid the reputation of being an ambitious rather than a law-abiding citizen in the eyes of the Senate". In the simplest terms, Nicolaus claims that Octavian had been adopted by Caesar and therefore should also succeed to his τιμαί and ἀρχαί .

These claims raise two fundamental issues: Was adoption by will ("adrogatio per testamentum") in fact possible, and, if so, did Caesar adopt Octavian, as Nicolaus among others alleges? Secondly, what is to be made of the claim that Caesar's powers belonged to Octavian νόμῳ ? On the first of these issues there has been intense controversy.

This first question is the more complicated. In essence, doubt about the validity of "testamentary adoption" arose because it is only referred to in literary, but not juristic

2. § 30.

3. § 53.

4. § 57.

⁵ sources, and still more because Ulpian states that an "adrogator" could not act "absens nec per alium". This led Schmitthenner to argue that Caesar's will did not give Octavian the legal status of a son at all, but only left him money with a "condicio nominis ferendi". Octavian, so the argument runs, then went further and attempted to transform this into a regular adoption by getting a "lex curiata" passed, the normal procedure for an "adrogatio". He thus attempted to show that he had been made Caesar's son in his will.

⁸ Schmitthenner's argument, which has found supporters, has two further points. Since Caesar made provision in his

5. Cf. W.W. Buckland, "A Text Book of R. Law from Augustus to Justinian"³, p. 127; F. Schulz, "Classical Roman Law", pp. 145 and 158; R.W. Leage, "Roman Private Law", pp. 130(a), 138e(3). Also A. Lefas, "L'Adoption testamentaire à Rome", in "Nouv. Rev. Hist. de Droit Français et Étranger", vol. 21 (1897), esp. pp. 744, 747-751.
6. Dig. 1.7.25.
7. W. Schmitthenner, "Oktavian und das Testament Caesars", pp. 39ff, 91-93.
8. R.S. Rogers, Class. Phil. 50 (1955), p.71; R.F. Rossi, "Marco Antonio nella lotta politica della tarda repubblica romana", p.70. Cf. also R. Leonhard, RE 1.420; W. Kunkel, "Gymnasium" 68 (1961), p.356 ("recht fragwürdige"); R. Grosse, "Kleine Pauly" 1.745; M. Kaser, "Roman Private Law", p.262, sect. 2(d):("In Rome only a moral duty to take the testator's name could be imposed on the heir instituted in a will."); E.J. Weinrib, Harv. Stud. Class. Phil. 72 (1968), pp. 252-261.

will for guardians of any son that might be born, that boy must have been the principal "heres" or part-heir, and Octavian the latter at best, but probably only a "heres substitutus". Secondly, the fact that the reference to Octavian's "adoption" was "in ima cera", according to Suetonius, shows the slight importance that Caesar attached to the taking of the name (as Schmitthenner would argue) by Octavian, and even this can only have been effective if a "postumus" were not born.

The argument is in some respects attractive, but there are several cogent objections to it. On the strictly legal questions, Crook¹⁰ has argued convincingly that knowledge of Roman private law at a particular time must be uncertain and cannot be used as conclusive evidence that "adrogatio testamentaria" did not exist. He is surely correct also in urging that Caesar would have been anxious to protect the interests of any real son that might be born, but that his arrangements for this eventuality are quite consistent with Octavian being principal "heres". It might be added that once Caesar had a son, or even when he knew his wife was pregnant, he could easily have drawn up a new will; this

9. Schmitthenner, "Testament", pp. 21-25, 32f.

10. Class Rev. 68, N.S.4 (1954). p.152f.

would be the time to put in the provision of Octavian as "heres substitutus". It has also been pointed out quite rightly that one cannot judge the importance of a clause¹¹ in a will from its position.

But there are more than legalistic arguments to consider. The will itself must have been one of the best-known documents of the time, and yet no writer disputes Octavian's claim to have been actually adopted. Such an assertion, admittedly, might be at the least tactless in Augustus' reign, but not even Tacitus throws this charge at him in the anti-Augustan comments on the Princeps' death in *Annals* 1.10. Nor does Suetonius, with his love of scandal and rumour. From the fairly detailed synopsis he¹² gives of the will it seems reasonable to suppose that he had seen it; it cannot have been difficult for a man in his position to do so, and must have had great interest for any biographer or historian. Yet even he believed that Octavian had been adopted, and seems to have known of nothing to refute or invalidate it.

Positive confirmation of the adoption comes from a

11. G.E.F. Chilver, *JRS* 44 (1954), p.127; J. Béranger, *Rev. Ét. Lat.* 31 (1954), p.475.
12. *Caes.* 83. Cf. also J. Crook, *Class. Rev.* 68 (1954), p.153.

letter written by Plancus to Cicero on July 28th, 43.¹³ He attempts to defend his conduct in Gaul, and in doing so puts his support of Octavian down to the fact that he was Caesar's son. Therefore, he argues, he was bound by honour to follow the course he did: "Scis tu, mi Cicero, quod ad Caesaris [sc. Oct.] amorem attinet, societatem mihi esse tecum, vel quod in familiaritate Caesaris, vivo illo, iam tueri eum et diligere fuit mihi necesse,..... vel quod ex tam insigni amicitia mea atque Caesaris hunc, fili loco et illius et vestro iudicio substitutum, non proinde habere, turpe mihi videtur." Schmitthenner objects that in the context of the letter this passage has the function of putting Plancus in a more favourable light than Octavian in Cicero's eyes. This is irrelevant. On the central issue Plancus is explicit. Octavian is Caesar's son, and Cicero knows it.

There is also Caesar's personal position to consider. When he made his will in September, 45, he was a man of power, wealth and influence - but he had no son to inherit the wealth and "clientela", or to carry on the family name and "sacra". There can be no doubt that he wished some members of his family to benefit materially by his will, but he must also have been concerned to preserve the family religious

rites. Only adrogation could ensure their continuance.¹⁴
 The procedure for the adopted son was that which Octavian followed - a "lex curiata" was passed after due investigation by the "pontifices". The same "lex" won also the "clientela" of the "adrogator", a vital consideration for Octavian, perhaps less so to Caesar.¹⁵ Certainly, it would be very strange if Caesar went as far as leaving Octavian three-quarters of his estate, preferring him above two older relations, and then merely inserting a "condicio nominis ferendi" - thus leaving himself without a "son" and with no-one to continue his "sacra". In adrogating Octavian he had all to gain, and nothing to lose.

To adopt Octavian in his will was the only method open to him.¹⁶ He did after all hope for a son of his own, and it was in his own, his potential son's and Octavian's interest that he wait as long as possible before deciding on his heir. If a son were born, he could carry on the family name and Octavian presumably would not then have been adopted.

14. Cf. H.F. Jolowicz, "Historical Introduction to Roman Law", pp. 86, 119-120; Cic., *De Domo sua*, 34-41, and esp. the notes of R.G. Nisbet thereto (pp. 97-99 of his edition, Oxford, 1939); Gellius 5.19.6 and 9. Note also the argument from the traditional adoption policy of noble Roman families: M-H Prévost, "Les Adoptions politiques à Rome", (*"Publ. de l'Institut de Droit Romain de l'Université de Paris"*, vol. 5 (1949), p.72).
15. J. Carcopino (Rev. Ét. Anc. 56 (1954), p.223) uses his belief in Caesar's dynastic intentions to counter Schmitthenner and emphasise the aspect of the "clientela" gained by "adrogatio". Similarly, M.-H. Prévost, o.c., pp.32-34: Caesar had "adoption" dynastique in mind when

Premature adoption presented difficulties; silence about his plans avoided disappointment to Octavian, possibly envy. Equally important, and perhaps more so, testamentary adoption prevented disaffection among Caesarians. Antony¹⁷ and Marcus Brutus at least had hopes of being adopted, and

adopting O.

16. Chilver, o.c., p.126, strangely considers Caesar's concealment of his intentions from O and others as surprising.
17. Suetonius quotes Q. Tubero that Caesar made Pompey his heir from his first consulship (59 BC) until 49 ("Caes." 83). Although N says that his heir from 46 BC at least was Octavian (see below) two pieces of more impartial evidence show that Caesar had not stated his mind on the point. When Brutus was denounced to Caesar, the latter is reported to have said (Plut. Brut. 8): "What, do you not think that Brutus can wait till this poor body of mine goes the way of all flesh?", thus suggesting that Brutus might be his successor. Antony too apparently had hopes of being the chosen one (Cic. Phil. 2.71: "testamento, ut dicebas ipse, filius"; cf. also ibid. 3.12). Caesar did not apparently openly state who his heir was, in order to prevent disaffection among his "friends".
On the question of when Caesar decided to adopt O, there is some confusion in N, §17., Jacoby (IIA, p.394.3) retains the codex's *πεποιημένος* (i.e. "Caesar had already [by August, 46 BC] made O his son") and comments (IIC, p.268.23-24) that N's mistake in giving the wrong time of adoption (13 September, 45 BC, according to Suet. Caes. 83.2) was committed through his naive acceptance of his source. Hall (p.80.13.3) considers this mistake "at least careless". But if N had meant to say this, he would surely have given greater prominence to such an important event in O's career. Secondly, in §§29-30 N states that Caesar adopted O only in his will *ἢ ἐλπίδι τοσαύτης τύχης ἐπαρθείς... ἐκλάθειτο ἀρετῆς καὶ ἐκδιδαιθεῖν*, although claiming he had decided to do this *πρότερον*; in any case *ἐγνώ... ἀποδείξει* is not the same as *πεποιημένος*. Müller resolves the difficulty by adding the words *ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ γνώρῃ* after *πεποιημένος*. This, though agreeing in tone with the *συνέκρυψε τὴν γνώμην* of §30, seems too long

the Caesarian "clientela" was a rich prize for any aspiring politician. For Caesar to keep his counsel left the desired degree of uncertainty to hold his party together. It was his only course of action.

Caesar must also have seen greatness in the youth. We need not believe all of the idealistic romancing of Nicolaus or other apologists, but there can be no doubt that he was far from ordinary. His subsequent political career showed his shrewdness and tenacity; yet he was only an ambitious eighteen years old at the outset. That Caesar recognised his grand-nephew's potentialities can be deduced from the prominence he was accorded in the will, and from his being preferred to all Caesarians, especially Antony. Adoption

an emendation. *πολιόρρενος*, "by this time intending to make" is preferable, and would give the reason why Caesar would give O the two honours following.

18. The three "heredes primo gradu" were O, Q. Pedius, and L. Pinarius. According to Suetonius (Caes. 83.2), they were grandnephews of Caesar, being the grandchildren of Caesar's elder sister Julia. Münzer has however made a good case for believing that Pedius was the son of Julia, and that the same could perhaps be true of Pinarius (RE 19.38f; Hermes 71 (1936), pp.227-229). Of Pinarius little is known. He may be the supporter of Antony, L. Pinarius Scarpus (Münzer, Hermes 71, p.229), who was governor of Cyrene in 31 BC (Dio 51.5.6; B.M. Cat. of Coins R. Rep., vol. 2, pp. 583-586) and surrendered his four legions to O in 30 (Dio 51.9.1). Pedius had, however, been a legate of Caesar's in Gaul, and had celebrated a triumph in 45 after his proconsulship in Hispania Citerior (Münzer, RE 19.38-40). Yet O was preferred to both of these, his seniors, and more experienced men.

would seem a natural development.

Cicero's comments at the time Octavian arrived in Brundisium about the beginning of April, 44 also make interesting reading. Writing to Atticus, he expresses his curiosity about the arrival: "Sed velim scire, qui adventus Octavi, num qui concursus ad eum, num quae *viewτεπισπόω* suspicio. Non puto equidem, sed tamen quicquid est scire cupio." It seems unlikely that the leaving of a legacy to Octavian with a simple "condicio" could have excited Cicero so much. More probably, such a strong interest was evoked either because Caesar had so unexpectedly left a large financial legacy to Octavian, or because Octavian had in fact been adopted, and Cicero was anxious to know about popular reaction. Talk about a "concursus" and especially a *viewτεπισπόω* points to the latter.

Suetonius' mention of Octavian's adoption "in ima cera", as well as actually stating that the adoption was a fact, surely supports this by its position in the will. If the provision "in ima cera" was written into the will at the same time as the main part in September 45, it would be absurd to leave Octavian three-quarters of the estate in the

19. Att. 14.5. (11th April, from Astura).

early part, and leave the stipulation that he had only to take Caesar's name till last; the two provisions, even on Schmitthenner's interpretation, would be indissolubly linked and must have been written into the same part of the will. To argue that the "condicio" was imposed at some time after September is equally unconvincing. Since Caesar left a comparatively insignificant youth so much money, he must have worked his ideas out clearly by September, and is likely to have written the "condicio" in then. Two interpretations are much more probable: Either Caesar wrote the "ima cera" section at the same time as the rest of the will, and meant the adoption to have a climactic effect by its position. Or, even more likely, it was added at some time before March 44. Caesar was shortly to set off on his Parthian campaign and could be killed. In the same way as he made political arrangements by "fixing" the consuls for 43 and 42 before he left, with a lengthy campaign in mind, so he made personal plans. Since Calpurnia was not pregnant by March and he could have no hopes of a son fulfilled until he returned from the East, it was a natural move to adrogate Octavian before he set out.

As early as his arrival in Brundisium at the beginning of April Octavian signified his willingness to accept the adoption. His own supporters were already calling him "Caesar". To complete the proceedings however a "lex curiata" was needed,

the "curiae" for this purpose usually being represented only²⁰ by lictors. Antony blocked the proceedings by various means.²¹ One intention of this, according to Dio, was to prevent Octavian touching Caesar's estate on the grounds that he was not legally at the time Caesar's son.²² Yet, by law, unless special provision were made by Caesar, his assumption of the estate should have been a matter distinct from the adoption. The other reason mentioned by Dio, to make Octavian *πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα*²³ *ἰσθιενέστερος*, is clearly understandable in the circumstances, in that it would lessen the thing Octavian badly needed - "auctoritas". It must therefore be concluded either that Dio is wrong in making the inheritance and adoption interdependent, or that Caesar had in fact made this stipulation. In either case, in Dio's account Antony tacitly admits Octavian's claim to the adoption.

The formalities were completed, according to Appian and

20. Under early Republican Law a decree of the "comitia curiata" was necessary to confirm an "adrogatio", but later they were generally represented by the lictors: Kaser, p.261; Schulz, pp.144-146; L.R. Taylor, "R. Voting Assemblies", p.4. For publicity O may have wished to have the formality of an actual rather than a representative "comitia" (so also Fitzler-Seeck, RE 10.281).
21. Dio 45.5.3-4.
22. 45.5.4.
23. Ibid.

Dio, before the "Comitia Curiata" in August 43²⁴ BC. The timing of this seems curious. As noted earlier, the "lex" was essential to enable Octavian, who was "sui iuris", to leave his own family and enter officially into the "gens Julia", to gain the support of its "clientela", and to continue the new family's "sacra". Yet it was not passed and the adoption was not ratified until some seventeen months after Caesar's death. If this date is correct, it seems surprising that Octavian had not achieved its passing before. Did he find opposition among influential Caesarians, and diplomatically put off his claims to their political support? Did he not press for it in late 44 and early 43 because it might have alienated the Republican support he was amassing against Antony? He may have been wary after the fiasco of his march on Rome in November. He may even have intended at that time to strengthen his support as widely as possible in order to have a strong bargaining position with Antony later. Certainly, the ratification of the adoption in August 43

24. App. BC 3.94; Dio 46.47; W.W. How, o.c., p.543f. Appian states that Ο ἑαυτὸν εἰσεποιεῖτο τῷ πατρὶ αὐθις κατὰ νόμον κούριάτιον. But the αὐθις appears not to mean a second public confirmation of the adoption so much as a first vote of the people (cf. ibid. end) - Appian seems to misunderstand the legal formalities. The two stages in the process of having the adoption ratified would thus be (i) O accepts the adoption (BC 3.14), and (ii) the transfer of O, who was "sui iuris", into the family of Caesar received public sanction by a "lex curiata" (BC 3.94).

still points to his right to it. Otherwise, it seems unlikely that Antony would have agreed, since it diminished his political prospects, or that Octavian would have pressed an illegality and so brought about an immediate split among Caesarians. Antony presumably concurred because he had no legal grounds to prevent it. Even in 44, before the passing²⁵ of the "lex curiata", Octavian had wide Caesarian support. The conclusion seems inescapable, then, that Octavian was²⁶ Caesar's adopted son.

This leads directly to the second issue - the constitutional consequences of the adoption. The benefits Octavian received were of two kinds. As Julius' "heres" he succeeded to all those private rights, duties and property of Caesar's which survived his death.²⁷ In terms of constitutional power and state offices, however, his "de iure" acquisition was nil. At this time νόμος public political power had no connection with private adoption; the "respublica"

25. Cf. Syme, RR, p.130f.

26. Schmitthenner's thesis is rejected by J. Carcopino (o.c., p.223f); H. Volkmann, Gnomon 26 (1954), p.43f; H. Nesselhauf, Hermes 83 (1955), p.484, n.1; J. Crook, o.c., p.152f; L. Wickert, RE 22.2189; M. Gelzer, "Caesar", p.306, n.6.

27. I.e. "succedere in locum defuncti"; cf. Gaius 2.14, 97; F. Schulz, o.c., p.213, sect. 371; W.W. Buckland, o.c., p.316; Leonhard, RE 1.420.

could not be willed to anyone. But, secondly, of increasing importance as time passed was Octavian's "adrogatio" into Caesar's family. Such an act was by no means uncommon in the late Republic, and could have wider implications than the mere assumption of the testator's "nomina".²⁸ In the case of a statesman like Caesar, an adopted son inherited the political support of the family, the "clientes" and the various political alliances.²⁹

Nicolaus, however, makes strong political claims for Octavian because of his adoption by Caesar. In §53 he states in a long "apologia" of Octavian's attitudes after Caesar's death that φύσει καὶ νόμῳ τὰς ἀρχὰς αὐτῷ προσήκειν. Similarly, in §113 after the digression on Caesar Nicolaus writes: μόνος δὲ Καῖσαρ [sc. 'Οκτ.], ᾧ τὸ σύμπαν κράτος καταλείπτο νομίμως κατὰ τ' ἐξουσίαν τοῦ πρότερον κεκτημένου καὶ συγγένειαν,..... κτλ. Thus, in addition to his references

28. Prévost comments that "Octave ... est aussi devenu son successeur politique", and points out that adoptions of this kind were an instrument "de politique dynastique" ("L'Adoption d'Octave" in "Rev. Int. des Droits de l'Antiquité", vol. 5 (1950), p.372). Only in an unofficial sense could this be true. Cf. also Prévost in "Publ. de l'Institut de Droit Romain de Paris" 5 (1949), p.61ff.
29. E.g. The son of Aemilius Paulus inherited the whole influence of the Cornelii Scipiones when he was adopted. A. Momigliano (OCD, p.202): "In the late Republic and early Empire clientship was essentially a social hereditary status". Cf. also Cic. "De Domo" 34 and the notes of R.G. Nisbet (ed. Oxford, 1939) ad loc., pp.97-98; A. von Premerstein, "Clientes" (RE 4.23ff); M. Gelzer, "The Nobility of the Roman Republic", pp.94ff; Cic. Att. 2.1.5, 14.12.1; "Fam." 9.9.2, 12.5.2; R. Syme, "RR", pp.24, esp. n.2 (L. Domitius Ahenobarbus), 26 (M. Porcius Cato), 289, 322, 473 (Octavian).

to Octavian as Caesar's *παῖδα* and *διάδοχον*³⁰, he clearly states the view that Caesar's *ἀρχή* and *κράτος* belonged to Octavian by right of inheritance. But since adoption was strictly a private affair, these claims for Octavian are inconsistent with Roman law. For Octavian to have claimed himself that he was heir to political power would thus be unconstitutional in itself and the reverse of his later strictly constitutional approach as revealed by the "Res Gestae", where honours are pressed on him by a grateful Senate and people.³¹

Because of the illegality of Nicolaus' claims it has been argued that they cannot have come from Augustus' "Commentarii" and must originate from Nicolaus himself.³² That Nicolaus has intentionally distorted his source is made less likely by the frequency and consistency of the claims - they are an integral part of his account. He must also have been anxious to present an account which conformed to the spirit and letter of Augustus' own "apologia", as far as this was

30. §§115 (τὸν παῖδα καὶ διάδοχον ἀποδειχθέντα); 117 (the veterans declare they are O's κληρονομία); 118 (τὸν ἐκείνου διάδοχον); 120 (the soldiers of Caesar ἐποιοῦντο παῖδα τε εἶναι καὶ διάδοχον ἀποδεδείχθαι ἐν ταῖς διαθήκαις; Caesar himself realised that ὁ μόνον ἐχέγγυον αὐτοῦ τῇν τε σύρπασαν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὸ τοῦ οἴκου ἀξίωμα διασώζειν); 131 (O thinks he has a juster claim than others τῆς πατρῴας τιμῆς); 136 (The veterans at Calatia promise to put O ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ τιμῇ).

31. Cf. RG 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 21, 25, 34, 35.

32. W. Steidle, "Sueton und die antike Biographie", p. 135, n.4.

intelligible to him.

There is strong evidence that Nicolaus has not gratuitously invented these political claims for Octavian.

Velleius, in a part of his history which covers the same period as Nicolaus' narrative, has similar sentiments:

"Sprevit [sc. Oct.] itaque caelestis animus humana consilia et cum periculo potius summa quam tuto humilia proposuit sequi...."³³ Here the "summa" can only refer to political life.

But of most importance is a letter written by Cicero to Atticus in November, 44 BC, commenting on a speech recently made by Octavian: "At quae contio! nam est missa mihi.

Iurat ita sibi parentis honores consequi liceat, et simul dextram intendit ad statuum."³⁴ Cicero's "paternos honores" echoes the *πατρῴους τιμὰς* of Nicolaus.

It would be unreasonable to interpret these words of Cicero simply as a declaration by Octavian that he wished to

33. 2.60.2.

34. Att. 16.15.3. Cf. also Dio 44.5.3 (later propaganda?), 45.12.5; Appian BC 3.41. Charlesworth's suggestion (CAH 10, p.7, n.4) that "the obvious protasis to the "ita" clause is some such phrase as e.g. "ut eius mortem ulciscar" is perhaps unlikely, since O's policy at this period was to mass support against Antony, and to this end he seems to have been prepared to compromise with the "liberatores" - see p. 338. Shackleton-Bailey ("Cicero's letters to Atticus", vol. 6, p.2) translates as - O swears "by his hope of rising to his father's honours".

be treated with respect as the son of Caesar and to go through a normal "cursus honorum". From Cicero's exclamatory "quae contio" and Octavian's melodramatic gesture towards Caesar's statue it is clear that the claim was stronger. Octavian was using the fact of his adoption by Caesar to rally support around himself. There can thus be no doubt that by November 44 at the latest he had resorted to a semi-dynastic position in appealing to the dynastic sentiments of the veterans and people.³⁵

The important question to consider is how explicit Octavian was in spelling out his aims. The vagueness of Cicero's "paternos honores" suggests that he may well have phrased his speech carefully enough to avoid going beyond the bounds of legality. Ambiguity was also essential if Octavian was not to lose all support among those important groups who were attached to republican constitutionalism. Nevertheless, Octavian's gesture was direct enough to exploit the name of Caesar to gain the sympathy of Caesarians. It is reasonable

35. This "semi-dynastic" appeal comes through in Dio also: 45.6.3 (O uses reference to Caesar's bequest to the people to support his (illegal) candidature for the tribunate); 45.6.4 (O bore the expense of the "Ludi Victoriae Caesaris" because they concerned him *διὰ τὸ γένος*); 45.12.4 (In a speech to the people in November 44 *ὁ πολλὰ μὲν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνέμνησεν*).

to conclude, then, that in some of his speeches, aimed at those sections of Roman society which had little concern for constitutional or legal niceties, Octavian could have expressed sentiments similar to those we find in Nicolaus.³⁶

One may justifiably doubt, however, whether Augustus would have actually written down these claims and views in the mid-Twenties in his period of legal respectability. Nicolaus could have intentionally distorted his source material, it is true, by simplifying Octavian's claims in order to make them more easily intelligible to an Eastern audience which was accustomed to monarchy, or he could have exaggerated them to give greater pleasure (as he thought) to the Princeps. It is more likely, however, that Nicolaus' ill-defined claims for Octavian to Caesar's *τυπαί*, like the "summa" of Velleius, are due to the propagandist-writing techniques of his source - vague claims, half-truths, and skilfully-contrived overstatements that in the transition to Greek sometimes took on constitutionally inaccurate but

36. O may well have made such appeals to the mass of the soldiers, particularly Caesar's veterans. Such a personal attachment by troops to a name can be seen in the German army in 14 AD, when the soldiers distrusted the Senate but had confidence in Germanicus, (Tac. Ann. 1.39).

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linguistically warranted inferences. Nicolaus was misled by the subtleties of Augustus' language.

In short, there is every reason to believe that Caesar did adopt Octavian in his will. The implications of this act and the use Octavian made of it were far-reaching. The two factors vital for success in Roman politics came to Octavian from it - the pecuniary advantage which could buy men and position, and those less tangible, but important and necessary benefits of an influential "clientela" and an incipient "auctoritas". There is no need to posit that Caesar himself had dynastic intentions. But ambition and propaganda could well put that interpretation on it, pointing out that Caesar had perceived in Octavian moral and practical "virtutes" of the highest degree. It was in Octavian's interest to extract the maximum publicity from the will and adoption, and from Caesar's real or alleged motives in doing this. It is against this background that the political content of Nicolaus' biography must be viewed.

37. G. Misener (Cl. Phil. 20 (1925), p.178) calls N's Greek "rambling and often obscure"; indeed it sometimes is, but probably because this was also a quality of his source.
38. "Republican" propaganda emphasised Caesar's monarchic intentions (Cf. N §60ff; Syme, BSR Papers 14 (1938), p.1f), and it was useful for O in his early days in politics to stress his close links with Caesar. This combination seems to have convinced many ancient and modern commentators of such alleged aspirations being fact.

Dignitas, Pietas, Modestia.

As has been seen in the first section, Octavian framed his claims to political power in 44 in careful terms. These were ultimately based on Caesar's "dignitas", a concept which embraced not only the actual political position of its holder, but also the prestige and respect such a position engendered.³⁹ "Principes" of the late Republic had made inflated claims on its behalf, not least of these Julius Caesar himself. Such "dignitas" could also be inherited. It was because of his⁴⁰ "dignitas" as Caesar's son that Octavian could claim, by emotion if not by law, that he was entitled to *τιμῆς* and veteran support.

Octavian's inheritance from Caesar, a name and money, was vital in rallying Caesarian support to his side. Antony⁴¹ tauntingly stated so. Throughout the biography Nicolaus stresses Octavian's connection with Caesar. In the early part, while Caesar was alive, their relationship is viewed on a personal level. Caesar is depicted as taking a close interest

39. D.C. Earl, "The Political Thought of Sallust", p.53; J. Hellegouarc'h, "Le vocabulaire latin", pp. 408-411.

40. Caes. BC 1.9.2, 7.7; 3.91.2; Cic. Att. 7.11.1 ("Atque haec ait omnia facere se dignitatis causa. Ubi est autem dignitas nisi ubi honestas?"); Earl, o.c., p.54; Hellegouarc'h, pp. 388 and 409.

41. Cic. Phil. 13.24-25: "Et te, o puer, qui omnia nomini debes."

in the young Octavian and being impressed by his abilities and character. But Nicolaus also shows how Caesar gave him experience of both civil and military affairs.⁴² This "public" training is interpreted as a conscious intention on Caesar's part that Octavian should play an important political role after his death.

After Caesar's murder Octavian's former closeness to Caesar becomes his main claim for support. §120 is typical: "The soldiers were contending that he was Caesar's son and had been designated as his successor in his will... It was Octavian's ability to get things done as much as his family relationship that Caesar took into account before adopting him as his son - he realised Octavian alone had the capability to keep the whole Empire together and preserve the family's dignity (τὸ τοῦ οἴκου ἀξίωμα). His rallying-call to the veterans of Campania was that he would preserve τὸ τοῦ οἴκου⁴³ κράτος. Caesar had had confidence in his "virtutes" and had adopted him as his son. He therefore felt justified in requesting assistance from those who had benefited from Caesar in money, land or position.

This reasoning was particularly impressed upon those groups whose support Antony was also seeking. For example,

42. §§ 17-21, 24-25, 27, 30.

43. § 131.

at Calatia Octavian's final appeal to the reluctant senate contained the argument that since Caesar had given them the colony and honoured them "it was only right that he and not Antony should have the benefit of their assistance and the use of their power and weapons"⁴⁴. More important, the agents he dispatched to Brundisium to infiltrate and work on Antony's Macedonian troops in late 44 were told to take the line that "they should remember his father Caesar and refuse to betray his son in any way."⁴⁵ Octavian was thus claiming the right to have the exclusive help of Caesarian support.

This theme is introduced in a variety of ways, most bluntly by a common soldier who shouted from outside a house where Octavian was staying in Rome: "All of us are your inheritance (⁴⁶κληρονομία)." Octavian's use of dynastic sentiment can be seen in Nicolaus' emotive reference to the soldiery as ⁴⁷πατρικὸὶ στρατιῶται. The thesis is given in full

44. §136. This would perhaps suggest that Antony had won over the support of the "senatus" of Calatia during his tour of Campania in April/May 44. On the political manipulation of provincial "senatus" see the brief comments of Syme, RR p.286. O may have visited Calatia before Casilium because Antony had enlarged the Caesarian colony in the latter (D.R. Shackleton-Bailey, "Cicero's letters to Atticus", vol. 6, p.297f; H. Botermann, "Die Soldaten und die römische Politik", p.36, n.2). Cf. also Cic. Phil. 5.3.
45. §139.
46. §117.
47. Cf. §§108, 115(117), 119, (131), (134); also Vell.2.61.2: "veteranos excivit paternos".

in the setting of Apollonia in March 44: "Some of his friends continued to advise him to go to the colonies founded by his father ... and arouse them to march on Italy for him, and especially for Caesar's great name. The soldiers would very gladly follow and do everything under the leadership of Caesar's son. For they had a kind of wonderful faith and affection for him and remembered what they had achieved together when he was alive, as well as desiring to fight under that name for the power which they had earlier bestowed on him."⁴⁸

This Caesarian support was to be used for a Caesarian purpose - "ultio". Little was to be gained in 44 by Octavian's appealing to the constitutional sensibilities of the veterans and to abstract notions of a "free" republic. Civil War had destroyed any legal compunction they may have felt. In any case, such a constitutional and gradual accretion of "honores" was contrary to the purpose and youthful ambition of Octavian. On the other hand, in mid-44 he could not use the support Caesar's adoption had given him to take an open stand against the leading Caesarian Antony. The veterans realised that the unity of all Caesarians would be essential for them to retain the material rewards bestowed on them by

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Caesar. Octavian had to pursue a course aimed at winning Caesarians without, if possible, provoking Republican die-hards. But there can be no doubt that he knew well where his real strength lay - among the veterans whose devotion to Caesar, if not altogether altruistic, could by nurturing be rapidly turned into loyal support for his adopted son. "Ultio" provided the strong link between the interests of Octavian and the veterans.

There is good evidence that this motive of vengeance was emphasised in his dealings with the veterans during 44 and 43 BC. Dio tells us that Octavian used it to win the support of the Campanian veterans in early November, ⁵⁰44. Cicero's correspondence during the months after Caesar's death, though often cryptic in its brevity, suggests the same. As early as May 18th Cicero disapproved of the tone of Octavian's speech to the people. ⁵¹What he said openly to all sections of opinion in Rome could be put more directly and pointedly to an audience of veterans. In early June Octavian's Caesarian "nomen" and "hereditas" made Cicero ⁵²doubtful whether he could trust him. The young man's direct appeal in Rome in December 44 to the sympathy of all Caesar-

49. N, § 115ff; H. Botermann, o.c., pp. 3-5, 21, 66.

50. 45.12.2.

51. Att. 15.2.3.

52. Att. 15.12.2.

⁵³ians can hardly leave any doubt that Dio's version of the arguments used to the Campanian veterans but a month before is substantially correct.

Velleius, in a narrative which smacks of Augustan propaganda, also mentions this motive of "ultio". Describing the reasons which impelled Octavian to join forces with Antony in mid-43, he puts the argument into Antony's mouth that "plus Caesarem patris quam se amici ultioni debere"⁵⁴. The Lex Pedia, which gave a cloak of respectability and legality to the attack on Caesar's assassins, was enacted in the same cause.⁵⁵ Tacitus' synopsis of the "multus ... de Augusto sermo" on the Princeps' death also includes the same argument, "pietate erga parentem"⁵⁶. At Perugia in 40 "Divus Julius" was inscribed on some of Octavian's bullets.⁵⁷

Nicolaus mentions the same justification, but does not accord it great prominence. In §46, for example, Octavian turned down the soldiers' request to "march with him and win over others to avenge the death of Caesar. Although praising them he said he had no need of their services at present..."⁵⁸. In §41 he is made to answer the similar

53. Att. 16.15.3.

54. 2.65.1.

55. Vell. 2.69.5; Livy, Epit. 120; Florus 2.17.2 (On the veterans' attitude: "nec illis ad ultionem deerat animus, sed ducem nondum habebant".).

56. Ann. 1.9; cf. also "Res Gestae" 2.

57. CIL XI. 6721-26.

58. Cf. also App. BC 3.12.

recommendation to use Macedonian troops ἐπὶ ἄρουναν τῶν σφάγγων with the argument that "these suggestions appeared a little difficult to achieve to a man who was very young, and to be beyond the capabilities of his present youth and inexperience...".

The theme of "ultio" is directly introduced only at two other points, and in both is used as part of the propagandist "thinking aloud" that Octavian indulges in in order to justify future action. In the first of these two instances, at Brundisium, Octavian reacts to the dampening advice of Philippus with the belief that "to avenge him [sc. Caesar] and seek retribution for the sort of things he suffered is the most righteous thing of all"⁵⁹. It is not however used as the foremost reason for Octavian's activity but follows his argument that he would appear "soft" (οὐκ ... ἄρεστός) if he did not resist attempts to deprive him of Caesar's ὄνομα and ἀρχή.

The second example likewise links the avenging with another theme - this time the attack on Antony: "Now only Octavian was left to avenge his father since Antony had completely changed sides and conveniently forgotten about the conspirators."⁶⁰ Even in §135, where Nicolaus describes the panic-stricken withdrawal of Brutus and Cassius from Italy because they thought that Octavian's journey from Rome

59. §53. N calls such action δίκαιότατον, not εὐσεβέστατον.

60. §110. Cf. also §50.

in October 44 was directed against them, the attack on
 Antony is the main theme. Thus, although it is stated
 in Nicolaus' narrative that Octavian intended to avenge
 Caesar, and implied that "pietas" in any case required it,
 the motive is not given the prominence which Octavian
 obviously had given it in the months after Caesar's death.
 The evidence of the preceding chapter has shown how closely
 Nicolaus followed the tone of his source. The same con-
 clusion was drawn from the way he treated his source
 material in the "Histories". There is no reason to doubt
 that this toning down of "ultio" is to be traced to a
 similar treatment in Augustus' "Commentarii", and not
 merely to its omission or distortion by Nicolaus.

Besides "ultio Caesaris" another motive influences

61. See also p. 482ff.

62. Cf. also §§ 49, 115, 118.

63. This view is reinforced by another part of the biography. At the end of section B, which was not based on Augustus' "Commentarii", the insistence on vengeance by Lepidus and Balbus is presented in more forceful terms than sections A and C present the case for Octavian: §103 shows that Antony used "pietas" to Caesar the rallying-call he sent out to the veterans, and §104 that this policy of "ultio" had wide support. Lepidus, acc. to §106, and Balbus emphatically supported the idea. Cf. also H. Botermann, pp. 38-39.

Octavian throughout the biography narrative. The Princeps seems to have been concerned to emphasise his own restrained conduct throughout 44 BC. This is partly done by depicting himself as a good Roman in the Roman traditional mould. His education and morality conformed to this pattern.⁶⁴ The same applied too to his political career, where an emphasis on his concern for legality and "modestia" can be observed.

This first appears at Apollonia, where friends advise him to use the Macedonian army under M. Acilius for personal safety and vengeance on Caesar's assassins. A little later soldiers of all ranks came to him, pleading to be allowed to go with him to Italy.⁶⁵ When at Brundisium, friends again pointed out the advantages to be gained by enlisting the aid of the Campanian veterans.⁶⁶ With due "modestia" he gently put aside recourse to such means - at least for the time being. The Macedonian army was told οὐθὲν δεῖν... ἐν τῷ παρόντι· ὅταν μέντοι καλῇ ἐπὶ τὴν τιμωρίαν, ἡξίου εἰσέλθους εἶναι.⁶⁷ In Calabria the answer was similar: ἀλλὰ τῶνδε μὲν οὐδέπω ὁ καιρὸς ἐφαίνετο εἶναι.⁶⁸ Two more episodes follow before he

64. See pp. 401ff.

65. §41. Cod: αἰρίλιος (see Jacoby, FGrH IIA, p.398, app. crit).

66. §46. On the size and deployment of the "Macedonian" legions, see Schmitthenner, "Armies", pp.14-17; they were "certainly on full war-footing" (p.16).

67. §56.

68. §57.

feels that the time has arrived. In both the fault for the heightening of tension is laid squarely on Antony.

Octavian is thus the barrier to military pressure and precipitate action. To rush to a military solution was the mark of a "temerarius dux". Careful, mature deliber-⁶⁹ation was needed first. Thus Octavian declared his wish to win the regard of the Senate, and avoid gaining the reputation of being φιλοτιμουμένου μάλλον περ ἢ νορίμου. In this spirit he set out from Brundisium for Rome. But his policy was still to gain τὰς πατρίους ἀρχάς, albeit⁷⁰ νορίμως. A professed concern for legality is one of the⁷¹ hallmarks of Augustan propaganda. Yet if his quest was rebuffed, if Caesar's memory were defiled, or his own personal safety threatened, Octavian could not hold himself responsible for the consequences.

This "modestia" is also shown by the care he took to

69. Cf. also §§43, 55f, 118, 122, 139 (but cf. Cic. "Phil." 13.33).

70. §57.

71. O was opposed to a military solution (§§56, 57); others had no concern for legality (§§111, 113). In N this concern is applied both to Caesar and O: §18 (Caesar's αὐτοκρατορικαὶ τιμαὶ were the μέγισται κατὰ τὸν Ῥωμαίων νόμον), §53 (To avenge Caesar was δίκαιότατον). "Iustitia" was one of the 4 "virtutes" on Augustus' "clipeus" (Ehrenberg and Jones, "Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius", p.59, nos. 22 and 24).

obtain advice on all occasions from his friends. As soon as news of Caesar's death came to Apollonia, he discussed the situation with them, but eventually decided to postpone making firm decisions until he could communicate with τοῖς καὶ γήρα καὶ φρονήσει διαφέρουσι τῶν φίλων.⁷² Similar language is used when he had decided to leave Brundisium for Rome and seek a "legal" solution, as was recommended by τῶν φίλων τοῖς πρεσβυτάτοις τε καὶ ἐμπειρίᾳ πρὸς⁷³ He had earlier sounded out wide opinion before taking Caesar's name in Brundisium.⁷⁴ At the two other crises in 44 - the plot-allegation by Antony, and before setting out for the Campanian veterans in October - the full views of his friends were sought.⁷⁵ On no score could he be criticised for "temeritas". His "prudencia" and "gravitas" could rival the best models of Roman antiquity.

Octavian thus makes it clear that he was convinced of his duty to avenge Caesar and left no-one in doubt of this.

72. §§ 40, 43.

73. § 57.

74. § 55.

75. §§ 126, 132.

Even in 2 BC he built in the "Forum Augusti" the temple of Mars Ultor, the symbolic centre of his system, and issued coins with a similar legend. Vengeance was not wrong in Roman eyes.⁷⁶ On the other hand, he also presents himself as too responsible and moderate to unleash civil war and war among the Caesarian faction in the process of exacting vengeance. His record of the events of 44 therefore understates the urgency of the call for vengeance he actually made at the time. He shows he has "pietas". He also has "gravitas" and "modestia", a sense of responsibility.

There could also be additional reasons for a diminution of the stress on "ultio". From Caesar's death to Actium he had needed to use all means of persuasion and political manoeuvre to gain the ascendancy. By the time he published his Memoirs he was "primus sine paribus". Such a work was no medium for outlining the cruder aspects of that rise to power. What was needed was a speciously-reasoned account of

76. Cf. Aeneas' revenge for Pallas which embraced not only Turnus and others slain in battle but also human sacrifice (Aen. 11.81f). O is also alleged to have sacrificed some 300 prisoners of equestrian and senatorial rank on an altar of Julius at Perusia: Suet. Aug. 15 ("Scribunt quidam trecentos ex dediticiis electos utriusque ordinis ad aram Divo Iulio exstructam Idibus Martiis hostiarum more mactatos"); Sen. De Clem. 1.11.1 ("Perusinas aras"); Dio 48.14.3-4 (λόγος ἔχει that 300 knights and many senators were killed οὐδ' ἀπλῶς, but ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν τῷ Καίσαρι.... ἐτύθησαν). The story may have developed from the prisoners being killed near the altar. Whatever its origin, it shows that O's stress on "ultio" made the action credible. See also A. Lintott, "Violence in Republican Rome", pp. 48-51.

open statesmanship and of actions taken in the interests of all. The "Commentarii" were also read, like most other ancient literature, by a comparatively small number of Roman citizens - the aristocracy who had the money to purchase and the inclination and leisure to read. It is at this class that Augustus' autobiography must have been primarily directed. The average veteran, even if he could obtain a copy and read, would not have been attracted by thirteen books of history and reminiscence. Both aristocrat and Princeps had mutual interests - the latter needed a willing and well-tried executive, and the former at least the illusion of his former political importance. It was therefore in Augustus' interest to try to win their support by stressing the moderation of his actions. To simply emphasise vengeance was too aggressive.

In any case, the climactic point of "ultio" was Philippi. Here republican hopes had crumbled and Caesar's ghost had triumphed. Antony had had a large share in this victory. Henceforward the struggle was between two Caesarians, with both attempting to draw on the same power base. It was this struggle which had to be made the central theme of the "Commentarii", not only because it was longer than the "ultio" of Philippi but also because it was still fresh in Roman minds. The Memoirs were published within six years of Actium and much may well have been written long before 25 BC. It was therefore advantageous for Augustus to

brand the main threat to stable government since 44 as Antony, and play down his own offensive activities and policies. Far from being motivated only by "pietas" to his adoptive father, he put himself forward as the champion and representative of all.⁷⁷

Augustus' treatment in the Twenties of the avenging of Caesar, then, shows a retreat from the crude appeal of 44 and the years immediately following. There is much evidence that as the years passed he found it politic to separate his own image from that of Caesar.⁷⁸ The earliest and clearest example of this is found in Virgil. In the well-known passage referring to Caesar and Pompey in "Aeneid" 6.826ff both are characterised as "duces belli". Their future existence is represented as a curse rather than a blessing to their country. The bold military vocabulary and melodramatic sombreness reinforce the theme. The only direct reference to Caesar enjoins him to have compassion and to renounce his weapons first.⁷⁹ The passage is in part un-

77. N 5553, 55. Cf. also my pp.550-563; Syme, RR, p.122.

78. See Syme, RR, pp.316-318; W.M. Green, CJ 27 (1932), pp.405-411; C.G. Starr, CJ 52 (1956), p.108; also n.88.

79. Aen. 6.834f: "Tu... sanguis meus."

finished.⁸⁰ This led Butler to feel that since we have no glorification of Caesar's military (or, it might be added, civil) achievements Virgil might have intended their addition.⁸¹ He rightly appreciated Virgil's dilemma in⁸² treating the figure of Caesar. But what the poet did include was presumably what he felt most relevant - a⁸³ turning point from war to peace.

This attitude to Julius Caesar and the age of civil war could be solely Virgil's own. Much more likely it is the view which Augustus himself successfully fostered - the time of feuding generals was over; his own "principatus" ushered in a "saeculum pacis".⁸⁴ This feeling of a renascent⁸⁵ Golden Age strongly pervades Augustan poetry. Since we

- 80. Line 835 is incomplete, and the transition to L. Mummius Achaicus in l.836 is abrupt.
- 81. H.E. Butler, "The Sixth Book of the Aeneid", p.254.
- 82. Ibid: "Perhaps the most difficult and exacting of all the themes chosen by the poet."
- 83. Cf. also the praise in Virg. Aen. 8.670 and Horace Odes 1.12.35-36; 2.1.24 of Cato (probably M. Porcius Uticensis); Syme, RR, p.317.
- 84. Virgil had treated Caesar favourably in Georgics 1.466.
- 85. Cf. esp. Virg. Aen. 6.792-794, [Ecl. 4]; S.Commager, "The Odes of Horace", pp.223-226.

know that the Marcellus episode only some twenty-five lines later was recited before Augustus and Octavia, the Caesar-⁸⁶ passage was probably read at the same time, being part of that great pageant of Roman heroes which culminated in Augustus.

Further, the subject of Caesar was not one with which thoughtless licence could be taken. Augustus' close interest in the composition and progress of the "Aeneid", and on a personal level in Virgil himself, all point to some climate of opinion, doubtless subtly expressed, emanating from the "Princeps" himself or from his circle. The picture Virgil gives us of Caesar in book 6 may well be his own, but to express it required at least tacit approval, especially if read before Augustus. His treatment is in sympathy with⁸⁷ that of other Augustan writers.

The same gradual distancing from Caesar can be seen on coins. By 40 BC Octavian was using the legend DIVI IVLI F,⁸⁸ a useful combination of the political and the divine. This

86. Suet. Vit. Verg., p.92 (ed. Rostagni); Butler, p.269.

87. As Norden points out ("Aeneis", Buch VI, p.330), the fact that line 835 is incomplete is no clue to when the Caesar-Pompey section was composed. T. Frank (AJP 59 (1938), p.92) thinks that book six of the "Aeneid" was probably written in 23 BC.

88. See especially Syme, RR, pp. 53f, 317f, and "Tacitus", p.433. Walsh ("Livy", p.12f) objects to Syme's "forced" interpretation of Virgil and Horace, and is probably correct in hinting that they were influenced in more subtle fashion. On Augustus' influence over Virgil and other writers see R. Pichon, "Rev. Et. Anc. 19 (1917), pp. 193-198; T. Frank, AJP 59 (1938), p.92; L.R. Shero, CJ 37 (1941), p.92.

89. E.A. Sydenham, "The Coinage of the Roman Republic",

same year saw Caesar's head being used along with the title C. CAESAR DICT. PERP. PONT. MAX.⁹⁰ In 38 three interesting types were minted: Caesar's head with IMP. DIVI IVLI. F. TER. IIIIVIR. R.P.C;⁹¹ another with IMP. CAES. DIVI IVLI F;⁹² and, particularly notable, an issue with the heads of Caesar and Octavian facing each other and the legends DIVOS IVLIVS and DIVI F.⁹³ A somewhat similar coin of 37 has the head of Octavian on the obverse and that of Caesar on the reverse with the legends CAESAR DIVI F. and DIVOS IVLIVS.⁹⁴ After 37/36 Caesar's portrait is rarely used again.⁹⁵

Both before and after Actium CAESAR DIVI F. coins, or

p.184, nos. 1126-11 (40 BC); p.186, no. 1142 (c.39 BC).

90. Ibid., p.206, no. 1321.

91. Ibid., p.207, no. 1329.

92. Ibid., no. 1331.

93. Ibid., no. 1330.

94. Ibid., p.208, no. 1335.

95. Caesar's head is used on some coins of c.36 (Sydenham, p.214, nos. 1368 and 1369; cf. also p.208, no. 1337). A coin with Caesar's head and DIVO IVLIO on the obverse and AEGIPTO CAPTA on the reverse is of uncertain date (cf. A.S. Robertson, "Roman Coins in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, University of Glasgow", vol. 1, p.58, nos.299 and 300). There are, however, coins of 17 BC which have the laureate head of Caesar on the reverse, and some of these have Augustus' head on the obverse (H. Mattingly, "Coins of the R. Empire in the British Museum", vol. 1, p.civ and p.13, nos. 71-73; Mattingly and Sydenham, "Roman Imperial Coinage", vol. 1, p.73, no. 142). There are also other issues about this time with an eight-rayed comet and the legend DIVVS IVLIVS

others with very similar legends, are minted. These issues possibly lasted until c.27 BC when they seem generally to have been replaced by coins bearing variants on AVGVSTVS ⁹⁶ DIVI F. Thus the name of IVLIVS almost totally disappears, though it is resurrected in some Spanish issues which are usually dated c.25-16 ⁹⁷ BC. Even the name CAESAR is used much less. The changed political circumstances of the late Twenties and after thus show Augustus putting much less stress on his connection with Julius. He was now a father-figure in his own right. It was also perhaps natural that the self-styled restorer of the republic should detach himself eventually from a figure who was indifferent to it.

Augustus' "Commentarii" - to judge from the portions utilised by Nicolaus - did not show many indications of the process. But his biography does show its influence. Section B, the digression on the murder of Caesar, shows far more

(Robertson, xl-xli). Since a comet appeared in 17 BC (see Gardthausen, vol. 1, p.1010), it could explain the issue of "Caesar" coins. Tacitus, among others, tells us (Ann. 14.22) that a comet was generally held to portend "mutationem regis"; Augustus may therefore have issued such coinage to counter superstition and prove the reverse - here was Caesar's spirit come to support the new regime. Cf. his use of a comet in mid-44 BC (Virg. Ecl. 9.46ff; Holmes ARE I, p.18f).

96. Cf. A.S. Robertson, o.c., pp. xxvii-xxix, xlvi, li-lii, 48-50.

97. Ibid., pp. xl-xli.

understanding of Caesar's republican opponents than any other section of the work. Nicolaus must have been quite certain that the tone of section B would not arouse the Princeps' displeasure: a near-professional diplomat would be sensitive to the climate of opinion. In his writings we can observe the influence of the policy that gathered strength after the defeat of Antony, as a result of which Augustus distanced himself from Caesar and stressed continuity between his system and the republican past.

"Exercitum privato consilio comparavi".

The propaganda by which Augustus sought to justify his raising of a private army in late 44 also reveals a similar toning down of actions inconsistent with his moderate image. The fact that the "Res Gestae" opens with an "apologia" of this act shows the importance which he attached to it. The last forty-two paragraphs of Nicolaus' narrative are directed to the same end. But between the "Commentarii" and the "Res Gestae" falls a gap of some 37 years. During this period

98. Cf. §§ 59, 61, 93, 100. Note especially the favourable treatment of M. Brutus.

there seems to have been a change in the manner the justification of his troop-raising operations was presented.

In Nicolaus the "causa" is Antony alone. His narrative about the time from Octavian's arrival in Rome about the beginning of May 44 until his departure for Campania in October is one long story of grievance and threats of violence that Octavian daily faced from Antony. Against Antony's evil policies and devious character are contrasted the innocence and moderation of the young Caesar. Nicolaus emphasises that his journey to summon aid was a last resort and forced on him by Antony's hostility. The truth about the formative-process and object of Octavian's ambition is thus lost beneath a welter of propaganda.

The attack, at first launched in a low key, gradually builds up to the climax of his departure from Rome. Throughout the summer of 44 he was provoked but did not retaliate. This state of affairs lasted until Antony's *περιοψία* aroused the anger of the veterans (*πρώτῃ δ' ἐν τῇ πόλει κίνησις γίνεται ἐκ τῶν πατρικῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν*⁹⁹). Following a long justification of their attitude comes an interview with Antony in which they attack his activities. "To avoid appearing opposed to their initiative, since he happened to need them," continues

Nicolaus, "Antony said he was prepared to meet Octavian for discussions, as long as he [sc. Octavian] was μέτριος and showed ¹⁰⁰τήν.... προσήκουσαν αὐτῷ τιμήν." Octavian was allegedly unaware of what was afoot, and became alarmed (ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ) when told that many soldiers had come looking for him. Their message was however one of reassurance, expressed by soldierly abuse of Antony. Octavian is thus a willing agent of reconciliation.¹⁰¹

But if Antony was so hostile, why compromise with him? The circumstances surrounding the Capitol meeting of Octavian and Antony are unclear.¹⁰² The explanation offered by Octavian was simple. He would try all means, even sinking all personal distaste, to prevent open friction. Any suggestion of political tacking is avoided. Accordingly, Nicolaus records how the veterans urged him that his chances of success were greater if he united with Antony, or rather if Antony¹⁰³ "assisted" him. The same propaganda about Octavian's for-

100. §116. The speciousness of the demands would be apparent to the reader, since N had laid stress on O's moderation and "pietas" in his general activities and particularly in his relations with Antony - §§108, 110, 113-114, 122.

101. See also W. Schmitthenner, "The Armies of the Triumviral Period", p.153ff.

102. §§115-119; pp.83-84. On the soldiers' motives see H. Botermann, o.c., pp.3-5, 21, 28-33, 43f, 66, 74-80.

103. §118.

bearance is recorded in Livy.¹⁰⁴ "Concordia" (¹⁰⁵ᾠμοφροσύνη) offered the best chance of survival. Octavian was therefore prepared to overlook Antony's attacks on him, as the veterans suggested, and forget ¹⁰⁶πᾶσαν ὀργήν. These concessions were part of Augustan propaganda and reappear in Tacitus.¹⁰⁷ Nicolaus does not, however, give any details of these discussions or any agreement reached, but in diplomatic language hails them as "frank", at least on Octavian's part.¹⁰⁸

Further military support for Octavian after the meeting embittered Antony still more. He therefore spread the story¹⁰⁹ that the youth had made a plot on his life. Octavian became afraid that Antony might bribe the army and attack him,

104. Livy Epit. 117: "cum... Caesarem quoque petentem, ut sibi adversus percussores avunculi adesset magnis iniuriis fecisset." Cf. also the similar propaganda used in 43 BC to explain O's uniting with Antony and Lepidus in the Second Triumvirate (Vell. 2.65.1-2) and how the blame for the proscriptions was laid squarely on Antony and Lepidus (Vell. 2.66.1-2).

105. §115.

106. §117.

107. "Ann." 1.9: "Multa Antonio, dum interfectores patris ulcisceretur, multa Lepido concessisse."

108. §122: ἀδόλως.

109. §§123ff, esp. §123, p.416.35f.

though without reason. "So he was full of justifiable anger at Antony as well as thinking of his own safety. Antony's intention was obvious, and after the fullest consideration he saw he must not accept the situation without protest, since this policy was not without its dangers. He must try to find some means to match Antony's power and influence. So with these thoughts in mind he decided his best course was to flee to his father's colonies." After winning over Calatia to his side, "he praised their eager support and asked them to go with him and guarantee his personal safety as far as the neighbouring colony". The same line of argument was used to persuade the veterans of Casilium to go with him to Rome "and stoutly resist any violence that might come from Antony". "Iacta alea est."

The apologia is argued with a simple, prejudiced logic which permits of one conclusion, that Octavian took the only decision possible. In Apollonia, according to Nicolaus, he had been very reluctant to consider any use of force, but had recognised that circumstances might arise when he would be compelled to do so. The "causa" was Antony, embezzler, turncoat, and ultimately enemy. During the summer of 44 Octavian had been unwilling to take any more steps to protect himself than were necessary, but popular and military pressure, the advice of friends, and Antony's increasing hostility made

it imperative that now his very life was threatened he should seek some power which could match Antony's.¹¹⁰ The reason for Octavian's appeal to the Campanian veterans, according to Nicolaus / Augustus' "Commentarii", was thus to ensure his personal survival.

All other accounts of Octavian's Campanian journey are briefer than Nicolaus, and thus of limited use in checking his truthfulness. Velleius is propaganda pure and simple: "Torpebat oppressa dominatione Antonii civitas. Indignatio et dolor omnibus, vis ad resistendum nulli aderat, cum C. Caesar ... mira ausus ac summa consecutus privato consilio¹¹¹ maiorem senatu pro re publica animum habuit". Echoes of the "Res Gestae" are undeniably there, but there is also the idea of Octavian as the champion of his country. Though brief, he makes no mention of personal animosities, and therein differs completely from Nicolaus. Livy's epitome is even shorter: "Caesar et sibi et rei p. vires adversus eum

110. §131: *ζητητέον τινὰ ἐπικουρίαν ἀντίπαλον τῇ ἐκείνου δυνάμει τε καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ*. On Antony's policies in 44, particularly his attempts at conciliation between the "Republicans" and Caesarians, see R.F. Rossi, o.c., pp.77-90. In contrast to the detailed recital of wrongs suffered and reluctant reactions to them the march on Rome, the crucial turning-point of O's seeking for *ἀρχή*, is rapidly passed over in five short words (§138, p.420.17f). See Cic. Att. 16.8 for details of O's doubts at this time.

111. 2.61.1.

paraturus deductos in colonia(s) veteranos excitavit".¹¹²

This synopsis is closer to Nicolaus by the primacy it gives to Octavian's personal position ("sibi").

Appian and Cicero throw more light on the misleading aspects of Augustus' account. Appian's narrative is in broad agreement with Nicolaus. As soon as Antony left Rome for Brundisium in early October, "Octavian was frightened that Antony would return with his army and catch him unprotected. So he went to Campania with money to persuade the cities settled by his father to enlist under him."¹¹³ The theme of a letter Cicero received from Octavian while actually in Campania also emphasises that Antony was the object of the mission.¹¹⁴

Once the veterans reached Rome, however, disillusionment set in. "They thought," says Appian, "that they had come to support the alliance of Antony and Octavian or simply as a guard for Octavian and to take revenge on Caesar's murderers". They refused to fight Antony, and some wanted to return home.¹¹⁵ Octavian cannot therefore have told the veterans in Campania, contrary to what Appian suggests earlier and Nicolaus states as a fact, that he intended to¹¹⁶

112. Epit. 117.

113. BC 3.40.

114. Att. 16.8.

115. BC 3.42.

116. App. BC 3.40; N, §138.

lead them against Antony. He must have obtained their support by false pretences, presumably telling them they were to protect him against Caesar's murderers.¹¹⁷ To Cicero, however, unlike the veterans, he had stressed that his aim in raising the army was to combat Antony.

Such devious methods would not appear in his "Commentarii". Here, if Nicolaus is a reliable guide, Augustus put great emphasis on his personal danger from Antony in 44. Since Augustus' account was published soon after Actium, a concentration on the menace of Antony would be understandable. Augustus may have suggested that he was but Antony's first victim, that he saw the threat sooner than any other, and that he was finally able to destroy the scourge at Actium, and so at last "liberate" his country.

In the "Res Gestae" the emphasis is decidedly different from that of Nicolaus. According to his later account, Augustus found the state "dominatione factionis oppressam",¹¹⁸ a fashionable phrase. The army he raised was to be used for "restoring liberty" - "rem publicam ... in libertatem¹¹⁹ vindicavi". This freedom is not mentioned by Nicolaus. Even

117. According to Dio (45.12.5), O told the soldiers that they were accompanying him to Rome *πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν τῆς πόλεως*.

118. D.C. Earl, pp.106-108.

119. RG 1.

the fullest attack on those bent on using military power as "populi oppressores" does not follow the propagandist line that Octavian felt impelled to avenge Caesar and "free" the state.

In view of Augustus' later attitude, the omission of "libertas" in Nicolaus is surprising. Appeals to it are a common-place of propaganda. Augustus made use of it before the appearance of the "Res Gestae", and even before the completion of the "Commentarii". After all, the settlement of 27 BC presents his achievement as the restoration of the Republic. It could therefore be argued that its absence in the biography is due to Nicolaus' contraction of Augustus' memoirs. This is unlikely. The last quarter of his extant

120. Cf. Caesar BC 1.22, (Bell. Afr. 22); Cic. Phil. 5.3, Rep. 2.46, De Imp. 29, Brut. 212; Vell. 2.29.1; Nic. F 130, §49; Syme, RR, pp.154-156; C. Wirszubski, "Libertas as a Political Idea at Rome", pp. 87ff, 101ff; H. Volkmann, "Res Gestae D. Aug.", p.10f. H. Muerget ("Lexicon... des Cicero", vol. 3, pp.48-51) cites 91 examples of "libertas" used in the "Philippics" alone. On its use by Caesar's assassins, see E.A. Sydenham, "The Coinage of the Roman Republic", p.203, nos. 1297 and 1301; p.204f, nos. 1302-1307, 1311-1314. For its earlier use on coins, see Sydenham, p.61, no. 502; p.63, no. 513; p.129, nos. 786-788; p.130, no. 789; p.150, no. 906 (coin of M. Junius Brutus, c.60 BC); p.153, no. 918 (of Q. Cassius, c.57 BC); p.159, no. 949 (of C. Vibius Pansa, c.48 BC); p.161, no. 960 (of Palikanus, c.47 BC); p.175, no. 1052 (of M. Porcius Cato, 47/46 BC).

121. "LIBERTATIS P.R. VINDEX" (28 BC); H. Mattingly, "Coins of the Roman Emp. in the British Museum", vol. 1, p.112, no.691; Mattingly and Sydenham, "Roman Imperial Coinage", pp.60 and 66; Wirszubski, pp.100, 105f.

122. RG 34.

text is devoted to justifying Octavian's conduct, and if "libertas" occurred frequently there is no good reason why it should not have appeared in Nicolaus' work. Its inclusion would have been another justification for Octavian, and one that was altruistic. Even though Nicolaus condensed Augustus' version, the overwhelming mass of material in the latter must have concentrated its justification on "salus sua", and to a lesser extent on "Caesaris ultio". Only later, by the time of the "Res Gestae", did Augustus suppress all reference to personal danger, and date the restoration of "libertas" to ¹²³44 BC.

"Consensus Universorum".

In civil *αραχή* the aspiring leader is not concerned solely with legalities or elected power, as Augustus realised. But to maintain a facade of constitutionalism is desirable for anyone bent on changing the existing state of affairs. If elected "potestas" cannot be gained, some other more emotive means must be used - "populi voluntas". Octavian claimed such a demonstration of popular fervour for him as the basis

of his campaign against Antony which culminated in Actium.¹²⁴
 Such personal oaths of allegiance were not new.¹²⁵ At the
 beginning of 44 the Senate as a body swore to protect Caesar.¹²⁶
 At the end of November of the same year many troops, senators¹²⁷
 and private individuals took an oath of allegiance to Antony.
 Nicolaus claims that there was a similar upsurge of popular
 support for Octavian.

The time of this must be somewhere about the beginning

124. RG 25: "Iuravit in mea ver(ba) tota Italia sponte sua et me be(lli) quo vici ad Actium ducem depoposcit."
 On O's use of popular support and the significance of "consensus universorum" see Syme, RR, pp.322, 370, 468f, 478f. O's use of a vague phrase such as "consensus" and lack of reference to a constitutional position makes it less likely that he had a strictly legal basis for "potitus rerum omnium". F.E. Adcock (CQ, N.S. 1 (1951), p.134) thinks that the "consensus" is "likely enough" to refer to an S.C. and a vote of the people, and the "universi" to be a convenient synonym for S.P.Q.R. The latter point is made less likely by Augustus' usual mention of them in full; the vagueness is surely intentional. H.U. Instinsky (Hermes 75 (1940), p.265ff) is perhaps nearer the truth when he argues that the "consensus" was not a "plebiscitum", but a phrase meant to refer to the various manifestations of respect and adulation which O received. See also M.O.B. Caspari, CQ 5 (1911), p.231; G.E.F. Chilver, "Historia" 1 (1950), p.412ff.
125. Syme, RR, pp.284f, 286, 288.
126. Suet. "Caes." 84.2, 86.1; App. BC 2.145; N § 80.
127. Syme (RR p.52, n.2) quotes the view of Premierstein that the oath was "general" and not confined only to senators.

of April ¹²⁸44. Octavian received letters from Atia and Philippus, the latter advising him to relinquish all connection with Caesar. But many things constrained him in the opposite direction, ἄλλως τε καὶ τῆς πατρίδος συρπροθυμουμένης καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ¹²⁹πατρώους τιμὰς καλούσης αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ δικαιοτάτου. The support, according to Nicolaus, was not merely προθυμία for the Caesarian cause, but contained a personal appeal, almost a mandate, to Octavian to champion it. This mandate is put forward as the main factor which induced Octavian to take an active part in political life.

The accuracy of this claim must, however, be viewed with great scepticism. Octavian's arrival in Lupiae had been secret, because he had anticipated opposition in Brundisium. Only when reports told him the opposite did he venture there. ¹³⁰ Nor can he have stayed there more than a few days. ¹³¹ But more information about the factual basis of this claim is provided by Appian, who must also have based his account about this episode on Augustus' "Commentarii". His narrative is more

128. App. BC 3.46, 58; Dio 45.13.5.

129. N §53.

130. §47. Cf. also §51; App. BC 3.10-11.

131. See pp. 463ff.

detailed than that of Nicolaus, and tells how soldiers and
 civilians rallied around Octavian.¹³² From these two accounts
 it is clear that support was forthcoming for the youth
 because he was Caesar's adopted son. Cicero too had wondered
 about Octavian's reception in a letter to Atticus, and had
 thought slightly of his appeal.¹³³ But as Cicero under-
 estimated, Octavian exaggerated this support.

Thus, although there need be no doubt that some signs
 of popular favour, probably mainly from the soldiers, were
 in evidence at Brundisium, Octavian was in no position to
 claim from the few days he spent in the town that his *πατρις*
 was united in an enthusiastic call for his services. The
 overestimation was framed in careful terms, and gave only a
 misleading but not completely baseless picture of the
 political situation in mid-44 BC. This theme of mass support
 is continued in the "Res Gestae" - a servant of the people
 fulfilling the will of the people.¹³⁴ But whereas in the "Res
 Gestae" popular support figures alongside constitutionalism
 and "libertas", it is used by Nicolaus as a basis for Octavian's
 actions on its own. This surely reflects a stage in Augustan

132. BC 3.11; cf. also *ibid.* 12, init.

133. Att. 14.5.3.

134. RG 5, 6, 10, 25, 34, 35. Cf. also Tac. Ann. 1.2:
 "Caesar ... consulem se ferens et ad tuendam plebem tri-
 bunicio iure contentum."

propaganda when "consensus universorum" was a central justification.

This popular support is only one aspect of the wide appeal Nicolaus states Octavian enjoyed in 44, but it is given great prominence. The introductory section lays stress on it in such terms as "reverence" (*γεραίρουσιν*), "voluntary allegiance" (*ἑθελουσίους...προσαγόμενος*), and "acknowledgement of his goodness" (*τὴν....εὐεργεσίαν ἀρειβόμενοι*), the last underlining the repeated suggestion that popular acclaim was well merited. It was a feature throughout his life. In his boyhood it had attended his oratory and general education.¹³⁵ His election as "pontifex", the philanthropy he showed through his connection with Caesar, and his intellectual¹³⁶ perspicacity won him the approval of all classes.

After Caesar's death this popular support is commented on with increasing frequency, and Octavian's concern to be assured of it duly noted. It is also used as a political and emotional device. The first news of Caesar's death brought by Atia's messenger is followed by a description of¹³⁷ the reaction of the civilians and soldiers at Apollonia.

135. §§4-6.

136. §§9, 13 (*σεμνότης*); 16, 27 (*φιλανθρωπία*); 33 (*φρόνησις*).

137. §§38-41.

Vague rumour eventually brings the sympathetic crowds to Octavian's door clamouring to know the *κακόν μέγα* which had befallen him, and only with difficulty were they persuaded by their leaders to disperse. Octavian therefore had to consider what his own reaction should be to Caesar's death and to the demonstration he had just witnessed. The climax of the night is reached after the suggestion of military force to avenge Caesar. His decision to avoid such a method was partly prompted by the fact that he was ¹³⁸ unsure of popular reaction on a wider scale.

His eventual departure from Apollonia, described in detail, is similarly constructed. "The people of Apollonia gathered to a man, and because of the affection they felt for him kept asking him to remain among them. They told him he could have the city for any purpose he wished.... But he wanted to watch the situation by being personally on the scene and did not change his mind.... With tears the whole population came along to see him being snatched away from ¹³⁹ them." Other crucial stages in his progress to *ἀρχή* seem

138. § 42: *ἄλλως τε καὶ ἀδύλου ἔτι οὐσης τῆς τῶν πολλῶν διανοίας.*

139. § 45.

inevitably to involve the factor of popular approval. One such occasion, as noted, was at Brundisium. In Rome in July his attempt to display Caesar's chair and crown, though thwarted by Antony, was received with approbation, according to Nicolaus: "As he entered the theatre the people cheered loudly in approval, and his father's soldiers ... clapped time and time again throughout the whole show to demonstrate their support."¹⁴⁰ When finally he organised his military challenge to Antony in Campania there was widespread willingness to undertake his cause. The "senate" of Calatia may have initially been reluctant, but the *δῆμος* displayed a¹⁴¹ consistent enthusiasm. This popular support is emphasised as one not elicited by coercion, but as a spontaneous reaction of the "totus populus".

The more devious means by which Octavian raised this support are, not unnaturally, passed over or favourably interpreted in Nicolaus' biography. Popular support is uniformly explained as a reaction to Octavian's "virtutes". There is much evidence that this is only part of the picture. To build military support strongly around him, he had made use of his "pietas" to Caesar. It was a powerful weapon emotionally and politically. Caesar himself had used it as a justification in the early days of the Civil War.¹⁴² Others

140. §108. Cf. also §109f.

141. §§136-137, p.419.26f, 30 - p.420.1, 7-8, 11.

142. Cic. Att. 9.14.1 (25th March, 49). Cf. E.A. Sydenham,

used it in similar fashion. ¹⁴³ Poets praised it and Octavian's
¹⁴⁴ pursuit of it. Antony too was using it on his coins. ¹⁴⁵ But
 there can be little doubt that Octavian was prepared to use
 it largely as a pretext to rally wider support in 44 - witness
¹⁴⁶ his agreement to Casca's tribunate. The "Lex Pedia" event-
 ually gave a cloak of legality to the proscriptions carried
¹⁴⁷ out in the same cause. In Nicolaus' account "pietas" is
¹⁴⁸ employed partly as a psychological and political ploy.

This conclusion is underlined by the fact that many

"The Coinage of the R. Republic", p.167, no. 1008
 (Caesar, 50 BC); p.168, no. 1012 (Caesar, 48 BC);
 p.169, nos. 1017-1018 (Head of Pietas with legend
 C. CAESAR COS. TER.).

- 143. Sydenham, p.122, no. 750 (c.77 of Q. Caecilius Metellus);
 p.158, no. 942 (D. Brutus, 49-48); p.174, nos. 1041-1045
 (Sex. Pompey, 45-44 BC). Syme, RR, p.157.
- 144. Prop. 3.22.21f ("Nam quantum ferro tantum pietate
 petentes / stamus"); Hor. "Odes" 1.2.44 ("Caesaris
 ultor"); Ovid "Fasti" 3.709f ("hoc opus, haec pietas,
 haec prima elementa fuerunt / Caesaris, ulcisci iusta
 per arma patrem"); ibid. 5.569; Suet. Aug. 29. Cf.
 also J. Liegle, "Römische Wertbegriffe", pp.258ff;
 M. Grant, "Roman Imperial Money", pp.149f, 167.
- 145. M. Grant, "From Imperium to Auctoritas", p.38; H.A.Grueber,
 "Coins of the R. Republic in the B.M.", vol. 2, pp.400-
 402, nos. 65-72.
- 146. See chapter 7, n.86; Syme, RR, p.481.
- 147. Livy Epit. 120: "Postulatique ea lege M. Brutus C.
 Cassius Dec. Brutus absentes damnati sunt"; Vell. 2.69.5.
- 148. Cf. also Cic. Phil. 2.99; 9.12; 13.46-47; Dio 45.12.2
 and 4; App. BC 3.41 and 42

civilians and soldiers recommended such action but Octavian rejected it, and because "ultio" statements are linked with propagandist attack or apologia. The final part of Nicolaus' extant text illustrates the point well. Octavian attempted to arouse the Calatians "by pleading the injustice of both his father's death and the plots against himself"¹⁴⁹. Only two sections later (§138) we read how he "trained all the new recruits... and told them that he had come to combat Antony". Again we have the link of the emotional and political advantage to be gained by mentioning Caesar's death but also emphasising his own position. Only a few lines later the real motive, the power struggle with Antony, comes out. It seems reasonable to conclude, then, that although Octavian felt some constraint to avenge Caesar, he was conscious that ¹⁵⁰ ἀρχή, partial if not complete, was within his grasp in 44. Caesar's name, legacy and avenging were the powerful means he could use to attract veteran support.

But the assault on the minds and allegiance of veteran and civilian alike must also be made more directly. In an age of slow communications, particularly in the field of intelligence, the personal appearance of an ambitious politician to the "populus" as a whole was all the more vital.

149. §136.

150. As Cic. Att. 16.14.1 (November 44) shows. G. Walser (Historia 4 (1955), p.357f) believes too naively that Octavian's personal ambition emerged only after Antony's departure from Rome for Brundisium in October 44.

On a simple level support could be won by man to man contact. According to Nicolaus, Octavian had made an effective relationship in early 44 with a cross-section of Macedonian troops.¹⁵¹ Throughout the biography this same personal magnetism is reiterated. On a wider scale it involved mastering the demagogic arts, a powerful adjunct of which was rhetorical ability. His juvenile effectiveness at this is noted.¹⁵² Yet Nicolaus records only one example of a speech by Octavian for the whole of 44, on the occasion when Octavian appealed for assistance to the veterans of Calatia (§§136, 138). Other writers tell a different story. Appian records that he unleashed verbal tirades on Antony *πανταχοῦ τῆς πόλεως*, and Cicero disliked a speech he had delivered in May.¹⁵³

Nicolaus' silence on the haranguing of this period and the omission of even summaries of speeches might conceivably result from the exigencies of space which the contraction of Augustus' work entailed. This is, however, very improbable, since he apparently recorded a speech of Brutus in detail.¹⁵⁴ The most cogent explanation is that Augustus himself cannot have given great prominence to his speeches, perhaps almost entirely omitting them from his memoirs. Lack of real success

151. §46; Appian BC 3.9.

152. §§4, 27.

153. Appian BC 3.28; Cic. Att. 15.2.3; cf. also Dio 45.7.3.

154. At the end of §100 (p.411.20) the Excerptors left a note that they had recorded the speech in another volume

against Antony in Rome (hence his operations in Campania), a more effective picture of himself as a "vir moderatissimus", and the desire to emphasise his own "dignitas" in contrast to the insulting abuse of Antony may have induced him to tone down the part played by pure verbal ability in the early days of his rise to power.¹⁵⁵ Wide support, it could thus be suggested, came not from oral appeal but from public recognition of his moral and political honesty.

The support of the veterans was also enlisted by more devious methods. Agents seem to have been widely used to seduce and encourage. By their nature their activities were often not publicised. Nicolaus has only one instance, the occasion when Octavian "sent some of his followers who had greater resourcefulness and daring to Brundisium" to win over the newly-arrived Macedonian troops, or in his own words *στρατιώτας πείσαι τὰ αὐτῶν ἐλίσσθαι*.¹⁵⁶ Octavian's instructions to his agents were to try verbal persuasion, and if prevented from doing this to scatter *γράμματα* everywhere "so that the men would pick them up and read them". Thus Octavian made

(*ἐν τῷ περὶ Δημηγοριῶν*). It was therefore presumably at some length.

155. Yet O clearly used speech-making as a vital propaganda vehicle in the Thirties - see Fitzler-Seeck, RE 10.318, 322, 325.
156. §139. Schmitthenner ("Armies", p.169f) points out the use of centurions for this purpose. N mentions their leaving Rome with O (§133).

it appear that he used subversion less and later than he had done in actual fact. His more devious methods would naturally not appear in the "Commentarii".¹⁵⁷

The overwhelming support which Nicolaus claims for Octavian was not however as sure as the biography would have us believe. This can even be deduced from Nicolaus' account. He describes how Octavian allegedly waited at home, *καίρῳ ἐπιτηρῶν*, because of his failure to persuade Antony to drop his open hostility, and in §§115-120 goes on to narrate how he was eventually persuaded to meet Antony with a view to reconciliation. This apparent turn-about is explained as a concession to those soldiers who believed vengeance on Caesar's assassins would be achieved "most easily through his son, especially if the consul also helped him".¹⁵⁸

Despite the long preamble Nicolaus gives to the meeting of Octavian and Antony on the Capitol,¹⁵⁹ the central point that emerges is that it was the pressure of the veterans which brought about the confrontation.¹⁶⁰ The reasons for this are not far to seek - the ultimate dependence of Octavian and Antony on military backing, and the dependence of the veterans in turn on their "duces". This veteran pressure

157. Cic. Att. 16.8.2; Appian BC 3.31, 39, 40, 43, 44; Dio 45.12.1-2 (O sent agents from Rome to reach Brundisium before Antony).

158. §118.

159. §§115-119.

160. See n. 49.

is however skilfully misinterpreted: The veterans were
 loyal to Octavian's "party". They understood how distaste-
 ful any thought of compromise with Antony might be, but
 urged him not to raise party-spirit (¹⁶¹ *μή φιλονεικεῖν*).¹⁶²
 Significantly, the soldiers' emphasis is only on the good
 that might come to them from the union of all Caesarians.
 We are not told of any real benefit which Octavian could
 expect for himself from association with Antony. The fact
 that Octavian was compelled to temporise is thus concealed,
 and represented as a magnanimous gesture by him in the
 interests of Caesarian solidarity. Little was to be allowed
 to dim the image of Octavian as the man of moderation and of
 all the people.

There is also the converse of this theme. In §113
 Nicolaus attacks all the military and political dynasts:
 "The consuls, men of great power and seeking even more for
 themselves, were openly ranged against him... A sense of
 responsibility towards the common good had disappeared, the
 leading men were divided into many factions, and all tried
 to gain power for themselves - either complete power, or at
 any rate as much as they could ... Octavian was the only

161. §117: οἱ δ' ἀποκρίνονται (αὐτῷ ἥκειν) ἐπὶ τῷ ἀγαθῷ
 αὐτοῦ τε καὶ τῆς ὅλης μερίδος.

162. §118.

163. §110.

164. §111.

one without any power at all." The sequel points out the moral: When others were for themselves, Octavian was for the common good.¹⁶⁵

But, it is suggested, Octavian showed responsibility in his use of this popular support. There is a repeated insistence throughout the last part of the biography that he always consulted a "concilium" of friends or relations before taking a decision, as a good Roman should. The insertion of advice at various points also served another purpose. It will be noted that Octavian rejects much of the advice he is given because of its extremism. But its inclusion was a deft propagandist stroke. It enabled Octavian to put great emphasis on his overriding concern for legality, for moderation and tradition.¹⁶⁶

There is a great stress, then, in Nicolaus' biography on the wide popularity which Octavian enjoyed in 44. As has been shown, this is an exaggerated picture, and the more devious means by which some of it was raised are concealed. But the clearly-worded claim that Italy called upon Octavian to seek power, albeit it for the worthy object of "pietas", suggests that Augustus used this in his "Commentarii" as one of the justifications for his military action of 44.

165. §113.

166. Cf. §§42, 46, (53), 57.

Counter-propaganda.

There was a further object besides self-justification, so it seems, in the propaganda which formed an integral part of Augustus' "Commentarii" - counter-propaganda. Much of the evidence for this comes from Cicero, who is particularly valuable because in several places he quotes verbatim the taunts of Antony against Octavian.

Especially useful is "Philippics" 3.15-17:

- (i) "Primum in Caesarem maledicta congescit deprompta ex recordatione inpudicitiae et stuprorum suorum."
- (ii) "Ignobilitatem obicit C. Caesaris filio, cuius etiam natura pater, si vita suppeditasset, consul factus esset. "Aricina mater"."

Octavian is here attacked on two scores, immorality and humble birth, both frequent objects of attack in Roman political life. Suetonius too shows the range of Antony's attack on Octavian's family. The Princeps made only modest claims for his ancestry, a tradition Nicolaus repeats. His mother Atia is defended by Cicero, though his defence and

167. Syme, RR, pp.149-150, 151-152; M.P. Charlesworth, CQ 27 (1933), pp.173f, 175; K. Scott, Mem. Amer. Acad. Rome 11 (1933), pp.13-16.

168. Aug. 4 and 7.

169. See p.322f.

lavish praise cannot be taken at face value. Velleius, in similar vein, represents her marriage to C. Octavius¹⁷⁰ as an honour to him. Nicolaus' account is most important for determining exactly how Augustus treated his mother in the "Commentarii" and reacted to such propaganda as that of Antony's, since the prominence of Atia in the biography is¹⁷¹ due to her being similarly treated in Augustus' writings. From Nicolaus it can be seen that Augustus allowed her motherly devotion to answer the slights of Antony. There is similar subtlety in the way he reacted to Antony's allegations of his "inpudicitia". In several places the biography lays stress on his moral purity - his mother's careful supervision of his upbringing, his own indifference to feminine snares, and his "refraining from love affairs for¹⁷² a whole year".

Thus, in personal morality he was the essence of

- 170. Cic. Phil. 3.17; Vell. 2.59.1f: "C. Octavius ..., cum ei dignatio Iulia genitam Atiam conciliasset uxorem..."
- 171. See pp.325ff,335 "Atia" was also a useful device for putting forward alternative policies available to O and his reasons for choosing as he did - N ~~§§~~38, 54, 126, 134; App. BC 3.14.
- 172. ~~§§~~5-6, 12, 36. We are not told what happened outside this space of one year. Suetonius (Aug. 68-70) records Antony's celebrated attack on O's adulteries and other "vitia". Cf. also Martial 11.20.

"pudicitia" and "temperantia". "Fortitudo" had endeared him to Caesar. In his public conduct he was noted for his "fides" to friends and supporters, respect for those in authority, including Antony, "pietas" to Caesar tempered by "prudentia", and a willingness to submerge personal feelings for "concordia". Augustus was a true Roman, a pillar of tradition. Antony was not.

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"Et te, o puer, ... qui omnia nomini debes." Antony was not far off the mark, near enough to have a basis for this jibe. Nicolaus' text consciously answers the challenge.

Octavian showed excellent promise ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς φύσεως δραστηρίου, εἰς ὃ ὁ Καῖσαρ ἀποβλέψας οὐχ ᾔττον ἢ τὴν συγγένειαν ἀποδείξειεν αὐτὸν παῖδα.....¹⁷⁴ The same argument had been

expressed more pointedly a little earlier when Nicolaus is commenting on Octavian's αἰδῶς: διὰ τοῦτο καὶ μάλιστα Καῖσαρ αὐτὸν περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποίησατο καὶ οὐχ, ὥσπερ οἴονται τινες, διὰ τὸ γένος

¹⁷⁵μόνον. Antony must surely be one, if not the main, antagonist in mind here. But as well as direct comment of this kind Nicolaus doubtless followed Augustus' lead in allowing his narrative to give a cumulative vindication of

173. Cic. Phil. 13.24-25. Cf. Suet. Aug. 12.

174. §120.

175. §30.

Caesar's wisdom in selecting him. We are told, for example, of Caesar's part in his political education, his concern for his health, and his pleasure at receiving the lad safely in Spain. While there, his many ἀρεταί endeared him to his uncle.¹⁷⁶ Thus on moral, personal, family and intellectual grounds Octavian was Caesar's natural choice for adoption. Since Caesar had thought him worthy of it, who was Octavian¹⁷⁷ to refuse such an honour?

But his youthfulness was an easy target in an age- and ancestor-orientated society such as Rome. Cicero had been suspicious of it.¹⁷⁸ Antony could contemptuously omit to address Octavian by any name.¹⁷⁹ Dio, viewing the period from a greater distance, could comment with some sanity and shrewd common-sense on the effects his youthful venture might be expected to produce.¹⁸⁰ At first sight, Nicolaus seems to echo these thoughts. At Apollonia Octavian was advised to use the support of the Macedonian troops. "But",

176. N §§14-30.

177. Both N (§53) and Velleius (2.60.2) have the same argumentation, but N goes further (§55) in stating that O's acceptance of Caesar's name was a universal blessing (p.401.20f).

178. See chapter 9, nn. 182, 187, 192, 194, 204, 208.

179. N §120 shows that Antony was unwilling to call O "Caesar" - the veterans accompanying O contended that he should be so addressed.

180. 45.4, esp. §3.

says Nicolaus, "to a man who was very young these suggestions appeared a little difficult to achieve and beyond the capabilities of his present youth and inexperience."¹⁸¹ The real motive of this disarming moderation and modesty is surely the sequel: He wanted first to be sure of what attitude the ordinary people (and, it must be added, the soldiers) had in the confused situation. Second, and more telling, is Nicolaus' statement that "it was generally expected that the avengers of Caesar would be those who had enjoyed good fortune while he was alive, and who had been raised to commands and wealth by him, possessing gifts in abundance such as they had not even hoped for in their dreams"¹⁸². Antony must certainly have been one of the individuals Augustus had in mind, especially as he is criticised on several occasions for disloyalty to Caesar's memory. Another reference to slights against Octavian's youth is similarly used with an aggressive motive in mind.¹⁸³ In retrospect, Augustus could afford to let the facts of his success mock their scorn.

Propaganda could impugn Antony for cowardice. Cicero could vouch for it.¹⁸⁴ If Antony was frightened he would promise

181. § 42.

182. § 41. Jacoby seems to have transposed p. 398, lines 22-25 erroneously.

183. § 111. Cicero is certainly one of this group.

184. Cic. Phil. 2.74f. Cf. also Vell. 2.60.2 and Phil. 3.22 (Antony's reply to criticism: "nec timor, quem denuntiat inimicus". There could be many candidates for "inimicus".).

anything, as Cicero told the "liberatores"; beware of him¹⁸⁵ when that fear had passed. Nicolaus points to the same conclusion. The only reason he had agreed to a reconciliation was to avoid alienating the veterans. Whereas Octavian had been frank, only a jealous fear had brought Antony to the meeting. These passions then induced him to commit another *ἀσυνία* by accusing Octavian of a murder attempt, yet a further example to Velleius of Antony's¹⁸⁶ "vanitas". As for Octavian, fear could not make him deviate from any noble course he had set his heart on, though Antony had accused him of cowardice.¹⁸⁷ His bravery had endeared him to Caesar,¹⁸⁸ and it was conspicuous in the perilous days following his assassination.¹⁸⁹ Admittedly he had avoided

185. Phil. 2.89.

186. N §123f. Velleius (2.60.3, 5) seems to counter-attack for O with the charge that "C. Caesar iuvenis cotidianis Antonii petebatur insidiis". Dio has interesting comments on the general situation and the psychology of mutual fear (45.8.11). Cf. also App. BC 3.39 and chapter 7, n. 79.

187. Suet. Aug. 10.4, 16.2, (91.1, an answer to the charge); M.P. Charlesworth, CQ 27 (1933), p.174f.

188. N §24.

189. E.g. §§ 47, 38 and 54 (Atia's thoughts on danger), 53, 55.

Brundisium in his crossing from Apollonia, but this was "prudence" and did not affect his course of action. Any suggestion of cowardice is shown to be absurd. In all essentials he conformed to the noble philosophic concept¹⁹⁰ that the virtuous man is not deterred from right by fear.

In this way Octavian built up to his departure for troop-raising operations around Capua. This course, he argued, was unavoidable because of Antony's hostility¹⁹¹ towards him. A similar argument had already been used by Antony. According to Cicero, he claimed that he needed troops in Rome "sui defendendi causa"¹⁹². He was soon to attack the illegality his Caesarian rival was perpetrating; when it came in November to a reckoning with Octavian's forces, he lashed his opponent's methods as "perditissima consilia"¹⁹³. In Nicolaus' extensive and compelling argument that Octavian was forced by Antony's hostility to obtain military support can surely be seen Augustus' answer to attacks on his unconstitutional activities.

Money was a necessity to the ancient even more than to the modern politician. But its use should, where possible,

190. Cic. Rep. 1.3, 5; 2.42. O was called "effeminatum" by Sextus Pompey (Suet. Aug. 68).

191. N §§ (113f), 130-132, 136, 137, 138.

192. Phil. 1.27: "Armīs utatur, si ita necesse est, ut dicat, sui defendendi causa."

193. Ib. 3.19. Suet. Aug. 28 shows Antony accused O of being power-hungry.

be represented as honourable. Thus in Nicolaus it appears that it is only after he had noted the people's enthusiastic reception of him that Octavian counted out the money to them, which won him great popularity.¹⁹⁴ Among the benefits he is stated to have later conferred on Apollonia was ¹⁹⁵ ἀτέλεια. The veterans at Calatia were rewarded with 500 denarii (drachmas) apiece. According to Nicolaus, they too received their money after they had promised to support Octavian. Cicero, more cynically but realistically, assumed that the process was the reverse.¹⁹⁶ Antony's use of bribery is attacked.¹⁹⁷ The moral of the comparison is simple: Octavian, unlike Antony, used money to reward "loyalty" and gain "essential support" rather than to bribe adherents wholesale.

On the source of Octavian's money Nicolaus is no more helpful than Appian and Dio. Nowhere in the present text

194. 109. Appian, seemingly referring to the same occasion, suggests the money was to win, not reward, support (BC 3.23). Ib. 3.21 bases O's popularity on the people's hopes of largesse.

195. 45.

196. 136; Cic. "Att." 16.8.1.

197. 128, 130.

are we told that Octavian received his inheritance, but admittedly the gap that now exists between §§106 and 107 could have mentioned it. §107 mentions that it was suggested to Octavian that he should make Antony *τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμελητήν*, though the Greek need not be referring to his monetary estate. The money distributed to the people in §109 presupposes he had considerable funds. In §117, in contrast, a soldier is alleged to have shouted to Octavian that he would murder Antony if he refused to recognise Caesar's will. This would seem to refer to Antony's excuse for not paying out the money due to him from Caesar. Nevertheless, when he set out for Calatia in October, he took with him *οὐκ ὀλίγα ... χρήματα*.

This lack of detail in the biography about the source of Octavian's money could be due to Nicolaus' omission in his contraction of the "Commentarii". It is, however, most likely that Augustus did not elaborate on the source of his early finance, one of the "arcana imperii", except to dwell on his inheritance from Caesar and the methods Antony adopted to block it. Certainly, he cannot have recorded any of the politically damaging requests Appian claims he made to Antony - the gold Caesar intended for his campaign, and borrowing from Antony himself or *ἐκ τῶν δημοσίων*. But,

198. Dio 45.5.4. Cf. Appian BC 3.17, 18, 20.

199. §132. On the numbers paid see N §§136-137; App. BC 3.40; Cic. "Att." 16.8 & 9; Dio 45.12.2.

200. BC 3.17.

as argued earlier, much of the monetary comment must be seen in a political context. Nicolaus accuses Antony and Lepidus of embezzlement from τὸ ταμείον τῆς πόλεως, which they had allegedly emptied by mid-May ²⁰¹44. In contrast to them, and doubtless in reaction to similar charges made against himself, Octavian claimed he ensured that all public ²⁰²money went into the city treasury.

There is a further interesting section of the biography which appears to both defend Octavian and rebut hostile propaganda. After criticising Antony and Dolabella for embezzlement and opposition to Octavian, Nicolaus proceeds to outline briefly some of the support that the consuls and Octavian acquired: "Many flocked to join him [sc. Octavian] and quite a few others joined the supporters of Antony and Dolabella. But there were others who, though neutral, also did this [i.e. went over to Antony or Octavian] to inflame ²⁰³their hatred. The chief of those who did this were Publius, Vibius, Lucius and most of all Cicero. Although Octavian

201. N §110. Cf. also Cic. Phil. 2.93, Att. 14.14.5, 18.1; Vell. 2.60.4. The line of defence Antony may well have given is reported in Appian (BC 3.20).

202. See ch. 9, p.468ff. Syme, RR, p.131.

203. The meaning to be put on the text of the codex οἱ ἐν μέσῳ τὴν ἐχθρὰν ἀνάγοντες αὐτῶν καὶ πράττοντες τοῦτο is uncertain. The next sentence in §111 shows that this group opposed Antony but used O for their own ends. The translation given seems to fit the Greek best, but something may well have gone wrong with the text. Müller (F.H.G. 3, p.450) translates: "alii vero in medio positi hoc agebant, ut inimicitiam eorum focillarent". Similarly, Hall (p.58f): "There were

was quite aware how they were giving him their support while urging him on against Antony, he did not push them aside, so that he could have their assistance and stronger protection around him.²⁰⁴"

Attempts have been made to identify all the members of this "neutralist" group. C. Vibius Pansa Caetronianus (RE no. 9) seems certain, and M. Tullius Cicero is obviously so. The other two are designated only by their "praenomina"²⁰⁵ and certain emendation is impossible.²⁰⁶ The passage as a whole referring to those *ἐν πίσω* is unfortunately rather short, and it is difficult now to be sure of its full significance. But it seems likely that Augustus was here trying mainly to counter a charge concerning his relations with Cicero. From the latter's correspondence can be seen some of the intrigues to which both were party.²⁰⁷ But Octavian

others who, from a middle ground, tried to foment enmity between them, and in doing so..." He then notes a lacuna.

204. §110f.

205. N's lack of consistency in recording names is well illustrated here - two by their "praenomina", Pansa by his "nomen", and Cicero by his "cognomen". Cf. also esp. §69: Lucius (Caesetius Flavus) and Caius (Epidius Marullus); §72: (C.) Cassius Longinus and P. (Servilius) Casca; §89: "Cassius" alone and "Cassius Longinus" later; §96: (C.) Sabinus Calvisius - an inversion; §112: (M. Aemilius) Lepidus, L. (Munatius) Plancus, C. Asinius (Pollio), (C.) Cassius Longinus.

206. Various suggestions have been made - E. Schwartz ("Hermes" 33 (1898), p.184): L. Piso and P. Servilius (Vatia Isauricus), followed by Jacoby (FGrH IIC, p.284) and Syme (RR p.134). Hall (p.93.28.9): L. Julius Caesar, P. Servilius Vatia.

207. See ch. 9, section 8(i).

will have been concerned to show that he had been in no sense the tool of a man like Cicero. He may also have been preparing a defence against the charge that he consented to Cicero's death. In Velleius the blame for the murder is put down to Antony's "scelus", and Octavian is²⁰⁸ exonerated. But clearly Augustus could not allow the feeling to continue unchecked that he had himself made use of Cicero's "auctoritas" and eloquentia", but had been prepared to discard the man himself when the Second Trium-²⁰⁹virate was formed. It was useful to show how Cicero was playing a double game, even in mid-44, and thus ran the risk of defeating his own objects. The relations between Octavian and Pansa, however, are more obscure. Why Augustus felt constrained to criticise the consul of 43, his fellow-²¹⁰general at Mutina, must remain in doubt.

208. 2.66.1 ("frustra adversus duos"); cf. also 66.2.

209. Note how N's biography emphasises O's rewarding of loyal support - ~~55~~45, 136.

210. See chapter 9, section 8 (ii).

Conclusion.

Nicolaus' biography is of considerable value in giving a detailed picture of the way Augustus treated in the "Commentarii" some of his own activities and those of his "opponents" in 44. It shows that he was almost dynastic in his appeals for veteran support and emphasised his adoption by Caesar in order to attract the support of Caesarians who would lean more to the prominent and maturer Antony. The "ultio" of Caesar was certainly stressed in his dealings with the veterans in 44, but by the time he wrote his memoirs he had begun to put less emphasis on it. The main reason for this was to show that though he was determined to avenge Caesar he would do all he could to avoid further civil war. By 25 BC he was no longer the leader of a faction, but "Princeps patriae".

Nicolaus' narrative clearly shows that Augustus was most concerned to defend his raising of troops in Campania and his march on Rome in 44. The "Commentarii" must have argued that such actions were forced on him by the hostility of Antony; the raising of an army was the only way he could be sure of staying alive. The less personal justification of "patriae libertas" found in the "Res Gestae" cannot have figured prominently in the memoirs. The universality of his support in these and other activities is underlined throughout.

The biography throws light too on the propaganda war between Octavian and Antony. In Nicolaus' account can be seen something of the way Octavian repudiated charges of illegality and character weakness - by straight denial, in defending by attack, and often by the more subtle method of pointedly commending his own "probitas" without referring specifically to hostile propaganda known from other sources to have been directed against him.

Most important, the biography reflects several known ²¹¹ propaganda positions of the period just before Actium. The justification of Octavian's conduct is on a personal rather than an objective, constitutional plane. The main opponent is Antony. Nicolaus brands him as the villain of 44; Octavian's propaganda of c.33 claimed that the degenerate Roman was attempting to destroy Roman freedom. Similarly, the technique of Octavian in charging Antony with illegalities while coolly perpetrating them himself can be seen in Nicolaus and the propaganda of Actium. The grandiloquent claim that he had the universal support of his country is affirmed in the biography and formed the basis of his political power in 32. Octavian knew well how unconstitutional ambition could be cloaked by the big lie and simulated legality.

The castigation of "neutrality" too would fit in well ²¹¹. See esp. Syme RR, pp. 266-293.

with this period - a time when all with property and political hopes had to gamble on the victor. Augustus' later benign comments on Cicero suggest that in later years he would have been less concerned to distance himself from them. The personal abuse hurled by both dynasts in the late Thirties is also reflected in Nicolaus' narrative: Octavian's sexual restraint could be contrasted with Antony's infatuated enslavement to Cleopatra, and his moderate dining with his opponent's drunken debaucheries.

Thus, Nicolaus' biography shows something of the development of Augustus' defence of his position and of the means he had used to achieve it. The "apologia" is not that of 44 or immediately after: the urgency with which Octavian had once appealed for the "ultio" of Caesar has been toned down. Nor has it become that of the "Res Gestae". There is no emphasis yet on the raising of the Campanian army in order to "liberate" his country; this action is still justified on a personal level by Antony's antagonism. "Neutralism" too is still regarded as a cardinal sin: No "Republican" middle course is envisaged in §110f - the choice was between Octavian and Antony, between moderation and anarchy. It clearly contains many features of Octavian's propaganda position c.33/32 BC. The policy adopted after the defeat of Antony, first expressed in the settlement of 212. Plut. Cic. 49.3.

213. Syme, RR, pp. 274f, 277.

27 BC and given a prominent place in the "Res Gestae" is not yet part of Augustus' projection of himself in that part of the "Commentarii" preserved by Nicolaus.

APPENDICES.

Appendix 1:

Chapter 2, n. 48.

According to Photius (Bibl. 72, 45a, p.132, line 4 to p.133, line 1, and lines 20-21 = 688 TT 13 and 10:

ΚΕΧΡΗΤΑΙ ΔΕ Τῇ Ἰωνικῇ διαλέκτῳ, εἰ καὶ μὴ δι' ὅλου, καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐνίας λέξεις. ἀνεγνώσθη δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἐν ἐνὶ βιβλίῳ, ἐν οἷς μᾶλλον ἰωνίζει.

Cf. also Pap. Oxyrh. 2330 [page references to Jacoby, FGrH IIIC7:- In this the definite Ionicisms *ἄνθρωποισι* and *εἴλεως* are found (i) *ἄνθρωποισι* - p.453, line 15. (ii) *εἴλεως* = Attic *ἰλεως* = Epic and lyric *ἰλαος* = Arch. *ἰλαος* (p.453, line 15f). See BGD §§49.5, 53, 58d, LSGL give *ἰλεος* as a Herodotean form (4.94; 6.91), s.v. *ἰλαος*, but do not mention *εἴλεως*. See also F. Bechtel, "Die griech. Dialekte", Vol. 3, p.143.7.

Atticisms, however, predominate and there is no trace of Dorian influence:

(i) p.453.10 : *ἐμωτόν* = literary Ionic *ἐμεωτόν* [BGD §121.2: Literary Ionic is *ἐμεωτοῦ*, etc. - "The forms found in Ionic inscriptions are like the Attic". See also LSGL, s.v. *ἐμωτοῦ* 7.

(ii) p.453.11 : *ἐβούλου* = Ionic *ἐβούλιο* or *ἐβούλευ* [- *εο* in local Ionic before the 4th century, then - *ευ* .

(iii) p.453.15f, 18f : *ὅτῳ* *ἔλθῃ* : Roberts thinks that "the use of the subjunctive without *ἄν* may perhaps count as an Ionism" (sic). [Pap. Oxyrh. XXII (1954), p.84, n. to line 16, where he quotes GMT 540 and, for *κοινή*, Blass-Debrunner, "N.T. Grammatik", 380.4.7. Goodwin (GMT 538-540) quotes examples in Homer and Herodotus of this, but also ones in Attic, and Nicolaus has examples of both usages (With *ἄν* - Pp. 329.2; 336.15,20; 348.12; 366.4; 370.3; without *ἄν* - p. 361.12.). Buck ("Greek Dialects", §174) points out that the omission of *ἄν* occurs in several dialects, "though always as the less common construction". Nothing certain therefore can be argued either way.

(iv) p.454.3 : *καταράδομαι* = Ionic *καταρήδομαι* (See LSGL s.v. *ἀράδομαι* . Note Hdt. 2.39 *καταρησάμενοι*).

In this fragment, which may well be a typical example of Ctesias' style and dialect usage, can be seen the predominance of Attic *κοινή* with only occasional Ionic forms creeping in. Ctesias' dialect is dealt with at length as a result of this papyrus by D. del Corno ("Athenaeum", N.S. 40 (1962), pp. 126-141). See also K. Latte, "Gnomon" 27 (1955), p.497; M. Gigante, "Riv. di Filol.", N.S. 40 (1962), p.251; R. Merkelbach, "Archiv" 16 (1958), p.109.

Appendix 2:

Chapter 2, n. 64.

Laqueur (RE 17.375ff) objects to Jacoby's view that F 66 is unadulterated Ctesias, and takes the view, which he thinks applies to most or all of N's historical writings, that N is using two sources. In his examination of F 66 he finds discrepancies which he believes can be solved by this assumption. His argument is long and at times tortuous, but is briefly examined below with references (his full argumentation cannot be quoted here) to the relevant section of his RE article:

(i) (375.43-376.32): N mentions a Persian law that a poor man could give himself up to a rich man to be fed and clothed, but had to then become almost a slave. Cyrus availed himself of this law on one occasion (F 66.2), but also gained promotion right to the king's household through his efficiency. Laqueur (L) finds this strange, and thinks it due to two separate accounts of Cyrus' promotion from two sources. This is unnecessary. Cyrus' availing himself of legal protection at one time and yet achieving promotion on merit are in no way incompatible. [§§ 2 and 47.

(ii) (376.32-67): There need be no contradiction in N's statement that Cyrus was a Mardic servant of the king and also of robber origin - see (iv) below. Yet L imagines he can see a difference of social status (unexplained) in the two sentences of § 3.

(iii) (376.68-377.56): L pursues his two-source, high-low birth thesis in §§ 5-6. Jacoby (FGrH IIA, p.362.12) puts *Ἀρτεμβάρης*, the chief of the royal cup-bearers, in brackets, as it seems more natural that it should be king Astyages rather than Artembares who watched Cyrus' skill in serving at table, and then asked Artembares where the lad had come from. Although it is, perhaps more likely that *Ἀρτεμβάρης* is a mistake for *Ἀστυάγης* (the king is not named in line 13), it is possible to construe the sentence as "While Artembares was watching Cyrus as he, the king asked him." L's separation of the alleged two sources is tortuous and unwarranted.

(iv) (377.57-378.20): L finds a contradiction in time in § 9 (p.362.31), when Cyrus' mother tells him of a dream she had had - but the temple is the place she dreamt, and the time was when she looked after goats, i.e. before, she was trying to say, she had been called to court by her son. It also surprises L that Cyrus' father, a robber, can appear in a position of power through Cyrus' influence. Yet apart from the romance of the story itself, such "rags

to riches" sagas are not uncommon (cf. Joseph in Genesis 37-50). Further there is no reason why the father should not have been a "robber-chief" - cf. Tac. Ann. 14.23: "Mardi, latrociniis exerciti...."

(v) (378.21-379.14): The "Chaldaean" in Babylon (§9) and the "Babylonian" (§ 12ff) are one and the same person, not two different individuals as L supposes. His deductive argument therefore collapses.

(vi) (379.15-380.17): Cyrus' meeting with his future lieutenant Hoibaras. L argues that N's statement in §13 that the pair met *ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις...Καδουσίῳ* and that in §14 he also says Cyrus after the meeting came *εἰς Καδουσίους* shows the presence of two sources, because of the repetition and the alleged difference in the meeting-place given by the two paragraphs. But (a) in §13 N says the meeting was "on the borders of Cadusia", i.e. just in or maybe just outside Cadusia; and (b) in the first sentence of §14 the main point is Cyrus' journey to Onaphernes and not to Cadusia in general; also (c) *εἰς Καδουσίους* is a natural addition to keep the main thread of the story going after the digression of §§12-13, and Ctesias was well known for such *διλογία* (see ch. 2, n.78).

(vii) (380.18-41): L thinks there were two separate versions of Cyrus' request to Astyages to go to Persia, and that N combined these - that in (a) the request was immediately granted, but in (b) Cyrus was still a slave and had to make the plea through a eunuch. L calls Cyrus "vertroddelt", but he was unsuccessful in the first instance due to Astyages' wish to keep Cyrus at court *ὕπ' εὐνοίας* (§ 21), not to his poor performance in the interview. There is nothing inconsistent in the procedure Cyrus subsequently adopted. [§§ 20-22].

(viii) (380.42-381.34): Mainly based on argument (v). L's attempts to probe psychologically the factors which directed Astyages to turn against Cyrus are too sophisticated for an account which contains a large fictional element. [§§ 24-32].

(ix) (381.35-382.49): The battle of Cyrus and Astyages. L's view is again that N has combined two battle descriptions into one. L's selection of different parts for the two individual sources seems purely arbitrary and fanciful. There is nothing irreconcilable about the different phases

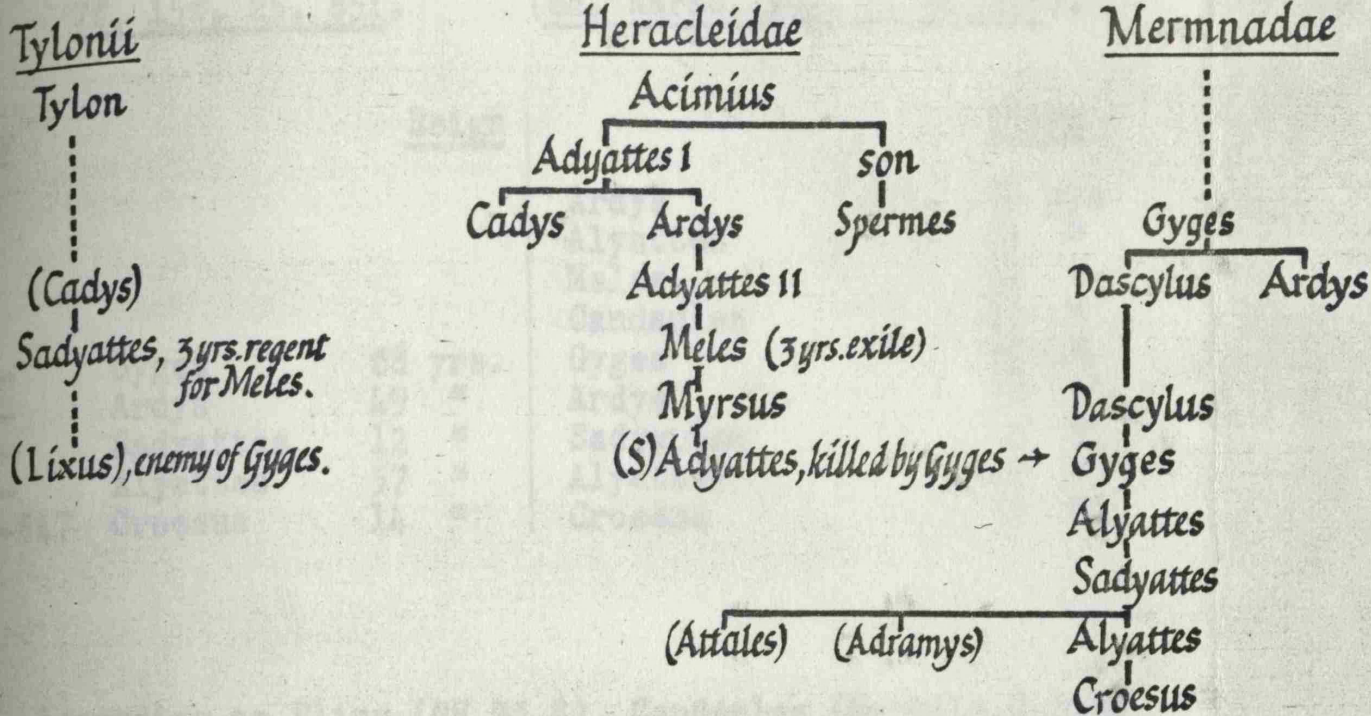
of the battle, even if one grants that they contain repetitious elements. Too much emphasis is put on § 35, p. 368.23f, where L thinks he can see his two sources in N's calling Pasargadae a mountain, and decries Jacoby's bracketing of τὸ ὑψηλότερον ὄρος as pointless - but (i) Pasargadae, besides being the name of a people and a city, could also have been the name of the mountains nearby which named the first two; and (ii) the identification could equally well have been made by Ctesias.

In conclusion, L names his "humbly-born" and "anti-Cyrus" source as Ctesias (cols. 383-384), and his "high-born" one as Xanthus (col. 387). There is no evidence, however, that Xanthus ever wrote an account of Cyrus' actual rise to power (F 67 does not negative this).

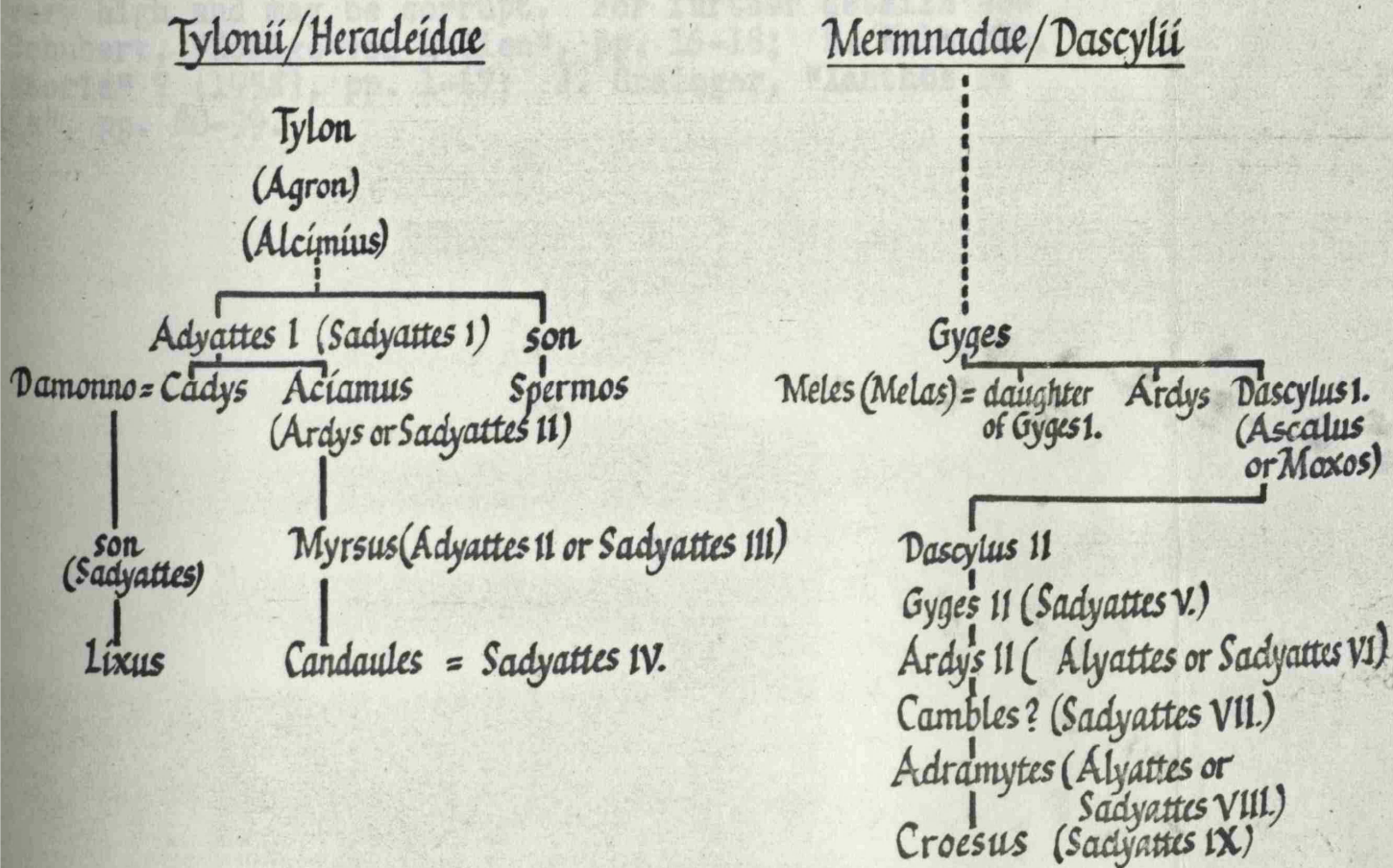
Appendix 3:

Lydian Rulers : Heracleidae and Mermnadae.

Nicolaus (FF 44-47; 62-65): Kings of Lydia.



List of Lydian Kings, as re-arranged by Alexander (p.58).



Herodotus 1.7f, 15f, 25, 85f.Eusebius.(ed. Karst, vol. 5, p. 32f).

<u>Year</u>		<u>Reign</u>		<u>Reign</u>
			Ardys	36 yrs
			Alyattes	14 "
			Meles	12 "
			Candaules	17 "
716-	Gyges	38 yrs.	Gyges	35 "
678-	Ardys	49 "	Ardys	37 "
629-	Sadyattes	12 "	Sadyattes	5 "
617-	Alyattes	57 "	Alyattes	49 "
560-547	Croesus	14 "	Croesus	15 "

According to Pliny (NH 35.8), Candaules (Myrsilus) died in the same year as Romulus - 717/6 BC. N calls Gyges' (the first of the Mermnad rulers) son Alyattes, but Herodotus and Eusebius call him Ardys. The fragments of N contain no indication of the length of reigns, except for the alleged 70 years of Ardys I, brother of Cadys (F 44), a figure which is very high and may be corrupt. For further details see R. Schubert, "Könige von Lydien", pp. 16-18; H. Kaletsch, "Historia" 7 (1958), pp. 1-47; J. Grainger, "Xanthus of Lydia", pp. 80-99.

Appendix 4:

Chapter 2, n. 207.

N agrees with Ephorus on the posthumous honours paid by the Spartans to Lycurgus. (N - *ναόν τε αὐτῷ ἑτερένισαν καὶ βωρὸν ἰδρυσάμενοι θύουσιν ὡς ἥρῳ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος* / Ephorus 70 F 118 = Strabo 8.5.5 - *μόνῳ γοῦν Λυκούργῳ ἱερὸν ἰδρῦσθαι καὶ θύεσθαι κατ' ἔτος*. Cf. also Plut. Lycurg. 31.3 - honours were paid to him *καὶ θύουσι καθ' ἑκάστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὡς θεῷ*). Further, Plutarch "De lib. educ." 3A-B and "Apotheg. Lacon." 225F-226B have the story, found in N, of Lycurgus' practical demonstration of how to avoid moral and physical weakness, and use direct speech at the same point in the narrative. Hellanicus is ruled out as N's source by Ephorus' criticism of him for not mentioning Lycurgus as the founder of Spartan institutions (70 F 118 and 4 F 116).

But N says Lycurgus committed suicide at Crisa (90 F 56.1), and this seemingly conflicts with Ephorus (70 F 175 = Aelian VH 13.23) who declares he died of hunger. Plutarch Lycurg. 29.4 agrees with Ephorus (and therefore took the whole episode from Ephorus?). Ephorus and N would concur if N meant Lycurgus committed suicide by starvation. This is perhaps straining the Greek too much, but equally well could be a convenient way for N to abbreviate Ephorus' narrative. Most accept Ephorus as N's source: Müller (FHG 3, p.391); E. Meyer ("Forschungen", Vol. 1, p.273); Tietz (p.15); Jacoby (FGH IIC, p.247); A. Andrewes (p.41).

Laqueur (RE 17.390f), however, argues that N had two sources here because, in his view, N states that Lycurgus ensured that the Spartans adhered to his system by two different and irreconcilable methods - (i) an oath the Spartans took and which was guaranteed inviolable by his suicide (§1), and (ii) by his persuading them by demonstrating the difference between a soft, house-trained dog and a hunting-dog (§§3-4). But there need be no difficulty: In §3 Lycurgus persuaded the Spartans to adopt his system; in §1, which chronologically must come after §3 since his death ends it, Lycurgus was contemplating additional legislation (*ὑπολοίπων νόμων*) and merely wished to ensure that the Spartans would not become nervous of his radical methods and so revoke what had up to that point been accepted (*τῶν κειμένων*). Laqueur (ib. 391) nevertheless believes that F 56.1-2 came from Ephorus, but that the dog-story ultimately came from the "Sophists' literature of enlightenment... from which the pedagogue Nicolaus may have known it". He does not say why Ephorus could not have known it.

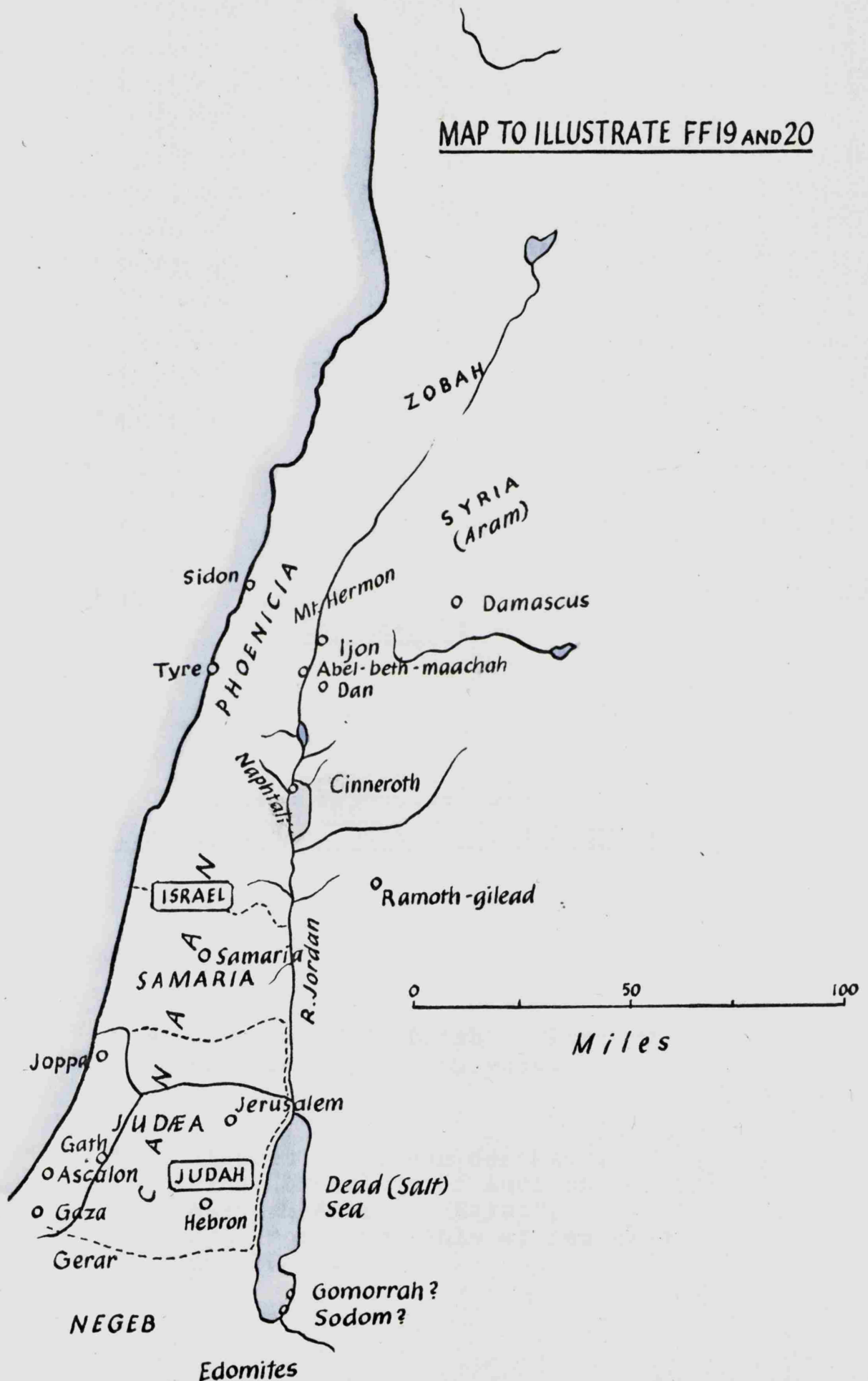
Appendix 5:

Nicolaus' Sources in the "Histories".

- ? signifies doubt.
() signify that the inference depends on other fragments with similar contents.

- | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. Ctesias | 52. |
| 2. Ctesias | 53. |
| 3. Ctesias | 54. |
| 4. Ctesias | 55. |
| 5. Ctesias | 56. Ephorus? |
| 6. Hellanicus? | 57. (Ephorus?) |
| 7. Hellanicus? | 58. Ephorus? |
| 8. (Hellanicus?) | 59. (Ephorus?) |
| 9. (Hellanicus?) | 60. (Ephorus?) |
| 10. Hellanicus? | 61. (Ephorus?) |
| 11. | 62. Xanthus? |
| 12. | 63. Xanthus |
| 13. | 64. Xanthus? |
| 14. Hellanicus? | 65. Xanthus |
| 15. Xanthus | 66. Ctesias |
| 16. Xanthus? | 67. Xanthus |
| 17. (Xanthus?) | 68. Xanthus?, and Herodotus. |
| 18. Xanthus | 69. Apparently in the "Histories" |
| 19. (Damascene tradition?) | 70. fragments by mistake. |
| 20. (Damascene tradition?) | 71. |
| 21. | 72. |
| 22. Xanthus | 73. Posidonius? |
| 23. | 74. Posidonius? |
| 24. | 75. |
| 25. | 76. |
| 26. Hellanicus? | 77. |
| 27. | 78. |
| 28. Ephorus? | 79. |
| 29. (Ephorus?) | 80. Caesar |
| 30. Ephorus? | 81. Personal experience. |
| 31. Ephorus? | 82. |
| 32. Ephorus? | 83. |
| 33. Ephorus? | 84. |
| 34. Ephorus? | 85. Xanthus |
| 35. (Ephorus?) | 86. (Ephorus?) |
| 36. (Ephorus?) | 87. |
| 37. (Ephorus?) | 88. |
| 38. (Ephorus?) | 89. |
| 39. (Ephorus?) | 90. |
| 40. | 91. |
| 41. | 92. |
| 42. | 93. |
| 43. | 94. Posidonius? |
| 44. Xanthus | 95. Posidonius. |
| 45. Xanthus | 96. |
| 46. Xanthus | 97. |
| 47. Xanthus | 98. |
| 48. | 99. |
| 49. Ephorus? | 100. Personal experience. |
| 50. Ephorus? | 101. (Herod?) |
| 51. | 102. (Herod?) |

MAP TO ILLUSTRATE FF19 AND 20



Appendix 7 - Synchronistic Table.

ISRAEL	*	** JUDAH	DAMASCUS	ASSYRIA	**
David	1000-961 (1011-972)		A HADAD (Adadus, Hadadezer), defeated by David.	Aššurnirâri IV	1018-1013
Solomon	961-922 (971-932)		B REZON I (Rasun, Rezin, Hezion?), enemy of Solomon.	Aššurrâbi II	1012- 972
			HEZION	Aššurrêšî II	971- 967
Jeroboam I	922-901 (931-910)	Rehoboam	TAB-RIMMON (Tabrimon), at least 913-c.880.	Tiglatpileser II	966- 935
Nadab	901-900 (910-909)	Abijah	BEN-HADAD I (Adad-idri), c.880-c.842?	Aššurdân II	934-912
Baasha	900-877 (909-886)	Asa	(Or Ben-hadad Ia, c.880-c.860? Ben-hadad Ib, c.860-c.842?)	Adadnirâri II	911- 891
Elah	877-876 (886-885)			Tukulti-ninurta II	890-884
Zimri	876 (885)			Aššurnâšîrapli	883- 859
Omri	876-869 (885-874)	Jehoshaphat		Salmanassar III	858- 824
Ahab	869-850 (874-853)			Samsi-adad V	823-811
Ahaziah	850-849 (853-852)			Adad-nirâri III	810-783
Jehoram	849-842 (852-841)	Jehoram	C HAZAEL, c.842-c.805?	Salmanassar IV	782-772
		Ahaziah		Aššurdân III	771-754
		Athaliah		Aššurnirâri V	753-744
Jehu	842-815 (841-814)				
Jehoahaz	815-801 (814-798)	Jehoahaz	BEN-HADAD II (Bar-hadad) c.805-c.773?		
Jehoash	801-786 (797-782)	Amaziah	MARI		
Jeroboam II	786-746 (781-753)	Uzziah	D? TÂB-EL? 7		
Zachariah	746-745 (753-752)				
Shallum	745 (752)				
Menahem	745-738 (752-742)	Jotham	REZON II (Rezin, Rasun), c. 740?-732.		
Pekahiah	738-737 (741-740)				
Pekah	737-732 (739-732)	Jehoahaz			
Hoshea	732-724 (731-723)				

↓ = Father-son succession
 A-D = Separate dynasties

Appendix 8:

Chapter 4, n. 62

Did Josephus use Nicolaus as a
source for the Herodian period?

- 1879 H. Bloch, "Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus", pp. 106-116:
N used by Josephus for the Herodian period, but not Josephus' main authority.
- 1882 J. von Destinon, "Die Quellen des Fl. Josephus", pp. 10-18. 53ff, 91ff: Books 14-17 of AJ were based on N, at least where favourable to Herod. Josephus used the same sources in BJ & AJ; the differences due to his not referring to BJ when writing AJ.
- 1901 E. Shürer, "Hist. of Jewish People", vol. 1.1, pp.60-61: N is Josephus' chief authority, and besides N Josephus used only a source unfavourable to Herod (p.56); N used by Josephus for the Hellenistic period as well as Herod's reign.
- 1905 G. Hölscher, "Die Quellen des Josephus", pp. 4-36:
BJ based on N direct, but an intermediary's version of N used in AJ (Rejected by Jacoby, FGrH IIC, p.230).
- 1913 W. Otto, RE Suppl. 2, Col. 6ff: Josephus used 2 sources - 1 pro-Herod (for BJ and AJ 14) and 1 anti-Herod (AJ 15ff), both based on N. The differences in Josephus' treatment are due to the politics of these 2 anonymous authors.
- 1914 J. Juster, "Les juifs dans l'empire romain.", p.12ff:
Josephus uncritical of his source in the later books of AJ, and so adopted it wholesale.
- 1916 G. Hölscher (RE 9.1946ff) & W. Otto (RE 9.2513f):
Hölscher finds similarities in vocabulary between N's "Autobiography" FF and Josephus' BJ. Otto refutes Hölscher's conclusions, saying the parallels only show that the writer was a Greek.
- 1920 R. Laqueur, "Der jüdische Historiker Fl. Josephus", p. 136ff: From his analysis of AJ 14 and BJ 1 Laqueur concludes that N used in BJ, and again in AJ, but now altered by Josephus through an anti-Herod, nationalistic bias; AJ 15ff. have nothing to do with BJ or N.
- 1929 H. Thackeray, "Josephus, the Man and the Historian", pp. 61 and 107: N occasionally used from the beginning of AJ, and the "mainstay" of the Herod narrative. In

AJ Josephus "transcribes afresh his old authority" N, but some new material added.

- 1934 A. Momigliano, CAH 10, pp.885-886: Differences in BJ and AJ due to Josephus' use of other sources - Strabo, and especially a critical biography of Herod, perhaps by Ptolemy (of Ascalon?). Most of AJ still N "superficially worked over". He rejects Otto's thesis (1913)
- 1942 R. Marcus, LCL "Josephus", Vol. 7, footnotes to AJ 14. ~~§72ff~~, p.484ff: highly dubious of Laqueur's thesis. Cf. also Vol. 7, p.676.
- 1961 R. Shutt, "Studies in Josephus", pp. 85-92: Josephus probably used N for AJ 15-17 with other sources. The anti-Herod and anti-N sections were inserted in a 2nd ed. of AJ.
- 1962 B. Z. Wacholder, "Nicolaus of Damascus", p.64: Josephus used N more in AJ than BJ. Cf. also pp. 5-6, 62, 92f nn.45-61, 120 nn. 106-107.

Appendix 9:

Comparative Table
of
Nicolaus' "Autobiography" and Josephus AJ and BJ.

Nicolaus' "Autobiography"

F 134
(14BC)
Nicolaus, with Herod's assistance, frees the Trojans from indemnity imposed by Agrippa. Whole story recorded which provoked Agrippa to this act.

F 135
(12BC)
N accompanied Herod to Rome to see Augustus in 12 BC. Mission not stated, but N taken along as an "intellectual companion".

F 136
(8 BC)
Herod attacked Arabia without Augustus' permission, and his ambassadors who went to Rome rejected. N sent to Rome, absolved Herod and attacked his accusers. Augustus later put Syllaesus the Arab to death.

Josephus' "Antiquities"(AJ)

16.2.3 Agrippa reconciled to the people of Ilium by Herod (much less detailed than N but congruent). Herod's generosity and philanthropy exemplified.

16.4.1ff Herod travels to Rome to accuse his sons, (Alexander and Aristobulus) before Augustus. Whole episode described at length (16.4.1-4.5), but N not mentioned.

16.9.1-9.4 Reasons for Herod's attack on Arabia; the campaign justified. Augustus angry and Jewish ambassadors sent back. N sent to Rome.

16.10.8 N clears Herod of charges, and in a speech details background to the trouble. Syllaesus condemned, and Augustus reconciled to Herod.

Josephus' "War" (BJ)

1.23.3 Only Alexander mentioned by name here, as in AJ, as being in Rome. Very short account compared with AJ.

Nicolaus' "Autobiography"

F 136
(7 BC)

Alexander and Aristobulus convicted of plotting against Herod while N in Rome. On returning N advises caution, but Antipater arouses his father. Herod murdered them one night.

F 136
(5 BC)

Antipater violently hated everywhere; buys poison in Egypt to kill Herod, but accomplice reveals to Herod Antipater's schemes to kill Salome and remaining heirs. Antipater tried before Varus and other officials, N leading prosecution. Antipater condemned, but N proposes he should be sent for final judgement to Augustus, since he had intrigued against him also. But when letter seen from Augustus,

Josephus' "Antiquities" (AJ)

16.11.1-
3,7.

Herod has his sons condemned at Berytus; Herod eager to kill them. The youths strangled and buried at night. N had advised only imprisonment, as friends in Rome also thought.

17.1.1-2; Antipater gains Herod's

2.4; confidence and tries to ensure support of others by bribery.
4.2-
5.8;
7.1. Salome takes precautions against him. Herod looks after his grandchildren; Antipater hated and the orphans pitied. Pheroras, Herod's youngest brother, enmeshed by Antipater, and their intrigues revealed to Herod by Salome. Herod learns of Antipater's schemes by torturing some women, and these

Josephus' "War" (BJ)

1.27.2-6 Same story as AJ, incl. episodes of the soldier Tiro and Herod's barber Trypho, but briefer. No mention of N.

1.28.1- A briefer but
33.7 similar account of AJ version.

Nicolaus' "Autobiography"

punishment of death carried out; accomplice killed. Antipater had tried to kill father, and succeeded in murder of his brothers. N praised by all for a "masterly prosecution".

Fl 36.8
(4 BC) Herod soon died. People rise against his children and the Hellenes, of whom

Josephus' "Antiquities" (AJ)

confirmed by an accomplice called Antipater. Egyptian drug prepared for Herod and entrusted to Pheroras. Antipater returns from Rome, and tried before Varus at Jerusalem. Herod accuses Antipater but breaks down and N takes over. Antipater's defence effective, but N makes second denunciation at length. Letter sent to Augustus. Plot against Salome discovered. Intrigue at Augustus' court. Letter from Augustus tells Herod to do his wishes on Antipater. Herod kills him.

17.8.1-2; Death of Herod, and his funeral.
9.1-2 Riots against Archelaus and other

Josephus "War" (BJ)

1.33.8-9 Herod's death and funeral.
2.1.3 Same as AJ, but shorter.

there were more than 10,000; the Greeks win. 3000 Jews killed in the riot.

Fl36.2
-11.

Archelaus sailed to Rome for settlement of kingdom, and invited N to go along with him. Factions against Archelaus: Antipas, other relations, Greek cities wanting freedom, and Jews complaining of killing of the 3000. N speaks for Archelaus and confutes charges of relatives and Jews; advises Archelaus to give Greeks their independence and be reconciled with Antipas. Augustus' settlement: Archelaus to be ethnarch (king later, if good enough)

Herodians. At Passover, disturbances in the Temple, and Archelaus puts this down with a loss of about 3000 men. No mention of anti-Greek rising.

17.9.3-7; Archelaus goes to 11.1-4. Caesarea with N, other friends and relations (latter intending to accuse him). Varus at Archelaus' request prevents procurator Sabinus sequestering Herod's property. Antipas also to Rome encouraged by Salome. Opposition to Archelaus: Antipas, relatives who support Antipas to get their own ends, (and letter from Sabinus). Salome's son, Antipater, attacks Archelaus and N speaks in defence, both at length.

2.2.1-7 and
2.6.1-3: Same as AJ, but shorter.

Nicolaus' "Autobiography"

with half of kingdom;
brothers Antipas and
Philip to be tetrarchs
with rest of kingdom.
N honoured by Augustus.

Josephus' "Antiquities" (AJ)

Augustus puts off his
decision. Jewish
delegation of 50
arrives and asks for
autonomy, supported
by 8000 Roman Jews,
and attacks Herod's
evil rule. N
defends Herod's acts
and deprecates these
posthumous attacks;
Jewish killings
brought about by
their own folly and
lawlessness.
Augustus settled
kingdom (as recorded
in N's "Autobiography").
Greek cities, includ-
ing Gaza, Gadara and
Hippus, added to
Syria and not subject
to Archelaus.

Josephus' "War" (BJ)

Appendix 10:

Chapter 4, n. 109.

Wacholder, pp. 62-63. The passages of both Josephus and N are rather vague. N (90, F 136.1) says Augustus (in 8 BC) condemned Syllaes (κατέγνων) and only later killed him. The meaning of κατέγνων is not clear, but N does not say that Syllaes was condemned to death. The ὕστερον.... ἀπέκτεινεν clearly refers to 4 BC when Syllaes was executed (see n. 108) and agrees with Josephus. In Josephus (AJ 16.10.9) Syllaes was condemned to death by Augustus in 8 BC (τοῦ μὲν Συλλαίου καταγνῶναι θάνατον), but nevertheless sent back to Arabia for punishment and to pay off his debts, and killed in 4 BC. The accounts of both N and Josephus (apart from θάνατον) are therefore congruent. Josephus cannot have missed out the word ὕστερον at this point, as Wacholder thinks, since it would make nonsense of the narrative, as - "Finally, Augustus changed his attitude so much that he later condemned Syllaes to death and was reconciled to Herod." The narrative obviously requires the two decisions to be effective immediately.

There seem to be two possible explanations:

(i) Either Josephus found only the word "condemned" in the "Histories" (as it was in the "Autobiography"), and assumed N meant "to death"; or

(ii) N may have exaggerated what happened. This would be supported by: (a) If Syllaes was to be killed, there would be little sense in sending him back to Arabia to settle his debts and offer a chance for insurrection or escape, especially as the main debt to Herod and the loan contracts were known, read out in court, and could be settled in Rome. (b) "Augustus", says Josephus, "said something like this to Syllaes, that he had been compelled by his lying account to act unfairly towards a friend". The τι τοιοῦτον may hide a plausible invention by N in praise of Herod, and seems a mild rebuke in the circumstances. (c) The meaning of part of the following in Josephus is not clear: τὸ δὲ σύμπαν, ὃ μὲν Σύλλαιος ἀνεπέρπετο, τὰς δίκας καὶ τὰ χρέα τοῖς δεδανεικόσιν ἀποδώσων, εἴθ' οὕτω κολασθῆσόμενος (AJ 16.10.9), i.e. "to pay the penalty and then to be punished like that". It may be that Augustus did not condemn Syllaes to death, but only ordered him to make complete restitution (see AJ 17.3.2 and BJ 1.29.3, where it is stated Syllaes "had not carried out any of Caesar's orders") and guarantee his future behaviour.

Otherwise, it is difficult to see why he was still alive and intriguing in 4 BC, and why the death sentence had not been carried out.

Appendix 11:

What was the title
of
Nicolaus' biography of Augustus?

There are four pieces of positive evidence about the title: (i) At the beginning of F 125 we read that the narrative following was taken from Nicolaus' account *περὶ πρώτης Καίσαρος ἀγωγῆς*.¹ (ii) At the end of F 129 are appended the words *τέλος τῆς ἱστορίας Νικολάου Δαμασκηνοῦ καὶ τοῦ βίου Καίσαρος τοῦ νέου* ;² (iii) A further variation is given at the end of F 130 - *τέλος τοῦ βίου Καίσαρος καὶ τῆς Νικολάου Δαμασκηνοῦ συγγραφῆς* ;³ (iv) The only external reference to the biography is by Suda⁴ - *ἔγραψεν [sc. Νικόλαος] τοῦ βίου Καίσαρος ἀγωγήν*.

The apparent confusion is explained away if the first three citations are regarded as indications of the contents rather than the title. There are good grounds for doing this: (i) heads the first extract, and seems to be the Excerptor's words to give readers some idea of the substance following. In the codex 90 F 125 follows 90 F 70, the latter mistakenly included in the "Histories" excerpts.⁵ The Excerptor's meaning is thus "this is from the same author, and is about Caesar's [i.e. Augustus'] early education/life". (ii) and (iii) suggest the biography was either a *Βίος Καίσαρος τοῦ νέου* or more simply *Βίος Καίσαρος*. Both cannot be correct, unless Nicolaus divided his work into separate sections dealing with different periods or aspects of Augustus' life; (ii) would then clearly be suitable as a sub-title. On the other hand, the use of sub-titles for different sections of the work is undocumented in ancient biography. There are thus two possibilities: Both these phrases are descriptions of the contents, and are simply used to show the end of the extracts from Nicolaus; they should then be written in small letters. Alternatively, since both have *Βίος Καίσαρος* this phrase was part, if not the whole, of the title, and should be put in capital letters.

Suda's *τοῦ βίου Καίσαρος ἀγωγήν* has been the subject of many attempts at emendation. As it stands it is nonsensical - "the training (education?) of the life of Caesar". In this particular sentence Suda's text has already shown its

1. P.391.4-5. See also Laqueur RE 17.403.
2. P.397.23-24.
3. P.420.26-27.
4. s. *Νικόλαος Δαμασκηνός* = 90 T 1.
5. See p.134f.

unreliability⁶ It is thus reasonable to be sceptical of its evidence here. Gutschmid changes βίου to νέου,⁷ but Daub to Σεβαστοῦ.⁸ Bernhardt brackets βίου,⁹ but the result here is to give the impression that the biography was only about Augustus' ἀγωγή, and this is clearly not so.¹⁰ Müller suggests καὶ τὸν βίον Καίσαρος καὶ τὴν ἀγωγήν.¹¹ There are two other possibilities - τὸν βίον Καίσαρος Αὐγούστου,¹² or τοῦ βίου Καίσαρος λόγον. The latter especially involves only slight change to make sense, describes the contents of the whole book and not just parts, and is a word known to have been used by Nicolaus in similar circumstances to mean an "account" or "history".¹³ On the other hand, it would be unwise to place too much weight on Suda or to regard its words as anything more than a brief record that such a biography was written.

It is impossible from the divergent readings to come to definite conclusions. Jacoby suggests περὶ τοῦ βίου Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀγωγῆς(?) at the beginning of 90 F 125,¹⁴ but earlier calls it Βίος Καίσαρος τοῦ νέου.¹⁵ Wacholder seems to accept the former.¹⁶ Both are

6. See p.14.

7. A. von Gutschmid, "Kleine Schriften", vol. 5, (1894), p.539.

8. A. Daub, "Rhein. Mus." 35 (1880), p.63.

9. See FGrH IIA, p.325, app. crit.

10. Only 90 FF 125-129 can strictly be considered part of his ἀγωγή, and these comprise only a small part even of the extant material. The Καισαροπαιδεία of W. Witte, "De Nicolai D. frag. Romanorum fontibus", p.28, is also too restrictive a title.

11. FHG, vol. 3, p.343, n.2.

12. Dio Cassius makes it his usual practice to transliterate "Augustus" as Αὐγουστος rather than use the Greek form Σεβαστός.

13. See 90 F 19 = Jos. AJ 1.7.2: περὶ ὧν ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ διεξείρι τὰ ἱστορούμενα. Here Jos. records N's actual words.

14. FGrH IIA, p.391.1-2. Bibliography to CAH 10, p.897 suggests the same with query, but omits τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ.

15. Ib., p.9, between nos. 198 and 199.

16. o.c., p.27. Laqueur (RE 17.403) also supports Jacoby.

doubtless influenced by the title Suda gives to Nicolaus' autobiography, *Περὶ τοῦ ἰδίου βίου καὶ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ ἀγωγῆς*.¹⁷ Such long titles for a biography are definitely the exception. The majority are simpler headings formed with *περί*, or with the subject's name in the genitive preceded by *βίος*, *ἐγκώριον*, *παιδεία*, *ἀγωγή* and the like.¹⁸

Is there any indication that Nicolaus had some case of *Σεβαστός* in his title as Jacoby believes? All available accounts mention only *Καίσαρος*. On the other hand, at the beginning of F 125 are the words *εἰς τιμῆς ἀξιώσιν τοῦτον*,¹⁹ *οὕτω προσεῖπον οἱ ἄνθρωποι ναοῖς τε καὶ θυσίαις γεραίρουσιν*,²⁰ "because of their respect for him people address him in this way" and honour him with temples and sacrifices." *οὕτω προσεῖπον* must clearly refer to some high, reverential title. *Καίσαρ* is possible, but would hardly have called for special comment. *Σεβαστός* is much more probable. It is the reward for service given Octavian by the senate in 27 B.C. which he puts first in the "Res Gestae", and shows the importance attached to it.²¹ It is a title used invariably in official documents.

That *Θεός* may have been somewhere in the title is conceivable but unlikely. It would substitute for Suda's *βίου* to make *τοῦ Θεοῦ Καίσαρος ἀγωγήν*,²² give more point to Nicolaus' statement that Augustus was honoured with "temples and sacrifices", and provide a striking introduction to his work. Inscriptions to Augustus as *Θεός* are known, but

17. 90 T 1; Jac. IIA, p.420.28.

18. See the list in FGrH IIA, pp.2-11; no biography title remotely rivals that suggested by Jacoby for N.

19. §1.

20. One could perhaps go further and translate "address him by this title". It is interesting to note that Dio (53.16.7) uses *προσεπεῖν* in this context when describing the selection of the title "Augustus". Cf. also *ibid.* 8: *σεβαστόν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐλληνίζοντες πῶς προσεῖπον*.

21. RG 34.

22. The difficulty mentioned in n. 10 would however still be there.

usually coupled with the name of "Roma". As early as 29 BC Greeks in Pergamum and Nicomedia were allowed to establish *τερένη* to him. Dio suggests these were consecrated to him alone,²³ but the dedication was very probably to Roma also.²⁴ Pergamene coins certainly associate the two names.²⁵ There would therefore be sufficient evidence and precedent for Nicolaus to make claims for Augustus as *Θεός*. Such adulation was acceptable in the East,²⁶ but was discouraged at least in Rome.²⁷

Since the biography is more than an *ἀγωγή*, and this is only part of a *βίος*, it is reasonable to assume that *ἀγωγή* was not part of the title. Certainly no known work combines the two words. It is impossible with present evidence to reach firm conclusions. The weight of probability is that Nicolaus' work may have been either *Βίος Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ* or *Περὶ τοῦ βίου Καίσαρος τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*.²⁸

23. 51.20.7.

24. As for example the "Augusteum" at Ancyra (Ehrenberg and Jones, p.91, No. 109 a = Dittenberger, OGIS, no.533)

25. Cf. H. Mattingly, "Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum", vol. 1, p.114, Nos. 705f - a tetradrachm of 19-18 BC: "Rom. et August. Com. Asiae". Cf. also Suetonius (Aug. 52): "Templa.... in nulla tamen provincia nisi communi suo Romaeque nomine recepit". See also my pp. 298-300.

26. See A.D. Nock, CAH X, p. 481.

27. Suet. Aug. 52: "in urbe quidem pertinacissime abstinuit hoc honore" (ref. to "templa").

28. Cf. F. Buerger, "De N.D. Frag. Escorial.", p.8: perhaps *Βίος τοῦ τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος*.

Appendix 12:

Scatter-diagram of the Contents of the biography of Augustus.

The meaning of the symbols is as follows:

Υ	=	γένος.
π	=	παίδευσις.
θ	=	τὸ θεῖον.
φ	=	φύσις.
δ	=	δίαιτα.
ε	=	εἶδος.
C	=	connection or relationships of Caesar with Octavian.
c	=	relationships or activities of Caesar unconnected with Octavian.
M	=	references to Octavian's mother, Atia.
P	=	references to Octavian's step-father, Philippus.
p	=	political events unconnected with Octavian.
p ^o	=	political events connected with Octavian.
r ^o	=	reaction of people to Octavian.
r ^c	=	reaction of people to Caesar.
f ^o	=	friends of, or friendship for, Octavian.
f ^c	=	friends of, or friendship for, Caesar.
mm	=	"mores maiorum"; references to tradition.
m	=	references to the murderers of Caesar.
h	=	references to health.
β	=	concrete biographical information of Octavian's actions and movements.
α ^o	=	ἀπολογία of Octavian.
α ^c	=	ἀπολογία of Caesar.
v ^o	=	attacks on the enemies of Octavian.
v ^c	=	attacks on the enemies of Caesar.
ευ	=	εὐεργεσίαι.
A	=	references to Antony.
O	=	references to Octavian.

[illegible]

	γ	π	θ	φ	δ	ε	C	c	M	P	p	ṗ	ṙ	ṛ	f	mm	h	β	α	ν	ν'	ε	υ	A	m	O	α'	f'	
49							X			X		X								X		X	X					X	
50							X			X		X							X	X			X	X					
51			X				X	X			X				X			X	X	X						X			
52						X		X		X	X	X								X					X	X			
53	X		X			X	X		X	X	X	X							X	X					X	X			
54						X	X	X	X	X	X								X							X			
55						X	X			X	X				X			X	X							X			
56						X	X			X	X	X	X	X				X	X							X			
57						X					X				X			X	X								X		
B.																													
58							X	X			X	X		X											X	X			
59								X			X			X						X					X		X	X	
60								X			X			X						X					X				
61								X			X			X											X				
62								X			X			X						X					X			X	
63								X			X			X											X			X	
64								X			X			X											X				
65																									X			X	
66								X																	X				
67								X			X			X						X					X		X	X	
68								X			X																		
69								X			X			X						X					X		X		
70								X						X														X	
71								X			X														X				
72								X						X						X					X	X			
73								X			X			X											X				
74								X			X														X				
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76								X			X																	X	
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78								X			X			X											X	X			
79								X			X			X												X		X	
80								X			X			X							X				X				
81								X			X										X				X				
82			X					X			X														X				
83			X					X			X														X			X	
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89								X			X														X				
90								X			X										X				X				
91								X			X														X			X	
92								X			X														X				
	γ	π	θ	φ	δ	ε	C	c	M	P	p	ṗ	ṙ	ṛ	f	mm	h	β	α	ν	ν'	ε	υ	A	m	O	α'	f'	

Appendix 13:

The Chronology of §§67-106 of the biography.

(i) § 67: Honours given to Caesar arouse opposition. For most of the section Nicolaus refers to *τιμὰι* in general. These are so vague that it is fruitless to investigate what Nicolaus may have had in mind. They would nevertheless antedate the material of the other sections leading up to Caesar's assassination. Towards the end of §67 he becomes a little more specific. The decree which gave most offence was that which took away the people's power to appoint magistrates. It is impossible to be sure from Nicolaus' text whether he was referring to a complete or only partial limiting of popular voting, though the former seems likely. As early as 48, according to Dio, all the *ἀρχαιτελείαι* except those of the plebs had passed into Caesar's hands.¹ At various dates thereafter he details, though not with complete consistency and clarity, how complete control over "elected" officialdom was achieved.² This stage seems to have been reached through the law passed in 44 through the tribune L. Antonius, probably as part of the preparations for the Parthian campaign.³ This section, then, has a single theme, but the honours envisaged in it seem to begin at least as early as 48 and continue until shortly before Caesar's death.

(ii) §68: *λογοποιίαι* - (a) Egypt to be mistress of the Empire⁴. Although some rumours about Cleopatra and Caesar may have started after his stay in Alexandria (48/47 BC), the type of criticism behind Nicolaus' comments doubtless arose from Cleopatra's presence in Rome as Caesar's mistress, installed as she was in Caesar's house on the Janiculum,⁵ and from the various honours he bestowed on her.⁶ The detestation which Cicero had for her, though not expressed in extant letters before Caesar's death,⁷ was probably echoed by many a senator from her arrival in Rome in mid-46 BC.⁸ Doubtless increasing grounds for criticism against Caesar for openly violating the "mores maiorum" arose

1. 42.20.4.

2. 43.14.5, 42.3, 45.1, 47.1, 51.1ff. Cf. also Suet. Caes. 41, 76; Appian BC 4.91; D-G 3.612; Holmes, RR, 3.315.

3. Cic. Phil. 7.16; Dio 43.51.1-3; D-G 3.612f. Jacoby (FGrH IIC, p.274) accepts that N is referring to the preparations Caesar made before his departure for Parthia.

4. Refs. to Egypt and Caesarion: Cic. Att. 14.20.2; Plut. Caes. 49.5, Ant. 54.4; Suet. Caes. 52.1-2, Aug. 17.5; Dio 47.31.5.

5. Cic. Att. 15.15.2; Dio 43.27.3.

6. Dio (ibid.) - Ally of the Roman People; App. BC 2.102

after his return to Rome from Spain about the end of August or beginning of September 45.⁹ (b) The capital of the Empire to be Troy:¹⁰ Caesar granted *ἐλευθερία* and *ἀλλεπουργήσι* to the city in the summer of 48 BC.¹¹ Whether this or some other act gave rise to the rumour, or the time it was particularly prevalent, can not now be ascertained.¹²

(iii) §§ 69-70: (a) § 69 - The Golden Statue of Caesar on the Rostra. The crown which appeared on its head was removed by L. Caesetius Flavus and C. Epidius Marullus, tribunes for 44 BC.¹³ Before a meeting of the Senate in the Temple of Concord Caesar denounced them and removed them from office. (b) § 70: Caesar is hailed as king.

The main problem is to decide whether these two events took place on the same or different days. There is wide divergency among the sources on this. Nicolaus himself is vague. Suetonius seems to put both down to the same occasion¹⁴ - the occasion when on 26th January 44¹⁵ Caesar rode back into Rome after celebrating the "Feriae Latinae" on the Alban Mount. Plutarch mentions the event of Nicolaus' § 70 as taking place when Caesar returned from Alba, but puts the intercalation between Caesar and the tribunes after the Lupercalia affair.¹⁶ Dio¹⁷ and Appian¹⁸ also refer to two

(Statue of Cleopatra in the Temple of Venus Genetrix); Suet. Caes. 52.

7. Att. 14.8.1. (15th or 16th April 44), 20.2 (11th May); 15.1.5 (17th May), 4.4 (24th May), 15.2 (13th? June), 17.2 (14th June).

8. D-G 3.551; Holmes, RR, 3.287, 505.

9. See p.448f.

10. Also mentioned by Suet. Caes. 79.3.

11. Strabo 13.1.27.

12. Hall (p.86, n.5) seems to support the view of E. Meyer ("Caesars Monarchie", p.521) that the rumours had some strong basis in fact. Such rumours were common also in the time of Augustus and later - see esp. C. Pascal, "Rendiconti dell' Istit. Lomb." 57 (1924), pp.713-724, who argues that Virgil (showing how Rome was chosen as a site for the Trojans by the gods), and Livy (e.g. 5.51-55, 24.18) among others were reacting to these rumours of the transfer of power from Rome.

13. T.R.S. Broughton, MRR 2.323, 324; F. Münzer, RE 3.1310

separate occasions, but put them both before the Lupercalia. It is possible that the pro-monarchic acclamations when Caesar returned from Alba may have been given more concrete expression by wreathing his statue.¹⁹ On the other hand one should not overlook the fact that all accounts, except Plutarch, have the Statue episode preceding the popular demonstrations. It is perhaps more likely, then, that the former took place in early or mid-January 44 before the 20 episode of §70 which can definitely be dated to 26th January.

and 6.59.

14. Suet. Caes. 79.1. Holmes (RR 3.334) believes Suetonius dates both events to the same day; but Suetonius does not specifically say so.
15. CIL 1.461. See also E. Hohl, *Klio* 34 (1941), p.95.
16. Caes. 60.2, 61.4-5.
17. 44.9.3, 10.1-2.
18. BC 2.108.
19. Dio (44.4) refers to two statues. See also Hall, p.86, n.6.
20. There may however have been several skirmishes between Caesar and the tribunes before he banished them [so N §69; App. BC 2.122, 138. Banishment is not accepted by Münzer (RE 3.1311) or Groebe, D-G 3.620, n.5)] or merely removed them from office (Suet. Caes. 79.1; Dio 44.9.3; Plut. Caes. 61.5, Ant. 12.4; App. BC 2.108, 4.93; Cic. Phil. 13.31; Livy Epit. 116; Vell. 2.68.4-5). Velleius, for what his statement is worth, avers that Caesar was often provoked by them. The Golden Statue episode may have been only the first of a series of clashes (cf. esp. Dio 44.10.1-2) which eventually induced Caesar (between the Lupercalia and his death?) to bring their case before the Senate. The confusion of date could therefore be due to a confusion and contraction of several different episodes. M. Gelzer, "Caesar", p.319, puts the "Rex" episode shortly after the "Crown" episode.

(iv) §§ 71-75: The affair of the Lupercalia²¹ - 15th February, 44²².

(v) § 76: Restoration of the tribunes:²³ The measure was proposed by the praetor L. Cornelius Cinna, allegedly with Caesar's permission. According to Nicolaus, the bill was passed shortly after the Lupercalia,²⁴ but he does not specifically say that the tribunes' recall took effect before Caesar's death. Appian's references to the assassins' pleas after Caesar's death that the tribunes should be recalled could thus be interpreted as a request for a vote of confidence by Brutus and Cassius in what they had done - i.e. that the people should show their approval of the murder by supporting Cinna's motion and welcoming back Caesar's tribunician opponents. If Nicolaus is correct, Cinna's

21. Cic. Phil. 2.84; 87; 3.12; 5.38; 13.17, 31, 41; Cic. De Divin. 1.119, 2.37; Val. Max. 1.6.13; Livy Epit. 116; Vell. 2.56.4; Florus 2.13.91; Plut. Caes. 61.1-4, Ant. 12; Quint. 9.3.61; Suet. Caes. 79.2; Dio 44.11.1-3, 45.30; App. BC 2.109.
22. CIL 1².310.
23. See (iii) and n. 20. It is possible that N misunderstood the term "a re publica summovere/removere" (used of this episode by Cic. Phil. 13.31 and Vell. 2.68.5) to refer to actual banishment, whereas its usual connotation is simply "from participation in state affairs" or "from office" (cf. Lewis & Short, pp.1563, col. 3, s.v. "removeo" II, and p.1802, s.v. "summoveo" II). A similar error could thus be made over some such phrase as "in rem publicam redire". Whether actual banishment or removal from power occurred, it affects the dating issue little. Hall (p.87.20.9) thinks the tribunes probably went into voluntary exile. Cf. also Gelzer, o.c., p.319.
24. N § 76: *Κίννας δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ δόγμα ἐκύρωσεν κατιέναι τοὺς ἀπελαθέντας δημάρχους*. N thus states that the measure was actually passed before Caesar's death.

proposal was made between 15th February and 15th March 44, but had not taken effect by Caesar's death. This seems more probable than that the whole affair did not take place until after 15th March.²⁵

(vi) § 77: Caesar presides over the consular elections and appoints Hirtius and Pansa for 43, and D. Brutus and Plancus for 42. Caesar's power to appoint half of the magistrates was granted by the "plebiscitum" carried by L. Antonius sometime between 10th December 45 and 15th March 44.²⁶ The consulship, however, may have been excluded from this;²⁷ Nicolaus simply states that Caesar derived his power from a *δοῦρα*. The appointments are dated by Nicolaus, it would seem, to after (iv) and (v) above - late February or early March 44.

(vii) §§ 78-79: The Senators approach him with further honours, but Caesar receives them seated.²⁸ There is no definite indication of when the event took place, and considerable divergence among the sources in the order in which

25. The view that Cinna did not introduce the measure until after Caesar's death (Broughton MRR 2.320-321; Münzer RE 4.1288) is made less likely by the great antagonism of the people towards him, which Broughton himself quotes (App. BC 2.126, 137, 147, and s.v. "C. Helvius Cinna", ib. 324).
26. Broughton, MRR 2.323; Hall 88.22.2; D-G 1.387, and cf. the discussion in 3.612-615.
27. Suet. Caes. 41 (but Suet. may not be referring to the legislation of Antonius); Cic. Phil. 7.16 gives no clear details, but Dio (43.51.3) seems to agree with him and suggests that Caesar's choosing of the consuls was an extension of the power he was granted by Antonius' bill. Cf. also App. BC 4.93.
28. Livy Epit. 116; Plut. Caes. 57.1, 60.2-3; Suet. Caes. 78; App. BC 2.107; Dio 44.8; Eutrop. 6.25; Zonaras 10.11.

they place the events of Caesar's last months.²⁹ Nicolaus suggests it occurred after (iv) - (vi), i.e. shortly before Caesar's death.³⁰

- (viii) §§ 82-88: 15th March before Caesar's assassination.
§§ 88-90: 15th March, the assassination.
§§ 91-102: 15th March, after the assassination.
§§ 103-106: 16th March.³¹

29. See comparative tables in Appendix 16. The order of accounts: Dio (44.8.4) - before Caesar became dictator for life (between 26th Jan. and 15th Feb. 44 - cf. CIL I, p.461 and Cic. Phil. 2.87). Suet. and Appian - before Caesar's return from Alba and the Lupercalia (and Suet. even before Caesar's skirmish with Aquila, trib. 45). Plut. Caes. 60.4ff. - After "Feriae Latinae" but before Lupercalia.
30. *κατόπιν τούτου καὶ ἕτερον ἐπράχθη....* It can at least be dated to 44 BC (cf. § 78 - Antony was Caesar's fellow-consul on the occasion); Hohl (Klio 34, p.113f), however, believes that N intentionally moved the occasion to a later date than when it actually occurred, and suggests it should be placed towards the end of 45 BC. But Hohl's view is that N is unreliable throughout and his criticism seems to consist mainly of violent denunciation. Gelzer ("Caesar", p.317, n.1) follows Hohl, and states that N moved the date to after 15th February "with deliberate bias". But there is no basis for such a view, though it has recently been revived by F. Dobesch ("Caesars Apotheose", p.32f). J.P.V.D. Balsdon (review of Dobesch in "Gnomon" 39 (1967), p.152) accepts N's statement that only one consul led the procession, and puts the date to January or early February; in "Historia" 7 (1958), p.84, however, he had dated the event after 14th February. N suggests that Caesar's conduct aroused more bitter antagonism on this occasion than on any other - P.406.16f, 31-34. In § 80 N refers to one of the honours by which the conspirators intended to beguile him, viz. that he should be called *πατέρα ... τῆς πόλεως* ("Parens/Pater Patriae"), an honour given Caesar sometime in 44 (Holmes, RR, 3.331, 567). N's account implies that this was given him in March 44. Dio (44.4.4) gives no indication of dating. Appian (BC 2.106) refers to him as *σωτὴρ τῆς πατρίδος* after his return from Spain in 45. Full references, but without date assigned, in D-G 3.596, n.2.
31. N §103: *τῇ ... ὑστεραίᾳ* The discussions of the Caesarians (Lepidus, Hirtius, Balbus and Antony) in §105 presumably occurred also on the 16th before the meeting of the Senate on the 17th. See also D-G 1.407-415.

In favour of accepting Nicolaus' sequence of events is the fact that he is nearer than all other authorities to the time when the events occurred, and, at least in his narrative about Caesar, had no good reason to deliberately falsify his account. All the indications of his narrative, whatever the time sequence, are that he himself believed he was recounting the episodes in their chronological order.

Appendix 14:

A Comparison of the Arrangement in Biographies
of the
Early Period of Subjects' lives.

K e y.

- A Author's introduction.
- B Author's reasons for writing.
- C Subject's ancestry - grandparents or earlier.
- D Subject's parents.
- E Subject's birth.
- F Childhood.
- G Education.
- H Youth.
- φ φύσις.
- ε εἶδος.

- N.B: (i) φ and ε are not included if they occur long after F, G or H.
(ii) Brackets mean the particular aspect is mentioned only very briefly.

One of Nicolaus' main aims in writing, so he tells us, was to extract from a review of Octavian's life the factors which contributed to his future greatness.¹ He thus follows in the basically ethical tradition of Classical biography.² Four main topics were usually selected in such a method: ancestry, childhood, education and adolescence. To these might be added a description of the personal appearance and character of the individual, and sometimes, the circumstances of his birth. Nicolaus, unusually, commenced the whole of the biography with a eulogy of the Princeps (§1).³

In this method of constructing the early part of a

1. § 2.
2. It was one of the main objects of classical biography - see A.J. Gossage, "Plutarch", pp.48-51, 58-60; E. Jenkinson, "Nepos - An Introduction to Latin Biography", pp.2-5; A. Dihle, "Stud. zur griech. Biographie", pp. 70-74, 82-87. Cf. also Isoc. Evag. 46, Helen 31, Timoth. 114, 119; Xen. Ages. 1.6; Plut. Alex. 1.1, Comp. Demos. cum Cic. 3; Diog. Laert. Arist. 34.
3. This order has no parallel in extant Classical biography, though the evidence is admittedly rather scanty. Suetonius has virtually no introductions, but usually commences each life with the subject's ancestry. In his "Galba" (1) he tells of omens presaging Nero's death, and in the "Vespasian" has a very brief introduction on the Flavians in general. Neither of these can be considered introductions of the same scope as N's, but it is possible that the Julians received the same treatment and that the account of Caesar may also have had a preface, now lost, explaining Suetonius' motives and his principles of writing. Plutarch has introductions on a variety of topics preceding slightly more than one-third of the Lives (18 Prefaces out of 50 Lives - see the Lives which begin with an unbracketed "A"). The early part of his "Caesar" may be lost. In none however does he first write a panegyric of his subject before generalising, speculating, criticising or moralising. The same is true of Tacitus' "Agricola", since Agricola himself is first mentioned at the end of §3. In his "Evagoras" Isocrates does not develop the narrative of his subject until §12. Nepos has only a few introductions, but this is not surprising in view of the extreme brevity of most of the "Vitae" (see esp. the "Pelopidas, and "Epaminondas"). There are however five "Lives" with assessments of *φύσις*, but all first

biography it is inevitable that there should be some similarity between different authors, perhaps monotony in several biographies from the same writer. Commencing with the subject's *γένος* was by far the most common method of opening the biography proper.⁴ This is so in Nicolaus, where it occupies just over four lines (§3). Although, as the analysis following shows, there is similarity between Isocrates' "Evagoras", Nepos' "Atticus", Nicolaus and Tacitus in the aspects of early life they include, there is variation both in order and length. Whereas Suetonius keeps to a stereotyped pattern,⁵ and follows approximately the same order of exposition as Nicolaus, Plutarch shows greater resourcefulness in avoiding a repetitive layout. In brief, although Nicolaus began his biography with a eulogy, he is in general conventional in the content and layout of the early part of his work.

mention the subject's origin: see the "Pausanias" 1.1 (a very short review of his good and bad qualities); "Alcibiades" 1; "Thrasybulus" 1.1-3; "Timotheus" 1.1; "Phocion" 1. Xenophon's "Cyropaedia" has an introduction (1.1.1-2) before the eulogy of Cyrus (1.1.3-6).

4. Very common in Plutarch - see esp. F. Leo, pp.180-182. All Suetonius' "Vitae" make an important feature of this. Cf. also G.B. Townend, "Suetonius and his Influence", pp.82-83.
5. A CDEFH pattern, with little *φύσις* or *εἶδος*.

Nicolaus	"Vita Augusti"	A	Φ	B	C	D	F	Φ	G	H	ε
Isocrates	Evagoras	A	B	C	E	F	Φ	G			
Xenophon	Cyropaedia	A	Φ	B	D	C	(ε)	G	(F)	H	
"	Agesilaus	A	Φ	B	C	D					
Nepos	Miltiades	(D)	C	Φ							
"	Themistocles	(D)	H	Φ	D	Φ					
"	Aristides	(D)	Φ								
"	Pausanias	Φ									
"	Cimon	(D)	H								
"	Lysander	Φ									
"	Alcibiades	(D)	ε	Φ							
"	Thrasybulus	(D)	Φ								
"	Conon										
"	Dion	<u>D</u>	<u>Φ</u>								
"	Iphicrates	Φ									
"	Chabrias										
"	Timotheus	(D)	Φ								
"	Datames	D	Φ								
"	Epaminondas	(D)	A	(C)	G	H					
"	Pelopidas	A									
"	Agesilaus	A									
"	Eumenes	Φ	(C)	H							
"	Phocion	Φ									
"	Timoleon	Φ									
"	Hamilcar	D	H								
"	Hannibal	D	Φ								
"	Cato	H									
"	Atticus	C	D	F	G	Φ	(D)	H			
Suetonius	Caesar	?	?	E	?	?	H	Φ			
"	Augustus	C	D	E	F	H					
"	Tiberius	C	D	E	F	H					
"	Caligula	D	E	F	H						
"	Claudius	D	(C)	E	F	H	G	Φ			
"	Nero	C	D	E	F	H					
"	Galba	(A)	C	D	E	F	H				
"	Otho	C	D	E	H	Φ					
"	Vitellius	C	D	E	F	H	Φ				
"	Vespasian	C	D	E	F	H					
"	Titus	D	Φ	E	F	Φ	H				
"	Domitian	E	(D)	H							
Plutarch	Theseus	A	B	(D	E	Φ)	C	D			
"	Romulus	A	C	D	E	ε	Φ	F	G	H	
"	Lycurgus	(A)	D	C	Φ						
"	Numa	(A)	(C)	D	E	Φ					
"	Solon	D	C	Φ							
"	Publicola	C	Φ								
"	Themistocles	(C)	D	F	Φ	G	H				
"	Camillus	Φ	C								
"	Pericles	A	B	(Φ)	C	D	E	ε	G	Φ	

Plutarch	Fabius Maximus	C	F	Φ					
"	Alcibiades	C	D	(F)(G)	ε	Φ	F	G	H
"	Coriolanus	C	D	Φ (F)					
"	Timoleon	A	D	(C) Φ					
"	Aemilius Paulus	A	B	C	D	H	Φ		
"	Pelopidas	A	Φ	D	C	H			
"	Marcellus	D	Φ	H					
"	Aristides	(D)	C	F	Φ				
"	Cato the Elder	(E)	C	D	ε	Φ	H		
"	Philopoemen	D	G	ε	Φ	F	(H)		
"	Flaminius	ε	Φ	H					
"	Pyrrhus	C	D	F	H	ε			
"	C. Marius	A	ε	Φ	D				
"	Lysander	ε	D	C	G	(F)(H)			
"	Sulla	C	(D)	ε	Φ				
"	Cimon	A	(Φ)	D	C	(F)(H)(G)	Φ		
"	Lucullus	C	D	H	G	Φ			
"	Nicias	A	B	D	Φ				
"	M. Crassus	D	Φ	H					
"	Sertorius	A	D	F	G	H			
"	Eumenes	D	G	H					
"	Agésilas	D	G	H	Φ	ε			
"	Pompey	D	Φ	ε					
"	Alexander	A	C	D	E	ε	F	Φ	H
"	J. Caesar	Introductory part lost?							
"	Phocion	A	Φ						
"	Cato the Younger	C	(D)	F	Φ	H			
"	{ Agis	A	C	D	Φ	H			
"	{ Cleomenes	H	Φ	G					
"	{ Tib. Gracchus	D	G	Φ					
"	{ C. Gracchus	Φ							
"	Demosthenes	A	B	Φ	D	F	G	H	
"	Cicero	D	C	E	F	G	Φ	H	
"	Demetrius	A	B	Φ	D	ε	H		
"	Antonius	C	D	F	H	Φ			
"	Dion	A	D	Φ	G				
"	M. Brutus	C	Φ	D	G				
"	Artaxerxes	C	D	Φ	F				
"	Aratus	A	B	D	H	G	ε		
"	Galba	A	C						
"	Otho	(In "Life of Galba": C (F) Φ).							
Tacitus	Agricola	A	B	C	D	G	F	H	Φ

Appendix 15:

Chapter 7, n. 2.

Laqueur argues that Nicolaus has amplified his main source by drawing on subsidiary sources, and thereby given the whole an individual note (RE 17.410). His argument is, however, unconvincing:

- (i) col. 410.31ff: Laqueur finds a contradiction (and therefore two sources) in the fact that in §14 Octavian accepts his mother's opposition to his going on war-service with Caesar, and yet in §15 N says it was Caesar who did not want him to go because of his poor health. Yet the *καί* of p.393.18 shows that N wanted the reasons of §§14 and 15 to be closely linked. O was eager to go on a campaign, it is assumed in both sections, but both Atia and Caesar dissuaded him. Laqueur finds great difficulty, too, with *παρελύετο* (line 21), arguing that there was nothing from which O needed exempting. Legally this is true. But it is important to notice that in §14 N says that O "wanted to gain experience of military affairs also" by going with Caesar to Africa - i.e. to increase his experience beyond the civilian affairs mentioned in §§12-13, which he had undertaken through Caesar's influence. He could therefore have given a promise to Caesar or received one from him that he could campaign with him; the exact circumstances may well have been missed out in N's abbreviation. It is also clear that §§14 and 15 are a unity - O was eager to represent himself as brave and manly, and therefore felt he had to justify why he did not go on the campaign (cf. Antony's propaganda about his cowardice).
- (ii) col. 411.10ff: Laqueur believes §§14-18 are synthesised from two sources - §§15-16 from one, and §§14, 17-18 from the other. His only basis is that O gains requests from Caesar for his friends in §§16 and 18, and thus repeats a theme. There is nothing unusual in this, and, as Laqueur admits, one can see a development in these two paragraphs - §16 is O's first request, and §18 demonstrates O's assistance to more friends and citizens. The development of thought is logical.
- (iii) col. 411.41ff: §17 mentions Caesar *ἤδη πεπολημένος* O his son; yet §§32 and 52 show that Caesar had not given any indication of this, and that O did not find out about it until late March 44 BC. The discrepancy, Laqueur argues, shows that §17 is from a different source. Against this there are two arguments: N could have meant that Caesar had already decided to adopt O "in his own mind", and not revealed the fact to others. Secondly, perhaps more probably, the fault could be due to slight textual corruption - *πεπολημένος* should be emended to *πολησόμενος* (see my p.510f).

- (iv) col. 412.8ff: Here, as in (iii), Laqueur fails to see the propagandist point of N's assertion that Caesar did not adopt O "only because of his *γένος*, as some think" (§30). This aspect is even clearer in §120. The theme is consistent - it was O's *ἀρετή* which influenced Caesar to adopt O. But the *γένος* taunt could best be refuted (or at least O could try to) by linking it with, and emphasising, his *ἀρετή*. See also my chapter 10, section 5.
- (v) col. 412.50ff: There is no inconsistency between N's education being carefully supervised and his visits to friends, horse-riding, etc. (§§5-6), nor is the admiration which O is alleged to have evoked from men and boys "difficult to understand" in laudatory biography.
- (vi) col. 413.60ff: According to Laqueur, in §§107-139 there are two sources, because O's departure from Rome to Campania is reported twice (§§132 and 134). Yet this is sensible in the context. Throughout §§130-135 N is justifying (and Augustus needed to!) O's action of marching to Campania to raise a private army. The most important *αἰτία* was O's alleged fear of being killed by Antony (§131). §132 naturally details his preparations to combat this, in which the departure had to be mentioned. But N, doubtless under his source's influence, cleverly minimises the significance of the march by adding the emotional details of Atia's reaction (§134) and the fear Brutus and Cassius had of O (§135). §134 does not repeat the departure circumstances of §132, but merely contrasts Atia's hesitancy and O's own determination to go to complete his "great mission".

Laqueur further objects to one source for §§107-139 by saying that there are two different views of the forces against O: (i) Antony's jealousy of O (§110), and (ii) the grasping for power of many generals (§§111-112). Agreed. But the propagandist aim of O in writing what we find in N surely was to emphasise that O was the only force for sanity and stability. Others were avaritious and concerned only for personal advantage.

Laqueur's methodology and conclusions remain unconvincing.

Appendix 16:

Chapter 7, n.137.

A comparative table of the accounts of Nicolaus
and other historians on the events leading up
to Caesar's assassination and on the immediate
aftermath.

K e y.

=	equals.
(=)	may equal.
(≠)	may not equal.
≠	does not equal.

	C	Caesar.
Plutarch	B	Life of Brutus.
"	A	Life of Antony.
Suetonius		"Divus Iulius".
Velleius		"Roman History", book 2.
Appian		"Bella Civilia".

58 Introduction to the conspiracy.

59 Number of conspirators:
more than 80 (π)?
Its leaders.

Conspirators had C's
confidence, and
had all once fought him.

60-66 - Reasons for the
conspiracy:

60 Ambition.

War sufferings.

Private grievances.

61 Esteem of conspirators.

Dislike of C's autocracy.

62 C's friends against him.

Hatred of pardoned

opponents.

63 Grievances of C's soldiers.

Dislike of autocracy.

64 C obstacle to aristocrats.

65 All types oppose him.

66 Conspiracy kept secret.

C did not read warning.

67-80 - Odium against Caesar
increases!

67 Many honours voted to C.

68 Egypt rumoured as new
centre of the Empire, or
Troy as new capital.

<u>Appian</u>	<u>Dio</u>	<u>Plutarch</u>	<u>Suetonius</u>	<u>Velleius</u>	<u>Others</u>
= 2.111	(=) 44.14.1 -3	(=) C 64.1	7 80.4 = 80.4	(=) 56.3 = 58.1	
(=) 2.111 7 2.113 (=) 2.146	7 44.9.1	(=) B 12.4		7 56.4	11 Livy Epit. 116
(=) 2.112	(=) 44.12.1			(=) 57.1	
(=) 2.111	(=) 44.1.1 -2				(=) Florus 2.13.92
(=) 2.106	(=) 44.1.1 43.46.2 (=) 43.41.3		(=) 76.1 -3 (=) 76.1 (=) 80.1		(=) Flor. ib. Livy ib.
= 2.114 = 2.116	(=) 44.18.3	(=) B 12.6 (=) C 65	= 81.4	(7) 57.2	(=) Flor. 2.13.94
(=) 2.106	(=) 43.44; 44.3f, etc	(=) C 57.2 -3	(=) 76.1 = 79.3 = 79.3		

<u>§</u>	<u>Nicolaus</u>	<u>Appian</u>	<u>Dio</u>	<u>Plutarch</u>	<u>Suetonius</u>	<u>Velleius</u>	<u>Others</u>
69	Episode of C's Golden Statue: Crown found on its head.	(=) 2.108	(≠) 44.4.5 (=) 44.9.2 (=) 44.9.3	(≠) C 61.4 (=) C 61.4	(=) 79.1 (=) 79.1		= Cic. Pro Deiot.34
	Tribunes order its removal. C accuses tribunes of having planted it, and exiles them.	≠ 2.108 ≠ 2.108 = 2.138	(=) 44.10.2 ≠ 44.10.3	≠ C 61.5 ≠ A 12.4	≠ 79.1	(≠) 68.5	(≠) Livy ibid. (≠) Cic. Phil. 13.31.
70	People want C to be king.	≠ 2.108	(=) 44.10.1	(≠) C 61.5 (≠) A 12.4	(=) 79.2		≠ Cic. Att. 13.44.1
	C refuses, only wanting consular power legally.	(=) 2.107	(≠) 44.10.1		(≠) 79.2		
71	Lupercalia episode: C sits on the Rostra; M. Antonius Lup. leader.	= 2.109	= 44.11.2	= C 61.3 = A 12.1	= 79.2		(=) Livy ibid. = Cic. Phil. 2.85 ≠ Cic. ibid.
72	Licinius offers C a crown. Lepidus refuses to put it on C's head. Cassius puts it on C's knees. Antony puts it on C's head, and C hurls it away.	= 2.109	(=) 44.11.2	(=) C 61.3f (=) A 12.2	= 79.2	(=) 56.4	(=) " Phil. 13.17
73	Antony replaces the crown; the people hail C as king.	≠ 2.109	(≠) 44.11.2 (=) 46.19.4	(≠) A 12.3	(=) 79.2		(=) Flor. 2.13.91 (=) Cic. Phil. 2.85
74	Antony had ulterior motive.						(≠) Livy ibid.
75	C orders it to be put on a nearby statue of himself.	≠ 2.122	≠ 44.11.3	≠ C 61.4 (=) A 12.4	≠ 79.2		
76	Tribunes come back from exile.						
77	C arranges consulships for two years ahead (43 & 42).	≠ 2.128 ≠ 2.138	≠ 43.51.2	(≠) C 62.2	(≠) 76.3		= Cic. Att. 14.6.2.
79	C remains seated, talking, as honours brought to him.	≠ 2.107	(=) 44.8.1f	(=) C 60.3 (≠) C 60.5	= 78.1		
80	Conspirators plan to detach C's bodyguard.	(=) 2.106f	(=) 44.7.4		(=) 86.1		(=) Cic. Phil. 13.40

§ Nicolaus

- 81-90 - Events leading up to C's assassination:
81 Place for murder decided.
82 C fixes the date of the Senate's meeting.
83 Influence of Fate evident.
Friends attempt to keep C at home;
Calpurnia also -her dreams.
84 D. Brutus induces C to go.
85 Conspirators in the Senate prepared.
86 Unfavourable sacrifices.
Omen: C faces the setting sun.
87 D. Brutus persuades C to enter the Senate.
88 Senate rises for C.
Cimber comes forward.
89 The assassination.
C had 35 (εκαὶ ᾱ) wounds.
90 C fell before Pompey's statue.
91-106 - The aftermath:
91 Senators flee in panic.
92 People flee from theatre.
M. Brutus tries to calm the people.
93 M. Brutus prevents killing of other Caesarians.
94 Assassins go to Capitol; their slogan: "liberty".

<u>Appian</u>	<u>Dio</u>	<u>Plutarch</u>	<u>Suetonius</u>	<u>Velleius</u>	<u>Others</u>
(=) 2.116	(=) 44.18.3 (=) 44.52.1	= B14.1f = B 14.2 = C 66.1	= 80.4 = 80.4 (=) 80.4 (=) 81.1	(=) 57.3	
(=) 2.115	(=) 44.17.1	(=) C63.5f (=) B 15.1 (=) C64.1-3	(=) 81.3	= 57.2	(=) Val. Max. 1.7.2
= 2.115	= 44.18.1-2		= 81.4		
(=) 2.116			(=) 81.4		
(=) 2.116					
= 2.117 = 2.117	≠ 44.19.4 (=) 44.19.4f	= C 66.3 = B 17.2 = ibid. = C66.4-6 = B17.2-4	= 82.1 (=) 82.1f		≠ Livy ibid. ≠ Flor. 2.13.95
= 2.117 ≠ 2.117	(=) 44.52.1 (44.19.5)	= C 66.7 ≠ C 66.7			
(=) 2.118f (=) 2.118	(=) 44.20.1	= C 67.1 = B 18.1	(=) 82.3		
(=) 2.119 = 2.114	(=) 44.20.3	(=) C67.2 = B18.2 = A13.2		= 58.2	(=) Cic. Att. 15.20.2
= 2.119f	(=) 44.20f	(=) B18.4 (=) C67.2		= 58.2	(=) Livy ibid.

<u>§</u>	<u>Nicolaus</u>	<u>Appian</u>	<u>Dio</u>	<u>Plutarch</u>	<u>Suetonius</u>	<u>Velleius</u>	<u>Others</u>
94	Confusion in Rome.	(=) 2.118					(=) Livy ibid.
95	Brief panegyric of C.						
96	All C's friends fled, except Sabinus & Censorinus.						
97	3 servants take C's body home. Covering over it lifted at intervals.	= 2.118			= 82.3		
98	Calpurnia distraught. Funeral arrangements begun. Gladiators stationed in Forum:				(=) 82.3		
99	D. Brutus recruited them. Assassins leave Capitol.	(=) 2.126 (=) 2.122 = 2.122	(=) 44.16.2 ≠ 44.34.2	(=) B 12.4 = B 18.5			
100	M. Brutus addresses people.	(=) 2.122	(=) 44.34.2	= B 18.6 ≠ C 67.4		≠ 58.3	
101	Assassins return to Capitol. They send representatives to Lepidus and Antony. Terms: acceptance of C's "acta". A reply promised next day.	= 2.123 (=) 2.123 ≠ 2.124f	(=) 44.34.3 (=) 44.34.3				(=) Cic. Phil. 2.89
102	Panic grips Rome during the evening of 15th March.						
103	On 16th Antony & Lepidus lead troops through Forum.	(≠) 2.126	(=) 44.22.2				
104	5105: Motives of those who joined Antony & Lepidus.						
105	"Republican" sympathisers regret that more Caesar- ians had not been killed.						(Cic. Fam. 12.4.1)
106	Antony holds talks with the assassins. Views of Lepidus & Balbus; those of Hirtius & Antony.	(≠) 2.124	(=) 44.34.4f (=) 44.34.4			(=) 58.3	

Appendix 17:

Genealogical Table : Caesar and Augustus.

Note: Suetonius is the only authority for the ancestors of Augustus. He states that C. Octavius (Trib. Mil. 205 BC) was the emperor's great-grandfather. Though neither Drumann-Groebe (vol. 4, p.234ff) nor Münzer (RE 17.1803ff) query his statement, perhaps another generation should be inserted between the above individual and C. Octavius, Augustus' grandfather. Under the conventional tabulation the generation gap seems too large.

C. JULIUS CAESAR = AURELIA

C. Julius Caesar (1) = Cornelia, (? Pinarius) = (1) Julia (2) = Q. Pedius
(d. 44)

Julia = Cn. Pompeius Magnus
(d. 54)

Julia = M. Atilius Balbus
(d. 51)

Q. Pedius
(cos. suff. 43)

? = (1) L. Marcus Philippus (2) = (2) Atia
(cos. 56) (d. 43)

Atia = L. Marcus Philippus
(cos. suff. 38)

Marcia

L. Cornelius Sulla

Q. Pompeius Rufus = Cornelia
(2) = Pompeia

L. Calpurnius Piso = Rutilia
(cos. 58)

(3) = Calpurnia

C. OCTAVIUS RUFUS
(Quaest. c. 230)

C. Octavius
(Eques)

C. Octavius
(Trib. Mil. 205)

C. Octavius

(1) = (2) C. Octavius (1) = Ancharia
(Praet. 61 d. 58)

Octavia

Cn. Octavius
(cos. 128)

Cn. Octavius
(cos. 87)

L. Octavius
(cos. 75)

M. Octavius
(Aed. 50)

C. Claudius Marcellus = (1) Octavia (2) = M. Antonius
(d. 11) (cos. 44)

Scribonia = (2) C. Octavius (3) = (2) Livia Drusilla
(AUGUSTUS)

L. Domitius Ahenobarbus = Porcia
(cos. 54, d. 49) [Sister of M. Porcius Cato Uticensis]

Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus
(cos. 32)

L. Domitius Ahenobarbus = Antonia Maior
(cos. 16)

Julia (2) = M. Vips. Agrippa
(cos. 37)

Antonia Minor = Nero Claudius Drusus
(cos. 9)

Julia (1) = M. Claudius Marcellus
(d. 23)

M. Vips. Agrippa (2) = (1) Marcella Maior
(cos. 37)

Marcella Minor (1) = Publius Aemilius Lepidus
(cos. 34)

NB. Names underlined are mentioned
in the fragments of Nicolaus.
All dates are B.C.

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Sonderdruck aus

Rheinisches Museum für Philologie

Herausgegeben von

Hans Herter

Neue Folge

112. Band, Heft 1, 1969



J. D. Sauerländer's Verlag · Frankfurt am Main

Mitteilung des Verlags

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P. OX. NO. 2330¹

AND ITS IMPORTANCE FOR THE STUDY OF
NICOLAUS OF DAMASCUS²

One of the prime considerations in evaluating the merits of a historian is to assess his technique – not only to discover his sources, where this is possible, but also to analyse the way in which he uses them, and thereby gain a rational idea of his literary and historical approach. This article is concerned with trying to establish what methods Nicolaus adopted. A certain amount of work has been done on this question and different answers suggested, but this papyrus, as will be shown later, enables us for the first time to study the actual process and not merely to attempt to deduce it.

This second century A.D. papyrus of 28 short lines records part of a letter allegedly written by a Median general called Stryangaeus to Zarinaea³), the defeated queen of the Sacae, with whom he had become infatuated. The letter is preceded by 4 ½ lines of fragmentary dialogue between Stryangaeus and an unnamed individual, and the whole breaks off in mid-sentence⁴). The authorship of the papyrus is not disputed. The anonymous “De Mulieribus” traces in the story prior to the fragment, and quotes Ctesias as the author of it⁵). More important, Deme-

1) Pap. Ox. XXII (1954), No. 2330, p. 83, ed. C. H. Roberts = F. Gr. H. 688 F 8 b.

2) c. 64 BC – at least 3 BC. Tutor to Antony and Cleopatra’s children (F. Gr. H. 90 T 2), friend and adviser of Herod the Great (90 TT 1, 3–7, 12), acquaintance of Augustus (90 TT 1, 10), historian, philosopher, diplomat.

3) For variant readings of these two names see: Nicolaus, 90 F 5; Demetrius “De Eloc.” 213 = 688 F 8 a; Tzetzes “Chil.” 12.897; Suidas, s. v. Στρυγγαῖος; P. Ox. 2330; Anon. “De Mul.” 2 = 688 F 7; Diodorus 2.34.3.

4) For fuller details of the story see: Anon. “De Mulieribus quae bello claruerunt” 2 = 688 F 7; Nicolaus, 90 F 5; Diodorus (2.34.1–5 = 688 F 1, pp. 451–453), though not mentioning this particular incident, testifies to the influential position of Zarinaea among her own people.

5) See n. 4.

trius⁶), while discussing the means of achieving *ἐνάργεια*, cites this particular part of Ctesias to exemplify his point and quotes the actual beginning of this letter, which differs only in one negligible detail from the papyrus. As Roberts points out⁷), there can thus be little doubt that the papyrus fragment contains not another version of the Ctesias original, but the text of Ctesias himself. Nicolaus also has the same story and records a letter which parallels that of Ctesias, and it is generally accepted that in 90 FF 1-5 at least he was using the Cnidian as his source⁸). Disagreement arises, however, on exactly how Nicolaus treated this material. The papyrus' importance lies in the fact that it allows a direct comparison to be made between the two historians, and an assessment of Nicolaus' methods of using part of the "Persica"⁹).

There are basically two views. Jacoby believed that in Nicolaus' narrative could be seen Ctesias' artistry in story-telling¹⁰), but several have opposed this. Laqueur maintained that Nicolaus himself was mainly responsible for his lively style of narrative by "imposing a style of his own" on the Ctesias' material¹¹). He seems to be supported by Roberts, who states that Nicolaus "rewrote and elaborated" this part of Ctesias¹²). Wacholder too feels that Laqueur's thesis is probably correct, and bases his argument on two points: (i) Diodorus' and Photius' excerpts from Ctesias reveal the latter's lively style, but Nicolaus' "dramatic presentation" is not found in either¹³); (ii) There

6) Demetrius "De Eloc." 209-213, 215-216 = 688 T 142; 213-214 = 688 F 8a. The exact words are *ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα, καὶ σὺ μὲν δι' ἐμὲ ἐσώθης, ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σὲ ἀπωλόμην* (F.Gr.H. IIC, p. 452, col. 2, lines 25-27). There is no *μὲν* after the *σὺ* in the second clause of the papyrus.

7) Op. cit. (n. 1), p. 82.

8) See F. Jacoby, F.Gr.H. IIC (Comm.), p. 235; R. Laqueur, PW XVII.I, col. 389.

9) This papyrus is virtually the only source material that has survived. 90 F 80 = Athenaeus 6.54, p. 249 A shows that Caesar B. G. 3.22 was used, but it is impossible to say with any certainty to what extent. It is omitted in the present review because its use by Nicolaus involved translation from the Latin into Greek, with inevitable changes in vocabulary and style.

10) F. Jacoby, F.Gr.H. IIC (Comm.), p. 235, lines 26-27, (Berlin 1926).

11) R. Laqueur, PW XVII.I, s.v. "Nikolaos" No. 20, col. 389 (1936). Cf also J. Gilmore, "The Fragments of the 'Persika' of Ktesias", p. 107 (London, 1888).

12) Op. cit. (1954), p. 82, lines 15-18.

13) B. Z. Wacholder, "Nicolaus of Damascus", (California, 1962), p. 68 and p. 122f, nn. 21 and 44.

is no evidence that Ctesias used dialogue for dramatic purposes¹⁴); Nicolaus' experience of writing tragedies was thus used "to heighten interest in a story"¹⁵). The second point is shown to be wrong by both Photius and Demetrius preserving pieces of dialogue from Ctesias¹⁶). As for point (i), it can reasonably be argued that it would be very unlikely for any historian given to highly-coloured descriptions, as Ctesias was, to avoid using the technique of speech and dialogue. Demetrius commends him for the interesting and dramatic quality of his writing, and this theme is elaborated by Photius¹⁷). Furthermore, it is not surprising that there is little indication of dialogue in Diodorus' and Photius' excerpts from Ctesias. Their aim seems to have been to make a fairly general précis of Ctesias, and consequently dialogue would be the first "luxury" to be dispensed with in any such process. For Ctesias to achieve these vivid qualities in his writing without the use of direct speech would be both difficult and unnecessary. It is therefore not a question of whether, but of how far he went in his utilisation of this medium, and how much Nicolaus modelled his source, for which this papyrus is of crucial importance:

Ctesias (P. Ox. 2330)

"[.] α. σ. [.] λε. απανψ. τες δ' ἐ[σ]τιν διτι ἄγος ἐνέλειπες". ὁ δ' εἶπεν· "Φέρε τὸ γοῦν πρῶτον [γ]ράμματα [γ]ράψω πρὸς Ζαρειναίαν". καὶ γράφει· "Στρυαγγαῖος Ζαρειναίαι οὕτω λέγει· ἐγὼ μὲν σε ἔσωσα, καὶ σὺ δι' ἐμὲ ἐσ[ώ]θης, ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σε ἄπω-

Nicolaus (90 F 5).

.... πρὸς τε τὸν ἐννοῦχον ᾧ δούρετο. τέλος δὲ γράψας εἰς διφθέραν ἐξώρκωσε τὸν ἐννοῦχον, ἐπειδὴν αὐτὸν διαχρήσεται, μηδὲν προκατειπὸντα τὴν διφθέραν ἀποδοῦναι Ζαριναίᾳ. ἐγγράπτο δέ· "Στρυαγγαῖος Ζαριναίᾳ λέγει τάδε· ἐγὼ μὲν σε ἔσωσά τε

14) *Ib.*, pp. 68f and 123, nn. 46-47. Wacholder cites 90 FF 3-4, 44 and 66 as examples of this technique, but these beg the question.

15) *Ib.*, p. 69. Nicolaus wrote τραγωδίας... καὶ κωμωδίας εὐδοκίμους according to Suidas, s.v. Νικόλαος = 90 F 132.1.

16) Demetrius "De Eloc." 216 = 688 F 24; Photius "Bibl." 72, 37b, p. 111 (ed. R. Henry, Brussels, 1947) = 688 F 13.13, p. 460. It is also worth noting that these extracts, from Ctesias' original, take the same question-dialogue form as 90 F 3 (conversation between Arbaces and Belesys), cited by Wacholder (p. 69) as an example of Nicolaus' dramatisation.

17) Demetrius "De Eloc." 209-213 = 688 T 142; Photius "Bibl." 72, 45a, p. 133, lines 12-15 = 688 T 13. Cf also 688 TT 11b-11c and 11h. Ctesias' "Persica" was in 23 books.

[λ]όμην, καὶ ἀπέκτεινα αὐτόν· οὐ γάρ μοι σὺ ἐβούλον
 χαρ[ί]σασθαι. ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα τὰ
 κακὰ καὶ τὸν ἔρωτα τόνδε οὐκ
 αὐτὸς εἰλόμην, ὃ δὲ θεὸς οὗτός[ς]
 ἐστὶν κοινὸς καὶ σοὶ καὶ ἅπασιν
 ἀνθρώποισιν. ὅτωι μὲν οὖν εἴλε-
 ως ἔλθῃ, πλείστα γε ἡδονὰς
 δίδωσιν, καὶ ἄλλα πλείστα ἀγαθὰ
 ἐποίησεν αὐτόν, ὅτωι δὲ ὀργιζό-
 μενος ἔλθῃ <ι> ο[ἶον]περ ἐμοὶ νῦν,
 πλείστα κ[ακὰ ἐρ]γασάμενος τὸ
 τελευταῖον πρόοριζον ἀπώλεσεν
 καὶ ἐξέτ[ρ]εψεν. τεκμαίρομαι δὲ
 τῶι ἐμῶι θανάτῳ. [ἐ]γὼ γάρ
 σοι καταράσομαι μὲν οὐδέν, ἐπεύ-
 ξομαι δὲ σοι τὴν δικαιο[τ]ά[τ]ην
 εὐχῆν· εἰ μὲν σὺ ἐμὲ [δ]ίκ[α]ια
 ἐποίησας, πολ-

* * *

καὶ τῶν νῦν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν
 αἴτιος γέγονα· σὺ δὲ με ἀπέκτει-
 νας καὶ πάντων ἀνόνητον πε-
 ποίηκας.

εἰ μὲν οὖν σοι ταῦτα πέπρακται
 δικαίως, σὺ δὲ πάντων τύχῃς
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ εἴης μακαρία·
 εἰ δὲ ἀδίκως, σὺ δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ
 πάθους ἐμοὶ πείραν λάβοις· καὶ
 γάρ μοι παρήνεσας τοιοῦτον
 γενέσθαι.”

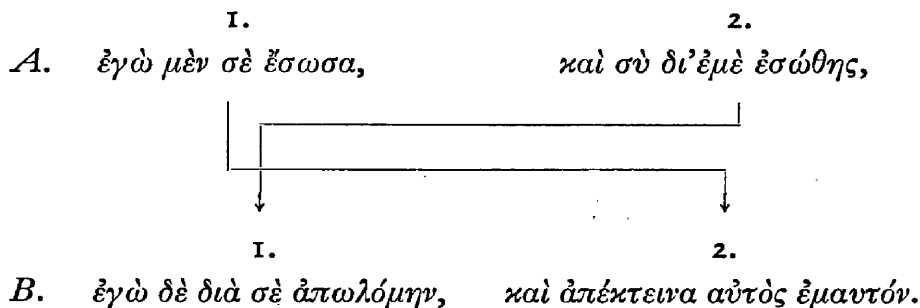
The difference between the two introductions is particularly striking: (i) To convey the feelings of Stryangaeus Ctesias used dialogue; Nicolaus abbreviates the conversation to “he poured out his troubles to the eunuch”. (ii) The Greek of the first five lines of the papyrus fragment is short and simple, but Nicolaus has woven the dialogue into more flowing language; his clauses are subordinated rather than coordinated, and the repetitive *γράφματα γράψω ... γράφει* is not adopted. (iii) For no apparent reason the perfectly acceptable *οὕτω λέγει* is changed to *λέγει τάδε*. (iv) According to Nicolaus, the eunuch was made to swear that he would say nothing about Stryangaeus’ suicide when he gave the letter to Zarinaea¹⁸), but there is nothing about this in Ctesias. This injunction can not have been found earlier than the beginning of the papyrus fragment, since Stryangaeus’ decision to write a letter is found within the compass of the

¹⁸) 90 F 5, p. 336, lines 20-22.

papyrus. Nicolaus says it happened after the writing of the letter. Ctesias must have inserted this order when the Mede had finished writing the letter; Nicolaus then transposed the order of his source and inserted it before he gave the contents of the letter.

The contents of the papyrus letter fall into two main parts – Stryangaeus reminds the queen of his good services to her and criticises the treatment she returned (lines 7–11, 24–27); secondly, he attributes the impasse between them to the influence of *ὁ θεός* (lines 11–24)¹⁹. Nicolaus in his version makes no reference to this second section, perhaps because he thought it spoilt the effect of intimate talk which had been established at the opening of the letter. The ten lines contain 42 words, and if the full argument is taken (*ἐγὼ δὲ ταῦτα – θανάτῳ*) 59, i.e. well over half the total number of words extant in the papyrus letter. This seems to suggest that Nicolaus was in the habit of dispensing with those parts of his source which detracted from the main lines of the story.

The verbal arrangements of Ctesias and Nicolaus make interesting comparison. Ctesias himself was clearly influenced by rhetoric, especially by the use of antithesis. In his first sentence (*ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα . . . , ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σὲ ἀπωλόμην*), the *μὲν* and *δέ* do not directly contrast opposing ideas but emphasise the same person, the clauses as a whole being juxtaposed, but this is not repeated by Nicolaus who writes *ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα . . . , σὺ δέ με ἀπέκτεινας*, and thereby draws attention to the two parties involved. Ctesias seems to have the antithesis here to help the chiasmic and symmetrical effect of the four lines, as:



¹⁹) Probably Eros. The *οὗτος* qualifying *ὁ δὲ θεός* would then aptly refer back to *τὸν ἔρωτα τόνδε* of the sentence before.

The four clauses and the individual words in them are carefully balanced. Not only is the active-passive sequence of the first two verbs reversed in the last two, but their meanings are also contrasted. Stryangaeus begins by laying especial emphasis on his own role towards the queen – that of saviour (*ἐγὼ ... ἔσωσα, καὶ σὺ ... ἐσώθης*). She on the other hand has been the cause of his disillusionment and death (*ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σέ ἀπωλόμην*). The other words were then arranged inside this chiastic structure, the *σὲ ἔσωσα* of A 1 balancing *ἀπέκτεινα... ἑμᾶυτόν* of B 2, and the *σὺ δι' ἐμέ* of A 2 set against the *ἐγὼ... διὰ σέ* of B 1. Even the number of words in the clauses balances – the two sets of clauses (A and B) have eight words, A 1 and B 2 having four each, and A 2 and B 1 five each, and both sets are linked internally with the pivot word *καί*. Once Ctesias had decided on a basic arrangement of contrasts, the tautology of A 1 and A 2 was admitted on artistic grounds²⁰).

Nicolaus has several deviations in arrangement from Ctesias. The *ἐγὼ μὲν σὲ ἔσωσα* of F 5 is taken over completely from Ctesias A 1 and *σὺ δέ με ἀπέκτεινας* matches B 1. The two other clauses (*καὶ τῶν νῦν – γέγονα; καὶ πάντων ἀνόνητον πεποίηκας*) give no new information but are merely extensions of the ideas contained in the two clauses to which they are appended. This strongly suggests that Nicolaus purposely retained the four-part structure of his source, and added his second and fourth clauses as “filling” in the same way as Ctesias. In the process he removed Ctesias’ *σὺ δι' ἐμέ...*, *ἐγὼ δὲ διὰ σέ...* and his remarkable combination of antithesis, chiasmus and symmetry, put his own four verbs into the active voice, and reduced the number of contrasted words and clauses. The repetition of *ἐγὼ* and the changes of subject were then avoided. The resultant writing has rather more meaning by interpreting and replacing the vague words “saved” and “ruined” found in Ctesias. The use of *ἐγὼ μὲν σε* and *σὺ δέ με* as contrasts conveys Stryangaeus’ complaint more clearly, and this antithesis is stronger because it is not confused by others. Nicolaus’ version is less striking, reads smoother and appears less artificial.

There is only a very small amount of text available for directly comparing the vocabulary used by Nicolaus to cast his

20) Demetrius (“De Eloc.”, 212 = 688 T 14a) specially selected these nine words to exemplify the means of achieving *ἐνάργεια*, claiming that they gave *ἐμφασιν πλείονα* to the narrative.

version with that of Ctesias²¹). 9 out of the 31 words (ignoring *καί*) of Nicolaus are taken directly from Ctesias, 10 are drawn from or suggested by his version but changed in form (person, voice, case, etc), and the remainder are substituted by Nicolaus to avoid Ctesias' repetitions or to improve clause balance. But the introduction to the letter is in contrast. Here Nicolaus has departed from the order of Ctesias' narrative and converted the conversation of Stryangaeus and his adviser from direct to indirect speech. Yet despite his reshaping, he did not allow himself to produce a letter full of rhetorical devices which would be incongruous with the Mede's emotions. The clauses are well-balanced, and the simple style of Ctesias is maintained²²). Nicolaus found a fairly straightforward but vivid style in his source, and on to this put his own literary polish, but was not himself responsible for the dramatisation of the story. The absence of more source material with which Nicolaus can be compared makes it difficult to say whether the same treatment was applied to all the "Histories"²³). But a similarity of style in the longer fragments²⁴), and Nicolaus' boast that he "took more trouble over writing history than anyone else had ever done" and "by sheer hard work finished it"²⁵) point to the probability that this same process was adopted where personalities and anecdotes took up a large proportion of his writings, and where his source also had a leaning to this style of composition²⁶).

21) I.e.: Papyrus, lines 5-10, 26-27; and Nicolaus, lines 6-12, 26-27 (Jacoby, F.Gr.H. IIA, p. 336, lines 22-25). As mentioned earlier, Nicolaus in his version misses out a considerable part of the papyrus, where Stryangaeus muses on the influence of *ὁ θεός*.

22) Ctesias has 14 one-syllable and 9 two-syllable words in the contrasted sections, and Nicolaus 14 and 5 respectively (in two cases with four one-syllable words in sequence).

23) The "Histories" was written in 144 books (Athen. 6.54, p. 249 A = 90 T 11), a universal history from the early Orient to c. 4 BC.

24) E.g. 90 FF 3 and 66, both from Ctesias.

25) 90 F 135, p. 422, lines 28-29. The claim is somewhat conventional. The words *μέγαν τε πόνον ὑποστάς* are taken by Wacholder (op. cit., p. 68) to refer to the actual amassing and selection of sources, but Nicolaus had already mentioned this in the clause before - *πᾶσαν ἀθροίσας τὴν ἱστορίαν*. The reshaping and rewriting of his material is surely more probable.

26) It was obviously easier to do this when dealing with legendary history. Yet many FF in Nicolaus are treated more prosaically than would have been expected, if his usual technique was in fact to dramatise his sources (Cf. 90 FF 25, 34, 36). This makes it almost certain that Nicolaus' alleged dramatisation merely reflects the characteristics of his source.

Ctesias recorded Assyrian and Median history in the first six books of his "Persica"²⁷); Nicolaus covered the same field in not more than two²⁸). What criteria did Nicolaus use to reduce Ctesias to perhaps a third of its original bulk? The Stryangaeus letter shows that Nicolaus omitted a considerable proportion of the original which he thought unnecessary to the main line of the story, and there were doubtless other occasions when the same thing was done. On the other hand, it would be difficult to add more detail and expand some parts of his narrative. This is demonstrated admirably by the Parsondes-Nanarus story in 90 F 4, where the feminising process to be carried out on the manly Parsondes by his enemy – to be shaved, have his hair plaited, skin bleached, etc. – is described on three occasions²⁹). Nicolaus did not therefore contract his source in a uniform manner. Secondly, all the first five fragments of Nicolaus, which deal with Assyria and Media, have a web of intrigue in them and are treated in a melodramatic fashion³⁰). Thirdly, when compared with Diodorus, Nicolaus deals with a markedly narrower field but goes into much greater detail³¹). Consequently, if these historically unimportant stories are treated by Nicolaus in such great detail relative to the total amount of space he devoted to these two empires, his account of the period would seem to have consisted mainly of the more romantic, intriguing and unusual episodes he found in Ctesias, held together by a linking narrative.

The foregoing examination of the Ctesias fragment strongly suggests that Jacoby was correct in his view that Nicolaus was largely indebted to Ctesias for the basic dramatisation of these fragments. Two further observations give support to this. Firstly, it has been shown that Nicolaus found Stryangaeus' letter already couched in rhetorical direct speech and a dialogue preceding it, and yet he reported this conversation in indirect speech, so actually toning down the more vivid and dramatic aspects of his source. In the second place, the use of direct speech to record conversations and sentiments is prominent in the sections

27) Photius "Bibl." 72, 35 b, p. 105, lines 36–37 = 688 T 8.

28) Books 1 and 2.

29) 90 F 4, p. 332, lines 30ff.; p. 333, lines 2–7, 8–14. Athenaeus (12.40, p. 530 D = 688 F 6) shows conclusively that this story was told by Ctesias.

30) 90 FF 1–5, pp. 328–336.

31) Diodorus also followed Ctesias in covering the same ground (Book 2. 1–34). His account seems to be more of a précis, and is always more sober than Nicolaus'.

treating the Orient and Lydia³²), but there is only one instance in all the other fragments³³), even though there were many excellent opportunities to do so³⁴). This contrast of usage suggests that Nicolaus was dependent for his composition in dialogue, direct speech and narrative on his sources. It would be much easier to copy or recast the conversations of Ctesias than to invent them where they were not already in his source. The same would apply to the general narrative. The vast length of his work must have made him follow the language and tone of his sources to a very large extent.

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32) Source: Ctesias and Xanthus.

33) 90 F 56. The story is also told by "Plutarch"? in "De Liber. Educ." 4, and in "Apophth. Lacon." 225 F, with direct speech at the same points in the narrative. It was obviously a well-known story, and the similarity of "Plutarch" and Nicolaus shows almost certainly that the latter took the direct speech from his source.

34) E.g. 90 FF 7, 8, 10, 54, 61.

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Herausgegeben von
Hans Herter, Bonn

Das „Rheinische Museum für Philologie“ erscheint vierteljährlich und kostet jährlich DM 56,-.

Bezug durch den Buchhandel oder direkt vom Verlag.

Manuskripte sind an die Adresse von Herrn Professor Dr. Dr. h. c. H. Herter, 53 Bonn a. Rh., Kurfürstenstraße 52, nach vorhergehender Anfrage einzusenden.

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The „Rheinisches Museum für Philologie“ appears once every three months. The annual price is DM 56,-.

Subscriptions through booksellers or directly from the publisher.

Manuscripts for publication should be sent to Professor Dr. Dr. h. c. H. Herter, Kurfürstenstraße 52, 53 Bonn a. Rh., after previous enquiry.

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(Vierteljährlich erscheint ein Heft)

Printed in Germany
Buchdruckerei H. Laupp jr, Tübingen

Summary.

This thesis is a discussion of problems arising from the "Histories" and the "Life of Augustus Caesar" by Nicolaus. A discussion of the date and structure of the "Histories" is followed by an examination of the sources Nicolaus used and the way he used them. Analysis of the Ctesias-based sections, with the help of Pap. Oxyrh. 2330, throws considerable light on Nicolaus' method of composition. He appears to have used only one source at a time. His selection concentrated on sensational and romantic stories. These were culled from both novelistic and sober historians. Nicolaus' adaptation consisted of linguistic remodelling and omission of elements inessential to the main story. The retention of some dialect forms of his sources, garbled condensations, and internal inconsistencies show that the "Histories" was not composed with great care.

The biography of Augustus is treated next. It is argued that it was written about 25 BC in Rome and was the means by which Nicolaus gained the favour of Augustus and attention of Herod. Its ethos is Roman. Once again Nicolaus appears to have used one source at a time. The commonly-held view that most of it is based on the "Commentarii" of Augustus is confirmed, but it is suggested that a different source, probably the history of Asinius Pollio, underlies the digression on the conspiracy against

Caesar. Nicolaus does little to alter the tone or arrangement of his source material, although he sometimes garbles details through careless condensation or misunderstanding. He has preserved a reasonably faithful account of Augustan propaganda which seems to belong to the period just before Actium: Augustus has toned down the crude call for vengeance of 44 BC, but has not yet adopted the posture of republican constitutionalism found in the "Res Gestae".

Neither of the works shows evidence of the ability Nicolaus is known to have displayed in diplomacy and, perhaps, philosophy.