



ANTIQUITÉ
ET SCIENCES
HUMAINES

LA TRAVERSÉE DES
FRONTIÈRES

8

DIRECTEURS DE COLLECTION

Corinne BONNET
Pascal PAYEN

COMITÉ SCIENTIFIQUE

Zainab BAHRANI
(Columbia University, New York)

Nicola CUSUMANO
(Università degli Studi di Palermo)

Erich GRUEN
(University of California, Berkeley)

Nicholas PURCELL
(St John's College, Oxford)

Aloys WINTERLING
(Humboldt Universität, Berlin)

ROMAN IDENTITY

Between Ideal and Performance

Edited by
Lautaro ROIG LANZILLOTTA
José Luís BRANDÃO
Cláudia TEIXEIRA
and Ália RODRIGUES



BREPOLS



FCT Fundação
para a Ciência
e a Tecnologia

This work is funded by national funds through FCT –
Foundation for Science and Technology, I.P.,
under the project “Rome our Home: (Auto)biographical Tradition
and the Shaping of Identity(ies)” (PTDC/LLT-OUT/28431/2017).

This is an open access publication made available under a cc by-nc 4.0
International License: <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc/4.0>.

© 2022, Brepols Publishers n.v., Turnhout, Belgium.

All rights reserved.
No part of this publication may be reproduced,
stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted,
in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical,
photocopying, recording, or otherwise
without the prior permission of the publisher.

D/2022/0095/43

ISBN 978-2-503-59922-9

e-ISBN 978-2-503-59923-6

DOI 10.1484/M.ASH-EB.5.128199

ISSN 2466-5916

e-ISSN 2565-9200

Printed in the EU on acid-free paper.

CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	7
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	9

Lautaro ROIG LANZILLOTTA <i>Introduction: Defining Self and Other in Changing Situations and Discourses. The Dynamism and Fluidity of the Notion of Identity</i>	11
---	----

I. ROMAN IDENTITY IN (AUTO)BIOGRAPHICAL TEXTS

Francesco GINELLI <i>Similarities and Dissimilarities: Roman Identity and Models of Behaviour in Nepos' Punic Lives</i>	39
Helen KAUFMANN <i>Identity in Latin Verse Autobiography</i>	71
Nuno Simões RODRIGUES <i>Lucretia, Tullia and Tanaquil: Shaping the Identity of Rome's Women in the Augustan Period</i>	91
Davide MORELLI <i>Pythagoreanism and Roman Identity in Plutarch's Aemilius Paullus</i>	121
Eelco GLAS <i>Overcoming Otherness in Flavian Rome: Flavius Josephus and the Rhetoric of Identity in the Bellum Judaicum</i>	163

CONTENTS

José Luís BRANDÃO <i>Performing Roman Identity in Suetonius' Caesars</i>	185
Cláudia TEIXEIRA <i>When the Emperor is the Other: Perceptions of Identity in the Historia Augusta's Life of Maximinus</i>	225
II. ROMAN IDENTITY IN POLITICAL AND LEGAL DISCOURSES	
Carlo PELLOSO <i>Quirites and Populus Romanus: New Identities and Old Figures in Archaic Legal Formulas</i>	255
Federica LAZZERINI <i>Rome in the Mirror: Varro's Quest for the Past, for a Present Goal</i>	279
Claudia BELTRÃO <i>Sacra privata perpetua manento: A Reading of Cicero's De Legibus</i>	313
Ália RODRIGUES <i>Roman Maiestas: Becoming Imperial, Staying Republican</i>	335
Kelly NGUYEN <i>What's in a Natio: Negotiating Ethnic Identity in the Roman Empire</i>	371
INDEX RERUM AC NOMINUM	395

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This volume was conceived within the framework of the project “Rome our Home: (Auto)biographical Tradition and the Shaping of Identity(ies)” (PTDC/LLT-OUT/28431/2017), funded by the Foundation for Science and Technology (FCT), Portugal. Approved by the FCT in 2018, this project examines the idea of identities (rather than identity) in European antiquity through biographical sources and other texts. This volume addresses questions posed in the first stage of the project, in particular, the issue of how the Romans perceived and constructed their own identity.

The completion of this volume would not have been possible without the support of several individuals. We would like to thank to Delfim Leão (University of Coimbra) for his advice and help, Greg Woolf (Institute of Classical Studies, University of London) for his prompt feedback and suggestions, Salam Rassi (University of Oxford) for his valuable insights, and an anonymous referee whose recommendations greatly improved the volume as a whole. Finally, we would like to express our gratitude to the Editorial Board and to Tim Denecker for their continuous guidance and patience throughout this process.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Unless listed below, abbreviations follow *L'Année philologique*.

BMCR = GRUEBER H., *Coins of the Roman Republic in The British Museum*, 3 vol., London, British Museum, 1910.

MRR = BROUGHTON T. R. S., *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 3 vol., New York, American Philological Association, 1951-1960.

RRC = CRAWFORD M. H., *Roman Republican Coinage*, 2 vol., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974.

FEDERICA LAZZERINI
University of Oxford
ORCID: 0000-0002-4796-315X

ROME IN THE MIRROR VARRO'S QUEST FOR THE PAST, FOR A PRESENT GOAL¹

Marcus Terentius Varro lived a long life. Born in 116 BCE, he died in 27, thus living through one of the most culturally rich moments of the Roman Republic, its decline and end, and the advent of the Empire. He devoted a substantial part of his life to scholarly activity, which resulted in an astonishing number of works: our sources credit him with hundreds of volumes and account for dozens of titles of writings, in both poetry and prose, ranging from satires to language and linguistics, literary criticism, history and antiquarianism, and technical literature on various subjects (on agriculture, geography, law, philosophy, and the seven Greek liberal arts plus medicine and architecture).² Such prolificity later made Varro the go-to source for a variety of imperial and late-antique authors (Gellius, Plutarch, Charisius, Augustine, Nonius, Servius, and many others). Despite this fact, most of Varro's production has not survived to the present day in a complete state;³ however, of some of these works we have a good number of fragments and

¹ I would like to thank the editors of this volume and the reviewers for their valuable comments and suggestions on earlier drafts of this paper. I am also grateful to all the convenors of the panel, from whose insight I have learnt a lot, both in the discussions at the 2019 conference and in the papers edited in this volume.

² For an abridged overview of Varro's writings, see WERNER ET AL., *s.v.* "Varro", in *Brills Neue Pauly*, 2006. For a complete review, see H. DAHLMANN, *s.v.* "M. Terentius Varro", *RE*, Suppl. VI, 1935, cols 1981–83, and B. CARDAUNS, *Marcus Terentius Varro: Einführung in sein Werk*, Heidelberg, C. Winter, 2001.

³ The books on agriculture (*Rerum rusticarum libri*) are the only ones to have survived in their entirety. Of *De lingua Latina*, only six books (V–X) have been preserved out of twenty-five (see further below). Many of the other works survive in fragments; of some, only the title is preserved.

the date of composition can be reconstructed to a good degree of plausibility. This enables us to see the link between certain historical and political situations and the composition of some of these works, and to speculate on how their content was influenced by the circumstances of the time.

This paper aims to explore how questions of “national” identity are faced and dealt with in Varro’s historical-antiquarian and linguistic production. By framing these writings in a distinctive historical and ideological context, I will argue that their composition was compelled by Varro’s urge to engage in a wider ongoing discussion on the identity of the Roman people.

1. *Varro’s Writings on Roman Antiquities and Language: An Overview*

Before we dive into Varro’s writings which are commonly classified as “historical-antiquarian”, a word is due about the viability of this label. Scholarship has come some way since Arnaldo Momigliano’s 1950 essay established an interpretative model which cast historiography and antiquarianism as contrasting (and competing) genres based on a clear-cut separation of objects, structure, methods, selection, and use of sources, and purposes of the two disciplines.⁴ Recent studies have emphasised that, for all these aspects, the boundaries were more blurred than Momigliano made them to be and that the works of ancient authors such as Thucydides, Diogenes of Halicarnassus, Cato, and indeed Varro resist being categorically labelled as *either* “historical” *or* “antiquarian”.⁵

⁴ A. MOMIGLIANO, “Ancient History and the Antiquarian”, *JWI* 13 (1950), pp. 285–315.

⁵ E.g. I. HERKLOTZ, “Arnaldo Momigliano’s ‘Ancient History and the Antiquarian’: A Critical Review”, in P. N. MILLER (ed.), *Momigliano and Antiquarianism: Foundations of the Modern Cultural Sciences*, Toronto, University Press, 2007, pp. 127–53. These questions were recently addressed in some of the papers included in K. SANDBERG, C. SMITH (eds), *Omnium Annalium Monumenta: Historical Writing and Historical Evidence in Republican Rome*, Leiden - Boston, Brill, 2018: among these, MacRae, taking a radical stance, argued that to classify ancient works as antiquarian is to anachronistically project a modern invention onto a literary culture which did not know such a distinction (D. MACRAE, “*Diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis?* ‘Antiquarianism’ and Historical Evidence between Republican Rome and the Early Modern Republic of Letters”,

Nevertheless, it remains by and large accepted that, for some works and to a certain extent, we can recognise, if not an exclusive interest (as Momigliano would have it), at least a prevalent focus either on relating and interpreting past events or on investigating religious and civic institutions, customs, and ways of everyday life.⁶ As a working definition, I will refer to Varro's writings concerned with the latter as "antiquarian".

Varro's studies of Roman antiquities were clearly extensive and wide-ranging. The monumental *Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum* reconstructed the origins and progressive developments of various aspects of the Roman state and civilisation: the *res humanae* (henceforth *ARH*)⁷ recreated the history of Rome's topography, political system, state organisation, notable buildings and objects, etc.; the *res divinae* (*ARD*)⁸ studied the Roman religious apparatus, places of worship, priesthoods, rites, etc. The *ARD* can be dated to 47–46 BCE,⁹ and while the date of the *ARH* is more difficult to pin down, it is unlikely that these two works, which had been conceived as complementary parts

pp. 137–15). A thorough overview of antiquarianism and Varro which engages with this scholarly debate is provided by Arena and Piras in the introduction to V. ARENA, G. PIRAS (eds), *Reconstructing the Republic: Varro and Impedial Authors*, Rome, Salerno Editrice, 2018.

⁶ See e.g. Wiseman, seeking to mitigate MacRae's thesis: "whether we call them antiquarians or just historians of a particular kind, the fact is that authors like L. Cincius were not doing the same sort of thing as authors like Livy and Dionysius" (T. P. WISEMAN, "Writing Rome's Past", *Histos* 12 (2018), pp. 1–23).

⁷ Edited by P. MIRSCH (ed.), "De M. Terenti Varronis Antiquitatum rerum humanarum libris XXV", *Leipziger Studien zur classischer Philologie* 6 (1882), pp. 1–144.

⁸ Edited by B. CARDAUNS (ed.), *Marcus Terentius Varro: Antiquitates rerum divinarum*, Mainz, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1976.

⁹ See the thorough reconstruction by N. HORSFALL, "Varro and Caesar: Three Chronological Problems", *Bulletin of the University of London Institute of Classical Studies* 19 (1972), pp. 120–22. We know that the *ARD* were inscribed to Julius Caesar as *pontifex maximus*; Caesar had held this title since 63 BCE, but it is not likely that Varro would have dedicated such an important piece of writing to him before Pompey (to whom he was loyal until the very end) was defeated in Pharsalus; 48 will thus be a *terminus post quem*. Furthermore, as Horsfall points out (p. 121), "Varro was not likely to have addressed the *r.d.* to Caesar at a time when the *pontifex maximus* was absent from Italy", therefore, this must have happened before the dictator left for Spain in November 46. It is also plausible that Varro's appointment as head of the first public library, in the Summer of 46, was Caesar's way of rewarding the scholar for the dedication.

of a whole,¹⁰ were separated by a substantial chronological gap. Other antiquarian books include *De vita populi Romani*,¹¹ which dealt with the historical background of various aspects of Roman culture; scholars dispute whether it was published before or after *De gente populi Romani*,¹² which instead discussed the ethnicity and genealogy of the Roman people. The undisputable *termini post* and *ante quem* for *De vita* are, respectively, 49 and 32 BCE,¹³ and various considerations point to 43 as the most likely date of publication of *De gente*.¹⁴ Finally, although little is known of the *Aetia*, the title and the six surviving fragments¹⁵ show that it illustrated the “causes” which had brought about some typical Roman traditions.

If the critical reappraisal of Momigliano’s model has sought to soften the opposition of antiquarianism and historiography, on the other hand, the intrinsic partnership between antiquarianism and philology has been underscored. The ways in which the study of language was an asset to research into antiquities were summarised by Arena and Piras as follows:

¹⁰ Firstly, the internal arrangement of the two works is symmetrical; furthermore, in his praise of Varro at the beginning of the *Academica* (see below, section 4 in this paper), Cicero brings the two works together. On the other hand, it is true that they were dedicated separately, and *ARD*, fr. 5 (ap. Aug., *civ.* VI, 4) has often been taken as confirming that the *res humanae* were written before the *res divinae*. The evidence, however, is not conclusive; see, again, HORSFALL, *Varro and Caesar*.

¹¹ The reference edition is now A. PITTÀ, *M. Terenzio Varrone, de vita populi Romani. Introduzione e commento*, Pisa, University Press, 2015.

¹² Edited by P. FRACCARO (ed.), *Studi Varroniani: De gente populi romani, libri IV*, Padova, Angelo Draghi, 1907.

¹³ The work was dedicated to Atticus, who died in 32; and fr. 118 (ap. Non., pp. 245, 17 Lindsay) and 119 (ap. Non., pp. 398, 13) mention events which took place during the Civil War. PITTÀ, *de vita*, p. 8 further narrows the date down to 43–42.

¹⁴ This is suggested, firstly, by the fact that Varro purports to produce a chronology from the mythical age to the consulate of Hirtius and Pansa, which dates to 43 and was therefore the time of his writing (fr. 20 ap. Arnob., *nat.*, V, 8). Furthermore, *De gente* deals extensively with the deification of kings, a crucial topic in the city’s political discussion since Caesar’s assassination and Octavian’s ensuing endeavours to obtain his deification (something which Antony strongly opposed). See L. ROSS TAYLOR, “Varro’s *De gente populi Romani*”, *CPh* 29/3 (1934), pp. 221–29; HORSFALL, *Varro and Caesar*, pp. 124–25; T. BAIER, “Myth and Politics in Varro’s Historical Writings”, *EMC* 43/3 (1999), pp. 351–67.

¹⁵ Edited by L. MERCKLIN, “Aetia des Varro”, *Philologus* 3 (1848), pp. 267–77.

Not only did textual exegesis combine philology with an understanding of the history of religion, legal practices, and literary works, but also classical lexicography took precisely the form of the study of etymology. Whether investigating Roman history, language, family genealogy, jurisprudence, religious lore, or political procedure, antiquarian tools were historical research and etymology, a genealogical-reconstructive method which was substantially inductive and aimed to work back from the present to the past.¹⁶

In light of this, whereas our modern perspective would induce us to consider Varro's linguistic production as a separated and self-contained section of his corpus, in Varronian scholarship the awareness has been taking hold that those writings and the historical-antiquarian ones were inspired by the same theme and complemented each other. In fact, although Varro's advanced perceptiveness of linguistic phenomena and profound erudition enabled him to acquire the level of linguistic knowledge that one would credit to a specialist, casting him straightforwardly as a "grammarian" – as is sometimes done – risks hindering our recognition that his interest was not in studying language per se, but *the* language of the Roman people: one of the many aspects of that specific cultural heritage.

The linguistic writings, too, have suffered great losses in the course of their transmission. Only *De lingua Latina* accounts for at least a few books (V–X) that have survived (although with some lacunae);¹⁷ the treatise was published some time between the Summer of 45 and December of 43¹⁸ and was intended to

¹⁶ ARENA, PIRAS, *Reconstructing the Republic*, p. 95. On this subject, see further HERKLOTZ, *A Critical Review*, pp. 131–36 and, specifically in relation to Varro, G. PIRAS, "Dicam dumtaxat quod est historicon: Varro and/on the past", in V. ARENA, F. M. GÓRÁIN (eds), *Varronian Moments*, BICS 60/2 (2017), pp. 8–20.

¹⁷ The most recent complete edition is W. D. C. DE MELO (ed.), *Varro: De lingua Latina: Introduction, text, translation, and commentary*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2019.

¹⁸ Varro's treatise had not yet been published by the time the Cicero's *Academica* (whose second edition was completed in late August 45) appeared, nor, surely, by the time the letter *fam.* IX, 8.1 was written (11–12 July 45), where Cicero complains about Varro's delay in delivering the promised dedicated work. And, since the entire work was ultimately dedicated to Cicero, it must have been issued before his death.

provide a systematisation of all that had been accomplished thus far in the field of language, from lexicon (etymology) to morphology (a study of analogy in inflection and derivation) to syntax and semantics,¹⁹ specifically applied to Latin. The other works survive in fragments.²⁰ *De antiquitate litterarum*, written before 86,²¹ related the history of the Latin alphabet and writing conventions. The content of *De origine linguae Latinae* is difficult to glean from the one fragment certainly belonging to this work, but it has been argued that it dates to much later than *De antiquitate litterarum*, probably to Varro's old age.²² Of *De sermone Latino*, dated to after 46,²³ many fragments have survived which deal with a wide range of topics from orthography, prosody, metre, and inflection. The dates of *De similitudine verborum* (which discusses words of dubious inflection), *Περὶ χαρακτήρων* (which probably dealt with inflectional prototypes),²⁴ and *De utilitate sermonis* (whose extant fragments are not revealing of the work's content) are not known.

The specific interest in the *Latin* language emerges from the titles and the content of the extant fragments of these books. As such, it is clear that Varro's linguistic and historical-antiquarian works were linked by a common thread: the interest in building up a picture of how various features of what made up Roman

¹⁹ The plan of the work is illustrated in *ling.* VIII, 1.

²⁰ The two main editions of the fragments are included in G. FUNAIOLI (ed.), *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1907, and G. GOETZ, F. SCHOELL (eds), *M. Terenti Varronis de lingua Latina quae supersunt*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1910. In what follows, I will be citing the fragments with reference to Goetz and Schoell's edition.

²¹ The work was dedicated to Accius, who died in 86.

²² In fr. 46 (ap. Prisc. gramm., *GL*, II, p. 30), Varro discusses an orthographical problem and reports Accius' opinion without endorsing it: therefore, Della Corte assumes that the work must have been written later in Varro's life, after Accius' influence on him had subsided. (F. DELLA CORTE, *La filologia Latina dalle origini a Varrone*, 2nd edition [1937], Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1981, pp. 155–56). Goetz and Schoell attributed two other fragments to this work (45 and 47), but this attribution has been questioned: see below, n. 81.

²³ The fragments report Varro's theory of Latin prosody, which shows a clear debt to Tyrannio's treatise on accent; as the latter had appeared before 46, when Cicero wrote to Atticus seeking to procure it (*Cic., Att.* XII, 6.2), this is taken as a *terminus post quem* for Varro's book.

²⁴ See FUNAIOLI, *GRF*, pp. 206–07.

identity had come to be. We might speak of a broad research project aimed at investigating the history of Roman culture.

Now, it is interesting to notice that, while Varro's written production extends over his entire life (the earliest works being the *Saturae Menippeae*, the latest the *Res rusticae*),²⁵ most of the works outlined above seem to have been written, or at least published, in a relatively short time span, in the course of the 40s (with the exception of *De antiquitate litterarum*, which was certainly precedent, and the four works whose dates are not known); as far as we can tell, the works produced outside of this period belonged to different genres. Some of those writings bear traces of an awareness of and interest in the events that defined the period in which they were composed: this is not only true for the *Menippeae*, which often address contemporary issues,²⁶ but elements of political satire have also been recognised as central to the *Res rusticae*, in which one can read a reflection on the Roman exploitation of the Italian territory in the early stages of the Empire.²⁷ Therefore, since other writings show that Varro was invested in the current affairs and engaged with them, expressing his opinions through his writings, it seems legitimate to ask what prompted him to address questions about Roman culture in the central decade of the century.

To an extent, this fact is explained by some simple historical considerations. Since 78 BCE, Varro had been involved in a series of military missions at Pompey's side: first as *proquaestor* against Sertorius in Spain, then as naval commander against Mithridates

²⁵ Scholars have long debated the date of composition of the *Menippeae*, which Cichorius and Cèbe date between 80 and 67 (C. CICHORIUS, *Römische Studien: Historisches, epigraphisches, literargeschichtliches aus vier Jahrhunderten Roms*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1922, pp. 207–26; J.-P. CÈBE (ed.), *Varron: Satires ménippées*, Rome, École française de Rome, 1972–1979, vol. 1, pp. xv–xviii). According to Salanitro, some satires were added later, up until 55 (M. SALANITRO, *Le menippeae di Varrone: Contributi esegetici e linguistici*, Roma, Edizioni dell'Ateneo, 1990, p. 11); some scholars suggest that the writing of the *Menippeae* continued for Varro's entire life. The *Res rusticae* date to 37.

²⁶ See B. MOSCA, "Satira filosofica e politica nelle Menippeae di Varrone", *ASNP* 2 (1937), and A. ROLLE, *Dall'Oriente a Roma. Cibele, Iside e Serapide nell'Opera di Varrone*, Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 2017.

²⁷ See G. A. NELSESTUEN, *Varro the agronomist: political philosophy, satire, and agriculture in the late Republic*, Columbus, Ohio, The Ohio State University, 2015.

in 67–66; he came back to Rome with Pompey in 63, but then followed him again in the last stages of the war against Caesar. Even a devoted scholar such as Varro could hardly be expected to write so many books on Roman antiquities and language – a task which, moreover, would have required extensive research – in the middle of a military expedition. Although, even in such circumstances, he (literally) would not put the pen down, his production during those thirty years mainly consisted of the satires and technical handbooks that either originated from, or were useful for, the activities that he or others were undertaking.²⁸ Conversely, once he had returned to Rome (this time, for good) in 48, he would have had the necessary time to dedicate himself to his literary leanings.

But while this change of circumstances suggests that, after 48, it was easier for Varro to devote himself to his research project on the history of Roman culture, it is not convincing as the sole explanation. For one, Varro could not retire to a tranquil life without troubles immediately after Pharsalus, as he nearly fell victim to Antony's ambition to acquire his estate as *Casinum*²⁹ and, later, to the proscriptions after the Ides of March. Furthermore, Varro, as any wealthy and well-connected aristocrat, would have had the means to access the private libraries available at the villas of Cicero, Lucullus, and others throughout all his adult life: Cicero's letters attest to the fact that he was very much included in the network through which the cultivated elite circulated books among themselves. Arguably, the technical treatises required research work not too dissimilar from the one behind the historical-antiquarian and linguistic writings; for instance, there are grounds to assume that Varro studied Posidonius' theory of tides to write his own *De aestuariis*.³⁰

²⁸ For instance, *De ora maritima* and *De litoralibus* were presumably written at the time when he was naval commander; and the *Ephemeris navalis ad Pompeium* must have been given to Pompey when he was about to leave for Spain in 77.

²⁹ On that occasion, Caesar intervened to make Antony desist from his aims (Cic., *Phil.* II, 103) and Varro was safe.

³⁰ Varro alludes to this work in *ling.* IX, 26, where he gives a description of the tidal phenomenon which bears close resemblance to Posidonius' (fr. 217 Edelstein-Kidd). Posidonius' theory of tides is considered "astonishingly complete" and unprecedented for his time (L. EDELSTEIN, I. KIDD (eds), *Posidonius*,

The practical circumstances may have played a part, but they alone cannot account for Varro's choice to write so much on Roman antiquities and language in that particular time frame. The impetus and devotion with which he applied himself to such an immense project in that period, and the abundance – even repetitiveness – of the fruits of his research suggest that some other factors might have guided his interest in this particular direction.

2. The Background: Loss, Confusion, and Questions about Romanness

That the Romans attached great significance to the concept of *mos maiorum* is well known, as is the fact that they frequently turned to the ideal of a glorious and uncorrupted past to seek refuge from a disconcerting present or to find a moral compass in it. Wallace-Hadrill distinguished three different ways of appealing to the ancestral *mores* between the late Republic and the early Empire: one which served personal competition (drawing attention to the accomplishments of one's own ancestors), one charged with rhetorical power (often to urge the audience or readership to take example from the collective ancestors), and one which denounced a "betrayal" of the ancestors, in the face of a present crippled by corruption and decadence.³¹ The latter underscores an irreconcilable gap between the past and the present and is seen to emerge especially in times of profound crisis.

The first century BCE, approaching the sunset of the Republic, was notoriously an age of distress, and such lamentations about the loss of the ancestral glory and decorum abound in Cicero's writings. But a similar kind of malaise was also expressed by Varro (who had been personally involved in some of the most recent developments, as outlined above). In fact, this consideration offers a key to read one of Varro's satires, entitled *Sexagessis*

Cambridge, University Press, 1972, vol. 3, p. 13): therefore, the similarity between his description of tides and Varro's strikes as non-coincidental.

³¹ A. WALLACE-HADRILL, *Rome's Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge, University Press, 2008, pp. 215–31.

(“The sixty-year-old”). The plot, as we can tell from the transmitted fragments, revolved around a man who, having fallen asleep at the age of ten, woke up fifty years later, now unrecognisable to himself. The story is reminiscent of the legend in which a similar thing had happened to Epimenides, the sixth-century Cretan prophet and poet, and Varro seems to have been fond of this tale, which he also evokes in *ling.* VII, 3 (see below, section 3). The *sexagessis* is understandably upset by how his physical appearance has changed while he was asleep; but he appears even more shocked by how much Rome, the city that used to be his home, has transformed:

Men. fr. 491 Ast.³² (ap. Non., pp. 570, 19):

Romam regressus ibi nihil offendi, quod ante annos quinquaginta, cum primum dormire coepi, reliqui.

When I returned to Rome, I found nothing there of what I had left fifty years before, when I first began to sleep.

After this declaration (which probably belongs at the beginning of the story) follow a number of fragments which tell us that the changes that the sixty-year-old remarks and laments are, above all, in Rome’s morality; for instance:

fr. 488 Ast. (ap. Non., pp. 245, 7):

ergo tum Romae parce pureque pudentis
vixere, en patriam, nunc sumus in rutuba.

Back then, in Rome, they used to live a sober, chaste, and uncorrupted life.

Look at our homeland! Now we are in disarray.

Several scholars have suggested dating the *Sexagessis* to 55 on account of the compelling idea that Varro wrote this satire when he himself was sixty years old,³³ as a way to exorcise a sense of alienation that he was experiencing.

³² R. ASTBURY (ed.), *M. Terentius Varro. Saturarum Menippearum fragmenta*, Munich-Leipzig, K. G. Saur, 2002.

³³ I. MIKOŁAJCZYK, “Les fragments de la satire ménippée ‘Sexagessis’ de Varron”, in Z. ABRAMOWICZ (ed.), *Études de philologie classique à la mémoire de Stefan Srebrny*, Toruń, Université Nicolaus Copernicus, p. 147; A. RIESE, *M. Terenti Varronis Saturarum Menippearum reliquiae, recens., prolegomena scripsit*

If we seek to pinpoint the cause behind this sense of disorientation and inability to recognise one's own home which would have affected authors of Varro and Cicero's generation, we are spoilt for choice. That generation had lived through the civil war between Marius and Sulla, Sulla's dictatorship, Catiline's conspiracy, the shift of powers in the wake of Triumvirate (which Varro himself defined a "three-headed (monster)"),³⁴ and the war between Caesar and Pompey. The institutions which had held the *Urbs* since its beginning had progressively weakened: politicians served multiple consecutive terms and time and time again the rule of law was challenged (and sometimes thwarted) by "populist" waves (such as the one ridden by Clodius). However, I want to highlight one particular aspect which, alongside rampant internal strife and the evidence that the structures of the state could no longer provide stability in the face of unscrupulous personal competition, may have contributed to the growth of such a feeling of estrangement: the traumatic encounters with "others".

Centuries of war had brought Rome in contact with various civilisations – within and without the borders of *Italia*³⁵ – which were now politically and economically tied to the *Urbs*, but at least two major developments, which occurred in the years before Varro began his antiquarian and linguistic research, brought about a radical rethinking of the very notion of "the Roman people".

The first one was the Social War (91–89 BCE), which represented a dramatic turning point in the long and troubled history of Rome's relationship with her neighbouring Italian peoples:

A. Riese. Lipsiae, Teubner, 1865, p. 215; MOSCA, *Satira filosofica e politica nelle Menippeae*, p. 75; F. DELLA CORTE, "La poesia di Varrone Reatino ricostruita", *MAT* 69/2 (1937), p. 44; L. ROBINSON, "Marcus Terentius Varro, 'Sexagesis' or born sixty years too late", in *Atti del congresso internazionale di studi varroniani, Rieti 1974*, Rieti: Centro di studi varroniani, 1976, p. 482. Against dating the satire to 55, see E. BOLISANI, *Varrone Menippeo*, Padua, F. Vallardi, 1936, p. 266; CÈBE, *Varron: Satires ménippées*, vol. 12, pp. 1906–07.

³⁴ Of Varro's political pamphlet *Trikaranos* (Τρικάρανος) little is known beyond the title. See B. ZUCHELLI, "L'enigma del ΤΡΙΚΑΡΑΝΟΣ: Varrone di fronte ai triumviri", in *Atti del congresso internazionale di studi varroniani, Rieti 1974*, Rieti, Centro di studi varroniani, 1976, pp. 609–25.

³⁵ It should be kept in mind that the ancient designation of *Italia* did not coincide with the entire Italian peninsula, but with the area west of the Apennines (excluding *Etruria*), as defined by Appian (*Hann.* 34). See S. MAZZARINO, *Il pensiero storico classico*, Bari, Laterza, 1966, vol. 2, pp. 212–13.

after the umpteenth attempt to extend citizenship rights to them was shut down by the Senate, the Marsians, the Samnites, and other *Italici* rose once again against their oppressive neighbour. They eventually capitulated, but the conflict – which, although short-lasting, brought about bloodshed and devastation of proportions unseen since the Hannibalic war – left an open wound in both parties: the reluctance with which people who had taken part in those events revisited them in later years speaks to the trauma that they must have caused.³⁶

Aside from the lived experience of the conflict, the Social War was an exceptional event for what it represented. Whereas Florus, in the second century CE, was comfortable asserting that this was a war between members of the same people, who shared the same blood,³⁷ at the time when Varro wrote, not all Roman citizens would have held this opinion just as easily. In fact, the repeated clashes with peoples from central and southern Italy, who took arms against Rome (in different coalitions from time to time) ever since a time lost in a blur of history and myth, had led some citizens of the *Urbs* to progressively develop a sentiment of distrust towards communities who were perceived as treacherous allies at best, and barbarians at worst.³⁸ And yet, precisely because the relationship between Rome and the Italian peoples went such a long way back, because the Italians were (for better or worse) embedded in the stories that made up Rome's mythological history ever

³⁶ See Mouritsen's case study of Cicero and the anecdote concerning the encounter between Cato and the Marsic leader Poppaedi in 91 (H. MOURITSEN, "From *hostes acerrimi* to *homines nobilissimi*. Two Studies in the Ancient Reception of the Social War", *Historia* 68/3 (2019), pp. 302–26).

³⁷ Flor., II, 6.1: *Sociale bellum vocetur licet, ut extenuemus invidiam; si verum tamen volumus, illud civile bellum fuit. Quippe cum populus Romanus Etruscos, Latinos Sabinosque sibi miscuerit et unum ex omnibus sanguinem ducat, corpus fecit ex membris et ex omnibus unus est; nec minore flagitio socii intra Italiam quam intra urbem cives rebellabant.* ("Let us call this war 'social', to soften its hatefulness; but to tell the truth, that was a civil war. For, because the Roman people mixed with Etruscans, Latins, and Sabines, and held that one and the same blood came from all of these, from these parts they made one body and from all of them they became one people. Yet the various allies took arms against another one in Italy no less shamefully than citizens in a city").

³⁸ See e.g. D. S., XVI, 15 on the Bruttians; Cic., *Agr.* 2.81–97 and Liv., VII, 31.5–6 on the Campanians; Cato ap. Serv., *Aen.* XI, 700 on the Ligurians; Lucil. ap. Non., p. 201 on the Marsians.

since its very origins (the same stories that Romans evoked and celebrated as an heirloom and repository of their sense of community), the Italians were difficult to cast as conventional enemies. The Social War was unlike any other war that Rome had fought before because it demanded redefining that tradition which was so central to Roman identity.

From that standpoint, the aftermath of the Social War was as consequential as the conflict itself: for, although the Italians were eventually defeated militarily, they gained an exceptional political victory – obtaining the citizenship.³⁹ From that moment on, the path for Italians to flow into the city and into various fringes of the Roman society was more open than ever; and, what is most important, municipal elites now had access to the *cursus honorum*.⁴⁰ As competition among aristocratic families grew more and more ferocious, the ethnic origin became an important validating or disqualifying factor in a political candidate (at least at the level of political campaigns and advertisement).⁴¹

The progressive diversification of the Roman citizen body also had important repercussions on the sense of Roman identity, which, as hinted at above, was already being tested by other traumatic events within the city itself. In short of three years, the Italians, who had transitioned from being long-standing (if incon-

³⁹ This process unfolded through a series of steps, in which Rome wielded her citizenship rights first as an incentive (with the *lex Iulia de civitate*, of 90, which offered the citizenship to all the Latin communities who had not taken up arms or would commit to laying them down promptly), then as a concession (with the *lex Plautia Papiria de civitate*, of 89, which allowed all the *socii Italici* to request and obtain it), finally as a reward (to the provinces of Cis- and Transpadania, for not joining the rebellion against Rome, with the *lex Pompeia de Transpadaniis*, of the same year).

⁴⁰ C. TEIXEIRA, in this volume, also looks into how globalisation and the extended access to political careers to groups who had previously been excluded from them factored into an identity crisis, in the third century CE.

⁴¹ The subject has been thoroughly studied by G. D. FARNEY, *Ethnic identity and aristocratic competition in Republican Rome*, Cambridge, University Press, 2007). On the strained coexistence of different ethnicities in the Roman social strata and on the Roman “idea of Italy”, see also two works of E. DENCH: *From barbarians to new men: Greek, Roman, and modern perceptions of peoples from the central Apennines*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995, and *Romulus’ asylum: Roman identities from the age of Alexander to the age of Hadrian*, Oxford, University Press, 2005, esp. chapt. 3. For a contrasting view, see E. GRUEN, “Did Romans have an ethnic identity?”, *Antichthon* 47 (2013), pp. 1–17.

stant) allies to being enemies, had to be repositioned once again, this time into the role of fellow-citizens: it is hard to conceive that this upheaval would not have affected the significance that Romans attached to the concept of citizenship, which had been, again, a crucial component of Roman identity. In fact, there is indication that, in the decades following the Social War, members of the Roman *nobilitas* became increasingly invested in a discussion on what it actually meant to be Roman. Where should the line between “us” and “them” be drawn? Citizens of Latin origin naturally tended to hold ethnicity as the most important requirement for one to be considered a true Roman,⁴² whereas other Italians who could not boast an aboriginal status would rather emphasise historical or cultural factors as more determinant.

We can imagine that the seething tension in such an environment, around who could legitimately be included into the notion of “Romanness” and who could not, would have been exacerbated by the fact that, during the 50s (hardly a full generation after the Social War, and at the same time as the consequences of the Italian integration were becoming more manifest), Caesar was carrying forward his agenda of expansion in Transalpine Gaul. The reasons why I would highlight the Gallic campaigns as the second major event concerning Rome’s relationship with “others” during Varro’s life are different from those discussed for the Social War. The Gauls too had clashed with the Romans before, but, unlike the Italian peoples, their status as aliens had never been called into question: virtually all their encounters with Rome had been very traumatic and hardly any aspect of their civilisation was really known beside their military brutality. Not for nothing did Caesar endeavour to provide a comprehensive description of the Gallic tribes, their society, customs, and culture in his *Commentarii de bello Gallico*; but Caesar was doing

⁴² Even among Latins, some aimed to establish a hierarchy based on autochthony. Cicero himself – being from *Arpinum*, a city in the part of Latium known as *adiectum* which had been annexed later – was occasionally the target of slurs from citizens of *Latium vetus*: Catiline referred to him as an *inquilinus civis urbis Romae* (Sall., *Catil.* 31.7); L. Torquatus called him a *peregrinus* (Cic., *Sull.* 22–25: the passage is enlightening in that it shows how Cicero wavered, not without some inconsistency, between claiming pride of his origin, in a demand of respect for *municipia* which had proven their worth to Rome, and somehow implying superiority compared to other *municipia* which were more “foreign” than his own).

more than that, going to great lengths to promote a narrative that stretched the Roman notion of “otherness” in order to make the Gauls seem less alien and fearsome to his fellow citizens.⁴³ By all accounts, Caesar’s policy aimed to integrate the Gauls (or at least their elite) to a considerable extent.⁴⁴ Presumably this fact, in that already troubled period, put further strain on the Romans’ ability or willingness to overcome their resistance to what they perceived as barbarous.

These considerations suggest correlating Varro’s works on Rome’s cultural history with this ongoing preoccupation with how to define “the Roman people”. One could argue that Varro personally had higher stakes in this conversation, being a Sabine from *Reate* (present-day Rieti). Admittedly, of all the *Italici* who had come in contact with the Latins over the centuries, the Sabines were hardly a discriminated minority: they had been incorporated into the Roman citizenry very early, also thanks to a mythological tradition which placed them, with the Latins, at the very roots of the Roman civilisation. A Sabine background was therefore possibly the least likely to represent a disadvantage for non-Latin Roman citizens.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, a sense of being different from the Latins (albeit on equal footing) was vividly felt by some Sabines – and certainly by Varro, as will be illustrated below.

It is plausible that, as a prominent scholar, well known to the intellectual elite of the time, Varro actively took part in a conversation in which he was invested himself and begun to look for an answer to the question of what defined the Roman identity.

⁴³ See A. C. JOHNSTON, “*Nostris* and “The Other(s)””, in L. GRILLO, C. B. KREBS (eds), *The Cambridge companion to the writings of Julius Caesar*, Cambridge, University Press, 2017, pp. 81–94.

⁴⁴ This is even indicated by Caesar’s linguistic politics, which aimed at the rationalisation of the Latin language in view of making its learning more accessible: see A. GARCEA (ed.), *Caesar’s De analogia*, Oxford, University Press, 2012, especially pp. 7–10.

⁴⁵ If anything, a positive stereotype was attached to the Sabines, especially since the age of Cato the Elder, who significantly contributed to (and may even have created, as Farney suggested) the portrayal of the Sabines as a pious, austere, and virtuous people: see FARNEY, *Ethnic identity*, especially chapt. 3.

3. Digging into the Roman Past

That Varro himself framed his “quest for the past” as something similar to archaeological excavations is made explicit by the passages in *De lingua Latina* in which he discusses the difficulties that a scholar has to face when attempting to reconstruct the etymology of words.⁴⁶ It is in this context that Varro evokes the tale of Epimenides, alongside that of Teucer (a character from a lost book of Livius Andronicus), similar in content:⁴⁷ *vetustas*, the passage of time, is the chief obstacle to a researcher because it obscures and alters people, things, and ideas to the point of making them unrecognisable.⁴⁸ However, Varro draws an important distinction between *vetustas* and *oblivio*: while the latter brings about an irreparable effacement (for what has been wiped out from our memory cannot in any way be restored, see *ling.* V, 5), the effects of *vetustas* can be overcome (with great effort).⁴⁹ The archaeological comparison is suggested by the very words that the ancient authors use to describe the task of restor-

⁴⁶ *Ling.* V, 3–6; VII, 2–3.

⁴⁷ *Ling.* VII, 3: *Nec mirum, cum non modo Epimenides sopore post annos L experrectus a multis non cognoscatur, sed etiam Teucer Livii post XV annos ab suis qui sit ignoretur.* (“And no wonder [*scil.* that this task is so difficult], when not only Epimenides, having woken up from his slumber after fifty years, is not recognised by many, but even the family of Livius’ Teucer, after fifteen years, do not know who he is”).

⁴⁸ On the multi-layered role of *vetustas* in *De lingua Latina*, see R. SCHRÖTER, “Die varronische Etymologie”, in B. CARDAUNS (ed.), *Varron: Six exposés et discussions. Entretiens du 3–8 septembre 1962*, Vandœuvres-Genève, Fondation Hardt, 1963, pp. 85–86.

⁴⁹ This distinction has a parallel in Cic., *Deiot.* 37. See the instructive discussions of this topic by C. MOATTI, *La raison de Rome: Naissance de l’esprit critique à la fin de la République (II^e-I^{er} siècle avant Jésus-Christ)*, Paris, Seuil, 1997, p. 14 and E. ROMANO, “Il concetto di antico in Varrone”, in M. CITRONI (ed.), *Memoria e identità. La cultura romana costruisce la sua immagine*, Florence, Università degli Studi, 2003, p. 106. *Vetustas* plays a different (but related) role in Varro’s satires, where it reflects the longing for a lost, more virtuous past: see two contributions of I. LEONARDIS, “*Vetustas, oblivio* e crisi d’identità nelle *Saturae Menippeae*. Il risveglio di Varrone in un’altra Roma”, *Ἐπέξεργα* 4 (2014), pp. 19–58, and “Risvegliarsi in un’altra Roma. Crisi del presente e nostalgia del passato nelle *Saturae Menippeae* di Varrone”, in R. ANGIOLILLO, E. ELIA, E. NUTI (eds), *Crisi. Immagini, interpretazioni e reazioni nel mondo greco, latino e bizantino. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Dottorandi e Giovani Ricercatori. Torino, 21–23, Alesandria*, Edizioni dell’Orso, 2015, pp. 223–36.

ing – literally, unearthing – what lies hidden and covered by the dust of time.⁵⁰

But anyone who sets out to dig into the depths of the most distant past will soon find themselves having to untangle an intricate bundle of historical and mythological accounts, sometimes incompatible with one another. Varro probably had to face the same problem when he resolved to investigate the origins of his own people; and, in various instances, his findings suggested that many of the features which were considered distinctively Roman had in fact been derived from other peoples.

In the second book of the *ARH*, Varro traced the roots of the Romans back to the Pelasgians, who came to Latium on the instruction of the oracle of Dodona;⁵¹ but elsewhere he also endorsed the descent from Aeneas,⁵² so that the original Roman stock emerged from a mix of different peoples. And then,

ARH III (*de ceteris Italiae gentibus*), fr. 4 (ap. Non., 90, 16):
Postea cum his una rem publicam coniuncti congermanitate tenere.

After, they [*scil.* our ancestors] kept the State united in a brotherly kinship with these peoples.

Continuing with the next historical developments, Varro acknowledged that several Italian and non-Italian nations contributed to setting the foundations of the Roman civilisation; however, he granted special prominence to the Sabines. Again in the *ARH*, he contended that the very few remaining cities that had been inhabited by the Aborigines were located in the territory of *Reate*,

⁵⁰ E.g. words like *eruerere* and *operire*. See *ling.* VI, 2: *obruta vetustate ut potero eruere conabor*; Cic., *Mur.* 16: *Itaque non ex sermone hominum recenti sed ex animalium vetustate eruenda memoria est nobilitatis tuae*; Enn., *Ann.* VIII, 282: *multa tenens antiqua, sepulta vetustas / quae facit*; Liv., IV, 23.3: *sit inter cetera vetustate cooperta hoc quoque in incerto positum*.

⁵¹ *ARH* II (*de Aboriginibus et Latinis*), fr. 2 (ap. Macr., *Sat.* I, 7.28–30).

⁵² According to a reading of D. H., I, 67–69 by Wissowa, followed by Perret and Collart, Varro identified the Penates of the Roman people with those of Lavinium (G. WISSOWA, “Die Überlieferung über die römischen Penaten”, *Hermes* 22/1 (1887), p. 42; J. PERRET, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (281–31), Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1942, pp. 340–44, 351–54; J. COLLART, *Varron, grammairien latin*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1954, p. 212).

his home town;⁵³ and that words used in everyday life, such as *multa* (“pecuniary fine”), came from the Sabine language⁵⁴ (see further below). Other passages bear evidence of instances where Varro, facing more than one possible account, chose to validate the version that confirmed the Sabines’ involvement. For example, the origin of the name of the Aventine hill was given different explanations in antiquity; while it seems that, at the time of Servius, there was a consensus that the name came from “the birds [*aves*] which would soar up from the Tiber and go rest there”, previously, others had postulated a derivation from the name of the king of the Aborigines or of the Albans (*Aventinus*).⁵⁵ In *De lingua Latina*, Varro cautiously reported various possible etymologies (he also suggested one from *adventus* and one from *adventus*);⁵⁶ conversely, in *De gente populi Romani* he confidently asserted that the Sabines had named the hill after the river *Avens*, which flowed in their territory.⁵⁷

In sum, among the Italian peoples whom Varro credited with having played a part in building the Roman civilisation, the Sabines clearly got the lion’s share. It does not appear, however, that such a display of patriotism (if not, as Collart put it, a proper case of chauvinism)⁵⁸ was intended to place the Sabines in a position of superiority over the remaining foreign communities, but rather to separate them from such category and to show that they were not foreign at all. In fact, while some strands of genealogical traditions traced the Sabines back to non-Italian ancestries,⁵⁹ Varro seems to have endorsed the theory of their autochthony: according to the story (first established, as far as we know, by

⁵³ *ARHX* (*de Italiae regionibus*), fr. 4 (ap. D. H., I, 14).

⁵⁴ *ARH XXI* (*de magistratum imperio et potestate*), fr. 1 (ap. Gell., XI, 1.5).

⁵⁵ Serv., *Aen.* VII, 657. The derivation from *aves* was also accepted by Augustine (*civ.* XVIII, 21); the one from king *Aventinus* is also found in Ov., *Fast.* IV, 51, Liv., I, 3.9, and others.

⁵⁶ *Ling.* V, 43. See DE MELO, *Varro*, pp. 686–87.

⁵⁷ *De gente* IV, fr. 35 (ap. Serv., *Aen.* VII, 657).

⁵⁸ COLLART, *Varron*, p. 228.

⁵⁹ One notable example is their descent from the Spartans, asserted in Ov., *Fast.* I, 260; Pomp. Trog. ap. Iust., XX, 1.14–15; Plu., *Rom.* 16.1, *Num.* 1. FARNEY, *Ethnic identity*, chapt. 3, persuasively argues that this genealogy provided a convenient way to justify the stereotype of the *Sabina prisca virtus*.

Cato the Elder),⁶⁰ they descended from the local god *Sabus* and had occupied the Reatine territory, previously inhabited jointly by the Aborigines and the Pelasgians. As such, on the one hand, Varro claimed that the Italian roots of his people ran just as deep as those of the Latins (and he aimed to bolster this claim through his historical reconstructions); on the other hand, his emphasis on the “Sabinity” of certain elements of Rome’s history and culture does the opposite of merging the two groups together. Latins and Sabines were distinctly different, but contributed in equal measure to the creation of Rome.

Beyond this twofold ethnical core, Varro credits other, properly “foreign” communities with having enriched the Roman culture with their own involvement. A passage from *De gente* is enlightening in this respect:

De gente IV, fr. 37 (ap. Serv., *Aen.* VII, 176):

Maiores enim nostri sedentes epulabantur. Quem morem a Laconibus habuerunt et Cretensibus, ut Varro docet in libris de gente populi Romani, in quibus dicit quid a quaque traxerint gente per imitationem.

Our ancestors used to dine sitting: they took this tradition from the Laconians and the Cretans, as Varro illustrates in his books “On the genealogy of the Roman people”, where he tells what they took from each race by reproducing it.

The fact that *De gente* – a treatise on “the genealogy” or “the race of the Roman people” – is glossed by Servius as the work in which Varro illustrates what the Romans took from other ethnic groups is perhaps the most revealing indication of where Varro stood in the discussion on Roman identity. The phrase *per imitationem* also bears significance, since, in ancient literature, the process of *imitatio* was not intended as slavish replication of a model (*aemulatio*), but always required its absorbance and some personal contribution. This fact suggests that Varro’s recognition of various components did not result in the portrait of the Roman civilisation as a patchwork of juxtaposed parts, but as a harmonious mixture. A fragment from *De vita* seems to point to the same conclusion:

⁶⁰ Ap. D. H., II, 49.2.

De vita I, fr. 2 (ap. Non., 490, 25):

† Sed quod ea et propter talem mixturam inmoderatam exaquiscunt, itaque quod temperatura moderatur in Romuli vita triplicis civitatis. †

But ... because of such an uncontrolled mixture, that becomes spoiled ... thus, what is subject to reasonable control in Romulus' time ... of a threefold people.

Although the text is obviously corrupt and it is difficult to make sense of the syntax, it is at least clear that Varro was making a comparison between mixing things in an uncontrolled way (which results in spoilage) and using moderation, as was done in *Romuli vita*. The phrase *triplicis civitatis* is commonly understood as alluding to the three tribes (*Ramnes Titienses Luceres*): while there is no scholarly consensus on who was historically part of each tribe, and whether they distinguished three ethnic groups or not, what is clear is Varro's implication that (demographic) mixture done sensibly produces good results.

The same idea is found in some of the linguistic books. Varro's study of language – which, as argued above, stemmed from the same commitment to “unearthing” the true origin of the Roman culture which had inspired the antiquarian writings – produced conclusions in line with what we have seen in the passages above: that “not all words in our language come from the vernacular substrate” (*ling.* V, 3). In fact, some are foreign and some are “hybrid, coined here from a foreign model” (*ling.* X, 69). In a fragment, the character of these *peregrina verba* is made more specific:

Fr. 47 (ap. Lyd., *Mag.* II, 13):

ὅτι δὲ οὐ Ῥωμαϊκὸν τοῦτ' τὸ ῥημάτιον, μάρτυς δὲ Ῥωμαῖος Βάρρων ἐν βιβλίῳ πέμπτῳ περὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς διαλέκτου, ἐν ᾧ διαρθροῦται ποῖα μὲν τις λέξις ἐστὶν Αἰολικῆ, ποῖα δὲ Γαλλικῆ· καὶ ὅτι ἑτέρα μὲν ἢ Θούσκων, ἄλλη δὲ Ἐτρούσκων, ὧν συγχυθεισῶν ἢ νῦν κρατοῦσα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀπετελέσθη φωνή.

That this word [*scil.* καρταμέρα, *cartamera* (“girdle”)] is not Latin is attested by Varro the Roman in his fifth book *On the Latin language*, in which he distinguishes which expressions are Aeolian, which are Gallic, which come from the language of the *Tusci* and which from that of the *Etrusci*. From a blend of these idioms originated what is now the Romans' prevailing language.

The passage raises a few exegetical problems. First of all, it is unclear what work it belongs to.⁶¹ Another conundrum is what appears to be a double mention of the language of the Etruscans (Θούσκων / Ἐτρούσκων), which has been explained in different ways.⁶² But perhaps what has puzzled scholars the most is the lack of a mention of Sabine in this overview of the various components of the Latin language. In light of what discussed above, I would endorse Russo's thesis⁶³ that such absence reveals a precise intent on the part of Varro: Sabine does not belong in this catalogue of foreign components of Latin because it is not a foreign language; it enjoys the same privilege of autochthony as the idiom of the Latins. In fact, in the books of *De lingua Latina*

⁶¹ Goetz and Schoell include this fragment among those attributed to *De origine linguae Latinae*. By contrast, COLLART, *Varron*, p. 25 observes that a number of elements point to *De lingua Latina*: (a) *περὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς διαλέκτου* looks like the literal translation of said treatise's title; (b) the reference to a "fifth book" rules out *De origine linguae Latinae*, *De similitudine verborum*, *De utilitate sermonis*, and *Περὶ χαρακτήρων*, all of which reportedly had less than five books; (c) book V of *De lingua Latina* contains the etymologies of *vocabula locorum et quae in his sunt* (*ling.* V, 10), which include clothing items (especially §§ 130–33), and there is a lacuna after § 162 where, possibly, this passage could fit. I would demur at the latter point, because a generic discussion on the distinction between Aeolic, Gallic, and Etruscan words seems oddly placed in book V. It is possible, of course, that such a discussion was in the lacuna, but overall, this book is organised differently, moving from one semantic area to the other and reconstructing the etymologies of different words, which sometimes are said to be of foreign origin: it would therefore be strange for Lydus to summarise the book like that.

⁶² Most notably, Pascucci speculated that Θούσκων derived from a corruption of Ὀπικῶν or Ὀσκων, and that the ethnonym "Oscan" was meant to include the Sabines as well (G. PASCUCCI, "Le componenti linguistiche del latino secondo la dottrina varroniana", in *Studi su Varrone, sulla retorica, storiografia e poesia latina: Scritti in onore di Benedetto Riposati*, Rieti, Centro di studi varroniani, 1979, p. 340 n. 4); see the convincing objection to this hypothesis by of F. RUSSO, "Greco, Gallico ed Etrusco: Varrone e le componenti del Latino", *AC* 80/1 (2011), p. 168. According to Briquel, the text is correct and the double mention reflects the intent to separate the most recent Etruscan loanwords (which seeped into Latin through contact with the *Tusci*) from the most ancient ones (through the *Etrusci*) (J. BRIQUEL, "La conception du latin comme langue mixte chez Varron", in C. MOUSSY, J. DANGEL (eds), *De lingua Latina novae quaestiones: Actes du X^e colloque international de linguistique latine, Paris, Sèvres, 19–23 avril 1999*, Louvain, Peeters, 2001, pp. 1033–43). The additional suggestion of RUSSO, *Greco, Gallico ed Etrusco*, p. 177 n. 58, that the inconsistent toponyms and ethnonyms in Latin for Etruria and its inhabitants may have simply confused Lydus, also seems sensible.

⁶³ RUSSO, *Greco, Gallico ed Etrusco*.

on etymology (V–VII), Varro pointed to numerous Latin words of Sabine origin: words related to rural life (e.g. *haedus* (“kid”), *hircus* (“buck”),⁶⁴ *crepusculum* (“dusk”),⁶⁵ and various produce of the fields), to religion (especially theonyms: *Feronia*, *Minerva*, *Novensides*, *Pales*, *Vesta*, *Salus*, *Fortuna*, *Fons*, *Fides*,⁶⁶ and others), and to everyday life (*supparus* (“feminine garment”);⁶⁷ *lixula* (“pancake”);⁶⁸ and other words of domestic utility).

As for foreign words proper, to start with, Varro traced several Latin words back to the Greek world. The idea that Latin had derived from Greek (and specifically the Aeolian dialect) was fairly popular in Varro’s time⁶⁹ and Varro appears to have mildly endorsed it insofar as he recognised a conspicuous Greek layer in the make-up of the Latin of his day. In his etymological reconstructions, sometimes he drew attention to the similarity between a Latin word and its Greek equivalent (e.g. *ager* (“field”) ~ ἀγρός;⁷⁰ *malum* (“apple”) ~ μάλον),⁷¹ other times he straightforwardly postulated a derivation of one from the other (e.g. *puteus* (“well”) < πύταμον, Aeolian for ποταμός).⁷² Beside Greek, Varro’s recognition of foreign words remarkably stretched out to encompass the languages of peoples whom many hard-core elitist Latin citizens tended to look at with much more suspicion

⁶⁴ *Ling.* V, 43. Varro perceptively noticed the phonological correspondence: Lat. /h/ ~ Sab. /f/. He remarked the same phenomenon in *harena* “sand” ~ Sab. *fāsena* (ap. Serv., *Aen.* I, 172).

⁶⁵ *Ling.* VI, 5; VII, 77.

⁶⁶ All of these names are given in *ling.* V, 74.

⁶⁷ *Ling.* V, 131.

⁶⁸ *Ling.* V, 107.

⁶⁹ This idea was entertained by a number of Greek and Roman authors between the second century BCE and the sixth century CE: some of these, like Philoxenus and Hypsicrates, probably were known to and influenced Varro. On this much-studied topic, see recently P. DE PAOLIS, “La parentela linguistica fra greco e latino nella tradizione grammaticale latina”, in *Latin Linguistics in the Early 21st Century. Acts of the 16th International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Uppsala, June 6th–11th, 2011*, Uppsala, Uppsala Universitet, 2016, pp. 610–24 and, specifically on Varro, A. GITNER, “Varro *Aeolicus*: Latin’s affiliation with Greek”, in D. J. BUTTERFIELD (ed.), *Varro Varius: The polymath of the Roman world*, Cambridge, Philological Society, 2015, pp. 33–50.

⁷⁰ *Ling.* V, 34.

⁷¹ *Ling.* V, 102.

⁷² *Ling.* V, 25.

than the Sabines and the Greeks. Rome's relationship with the Etruscans, for instance, had been notoriously complicated since the dawn of the Republic and the community suffered from the entrenched stigma of being a barbarous nation (only redeemed by their being versed in the noble practice of *haruspicina*);⁷³ therefore, it is significant that (as is also confirmed by Lydus' passage above) Varro reminded his readers that some of the words connected to the deepest roots of the Roman civilisation had come from the Etruscan language, such as *miles* ("soldier"),⁷⁴ *Tiberis* ("Tiber"),⁷⁵ *idus* ("Ides"),⁷⁶ and names related to religion (*Vertumnus*).⁷⁷ The reference to loanwords from Gallic is also noteworthy: these are to be found in names of clothing items (*sagum* ("coarse woollen mantle"), *reno* ("reindeer-skin"))⁷⁸ and some animals (*alauda* ("lark")).⁷⁹

Of course, the methods of etymology in the first century BCE still needed to be honed and not all of Varro's reconstructions pass the test of modern philology; nevertheless, they are of great interest to us in that they served the purpose of showing that Latin resulted from a blend of different idioms. Such a conception of language is very sensible from a modern perspective, but not one that was shared or endorsed by all authors who stated their opinion on the characters and definition of the Latin language in this period (Cicero, for one, famously strived to preserve the "purity" of Latin against foreign influences).⁸⁰ This makes Varro quite special in this regard.

⁷³ See FARNEY, *Ethnic identity*, chapt. 4, for a breakdown of the negative stereotype of the Etruscans and the consequences that this narrative had on social and political competition among the elites.

⁷⁴ *Ling.* V, 89.

⁷⁵ *Ling.* V, 29–30.

⁷⁶ *Ling.* VI, 28.

⁷⁷ *Ling.* V, 46.

⁷⁸ *Ling.* V, 167.

⁷⁹ *Ling.* VIII, 65.

⁸⁰ Cicero's endeavour to avoid resorting to loanwords where possible is spelled out in *fin.* III, 2.5; *ac.* I, 24–25 (in both passages he clarifies that he will make an exception for words that are now so rooted in Latin literature that it would be absurd to translate them, like *philosophia*, *rhetorica*, *dialectica*, *physica*, etc.). In *Brut.* 169–72 he elevates *urbanitas* (or, to be precise, a *color urbanitatis*) to one of the highest virtues of the oratory style. DENCH, *Romu-*

Furthermore, Varro presents the compound nature of Latin as the result of a stratification that did not originate only recently, as a result of the Roman expansion in the Mediterranean, but which stretches back to the earliest stages of the Roman civilisation. This can not only be inferred indirectly, from the fact that the words which Varro traces back to a foreign origin include “Tiber”, objects of everyday life, the names of the Roman gods, and other object or figures central to the ancient *mores*; but it is also articulated explicitly in a fragment where the Greek language is said to have been absorbed already by Romulus and the first generation of Romans:

Fr. 45 (ap. Lyd., *Mag.* I, 5):⁸¹

οὐδὲ ἀγνοήσας ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ἢ οἱ κατ’αὐτόν, δείκνυται κατ’ ἐκεῖνο καιροῦ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνήν, τὴν Αἰολίδα λέγω, ὡς φασιν ὁ τε Κάτων ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ῥωμαϊκῆς ἀρχαιότητος, Βάρρων τε ὁ πολυμαθέστατος ἐν προοιμίῳ τῶν πρὸς Πομπήϊον αὐτῷ γεγραμμένων, Εὐάνδρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἀρκάδων εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντων ποτὲ καὶ τὴν Αἰολίδα τοῖς βαρβάροις ἐνσπειράντων φωνήν.

Clearly neither Romulus nor his contemporaries, at his time, were ignorant of the Greek (I mean Aeolian) dialect, as is reported by Cato in his *On Roman antiquities* and Varro the outstanding polymath in the preface of his books dedicated to Pompey. For Evander and the other Arcadians came to Italy then and passed the Aeolian language on to the barbarians.

In contrast to the picture presented by some of Varro’s coeval authors, in this text it is stated that language mixture already characterised the time when Roman culture was beginning to be

lus’ asylum, p. 300, rightly observes that, in this passage, Cicero “dodges precise criteria” to clarify what *urbanitas* means: “he eliminates vocabulary that can be learned and resorts to the language of visual metaphor – ‘a certain urbane colouring’ – and vague comments on the sound of urban speech”. I agree with the scholar’s suggestion that this attitude feeds into a barrier which was meant to keep non-Roman Latin speakers at a distance. Contrast this with Caesar’s attitude (see above, n. 44).

⁸¹ Fr. 45 is also attributed to *De origine linguae Latinae* in Goetz and Schoell’s edition, but if that work indeed dates to Varro’s old age, it cannot be the one that Lydus refers to here, which was dedicated to Pompey and therefore must predate Pharsalus (DELLA CORTE, *Filologia*, pp. 155–56).

forged.⁸² In theory, this idea ought not to have been controversial: after all, the myth had it that Romulus attracted populace to his newly founded city by opening up a sanctuary on the Capitoline hill, to which fled beseechers from all surrounding territories with no distinction of class or social status (nobles alongside shepherds, freemen alongside slaves).⁸³ If such a variety of people (coming from different places) merged and formed the first core of Rome's citizen body, it should stand to reason that many of them brought their own cultures and idioms: therefore, claims that various civilisations had contributed to the making of the Latin language – and, indeed, Roman culture – need not have raised any eyebrows. But in fact, it appears that not everyone in Rome at that time was particularly fond of this chapter from their mythologised history. It is not hard to imagine that citizens who leaned towards the elitist conception of “true Romanness” – especially those of Latin ancestry, who prided themselves upon their aboriginal status – would have been somewhat embarrassed by an episode which implied that the most ancient, most “autochthonous” cluster of Romans essentially resulted from a mix of migrants and refugees.⁸⁴

By contrast, although there is no unambiguous mention of Romulus' asylum in Varro's surviving writings, it is plausible that he would have viewed this episode in a positive light, which tallied perfectly with the narrative of the history of Roman culture which he pieced together in his writings. In fact, one could suggest that an allusion to Romulus' asylum is embedded in a passage from *De lingua Latina* where Varro introduces etymology:

⁸² It is interesting that Lydus reports that Cato shared the same idea, despite his often-reiterated aversion to Hellenic influence.

⁸³ D. H. II, 15.3–4; Liv. I, 8.4–7; Plu. *Rom.*, 9.3; Flor. I, 9; Vell. I, 8.5–6. The historical details of this foundation and its important and complex implications for Rome's idea of identity are thoroughly treated in DENCH, *Romulus' asylum*.

⁸⁴ For his part, Cicero (whose relationship with other Latins with respect to his ethnic identity was complicated in its own way, as mentioned above, n. 42) put the snarky comment, *en passant*, in Scaevola's mouth in *de orat.* I, 37 that Romulus would have “gathered together shepherds and tramps”. In a letter to Atticus, he was even more explicit (II, 1.8): [*scil. Cato*] *dicit enim tamquam in Platonis πολιτείᾳ, non tamquam in Romuli faece, sententiam*. (“Cato speaks as if we were in Plato's ideal state, not in Romulus' crap”).

he distinguishes four levels (*gradus*) of progressive depth and difficulties of the analysis,⁸⁵ from the solution of simple compounds (such as *argentifodinae* (“silver mines”) < *argentum* + *fodina*) to obscure poetic words (such as *incurvicervicum* (“bowed-necked”), *scil.* “herd”, said of a pack of dolphins)⁸⁶ to words in common usage (such as *oppidum* (“citadel”)). Exactly what kind of words are subject to the fourth level of analysis, and what analytical approach corresponds to that level, is not clear from the transmitted text, which is almost certainly corrupted: *Quartus ubi est aditus et initia regis* (“the fourth [*scil.* level is] where lies the entrance and the origins of the king”). This passage has been discussed many times and has prompted numerous and diverse suggestions of textual emendation as well as interpretations, which cannot be discussed here.⁸⁷ Probably the most straightforward solution (proposed by various scholars) is to correct *et* to *ad* and read the fourth level as the one which provides *aditus ad initia* (“an access to the origins”), which would fit well with the idea – underpinning antiquarianism as characterised above in section 2 – that the study of old words is a tool for the study of the past. But it might also be that the text originally read *asylum et initia regis* and alluded, precisely, to the time when Romulus founded his sanctuary.⁸⁸ If so, then this event, when a multitude of identities merged together, would come to represent not only the origin of the Roman citizenry, but also the founding act of the Latin language.

⁸⁵ *Ling.* V, 7–8.

⁸⁶ The word is found in Pacuv. fr. 238 Schierl.

⁸⁷ The script of the round-table discussion following the contribution of SCHRÖTER, *Die varronische Etymologie*, gives an insight into the debate. For a more recent review of all the scholarship on this passage, see F. LAZZERINI, “Romulus’ *adytum* or *asylum*? A New Exegetical proposal for *De lingua Latina* 5, 8”, *Ciceroniana On Line – Nouvelle Série* 1/1 (2017), pp. 97–128.

⁸⁸ This hypothesis is put forth in LAZZERINI, *Romulus’ adytum or asylum* and, in a more mitigated version, in LAZZERINI, “The status of *ars etymologica* in Varro and its Ciceronian origins”, *RbM* (forthcoming), where I analyse another segment of the same passage and propose an interpretation of how Varro characterised the function and limits of the art of etymology.

4. Conclusion

The sense of loss and estrangement, following the traumatic events of the first half of the first century, had led many of those who considered themselves Romans to feel much like the *sexagessis* of Varro's satire: unrecognisable to themselves and unable to recognise their home. If, indeed, Varro wrote this satire when he himself was sixty, then it was the year 55 when he had the titular character cry in despair, "When I returned to Rome, I found nothing there of what I had left". About a year later, Cicero started working on his *De re publica*, where he had the character Scipio recount a history of Rome's past which reaffirmed the value of the ancestral *mores* and the role of the Roman *nobilitas* as their guardians and living embodiment: a story which provided comfort from the disconcerting threats to the known world of Romans and showed the way to a better present. It was perhaps a similar sentiment which led Varro to "dig" into the past with so much scholarly devotion and, by all accounts, within just a few years, in that central decade of the first century when it seemed like the order of things was coming apart. However, as V. Binder argued compellingly, whereas Cicero sought to recover and celebrate the *mores* of the noble ancestors, Varro put the Roman people in the broader sense at the centre of his work: as Binder put it, "the people as bearers of *mos* rather than the class that can boast *maiores*".⁸⁹ The very titles of his antiquarian writings confirm this: he wrote "On the life" and "On the genealogy" or "race of the Roman *people*".

This people – their history, their ways, their culture, their language – he studied in a similar way to how biographers would

⁸⁹ V. BINDER, "Inspired Leaders versus Emerging Nations: Varro's and Cicero's Views on Early Rome", in SANDBERG, SMITH, *Monumenta*, pp. 157–81. Binder's analysis builds up on Blösel's distinction between *mos vetus / antiquus*, a definition which actually bears on the "habits" or "ways" of the past, and *mos maiorum*, where the key-element are the *maiores*: the latter concept "leitet seinen Anspruch auf Befolgung aus dem Hinweis ab, daß schon die Vorfahren in der betreffenden Art und Weise zu handeln gewohnt waren" (W. BLÖSEL, "Die Geschichte des Begriffes *mos maiorum* von den Anfängen bis zu Cicero", in B. LINKE, M. STEMMLER (eds), *Mos maiorum. Untersuchungen zu den Formen der Identitätstiftung und Stabilisierung in der römischen Republik*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner, 2000, p. 26).

study a person's life: by going back to their birth and upbringing and retracing all the developments which built up, shaped, and transformed the identity of their present self. And, just as one does when writing a biography, it is the selection of and emphasis on different elements which determines what kind of story will be told.⁹⁰

If, as I argued, the feeling of estrangement that seems to have been pervasive in that period partly stemmed from the debate around the inclusion of different communities into the Roman people, then it is remarkable that Varro's studies, coming full circle, led him to acknowledge the great extent to which those different communities were involved in the building of that very people. Whether this confirmed a belief that he already had, or the outcome of his research surprised him, is probably impossible to ascertain. What is significant is that, instead of downplaying the contributions of the Italian peoples to various aspects of the Roman culture, he highlighted them (especially of the Sabines, whose aboriginal status he confirmed), occasionally actively choosing one account or explanation which bolstered those claims over an alternative one. In this sense, the task of antiquarianism truly reveals the potential it shares with historiography:

Precisely because of their detachment from and elevation above the landscape of the past, historians are able to manipulate time and space in ways they could never manage as normal people. They can compress these dimensions, expand them, compare them, measure them, even transcend them, almost as poets, playwrights, novelists, and film-makers do.⁹¹

In the same way, by selecting, expanding, or collapsing different elements of the puzzle of Rome's past, Varro created a narrative designed to convey a specific message to his readership, i.e. the intellectual elite of his time who were exchanging views on what Romanness had become or ever had been. Momigliano had claimed that antiquarians were guided in their task by the fact

⁹⁰ F. GINELLI, in this volume, underscores this very aspect in relation to Cornelius Nepos' biographies of Hamilcar and Hannibal.

⁹¹ J. L. GADDIS, *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*, Oxford, University Press, 2002.

that they “took pleasure in erudition as such”,⁹² but Varro’s endeavours speak to the intention of fulfilling a purpose which served his own present: indeed, as an act of civic duty.⁹³ Varro spelled out in the *ARD* that this was the intention guiding him:

ARD fr. 2a (ap. Aug. *civ.* VI, 2):

Se timere ne pereant [*scil.* dei] non incursu hostili, sed civium neglegentia, de qua illos velut ruina liberari a se [dicit] et in memoria bonorum per eius modi libros recondi atque servari.

[*scil.* Varro says] that he is afraid that [*scil.* the gods] will perish, not because of an incursion of enemies, but because the citizens neglect them; [he says] that he is rescuing them from this neglect as if from a collapsing building and giving them shelter in his books so that they may be kept in the memory of good people.⁹⁴

The famous praise that Cicero addressed him, as a character, at the beginning of his *Academica* is perhaps the most eloquent confirmation that Varro succeeded in his intent:

Cic., *ac.* I, 9:

Tum ego “Sunt” inquam “ista Varro. Nam nos in nostra urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum deduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere. Tu aetatem patriae tu descriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum iura tu sacerdotum, tu domesticam tu bellicam disciplinam, tu sedum regionum locorum tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina genera officia causas aperuisti; plurimum quidem poetis nostris omninoque Latinis et litteris luminis et verbis attulisti atque ipse varium et elegans omni fere numero poema fecisti, philosophiamque multis locis inchoasti, ad impellendum satis, ad edocendum parum”.

⁹² MOMIGLIANO, *Ancient History*, p. 288.

⁹³ In a similar vein, MacRae illustrates how Varro’s research on Roman religion had a concrete impact on the laws of the priestly colleges written at that time (D. MACRAE, “The laws of the rites and of the priests’: Varro and late Republican Roman sacral jurisprudence”, in ARENA, GÓRÁIN, *Varronian Moments*, pp. 34–48).

⁹⁴ Transl. after BINDER, *Inspired leaders*, p. 172.

Then I said, “That is true, Varro. For, as we were wandering and roaming like foreigners in our own city, your books, so to speak, led us home, so that we could at last be able to recognise who and where we were. You have revealed the age of our homeland, the various stages of its history, the laws of its religious practices and of the priesthood, its civic and military institutions, the names, kinds and functions of the districts, regions and places, and of all the things related to religious and human affairs. You have also shed a lot of light upon our poets, and in general on the Latin literature and language, and you have yourself composed elegant poetry in different genres and almost every metre, and have drafted some principles of philosophy on many occasions, that was enough to stimulate one’s curiosity, but not enough to exhaust all one’s instruction”.

By setting out on his quest for Rome’s past, Varro had embarked on the mission to present his fellow citizens with a mirror of a sort: a story of where their culture came from which would allow them to know who they were, as a people and as a nation.

Bibliography

- ARENA V., GÓRÁIN F. M. (eds), *Varronian Moments*, *BICS* 60/2 (2017).
- ARENA V., PIRAS, G. (eds), *Reconstructing the Republic: Varro and Imperial Authors*, Rome, Salerno Editrice, 2018.
- ASTBURY R. (ed.), *M. Terentius Varro. Saturarum Menippearum fragmenta*, Munich-Leipzig, K. G. Saur, 2002.
- BAIER T., “Myth and Politics in Varro’s Historical Writings”, *EMC* 43/3 (1999), pp. 351–67.
- BINDER V., “Inspired Leaders versus Emerging Nations: Varro’s and Cicero’s Views on Early Rome”, in SANDBERG, SMITH, *Omnium Annalium Monumenta*, pp. 157–81.
- BLÖSEL W., “Die Geschichte des Begriffes *mos maiorum* von den Anfängen bis zu Cicero”, in B. LINKE, M. STEMMLER (eds), *Mos maiorum. Untersuchungen zu den Formen der Identitätstiftung und Stabilisierung in der römischen Republik*, Stuttgart, F. Steiner, 2000, pp. 25–97.
- BOLISANI E., *Varrone Menippeo*, Padua, F. Vallardi, 1936.

- BRIQUEL J., “La conception du latin comme langue mixte chez Varron”, in C. MOUSSY, J. DANGEL (ed.), *De lingua Latina novae quaestiones: Actes du X^e colloque international de linguistique latine, Paris, Sèvres, 19–23 avril 1999*, Louvain, Peeters, 2001, pp. 1033–43.
- CARDAUNS B. (ed.), *Varron: Six exposés et discussions. Entretiens du 3–8 septembre 1962*, Vandœuvres-Genève, Fondation Hardt, 1963.
- CARDAUNS B. (ed.), *Marcus Terentius Varro: Antiquitates rerum divinarum*, Mainz, Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur, 1976.
- CARDAUNS, B., *Marcus Terentius Varro: Einführung in sein Werk*, Heidelberg, C. Winter, 2001.
- CÈBE J.-P. (ed.), *Varron: Satires ménippées*, Rome, École française de Rome, 1972–1979.
- CICHORIUS C., *Römische Studien: Historisches, epigraphisches, literargeschichtliches aus vier Jahrhunderten Roms*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1922.
- COLLART J., *Varron, grammairien latin*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1954.
- DAHLMANN H., s.v. “M. Terentius Varro”, *RE*, Suppl. VI, 1935, cols 1172–227.
- DE MELO W. D. C. (ed.), *Varro: De lingua Latina: Introduction, text, translation, and commentary*, New York, Oxford University Press, 2019.
- DE PAOLIS P., “La parentela linguistica fra greco e latino nella tradizione grammaticale latina”, in *Latin Linguistics in the Early 21st Century. Acts of the 16th International Colloquium on Latin Linguistics, Uppsala, June 6th–11th, 2011*, Uppsala, Uppsala Universitet, 2016, pp. 610–24.
- DELLA CORTE F., “La poesia di Varrone Reatino ricostruita”, *MAT* 69/2 (1937), pp. 1–102.
- DELLA CORTE F., *La filologia Latina dalle origini a Varrone*, 2nd edition [1937], Firenze, La Nuova Italia, 1981.
- DENCH E., *From barbarians to new men: Greek, Roman, and modern perceptions of peoples from the central Apennines*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995.
- DENCH E., *Romulus’ asylum: Roman identities from the age of Alexander to the age of Hadrian*, Oxford, University Press, 2005.
- EDELSTEIN L., KIDD I. (eds), *Posidonius*, Cambridge, University Press, 1972.
- FARNEY G. D., *Ethnic identity and aristocratic competition in Republican Rome*, Cambridge, University Press, 2007.

- FRACCARO P. (ed.), *Studi Varroniani: De gente populi romani*, libri IV, Padova, Angelo Draghi, 1907.
- FUNAIOLI G. (ed.), *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1907.
- GADDIS, J. L., *The Landscape of History: How Historians Map the Past*, Oxford, University Press, 2002.
- GARCEA A. (ed.), *Caesar's De analogia*, Oxford, University Press, 2012.
- GITNER A., "Varro *Aeolicus*: Latin's affiliation with Greek", in D. J. BUTTERFIELD (ed.), *Varrus Varius: The polymath of the Roman world*, Cambridge, Philological Society, 2015, pp. 33–50.
- GOETZ G., SCHOELL F. (eds), *M. Terenti Varronis de lingua Latina quae supersunt*, Leipzig, Teubner, 1910.
- GRUEN E., "Did Romans have an ethnic identity?", *Antichthon* 47 (2013), pp. 1–17.
- HERKLOTZ I., "Arnaldo Momigliano's 'Ancient History and the Antiquarian': A Critical Review", in P. N. MILLER (ed.), *Momigliano and Antiquarianism: Foundations of the Modern Cultural Sciences*, Toronto, University Press, 2007, pp. 127–53.
- HORSFALL N., "Varro and Caesar: Three Chronological Problems", *BICS* 19 (1972), pp. 120–28.
- JOHNSTON A. C., (2017). "Nostris and 'The Other(s)'" in L. GRILLO, C. B. KREBS (eds), *The Cambridge companion to the writings of Julius Caesar*, Cambridge, University Press, 2017, pp. 81–94.
- LAZZERINI F., "Romulus' *adytum* or *asylum*? A New Exegetical proposal for *De lingua Latina* 5, 8", *Ciceroniana On Line – Nouvelle Série* 1/1 (2017), pp. 97–128.
- LAZZERINI F., "The status of *ars etymologica* in Varro and its Ciceronian origins", *RhM* (forthcoming).
- LEONARDIS I., "*Vetustas, oblivio* e crisi d'identità nelle *Saturae Menippeae*. Il risveglio di Varrone in un'altra Roma", *Ἐπέκεινα* 4 (2014), pp. 19–58.
- LEONARDIS I., "Risvegliarsi in un'altra Roma. Crisi del presente e nostalgia del passato nelle *Saturae Menippeae* di Varrone", in R. ANGIOLILLO, E. ELIA, E. NUTI (eds), *Crisi. Immagini, interpretazioni e reazioni nel mondo greco, latino e bizantino. Atti del Convegno Internazionale Dottorandi e Giovani Ricercatori. Torino, 21–23, Alessandria, Edizioni dell'Orso, 2015, pp. 223–36.*
- MACRAE D., "*Diligentissimus investigator antiquitatis*? 'Antiquarianism' and Historical Evidence between Republican Rome and

- the Early Modern Republic of Letters”, in SANDBERG, SMITH, *Omnium Annalius Monumenta*, pp. 137–56.
- MACRAE D., “The laws of the rites and of the priests’: Varro and late Republican Roman sacral jurisprudence”, in ARENA, GÓRÁIN, *Varronian Moments*, pp. 34–48.
- MAZZARINO S., *Il pensiero storico classico*, Bari, Laterza, 1966.
- MERCKLIN L., “Aetia des Varro”, *Philologus* 3 (1848), pp. 267–77.
- MIKOŁAJCZYK I., “Les fragments de la satire ménippée ‘Sexagesis’ de Varron”, in Z. ABRAMOWICZ (ed.), *Études de philologie classique à la mémoire de Stefan Srebrny*, Toruń, Université Nicolaus Copernicus, pp. 103–96.
- MIRSCH P., “De M. Terenti Varronis Antiquitatum rerum humanarum libris XXV”, *Leipziger Studien zur classischer Philologie* 6 (1882), pp. 1–144.
- MOATTI C., *La raison de Rome: Naissance de l’esprit critique à la fin de la République (II^e–I^{er} siècle avant Jésus-Christ)*, Paris, Seuil, 1997.
- MOMIGLIANO A., “Ancient History and the Antiquarian”, *JWI* 13 (1950), pp. 285–315.
- MOSCA B., “Satira filosofica e politica nelle Menippeae di Varrone”, *ASNP* 2 (1937), pp. 41–77.
- MOURITSEN H., “From *hostes acerrimi* to *homines nobilissimi*. Two Studies in the Ancient Reception of the Social War”, *Historia* 68/3 (2019), pp. 302–26.
- NELSESTUEN G. A., *Varro the agronomist: political philosophy, satire, and agriculture in the late Republic*, Columbus, Ohio, The Ohio State University, 2015.
- PASCUCCI G., “Le componenti linguistiche del latino secondo la dottrina varroniana”, in *Studi su Varrone, sulla retorica, storiografia e poesia latina: Scritti in onore di Benedetto Riposati*, Rieti, Centro di studi varroniani, 1979, pp. 339–63.
- PERRET J., *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome (281–31)*, Paris, Les Belles Lettres, 1942.
- PIRAS G., “*Dicam dumtaxat quod est historicon*: Varro and/on the past”, in ARENA, GÓRÁIN, *Varronian Moments*, pp. 8–20.
- PITTÀ A., *M. Terenzio Varrone, de vita populi Romani. Introduzione e commento*, Pisa, University Press, 2015.
- RIESE A. (ed.), *M. Terenti Varronis Saturarum Menippearum reliquiae*. Lipsiae, Teubner, 1865.

- ROBINSON L., “Marcus Terentius Varro, ‘Sexagesis’ or born sixty years too late”, in *Atti del congresso internazionale di studi varroniani, Rieti 1974*, Rieti: Centro di studi varroniani, 1976, pp. 477–83.
- ROLLE A., *Dall’Oriente a Roma. Cibele, Iside e Serapide nell’opera di Varrone*, Pisa, Edizioni ETS, 2017.
- ROMANO E., “Il concetto di antico in Varrone”, in M. CITRONI (ed.), *Memoria e identità. La cultura romana costruisce la sua immagine*, Florence, Università degli Studi, 2003, pp. 99–117.
- ROSS TAYLOR L., “Varro’s *De gente populi Romani*”, *CPh* 29/3 (1934), pp. 221–29.
- RUSO F., “Greco, Gallico ed Etrusco: Varrone e le componenti del Latino”, *AC* 80/1 (2011), pp. 167–78.
- SALANITRO M., *Le menippee di Varrone: Contributi esegetici e linguistici*, Roma, Edizioni dell’Ateneo, 1990.
- SANDBERG. K., SMITH, C. (eds), *Omnium Annalium Monumenta: Historical Writing and Historical Evidence in Republican Rome*, Leiden-Boston, Brill, 2018.
- SCHRÖTER R., “Die varronische Etymologie”, in B. CARDAUNS (ed.), *Varron: Six exposés et discussions. Entretiens du 3–8 septembre 1962*, Vandœuvres-Genève, Fondation Hardt, 1963, pp. 79–116.
- WALLACE-HADRILL A., *Rome’s Cultural Revolution*, Cambridge, University Press, 2008.
- WERNER E., SALLMANN K. G., SCHMIDT P. L., “Varro”, *Brills Neue Pauly*, 2006.
- WISEMAN T. P., “Writing Rome’s Past”, review-discussion of SANDBERG, SMITH, 2018, *Histos* 12 (2018), pp. 1–23.
- WISSOWA G., “Die Überlieferung über die römischen Penaten”, *Hermes* 22/1 (1887), pp. 29–57.
- ZUCHELLI B., “L’enigma del ΤΡΙΚΑΠΑΝΟΣ: Varrone di fronte ai triumviri”, in *Atti del congresso internazionale di studi varroniani, Rieti 1974*, Rieti, Centro di studi varroniani, 1976, pp. 609–25.