

## THE IDENTITY PROBLEMS OF Q. CORNIFICIUS

The problems connected with the Cornificii of the late Republic are various, and all concerned with identification. I have no major discoveries to present, but various minor rectifications and suggestions to make, which should give the younger Q. Cornificius at least more substance. Where he is concerned, one basic identification has been, rightly, generally accepted: that made by Jerome between the poet of the name and the Cornificius who fell in Africa in the wars of the Triumvirate, abandoned by the soldiers whom he had castigated as 'hares in helmets'.<sup>1</sup> I do not wish to discuss here in any detail the military career of Cornificius;<sup>2</sup> son of the man, like him Quintus, who stood in vain for the consulship of 63, he fought with success for Caesar as *quaestor pro praetore* in Illyricum in 48; he was rewarded, probably in 47 when Caesar doled out many priesthoods, with the augurate,<sup>3</sup> and went out to govern Cilicia, only to find himself called on to help in suppressing Caecilius Bassus' revolt in Syria. He was probably back in Rome in 45 to hold an early praetorship (unless he had held it in 47, sooner after his quaestorship than seems likely); and in 44, possibly shortly after the Ides of March, he was given the command of Africa Vetus as proconsul by the Senate,<sup>4</sup> though Antony tried on 28 November to reinstate his predecessor Calvisius Sabinus, who had left his legates in the province. Perhaps swayed by the example of his friend Pansa, or by the eloquence of Cicero, he stood by the Senate, and co-operated with Sex. Pompeius in Sicily; but he was ultimately defeated by T. Sextius, once legate to Caesar in Gaul, now the Antonian governor of Africa Nova (Numidia). During the years 46–43 he was the recipient of a number of surviving letters from Cicero.

The poet is likely to be the Cornificius called on by his friend Catullus ('tuo Catullo'), in some severe and increasing distress, to provide an *allocutionem*, a consolation, probably in elegiac verse, since 'maestius lacrimis Simonideis'.<sup>5</sup> On the strength of one brief fragment of hendecasyllables, 'deducta mihi voce garrienti' we can see that he wrote poetic anecdotes, this one at least possibly

<sup>1</sup> Jerome, *Chron.* ad ann. 41 (Helm p.159).

<sup>2</sup> Caesar, *Bell. Alex.* 42–7; Dio 48.17, 21 ff.; Appian, *B.C.* 3.85, 4.36, 53 ff; Livy, *Ep.* 123. F. L. Ganter, 'Q. Cornificius' *Philologus* 53 (1894), 132; W. Sternkopf, 'Die Verteilung der römischen Provinzen vor dem Mutinensischen Krieg', *Hermes* 47 (1912), 321; F. Münzer, *RE* iv.1624 (8); Tyrrell and Purser, *The Correspondence of Cicero*, iv (Dublin, 1918), ci; R. Syme, 'Observations on the Province of Cilicia', *Anatolian Studies* . . . W. H. Buckler (Manchester, 1939), p.299. Also Drumann-Groebe ii.531; *MRR* ii.306.

<sup>3</sup> Dio 42.51; Cicero, *ad f.* 12.17 (46 B.C.): 'Cicero s.d. Cornificio conlegae'. G. V. Sumner, 'The Lex Annalis under Caesar', *Phoenix* 25 (1971), 357, for his early praetorship.

<sup>4</sup> Ganter, *op. cit.* n.2; P. Romanelli, *Storia delle provincie romane dell' Africa* (Rome, 1959), p.142, perhaps 'in base a disposizioni già prese da Cesare'. Calvisius was in Rome on the Ides according to Nicolaus of Damascus, but Romanelli thinks he may have returned briefly to Africa thereafter, since Cicero, *Phil.* 3.26, says that at the end of November 'modo ex Africa decesserat'.

<sup>5</sup> Catullus 38; *allocutio* in the precise sense of 'consolation' is common. It is perhaps Simonides' funerary epigrams, rather than his lyric *Threnoi*, that were to be imitated. The usual subject for a Consolation in antiquity is the death of a third person, so Catullus' fatal illness or Lesbia's defection, which have been suggested as the occasion of the poem, are not very likely.

turning the laugh against himself, as Catullus 10 does—it may be that someone else is breaking in, in a quiet voice, with some devastating comment, as the poet goes rambling on.<sup>6</sup> A *Glaucus* is also recorded: there was a poem of that name by Callimachus himself, but there are a large number of stories attached to the name Glaucus. Presumably this was an epyllion. Both fragments are quoted by Macrobius, comparing a Virgilian usage, and a further fragment of an unknown poem, perhaps in catalectic dactylic trimeters, is offered by Servius.<sup>7</sup> Ovid speaks of Cornificius as a writer of erotic verse: 'et leve Cornifici parque Catonis opus'. Whether this means that there was close similarity between Cornificius' style and that of Valerius Cato is doubtful.<sup>8</sup>

The Virgilian commentators further mention Cornificius, confusingly, as either a friend or foe of the young Virgil. But this seems to be a mare's nest. The earlier stratum seems to regard him as a friend;<sup>9</sup> the Verona scholiast tells us that some think that he (or Cinna, or Virgil himself) is the Codrus so highly regarded as a poet in *Eclogue* 7: 'Nymphae, noster amor, Libethrides, aut mihi carmen quale meo Codro concedite (proxima Phoebus versibus ille facit) . . .' Thus to equal Codrus is the highest ambition of Corydon, the final victor in the contest that makes up the eclogue, while to make him burst with envy is that of the less sympathetic Thyrsis.<sup>10</sup> But it is very doubtful whether the Greek names in the *Eclogues* ever refer to real persons (apart from Menalcas, who seems to represent the poet in *Eclogues* 5 and 9); Pollio, Gallus, Varus, Cinna, and Varius appear under their own names, so do the despised Bavius and Maevius, and one cannot see why Cornificius should not do so.<sup>11</sup> The Verona Scholiast however goes on to say

<sup>6</sup> But perhaps the 'deducta vox' is the poet's own; whether it means 'subdued' or 'thin' is hard to say. Mr. R. G. G. Coleman tentatively suggests to me a reference to *tenuitas* of style. Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.4.12 compares Cornificius' phrase with passages from comedy (Afranius and Pomponius) and there is also a parallel in Lucilius.

<sup>7</sup> The fragment of the *Glaucus* (Macrobius, *Sat.* 6.5.13), 'Centauros foedare bimembres', conceivably suggests an account in indirect speech of the battle of the Centaurs and Lapiths (the Centaurs are likelier to be subjects than objects of this particular verb, but some read *sedare*). Centaurs do not seem to play a part in any story involving a Glaucus, so we have here a passing reference, a simile, or even an inset into the epyllion. *Bimembris* as an adjective for Centaurs had a successful career in Latin poetry (like *biformis*), but it is a fairly obvious translation of the Greek διπύρης, often used of them, so one cannot be certain that Virgil was consciously following Cornificius.

Of 'ut folia quae frugibus arboreis tegmina gignuntur', quoted by Servius (*Georg.* 1.55) I can make little; Morel

reorganizes it into hexameter form.

Dactylic elements are clearly visible.

<sup>8</sup> Ovid, *Trist.* 2.436.

<sup>9</sup> G. Wissowa, 'Cornificius' (8) *RE* iv.1624.

<sup>10</sup> Wissowa, loc. cit., suggests that the Berne scholiast's idea that Cornificius was an *obtrektor* of Virgil is a stupid deduction from Thyrsis' hostile words 'rumpantur ut ilia Codri'; but the scholiast himself thinks Cornificius is Thyrsis. In *Ecl.* 5.10–11 'iurgia Codri', like 'Phyllidis ignes' and 'Alconis laudes', are subjects for song, but the use of names is not always consistent between the different *Eclogues* and Codrus may not here be thought of as a poet.

<sup>11</sup> Though Tenney Frank, 'Cornificius as Daphnis', *CR* 34 (1920), 49, supposes that it would be rash to praise him openly after he fell resisting the triumviral cause. But Cornificius cannot be the Daphnis of *Eclogue* 5: if no Nestor, he was equally not a *puer* (though African lions and at a pinch Armenian tigers could be seen as relevant to his career) and, as will be seen, he can hardly be the leader of the neoterics after Cinna's death, as Frank holds.

hunc Codrum in elegiis Valgius honorifice appellat et quadam in ecloga de eo ait:  
 Codrusque ille canit, quali tu voce canebas  
 atque solet numeros dicere, Cinna, tuos,  
 dulcior ut numquam Pyllo profluxerit ore  
 Nestoris aut docto pectore Demodoci.

We do not know the context, but if this does refer to a real figure, which seems possible, it ought to be obvious that a prominent and revered poet of the older generation (Nestor and doubtless the blind Demodocus of the *Odyssey* were aged men), still active after the lynching of Cinna the poet by the Roman mob in 44, cannot be Cornificius (or, of course, Virgil or Cinna himself).<sup>12</sup> The dates of *Eclogue* 7 and of Valgius' earliest work are uncertain, but it is not very likely that they were written before Cornificius' death in Africa in late 42; the Virgilian *Lives* say that the *Eclogues* were begun in that year, and though some think that a few, including the seventh, could be earlier, others put this among the latest; Valgius is first mentioned by Horace around 35.<sup>13</sup> Anyway, at the time of Cinna's murder, Cornificius, who was probably in his thirties and would hardly have relished being compared to Nestor, either had left or was on the point of leaving Rome for his province of Africa, and as we shall see from Cicero, his interests and ambitions at this time seem to have been far from poetical. Even in youth he may have been a good deal of a dilettante, and his works have not left much mark on the tradition. Other attempts to identify him with persons in the *Eclogues* need not detain us at all.<sup>14</sup> We need not deny, of course, that during the brief periods of his presence in Rome (or Campania<sup>15</sup>) in the 40s he could have been acquainted with Virgil, for the latter's connections with survivors of the circle of Catullus (especially Pollio) are clear.

Jerome's identification of the poet and the soldier was made more certain when it was observed that Q. Cornificius' sister, who is described on a lost inscription from Rome, also naming her brother, as 'Cameri (uxor)', must surely have been married to the Camerius of Catullus 55 (the name is a rare one).<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> Presumably Valgius picked the (not very obvious) name of an admired poet from Virgil and applied it to a real man (Valerius Cato?). In thinking that the age of Nestor and Demodocus is significant one need not reject the allusions seen in the lines by T. P. Wiseman, *Cinna the Poet* (Leicester, 1974), p. 57, esp. that the *doctus* poet Demodocus' tale of Ares and Aphrodite in *Odyssey* 8 is a model epyllion. S. Sudhaus, 'Die Ciris und das römische Epyllion', *Hermes* 42 (1907), 502, thinks the *Ciris* could be by Valgius' 'Codrus'.

<sup>13</sup> E. A. Schmidt, *Zur Chronologie der Eklogen Vergils* (Heidelberg, 1974), for disputes on the date: R. Büchner, *RE* 2.viii.1.1224–6 puts it around 35; as does Schmidt, accepting Bowersock's dating of no. 8 to that year. R. G. Coleman argues in his new edition for 39. Valgius, Horace, *Sat.* 1.10.82.

<sup>14</sup> The Berne scholiast suggests that he is the inferior poet Amyntas of *Ecl.* 2.35 and Servius Auctus the Antigenes of 5.89.

<sup>15</sup> Cicero, *ad f.* 12.20 attests a visit by

Cornificius to Campania. Philargyrius, in the fifth century, *ad Ecl.* 3.105, says that 'Cornificius' recorded a detail that he had heard from Virgil himself. This suggests a man still alive after Virgil's death, but the reading is uncertain, and 'Cornutus' perhaps a better one.

<sup>16</sup> *ILLRP* 439. In other inscriptions of the period the only Camerii are a freedman at Caere and a slave at Praeneste (*ibid.* 830, 106 d). In *CIL* they cluster in Central Italy (cf. Cameria, Camerinum) and also in Cisalpine Gaul, though not actually Catullus' Verona (*CIL* xi.6516–19, Sassina; 7570, Tarquinii; 168, Ravenna; *CIL* v.2325–6 Atria; 2409, Ferrara; 2855, Patavium; 3129, Vicetia). W. Schulze, *Latetische Eigennamen* (repr. Berlin, 1933), perhaps wrongly thinks the name Etruscan. See now T. P. Wiseman, 'Camerius', *BICS* 23 (1976), 15, strongly for origin from 'domi nobiles' of Venetia, adding an early inscription from Atria published in *Epigraphica* 18 (1956), 52, and noting that the Camerii of Vicetia and Patavium are of magisterial

The inscription must date from 47 at earliest, as Cornificius is described as praetor and augur, and was perhaps set up in his absence by the sister, since her name takes first place and he is described as her *frater*.

Now this lady may well be the Cornificia, 'vetula sane et multarum nuptiarum', who as Cicero learnt in 45 from the grammarian Nicias (probably Curtius Nicias) turned down proposals from young Juventius Thalna on the ground that he had only HS 800,000.<sup>17</sup> If Q. Cornificius was praetor in 47 the inscription might date from that year and the marriage with Camerius be one of those Cicero knew Cornificia's past to contain: it might well have broken down, if Camerius was still the incorrigible *coureur de filles* (if also of books) known to Catullus. If, however, as is more likely, Cornificius' praetorship was in 45, Camerius had been luckier than Juventius and it is perhaps a fair assumption that he was a rich man. The, or a, sister of Cornificius was also, as Jerome tells us,<sup>18</sup> well known for her epigrams, which would seem to have been still read (*exstant*) in the time of his source, Suetonius.

Q. Cornificius himself was married, or at least in 51 engaged to be married, to the daughter of Aurelia Orestilla, Catiline's widow, as Caelius told Cicero. If this girl is quite likely to have been a beauty, like her mother 'quouis praeter formam nihil umquam bonus laudavit',<sup>19</sup> she was perhaps also an heiress, and liable to inherit money from her mother as well; for Catiline in 63 had claimed that he could have paid his debts from the resources of his wife and her daughter.<sup>20</sup> Whether, or in what way, Orestilla herself was an heiress is unclear, for her family tree is uncertain. She is perhaps too young to be the daughter of the consul of 103, who died in office, while there were male members of the family in the first century, if adopted into other houses.<sup>21</sup> At any rate, Orestilla, entrusted by her husband to the protection of Catulus, had clearly survived the débâcle of 63 with her position in Roman society relatively unscathed.<sup>22</sup>

status and probably fairly early.

W. J. Slater, 'Pueri, Turba Minuta', *BICS* 21 (1974), 133, misguidedly revives Birt's suggestion that Camerius was Lesbia's *delicium* or child pet (Camerius is impossible as a slave's name). It is surely unlikely that Catullus would write a poem to such, addressing him as *amice*. The treatment of Camerius in C. L. Neudling, *A Prosopography to Catullus* (Oxford, 1955), p.46, does not deserve the derision of Slater, who has read it carelessly (that of Cornificius is also sound though incomplete). Wiseman rightly protests against Slater's fantastic interpretation.

<sup>17</sup> Cicero, *ad Att.* 13.28; *mulieres* suggests that her mother backed her—her father, as we shall see, was perhaps recently dead.

<sup>18</sup> See above, n.1. Wiseman, *op. cit.* n.16, suggests that the inscription, which was on a convex plaque, came from a circular tomb, and that Cornificia, named first, died before her brother, But would he

not have been described at his death as proconsul rather than praetor? And were his ashes ever brought back to Rome?

<sup>19</sup> Cicero, *ad f.* 8.7.2; Sallust, *Cat.* 15.2.

<sup>20</sup> Sall. *Cat.* 35.3.

<sup>21</sup> Cn. Aufidius Orestes cos. 71 (Cicero, *dom.* 35), and perhaps Mucius Orestinus trib. 63 and favourable to Catiline (see F. Münzer, *RE* xvi.423). G. V. Sumner, *The Orators in Cicero's Brutus* (Toronto, 1973), p.46; E. Badian, 'Notes on Roman Senators of the Republic', *Historia* 12 (1963), 132 n.6; E. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley, 1974), p.183 n.74, 218 n.36. Aurelia Orestilla is perhaps as Münzer suggests (*RE* xiii.1394) the ill-famed Aurelia of *ad f.* 9.22.4, of 45 B.C. (where Lollia, joined with her, will be Gabinus' wife and Caesar's mistress). Sallust's 'nihil umquam bonus . . .' perhaps also suggests that her indiscretions were not confined to early youth?

<sup>22</sup> Sallust, *Cat.* 35.6.

Whether through his wife, or service under Caesar, or both, Q. Cornificius became a rich man (though he will not have been poor to start with, since his father stood for the consulship); Cicero was not worried when he discovered that at some point he had stood surety either for him or for his father, for 'omnino Cornificius locuples est'.<sup>23</sup> And it is probably he who made himself unpopular by rebuilding Pompey's house in Rome after the Civil War on the grounds that it was not sufficiently luxurious.<sup>24</sup>

On the whole, scholars have rejected the suggestion that Q. Cornificius was the Cornificius who wrote the *De etymis deorum*, a work in at least three books composed after Cicero's *De natura deorum*, to which a fragment refers, but probably before Verrius Flaccus, since it is much quoted by Festus. Two arguments have seemed decisive: one, that Servius Auctus speaks of a Cornificius Longus,<sup>25</sup> and neither Cicero, the inscription mentioned above, the coins he issued in Africa, nor the historians give our Cornificius any *cognomen*, nor does his father ever have one; and two, that between the publication of the *De natura deorum* in early 44 and his death he was far too busy in Africa to write anything. A third, that the interests shown in the work are quite alien to those of the poet, does not hold, as a study of Cicero's letters to him will show.

In fact Servius' quotation from 'Cornificius Longus' stands rather apart from those explicitly assigned to the *De etymis deorum* (and to a bare 'Cornificius'); not only does it give the derivation not of a god's name but of two place-names (Delphi and the Crisaeian plain), but it does so by means of foundation-legends, rather than the common Greek or Latin words that are adduced in the certain fragments. This is, however, not a conclusive argument, as plain 'Cornificius' seems to have discussed some words, such as *nuptiae*, that were not strictly gods' names.<sup>26</sup>

As for Q. Cornificius being busy in Africa, he was, very, and complained of it to Cicero—who still thought that he would have time to do some writing as well, and intended to reciprocate if he did. But Cornificius was perhaps dilatory in literary matters, as Catullus had found, though Caesar twice commends his *diligentia* in military affairs in Illyricum.<sup>27</sup> It is just conceivable that after Cicero's letters cease, and doubtless with the aid of learned slaves or freedmen, such as most writers of position used, and perhaps in the intervals of tedium that wars usually provide, Cornificius did actually produce the prose work for which Cicero had been asking (one thinks of the vast literary production of Caesar, and of Q. Cicero, in Gaul). The *De etymis deorum* dealt with a subject that might well have interested him, as Cicero's letters show.

<sup>23</sup> *Ad Att.* 12.14.2, cf. 17, 'etsi reus locuples est'. (Flavius is presumably his *procurator*.) Neudling, loc. cit., suggests that the elder Cornificius has just died and that his son is settling his affairs.

<sup>24</sup> Plutarch, *Caesar* 51, Κορφίνιος (cf. 43, where this seems to mean Cornificius).

<sup>25</sup> H. Funaioli, *GRF*: Cornificius Longus frag. 4. See F. Bona, *Contributo allo studio della composizione del 'de verborum significatu' di Verrio Flacco* (Milan, 1964), pp.35 ff. Willers, *De Verrio Flacco* (1898), collected all the glosses in Festus that might on grounds of content

come from the *De etymis deorum*.

<sup>26</sup> Funaioli gives them to another work than the *de etymis deorum*; this might make against the poet's authorship, as he is perhaps unlikely to have written more than one grammatical work. (The false cognomen, Gallus, produced by the late grammarian Cledonius is explicable as a confusion with Cornelius Gallus.)

<sup>27</sup> Caesar, *Bell. Alex.* 42.2, 43.4; cf. Cicero, *ad f.* 12.19.1 'et industria et prudentia tua'. On the other hand, Sextius was to find him slow in moving, Dio 48.21.

In his first letter, in 47, Cicero proposes to send Cornificius his *Orator*, and the remark that his friend may perhaps disagree with him on the subject of the perfect orator (though as one *doctus* with another) has rightly been taken as indicating that Cornificius was something of what Cicero called an Atticizer—to put matters in the least controversial way possible. This hardly surprises in one who had no doubt been a friend not only of Catullus, but of Calvus, whose influence, Cicero implies, had misled others. Cicero's joking reference to 'vos magnos oratores' suggests that Cornificius was a practitioner as well as a critic.<sup>28</sup> That Cicero's relationship with Calvus had been polite is shown by what we know of their correspondence,<sup>29</sup> and Catullus' brief verses to Cicero probably have nothing sinister about them (Douglas observes that Catullus was explicit enough when he disliked someone<sup>30</sup>). So it is not surprising to find Cicero on friendly terms with a neoteric and an Atticizer. The only surviving fragment of Cornificius' oratory is his reference to hares in helmets, 'lepores galeatos', which would support the suggestion that the Atticizers' work was not so unvaryingly flat and simple as Cicero makes out; though metaphors were allowed in the plain style,<sup>31</sup> and a man on a stricken field must not be held to his theoretical principles. The only reference to poetry in Cicero's letters to his friend concerns expected agreement in contempt for the mimes of Laberius and Publilius Syrus (unless it was the events connected with these men at Caesar's games that Cicero was distressed by); except that there is a single quotation from Terence—a poet whom an Atticizer would approve, as Caesar did, for his pure simplicity of style.<sup>32</sup> Though Cicero recurs several times to his desire that Cornificius shall write him something, it is most improbable that it is expected to be in verse, and it does not seem very likely that at this period Cornificius was active in that field.

But if Cornificius will not like the *Orator*, Cicero has been and will be writing 'quae etiam tu concederes'. These works must surely be philosophical—the *Paradoxa Stoicorum* had been produced by this time, and other works were on the stocks. There are in fact several slight indications that Cornificius was interested in philosophy, and perhaps in particular in Stoicism. The strongest is 12.25.4: my devotion to philosophy, says Cicero, arms me against all the blows of fortune, 'tibi que idem censeo faciendum, nec a quo culpa absit quicquam in malis numerandum: sed haec tu melius'. The last words imply that Cornificius is not ignorant of the doctrine; and Cicero in his letters never presses philosophy on those who are not attracted by it.<sup>33</sup>

Now the *De etymis deorum* is distinctly Stoic; it probably even quotes Cleanthes and Posidonius.<sup>34</sup> Its approach to the whole business of etymology,

<sup>28</sup> *Ad f.* 12.17.2, 12.18.1. Recent writings on Atticism have neglected Cornificius, though he figures in older discussions. But he hardly deserves to rank among 'Les Critiques et les correcteurs des oeuvres de Cicéron' (J. Wikarjak, *Eos* 59 (1971), 281).

<sup>29</sup> E. Gruen, 'Cicero and Licinius Calvus', *HSCP* 71 (1966), 215.

<sup>30</sup> A. E. Douglas, *Cicero* (Oxford, 1968: *Greece & Rome*; New Surveys of the Classics, no. 2), p. 39.

<sup>31</sup> Cicero, *Orator* 81 ff.

<sup>32</sup> *Ad f.* 12.18.2, 12.25.5. I am not suggesting that Caesar was exactly an 'Atticizer'.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. 12.23.1, 'neque enim, quae tu propter magnitudinem et animi et ingeni moderate fers, a te ea non ulciscenda sunt, etiam si non sunt dolenda'. Note the rarity of strictly philosophical jokes and references in the letters to Atticus, a merely nominal Epicurean, compared with those to Varro, Cassius, Torquatus, and others.

<sup>34</sup> *GRF* frag. 6.

its belief that this can tell us something significant about the gods themselves, is Stoic; and the allegorical interpretation of Homer is also to be noted.<sup>35</sup> In fact, almost everyone in this period was interested in some aspect of *grammaticae*, and Suetonius points out that socially prominent men wrote on the subject;<sup>36</sup> while the man who proudly registered his title of augur on inscriptions and coins might feel that a religious slant to the business was one that suited him (one would like to know more of the relation between the *De etymis* and Varro's discussions of the names of gods in the *De Lingua Latina*, and also Cicero's attacks on the procedure). At any event, however poetical his youth, by the late forties of the first century B.C. Cornificius had become a rich, serious, and politically ambitious man. If Cicero's references to the hoped for *amplificatio* of his friend's *dignitas* refer to support from the Senate for his position in Africa, perhaps his prorogation, it does look once as if he was encouraging his friend to aim at the consulship.<sup>37</sup> Even without it, Cornificius had got further than Calvus or Cinna, other members of Catullus' circle who had also turned to public life, but had been cut off still more prematurely.

Cicero refers to 'multa intolerabilia multis locis' in Cornificius' province, and there were many problems, mostly it seems connected with the legates and doubtless other supporters of Calvisius, and through him of Antony, whom he found there.<sup>38</sup> Cicero claims that his own repeated attacks on Calvisius caused him unwillingly to re-enter Rome, thus presumably giving up all claims to *imperium*;<sup>39</sup> this was perhaps shortly before the meeting of the Senate on 19 March 43 which carried a motion in Cornificius' honour, most probably proroguing him, to the fury of 'the Minotaur, that is, Calvisius and Taurus'.<sup>40</sup> Statilius Taurus may have been another legate of Calvisius, or else concerned with the foundation of Carthage, planned by Caesar and, if Solinus is to be trusted, begun in 44 after his death;<sup>41</sup> the affair is likely to have created difficulties for Cornificius. He will also have had a deal of legal business arising out of the unsettled state of the province; Caesar had sold up the property of all those supporting the Pompeian forces and King Juba,<sup>42</sup> and some of his minor colonies at least seem to have already been founded by 45.<sup>43</sup> No wonder Cicero writes Cornificius a number of letters of recommendation for *negotiatores* involved in litigation in Africa.<sup>44</sup>

If Cornificius was successfully prorogued in Africa Vetus, the Senate would also seem to have tried to unseat the unreliable governor of Africa Nova. Antony's

<sup>35</sup> Ibid.

<sup>36</sup> Suetonius, *De gramm.* 3.4.

<sup>37</sup> *Ad f.* 12.25.5 'conscende nobiscum et quidem ad puppim'.

<sup>38</sup> Two legates left in Africa, Cicero, *Phil.* 3.26; cf. *ad f.* 12.30.7 'de Venuleio, Latino, Horatio' who claimed the right to lictors—perhaps to be reduced to two by linking the name Latinus with one of the others, *MRR* ii.355. Cn. Minucius, who also made trouble, *ad f.* 12.25a.7, is perhaps an official of some sort.

<sup>39</sup> *Ad f.* 12.25.2.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. 12.25.1. Prorogation, Ganter, *op. cit.*, p.143, *MRR* ii.345.

<sup>41</sup> Solinus 27.11 (cf. Appian, *Pun.* 136, confused but tending to show it was

actually founded after Caesar's death).

For the various controversies about its early development, see P. Romanelli, *op. cit.* n.140 and refs. The refractory notice in Tertullian, *De Pallio* 1.2. is best understood as correctly dating Statilius Taurus' activity in its foundation to his visit in 36, later than Lepidus' presence (for which cf. Dio 52.43.1); but Taurus could have been involved, or hoped to be involved, earlier as well. See also R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford, 1939), p.237.

<sup>42</sup> *Bell. Afr.* 97.2.

<sup>43</sup> Curubis, *ILLRP* 580. Romanelli, *op. cit.*, p.140, lists probable and less probable Caesarian foundations.

<sup>44</sup> *Ad f.* 12.26, 27, 29; cf. 30.1.

letter to Hirtius and Octavian, extensively quoted in Cicero's thirteenth *Philippic*, reproaching them with reviving the Pompeian cause, complains that they have entrusted Africa 'Varo bis capto'.<sup>45</sup> This action was presumably directed against Sextius and decreed by the beginning of March 43 at least (for Antony to know it when he wrote). It would seem to involve the quaestor of 49, 'Sex. Quintilius Varus quem fuisse Corfini supra demonstratum est' (as Caesar writes in the *De Bello Civili*); 'hic dimissus a Caesare in Africam venerat'.<sup>46</sup> In Africa he attempted to win the troops who had been at Corfinium back to the Pompeian side. His second capture could have been either here, or in Spain whither he may have accompanied his commander in Africa, Attius Varus (who died at Munda). Recent historians have overlooked his abortive appointment to Africa in 43,<sup>47</sup> but seen that Caesar's Sex. Quintilius Varus is probably the Quintilius Varus who died at Philippi by the hand of a freedman, perhaps as a *praetorius*, since there is a reference to 'insignibus honorum'.<sup>48</sup> A man with experience in Africa might seem a sensible choice for the Senate to make in 43, but so dyed-in-the-wool a Pompeian would indeed be a provocative one (though if he had been praetor this must have been owing to Caesar's *clementia*). In the event Sextius remained in control, though he was told to hand over one of his legions to Cornificius and send the other two back to Italy, which he rather surprisingly did.<sup>49</sup> Perhaps he also sent the legion to Cornificius, since he is subsequently said to have fewer and lighter troops than the governor of Africa Vetus, and was heavily dependent on the native prince Arabio and the Sittiani.<sup>50</sup> The interest that all factions showed in the control of Africa is of course largely due to its importance in the export of corn to Rome.

In Africa, as we have already mentioned, Cornificius coined:<sup>51</sup> a small issue of

<sup>45</sup> *Phil.* 13.30.

<sup>46</sup> *Bell. Civ.* 2.28.

<sup>47</sup> Editors of the *Philippics* identify him and S. Gsell, *Histoire ancienne de l'Afrique du nord* viii (Paris, 1928), 187 n.1 has him, but the passage is made to refer to Attius Varus and an earlier date by Klebs, *RE* ii.2257 and *MRR* ii.311 (quite impossible in the context of Antony's letter).

<sup>48</sup> Vell. Pat. 2.71.2. R. Syme, *CP* 50 (1955), 127, cf. *MRR* Suppl., p.52. Gruen, *The Last Generation*, p.194, still thinks the quaestor of 49 can be traced no further. The L. Varus holding Rhodes for Cassius (Appian, *BC* 4.74) must be another man, though *pace* Syme the *praenomen* is found among the patrician Quintilii. Alfenus Varus was probably praetor c.43, but his legal and poetical interests perhaps do not suggest a man twice captured in war; his political outlook is obscure (Syme, *RR*, p.235). Theoretically possible as the object of Antony's complaint is also the Varus proscribed in 43, Appian *B.C.* 4.28, described as an ex-consul, which must either be an error for ex-praetor or (so Syme, 'Missing Persons', *Historia* 5 (1956), 208) refer to Caesar's grant of consular insignia to some *praetorii*.

<sup>49</sup> Appian, *B.C.* 3.85; but *ad f.* 10.24.4

and 8 shows the legions must have been summoned to Italy before Antony's junction with Lepidus: possibly at the time of Cornificius' prorogation in March? Whether Cornificius already had legionary troops is unclear.

<sup>50</sup> Appian, *B.C.* 5.26, represents Sextius as even after the defeat of Cornificius dependent on veterans (from Caesar's colonies?), natives, and mercenaries serving local kings. For his vicissitudes then, Dio 48.21.2, Appian, *B.C.* 5.26; an *accensus* of his, a freedman of the Caelii (known to have interests in Africa) *ILS* 1.1945.

<sup>51</sup> M. H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage*, i (Cambridge, 1974), no. 509, 1-5; illegally he says, *ibid.* ii.604; but the Senate had authorized him to requisition, *ad f.* 12.28.2—by the March s.c. rather than the normal one for all governors? Cicero urged him alternatively to raise money by a loan (*ibid.* 28.3) but this may have been hard to do after the fines levied by Caesar on pro-Pompeian *conventus*, especially Utica. Difficulty in getting hold of bullion, or his death, may explain the tiny issue—and conceivably the plated *denarii* that have been found, *RRC* i.565: Crawford is prepared to concede that in such circumstances these might be official, rather than private forgeries, p.560.



both *aurei* and *denarii*. The reverse type shows the general being crowned by Juno Sospita, in reference presumably to his initial victory over Sextius. He is veiled and carries the *lituus*, and the legend includes, with his name, the word AVGVVR; IMP will attest an imperatorial salutation. The numismatists were the first to suggest that, as in perhaps every other case where Juno Sospita is portrayed on a coin, the man who issued it came from Lanuvium, the main site of her cult.<sup>52</sup> However, in this case Juno is accompanied by a bird, probably a *cornix*, or crow, which was regarded as sacred to her;<sup>53</sup> and it is conceivable that the Cornificii liked to derive their name from that of the bird, and that by this route, rather than origin from Lanuvium, they came to have a devotion to Juno. Since Juno Sospita is always shown armed with lance and shield, and her title was understood to mean 'Saviour', this would be a natural form of the goddess to turn to in the hour of victory.<sup>54</sup> It is not probable that, as has recently been suggested, Cornificius was also paying homage to Juno the goddess of Carthage, though in fact she too seems to have been a war-goddess. But it is certainly the Italic deity with the goatskin headdress and figure-of-eight shield that we see on the coins.<sup>55</sup>

It may be objected that Cornificius, with a short i in the second syllable, is not really derived from *Cornix*, *cornicis* with a long one, but from *cornu* (more obvious still in the form 'Cornuficius' used on the coins); but this would hardly worry even an ancient author on etymology. It is however also conceivable that Cornificius simply shows a crow in reference to his augurate, as Antony does on one of his coins;<sup>56</sup> in this case, the argument that Juno Sospita must imply origin from Lanuvium would be stronger—but the bird is behind Juno and well away from Cornificius himself.<sup>57</sup> However, it would be nice to think that the Roscius serving under Cornificius in Africa, either as *legatus* or as *praefectus*

<sup>52</sup> Accepted recently by R. Syme, *Historia* 4 (1955), 61, L. R. Taylor, *Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* (Rome, 1960), p.208, T. P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate* (Oxford, 1971), p.227, E. Gruen, *op. cit.*, p.137. Drumann-Groebe briefly denied it (ii.530).

<sup>53</sup> Festus 56L: 'Corniscarum divarum locus (lucus?) erat trans Tiberim cornicibus dicatus quod <in> Iunonis tutela esse putabantur' (from the *De etymis deorum?*). G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (Munich, 1912), p.189 n.1; *CIL* i<sup>2</sup>.2.975, with I. Kajanto, 'Contributions to Latin Morphology', *Arctos* 5 (1967), 67—really only one 'diva Cornisca', and no relation to crows.

<sup>54</sup> Festus 462L (as Bona argues, *op. cit.*, p.39, from the *De etymis deorum*): 'Sispitem Iunonem, quam vulgo Sospitem appellant, antiqui usurpabant, cum ea vox ex Graeco videatur sumpta, quod est σῶξεν.' Possible real origin of the name, G. Dumézil, 'Iuno S.M.R.', *Eranos* 52 (1954), 105.

<sup>55</sup> J. Rufus Fears, 'The Coinage of Q. Cornificius and Augural Symbolism on late Republican Denarii', *Historia* 24 (1975), 592. Carthaginian Juno's 'currus et arma', see my 'Scipio, Furius, Laelius and the

Ancestral Religion', *JRS* 63 (1973), 161.

For the iconography of Juno Sospita G. Hafner, 'Der Kultbildkopf einer Göttin im Vatikan', *JDAI* 81 (1966), 186. There was a cult of Juno Sospita in Rome itself, Livy 32.30.10, 34.53.4, Ovid, *Fasti* 2.55. For Juno/Tanit possibly on the obverse of Cornificius' coins see below.

<sup>56</sup> *RRC* no. 489, 1–4. For crows and augury, Cicero, *De n.d.* 3.14, Isidore, *Etym.* 12.7.44, Festus 214L. Antony shows *lituus* and jug as well, however.

<sup>57</sup> *RRC* no. 379, 1–2, must refer to Lanuvium as it shows the snake connected with the cult there, but it is not proved that L. Proculus came thence; so nos. 480 2a, 23, and 28, with snake and girl (cf. Propertius 4.7.3 ff.), but their author M. Mettius is of unknown origin (Wiseman, *op. cit.*, no. 253, on weakish grounds suggests Gallic). But see *RRC*, nos. 384 and 472, two moneyers called L. Papius showing the goddess' head, with Asconius 53C for a Papius from Lanuvium; no. 316, L. Thorius Balbus, cf. Cicero *De fin.* 2.63 (Lanuvinus) and also M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge, 1946), p.384, on Thorius Flaccus.

*castrorum*, was one of the numerous Roscii of Lanuvium, chosen for the same reasons as make Arpinate friends and relations bulk large on Cicero's staff in Cilicia; while Syme has noted the P. and L. Cornificii attacking Milo in 52 and suggested that Lanuvine feuds are surfacing.<sup>58</sup> Should we ever discover for certain the tribe of Rhegium in the toe of Italy we should have an independent check; for Cicero wrote to Q. Cornificius of the Rhegines as 'tribules tuos', and we know that the tribe of Lanuvium was Maecia.<sup>59</sup> If Rhegium were not also Maecia, then, Cornificius could not come from Lanuvium.

It has also recently been argued that the *lituus* is part of the 'theology of victory' developed in Rome, 'symbolizing the divine favour of the charismatic leader', and that Cornificius is thus a key figure in the development of imperial ideology.<sup>60</sup> This is probably an exaggeration, but the augurship does seem to be frequently evoked on coins referring to military victories, and that Cornificius was making the very most of all possible claims to be one of the chief leaders of the time is probable enough (it is doubtful if he was subordinate to the *maius imperium* of Brutus). To show himself on his coins, even if not in full portrait form, was still a notable piece of self-assertion; and there is no reference to republican ideals. It is perhaps worth remembering that he had to cope with religious propaganda put out by Sextius, who had been receiving omens and dreams portending victory; a cow spoke to him, and he was carrying around on a pole a bull's head supposedly dug up at Thugga in accordance with its own behest, made in a dream.<sup>61</sup>

The obverses of Cornificius' coins are also interesting; and, this time, beautiful, perhaps reflecting their author's character as a man of taste. They show Africa with the elephant headdress, Jupiter Ammon, and a goddess with corn ears in her hair. This last head is closely reminiscent of the coins of Carthage down to its fall (based on Sicilian types, and usually rather well done). Here modern sources usually call the goddess Tanit, but we know that Demeter

<sup>58</sup> The actor came from Lanuvium, Cicero, *De div.* 1.79; two republican Roscii in its tribe, Maecia, *ILLRP* 1262; L. Roscius Fabatus, *RRC*, no. 412, shows Juno Sospita with snake. R. Syme, 'Missing Senators', *Historia* 4 (1955), 61.

<sup>59</sup> *Ad f.* 12.25.3. There appears to be no direct evidence from Rhegium: a man who held a magistracy there came from the Pomptina, but seems to originate from Grumentum, which certainly had this tribe (*CIL* x.228).

<sup>60</sup> Fears, *op. cit.* in n.55, drawing on A. Alföldi, 'The Main Aspects of Political Propaganda on the Coinage of the Roman Republic', *Essays in Roman Coinage Presented to Harold Mattingly* (Oxford, 1956), p.84: 'the iconographical prototype of Cornificius' coin is a royal investiture, the first example for this act in the whole Roman source material as far as I can see'. *Contra*, showing the lack of real evidence for the *lituus* meaning anything but possession of the augurate, E. Badian, 'Sulla's Augurate', *Arethusa* 1 (1968), 41 n.2. However, coins seem to stress the

augurate more than the pontificate, and it may possibly be relevant that, as Cicero says in *De div.* 2.76–7, promagistrates as opposed to magistrates could not take the auspices. Some, e.g. S. Weinstock, *RE* xvii.2.1727 s.v. *obnuntiatio*, think that augurs always had the right to *auguria impetrativa* as well as *oblative*—though see Cicero, *Phil.* 2.81.

<sup>61</sup> Dio 48.21. Why this stress on cattle? Caesar's legions had a bull on their standards, Ritterling *RE* xii.1549 ff., S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971), p.119. Or, if Sextius was attracting natives rather than veterans, it seems (from the coins of Numidia and Mauretania, J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Munitiae Mauretanicae* (Paris, 1955), nos. 224–6, 277–9, 392–3, 503) that Egyptian veneration for cows and bulls may have been widespread in N. Africa (perhaps a native Mauretanian cult, Mazard nos. 107–12; cf. L. Müller, *Numismatique ancienne de l'Afrique du nord* (Copenhagen, 1860–74), nos. 356–8, Libyan). Bull on African coins of Octavian, Grant, *op. cit.*, p.60.

and Kore were worshipped in Carthage from 396 B.C.<sup>62</sup> Representations of Tanit vary greatly, but a Roman, regarding her as equivalent to Juno, would probably take the coin to show Demeter-Ceres; a roughly similar head had appeared on several Roman issues, and must surely there be so taken.<sup>63</sup>

On the basis of the Jupiter Ammon type, Alföldi suggests that Cornificius' coins must have been struck in Cyrene.<sup>64</sup> This does not seem to me to be very convincing. The designers of these elegant types are not absolutely bound to have been Greeks (and the reverse type is very Roman); anyway, even granting that there were no good artists in Africa proper, we know that Cornificius was in touch with Sicily. It is true that the horned head of Ammon is typical of the coins of Cyrene, including those of the Roman period (though the coins struck there by Lollius and Pinarius Scarpus only a few years later than the time we are concerned with are markedly inferior artistically to those of Cornificius);<sup>65</sup> but it does also appear further west, notably in the recent and somewhat Romanizing coinage of Juba I, with which Romans in Africa at this time would certainly be familiar;<sup>66</sup> so does Africa in the elephant headdress, though this in fact had already been used on Roman issues.<sup>67</sup>

What actually happened in Cyrene in the years 44–42 is uncertain; Cassius, who was given it in 44, never went near it (and Antony of course rescinded the appointment). Grant argues not unconvincingly that a certain P. Licinius, proquaestor under Brutus and Cassius, coined as its governor, though possibly in Crete; perhaps he had difficulty in establishing himself.<sup>68</sup> One could imagine

<sup>62</sup> G. K. Jenkins and R. B. Lewis, *Carthaginian Gold and Electrum Coins* (London, 1963), p.11, regard as possible 'a secondary assimilation to Demeter in a type primarily intended to convey the chief Carthaginian deity Tanit'. In both Cornificius' coins and those of Carthage the goddess looks left and wears a pendant ear-ring, while the wreath is rather similar in treatment.

<sup>63</sup> *RRC*, nos. 321, 351, 378; 82, 97 (9, 16, 23), 99 (2a), 414, 427, 467, 494 (44a). Cf. Müller, op. cit. ii, no. 375, from Hippo Diarrhytus.

<sup>64</sup> A. Alföldi, 'Commandants de la flotte romaine à Cyrène', *Mélanges Carcopino* (Paris, 1966), p.25, followed by C. Nicolet, *L'Ordre équestre à l'époque républicaine* ii (Paris, 1974), no. 106. Alföldi's idea that they were struck in the same mint as those of Q. Oppius and C. Clovius is rejected by Crawford, *RRC* i.94. The find-spots of Cornificius' very rare coins do not, so far as I can discover them, throw any light on where they were struck.

<sup>65</sup> E. S. G. Robinson, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyrenaica* (British Museum, 1927), ccxxxiii. The heads on these two issues also look r. not l., unlike those of Cornificius.

<sup>66</sup> Mazard, op. cit., nos. 90, 92 (cf. 123

Octavian, and 335–6, Juba II) and p.51. L. Müller, op. cit. i.103a, attributes a poor copy of Cyrenaic types to Libyan natives of the Syrtes area. Lucan's oracle of Ammon (9.511 ff.) appears to be on Cato's line of march from Berenice to Leptis, and this need not be wild poetic licence: the geographers refer to a grove or springs of Ammon somewhere along this coast, perhaps in the area ruled by Juba. For this and other evidence for the worship of Ammon here and further west see Gsell, op. cit. iv.286 n.3, 287 n.1, vi.143–4. He was possibly identified with the Punic Baal Hammon. The famous shrine at the Siwah Oasis was of course far away to the south-east, near the Egyptian border. A few non-African Greek cities occasionally show Zeus Ammon on their coins.

<sup>67</sup> Mazard, op. cit., no. 89, cf. 94–8, 103, 118. Roman coin of 43 B.C., perhaps connected with the arrival of Sextius' legions in Italy, *RRC*, no. 491. Earlier examples, nos. 402, 461.

<sup>68</sup> Grant, op. cit., pp.45 ff.; and for a brief triumphal colony founded by one P. Cosconius, p.260. J. Reynolds, 'Four Inscriptions from Roman Cyrene', *JRS* 49 (1959), 97, records a suggestion by R. Syme that Augustan Sestii in Cyrene reflect the presence of L. Sestius P.f., quaestor to Brutus in 43—a very long shot.

that Cornificius or his friends might not co-operate enthusiastically with the friends of Brutus, but that a governor of Africa Vetus should extend his power so far seems hard to credit. Cato's march from Cyrene to Utica had been an epic achievement, made through desert and dangerous country and taking many weeks at least;<sup>69</sup> most of the area probably now owed allegiance to Sextius and Africa Nova.<sup>70</sup> The sea voyage past the Syrtes and an often harbourless coast is also difficult, and it is far from clear that Cornificius had a fleet, even though he sent a *δύναμις* to help Sex. Pompey in Sicily.<sup>71</sup>

It is much more likely that Cornificius had his mint in Utica, as Cato and perhaps the other Pompeian leaders had probably done a few years earlier. Utica was certainly Cornificius' military base, and the place where Calvisius had left his legates;<sup>72</sup> it is not probable that the governor's seat had yet been moved from here to Carthage. Conceivably the Ceres head might refer to the refounding of that city, though its later issues do not hark back to its days of independence; perhaps it simply evokes Africa's cereal wealth. The stress on African types was perhaps not meant for the natives (though for a while Cornificius was in alliance with Arabio)<sup>73</sup> as the money is likely to have been primarily used to pay the Roman troops.<sup>74</sup>

Both Cornificius and his quaestor left their traces in Africa. Münzer is surely right to suppose that there is some connection with the Q. Cornificius Q. f. Arn., who built a temple at Thibursicum Bure; he has the tribe of Carthage, and is perhaps the descendant of a freedman of, or a native enfranchised by, our subject.<sup>75</sup> Münzer may also be right in supposing that the freedman of a Q.

<sup>69</sup> Romanelli, op. cit., p.118 n.2 (and *La Cirenaica romana* (Rome, 1941), p.60) accepts, as from Livy, Lucan's figure of two months from Berenice to Leptis; Gsell viii.3 prefers Strabo 17.3.20, round the Syrtis from Berenice in thirty days. Plutarch, *Cato* 56.4, speaks of six days of march through the desert. Lucan 9.302 ff. exaggerates in regarding the sea voyage as virtually impossible, but Cato, having apparently lost some ships near Berenice, clearly preferred land. His only precedent seems to be Ophellas' march to join Agathocles, on which he lost many men; R. B. Kebric, 'Lucan's Snake Episode', *Latomus* 35 (1976), 380, thinks Lucan closely based on Diodorus' account of this march (20.42, perhaps from Duris?), including his chronology. Cf. J. Aumont, 'Caton en Libye', *REA* 70 (1968), 318. R. G. Goodchild, (*Libyan Studies* (London, 1976), p.145) notes that Cyrenaica and Tripolitania were never united except for a brief period in the sixth century A.D. In 1865 George Dennis complained that the camel-mail from Benghazi to Tripoli took three weeks and storms along the coast cut communication by sea for long periods (D. E. Rhodes, *Dennis of Etruria* (London, 1973), p.87). Cornificius had no camels, and inferior ships, if any.

<sup>70</sup> Romanelli, op. cit., p.130; cf. Gsell

viii.163.

<sup>71</sup> Dio 48.17.6. Grant, op. cit., p.234, argues that coins of Malta evoking those of the Liberators suggest that for a time it was controlled by their admiral L. Staius Murcus—surprising if Cornificius had a fleet, though strictly Malta was attached to Sicily. M. Hadas, *Sextus Pompey* (New York, 1930), p.74, supposes Cornificius himself had beaten off from Lilybaeum the supporters of Antony (or mere pirates?) of *ad f.* 12.28.1. More likely he only arrested them on their return to or arrival in Africa. Some think, by contrast, that Sextus visited Cornificius: the confused chronology of Tertullian, *De Pallio* 1.2, has suggested that the Pompeius who set up 'trinas aras' at or near Carthage is Sextus, not Magnus (so H. Dessau, *Klio* 8 (1908), 460).

<sup>72</sup> Appian, *BC* 4.55, Cicero, *Phil.* 3.10.26. Sydenham, *Roman Republican Coinage* (London, 1952), p.212, suggested Carthage. Crawford, op. cit., does not commit himself, but on p.738 suggests that Metellus Scipio had showed the city goddess of Utica on his coins.

<sup>73</sup> Appian, *B.C.* 4.54; Dio 48.22.4.

<sup>74</sup> *Ad f.* 12.30.4. his need of money 'ad rem militarem'.

<sup>75</sup> *CIL* viii.1441; Thibursicum Bure perhaps a *pagus* of Carthage, H. -G. Pflaum,

Cornificius found in Syracuse might be our friend's.<sup>76</sup> Members of his household may well have fled to Sex. Pompey after their patron's death, as we are told that those among the proscribed who had taken refuge with him in Africa Vetus did.<sup>77</sup>

And Cornificius' quaestor, D. Laelius D.f. Balbus, was responsible for building bathing installations at Carpis; Dessau suggests that he was trying to win over this Caesarian colony.<sup>78</sup> His father had been a thorough Pompeian; and, recalling that Cornificius also had a Roscius on his staff, we may remember that a prominent L. Roscius Fabatus had been an officer of Caesar's in Gaul, and had helped to negotiate with Caesar on the Senate's behalf in 49.<sup>79</sup> Here perhaps we see in little the alliance of ex-Pompeians and moderate Caesarians that Cicero was trying to bring about on a grand scale. Why a Ventidius is found serving Cornificius we cannot guess.<sup>80</sup> Nor can we tell anything about the friends and companions with him in Africa who are referred to in Cicero's letters, P. Lucceius, Tratorius, and Chaerippus, unless Chaerippus is the man of that name with Q. Cicero in Asia in 60, possibly not a freedman as his name might suggest, since he is mentioned on that occasion between two apparently freeborn Romans.<sup>81</sup>

Cornificius' own personality comes over fairly clearly from our scrappy evidence. Though we need not be so convinced as Tyrrell and Purser that his admirable character is proved by his excellent friends (Cicero says that he had always liked Chaerippus, and he thought Hirtius and Pansa, of whom, especially the latter, Cornificius was certainly an intimate, decent enough, if too luxurious and easygoing), yet it is clear that in 46 Cicero felt that Cornificius, though a Caesarian, could be trusted to disapprove of many of the features of Caesar's régime, and of many of Caesar's followers, notably T. Munatius Plancus. The high principles of Cornificius' father are more than once attested; but he himself seems to have been both luxurious and easygoing like his friends. He created for himself a sumptuous palace in Rome; he took a wife from a household of less than strict respectability; his own leniency in Africa (to the assailants of Lilybaeum, and to the men who were perhaps Calvisius' legates) displeased Cicero, and there are other possible signs of a trusting nature.<sup>82</sup> He was clearly an amusing companion; Cicero wishes he were in Rome so that they might enjoy sophisticated jokes together, and *ad Fam.* 12.20 (written before, in 44–43, it became vital to flatter Cornificius into loyalty to the Senate) shows

'La Romanisation de l'ancien territoire de la Carthage . . .', *Antiquités africaines* 4 (1970), 75. Münzer *RE* iv.1627.

<sup>76</sup> *CIL* x.8314–15, Münzer, *RE* iv.1627. Other Cornificii in Africa may derive from L. Cornificius, relationship unknown, *cos.* for Octavian in 35 and subsequently governor of the province: *RE* iv.1623 (s.v. Cornificius 5); possibly the man who wished to prosecute Milo for *ambitus*, Asconius, *In Mil.* 38–9 C, and did so *de vi*, 54 C. Perhaps not the P. Cornificius who attacked Milo in the Senate in 52 (36 C)? R. Syme, *Historia* 4 (1955), 60–1.

Who is the Cornificius of *ad f.* 12.25.1? He cannot be a son of Quintus, at least by Orestilla's daughter, so early, and *ad Att.* 12.14.2 and *ad f.* 8.7.2 rule out a brother.

The name is rare, though there was a Cornificius who was *scriba* to Verres in Rome and Sicily, crooked according to Cicero, and granted the gold ring by his master (*In Verr.* 2.1.150, 157; 2.3.181–7). How the name got into the family of the Emperor M. Aurelius, who had a sister and a daughter called Cornificia, we do not know.

<sup>77</sup> Appian, *B.C.* 4.56 (none of the proscribed is identifiable).

<sup>78</sup> Dessau, *op. cit.* in n.71. He notes the hot springs at Carpis.

<sup>79</sup> Münzer, *RR* xii.411 (Laelius 6).

<sup>80</sup> Appian, *B.C.* 4.53.

<sup>81</sup> *Ad f.* 12.22a.4, 23.1, 25a.2, 30.2 and 5; *ad Q.f.* 1.1.14.

<sup>82</sup> *Ad f.* 12.17, 27.1, 30.7; cf. 25.7, 22.4.

their easy relationship—Cicero did not offer to lend his houses to all his friends. One can well imagine him, in younger days, as a valued member of the circle of Catullus, valued perhaps more for his charm and elegance than for his not very solid poetic gifts.<sup>83</sup>

*New Hall, Cambridge*

ELIZABETH RAWSON

<sup>83</sup> I am grateful to Mr. R. G. G. Coleman, Miss J. M. Reynolds, and Professor T. P. Wiseman for reading and criticizing

this article, and to Mr. T. Volk for helping me to obtain the numismatic literature.