

AMMIANUS AND CICERO: THE EPILOGUE OF THE *HISTORY* AS A LITERARY STATEMENT

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AT THE END of Ammianus' *History* there stands a brief epilogue:

haec ut miles quondam et Graecus, a principatu Caesaris Nervae exorsus, ad usque Valentis interitum pro virium explicavi mensura, opus veritatem professum, numquam, ut arbitror, sciens silentio ausus corrumpere vel mendacio. scribant reliqua potiores aetate, doctrinis florentes, quos id, si libuerit, aggressuros, procudere linguas ad maiores moneo stilos.

This passage has been frequently discussed, usually either as a methodological statement or in order to elicit hints about the historian and his opinions. In consequence, the first sentence has been the primary focus of attention.¹ Much of the older scholarly opinion on Ammianus, though it assigned to his *History* great value as a reliable source of information and assigned to the author some merit for his lively narrative and characterization, nevertheless dismissed him as an incompetent and derivative stylist. In the words of one of his critics, "*Ammianus . . . schreibt wie er kann, nicht wie er will.*"² While over the past twenty-five years the complexity and skill of Ammianus as a writer have come to be better appreciated (and in parallel his manipulateness as a historian has been much explored),³ the hangover of the older opinion persists in inhibiting a full recognition of his literary qualities. In this paper I propose to approach the epilogue as a purely literary statement in which Ammianus presents himself as a master historian who implicitly associates himself with his own masters, most especially Cicero. In consequence, the emphasis of the discussion will shift from the first to the second sentence.

In his book on Ammianus' method Guy Sabbah touched upon the epilogue. Sabbah's main concern was to elicit from it indications concerning the contents of the lost—and hypothetical—preface to the whole work. He, therefore, like most scholars, concentrated on the first sentence. He noted that it had three components, each of which served to locate Ammianus within the tradition of grand historiography that runs from Herodotus to Tacitus: the declaration of personal origin and experience; the identification of the beginning and end of the *History*; and the criteria, most importantly the adherence to *veritas*, which he had proclaimed (*professum* suggests that Ammianus is referring to an explicit declaration of this, perhaps in the preface).⁴

¹ See Blockley 1975: 17, with bibliography; Seyfarth 1971: 368, n. 172; Matthews 1989: 461.

² Wachsmuth 1895: 677. Other examples in Thompson 1947: 23. For an extended discussion, see Blockley 1996.

³ See, e.g., Fontaine 1977; Roberts 1988; Salemmé 1987; 1989. The first to argue systematically Ammianus' manipulateness as an historian was Thompson (1947: esp. 42–71).

⁴ Sabbah 1978: 13–14.

From the point of view of a literary discussion, four points can be made. First, if the word *Graecus* is anything more than an ethnic denominator, it probably serves to advance Ammianus' claim to learning, a sense which adheres to other uses of the term by the author and a characteristic which scholars have usually attached to Ammianus himself.⁵ Second, specific links to Tacitus are made by the phrase *a principatu Caesaris Nervae*, by the claim that Ammianus has met his objective of *veritas*, which resonates with Tacitus' praefatory discussion in the *Historiae*, and by the reference to *mendacium* and *silentium* as enemies of the truth.⁶ Third, the specific distinction between *silentium* and *mendacium* is Ciceronian, as are *exorsus*, *explicavi*, the assertive *ut arbitror*, and the phrase *virium . . . mensura*, which is modelled on *aurium mensura* of *De oratore* 3.183 and elsewhere.⁷ Finally, the tone of the sentence is proud and confident, and even the phrase *ut arbitror*, which Sabbah takes as a sign of modesty and contrasts with Tacitus' tone of absolute and authoritative confidence, is, in my opinion, an indication rather of the author's tendency towards Ciceronian argumentation.⁸

The derivative and artificial nature of Ammianus' style has long been recognised. Many hundreds of parallels between Ammianus' text and those of classical and post-classical Latin authors have been registered, so that it is clear that Ammianus built up his style as a pastiche of these parallels, as well as of Graecisms and elements of the spoken language of his day.⁹ Older scholars regarded the result as a clumsy confection that was a consequence of his being a native Greek-speaker and his late and inadequate mastery of the Latin language.¹⁰ More recently, beginning with Auerbach's demonstration of the extraordinary and powerful nature of the style, many scholars have come to recognise that, however artificial and derivative

⁵ *Graecus*: 15.9.2. Cf. 15.2.8; 17.4.17; 20.3.10; 21.1.8; 26.1.8; 30.8.4. Ammianus' claim to learning would also be an assertion of his superiority in this sphere (Sabbah 1978: 534).

⁶ Studies of the relationship between Ammianus and Tacitus are legion. Earlier studies emphasised linguistic parallels: e.g., Wölfflin and Gerber 1870: 559–560; Wirz 1877: 634–635; Weinstein 1913–14; Fesser 1932: 23–27; Fletcher 1937, with more bibliography. Later studies are more interested in the historiographical relationship: e.g., Arnaldi 1967; Tibullo 1969–70; Flach 1972; Blockley 1973; Neumann 1987.

⁷ *Silentium / mendacium*: Sabbah 1978: 153, n. 183. Indeed, *numquam . . . silentio ausus corrumpere vel mendacio* appears to gloss *nequid falsi dicere audeat? deinde nequid veri non audeat?* (Cic. *De or.* 2.62). *Exordior* is used in a number of places in *De or.*: e.g., 2.31 and 320 (both with *a + abl.*); 2.80 (absolutely). For other punning adaptations of Ciceronian phrases, see below, 311 and n. 34. On Ammianus' use of word play, see Blomgren 1937: 128–131.

⁸ Sabbah 1978: 17. Sabbah devotes two substantial chapters (12 and 13, pp. 375–453) to a detailed discussion of Ammianus' techniques of argumentation, although in these chapters he makes relatively few references to Cicero.

⁹ For example, Fletcher (1937) registers parallels between Ammianus and twenty-two Latin authors ranging temporally from Terence to Ausonius. Cf. the brief statement of his own view by de Jonge (1982: v–vi).

¹⁰ This observation was made in the seventeenth century by Adrien Valois (the most convenient locus of Adrien's comment on Ammianus is the edition by Wagner and Erfurdt 1808: xxxv–lxxii, at liii). See also Gimzane 1889: 265–267; Thompson 1947: 17.

the style might be, it is the result of the complex and masterful manipulation of the constitutive elements.¹¹ What has apparently not been recognised is that in the last sentence of his epilogue Ammianus indicates that this is precisely what he has done.

The second sentence is always treated as if its meaning were perfectly clear. This confidence is, however, based upon a misinterpretation at two points. The English translation of J. C. Rolfe is typical: "The rest may be written by abler men, who are in the prime of life and learning. But if they chose [*sic*] to undertake such a task, I advise them to forge their tongues to the loftier style."¹² Here we have the historian humbly confessing his inadequacy, an interpretation which harmonises with the nineteenth-century view of Ammianus as an incompetent and which offers a tone of modesty which is conventional enough to be plausible. But this is not what Ammianus said.

The text which Rolfe and others translate is that of C. U. Clark, who inserted *et* between *aetate* and *doctrinis*, following a suggestion of Henri Valois, who preferred *doctrinisque*. Both emendations, which have the result of linking *aetate* with *florentes*, are probably influenced by *florens aetate* of Tac. *Hist.* 2.81. But the reading of the only authoritative manuscript (V), which lacks the *et*, links *aetate* to *potiores* in an ablative of respect which is found elsewhere with *potior* in Ammianus.¹³ The manuscript reading, which keeps one of the types of *clausulae* preferred by Ammianus,¹⁴ makes good but different sense: "Let others write the rest who are stronger in years and in the prime of learning." This is not a statement of inadequacy but an appeal to advanced years as a reason for terminating the *History*.¹⁵ Furthermore, the insistence that his continuators be *doctrinis florentes* identifies the most obvious characteristic of Ammianus' own writing. This suggests that Ammianus is recommending to his continuators that they adopt his own method of composition, advice which he makes more explicit in the second part of the sentence.

The conventional translation of the last part of the sentence gives to the plural *stilos* a singular meaning, "style," for which I know no parallel.¹⁶ This translation appears to flow from the tone of humility usually discovered in the epilogue

¹¹ Auerbach 1946: 50–60; and the works cited at n. 3. In light of the concentration of the present paper upon Ammianus and Cicero, I must emphasise that Ammianus' technique does not rest upon the borrowing of an element (or elements) from a single source, as the traditional studies with their parallel columns of source and derivation imply, but upon the combination of elements from various sources to create a new phraseology.

¹² Rolfe 1939: 505. Cf. Seyfarth 1971: 303; Hamilton 1986: 443; Sabbah 1978: 17.

¹³ Cf. Amm. Marc. 28.4.30: *potiores auctoritate longaeva*.

¹⁴ *scribant reliqua, potiōres aetate, doctrinis florētes* (three *cursus plani*). Blomgren (1937: 8) also rejects the insertion of the copula, but he reads *aetate doctrinis florentes*, defending what he calls the *bimembre asyndeton* as a regular practice of Ammianus and, therefore, accepting the conventional understanding of the passage. I see the structure as a chiasmus.

¹⁵ Sabbah (1978: 17), reading *et*, sees both motifs in Ammianus.

¹⁶ See the translations cited at n. 12.

and from two apparently parallel passages, in Eutropius and the SHA.¹⁷ But in both these passages the singular *stilus*, which is properly rendered "style," is used. It is sometimes assumed that Ammianus, in using an Eutropian phrase, was making a polite nod towards a supporter of Julian who remained influential after that emperor's death.¹⁸ But if the phrase was Eutropian in origin, Ammianus adapted rather than imitated it, and, given his ransacking of all his reading for suitable words and phrases, it is quite likely that no gesture at all was intended. Furthermore, as I have suggested, the "humility" which has been observed in the epilogue is imaginary and, indeed, would have been highly inappropriate for a history in the grand style.

The correct translation of the passage is: "Those who, if it should please them, are preparing to approach this task I advise to forge their tongues in accordance with the greater pens [i.e., writers]." This meaning of *stilos* is the one found regularly in Ammianus and elsewhere.¹⁹ Under this interpretation, Ammianus is advising those younger persons who might wish to continue his *History* to shape their style through the study and use of the major writers. That is to say, he is recommending his own method, and in doing this he has chosen his words very carefully. *Procedere* not only catches the effort required to forge a suitable style, but the phrase *procedere linguas ad* takes up the earlier resonances of Cicero (who seems to have been to Ammianus the greatest of the *maiores stili*) through adaptation of *procedenda lingua est* and *hanc ad legem formanda nobis oratio est* of *De oratore* 3.121 and 190 respectively, a technique of combination which Ammianus uses elsewhere.²⁰ In addition, *maiores* might also reflect *maius opus* of Vergil *Aen.* 7.44–45, a passage to which Ammianus had made direct reference at 15.9.1.

Ammianus is, as usual, adapting for his own purposes Ciceronian phraseology. All three of the passages so far noted come from the third book of *De oratore*, in which Crassus discusses the ornate style of oratory (3.121, 183, and 190). The first comes from a passage in which Crassus, addressing *adulescentes*, emphasises the importance for the orator of the broadest possible learning, that he load his heart with *maximarum rerum et plurimarum suavitate, copia, varietate*, which is what Ammianus envisages in his frequent praise of the *liberales artes* and which,

¹⁷ Sabbah 1978: 17; Blockley 1975: 96, n. 143, accepting that the humble stance also had a panegyric intent towards the reigning emperor (a position which I now reject). Eutrop. *Epit.* 10.18.3: *quia autem ad inclutos principes venerandosque perventum est, interim operi modum dabimus. nam reliqua stilo maiore dicenda sunt, quae nunc non tam praetermittimus, quam ad maiorem diligentiam scribendi reservamus.* SHA *Quad. Tyr.* 15.10: *supersunt mihi Carus, Carinus et Numerianus, nam Diocletianus et qui secuntur stilo maiore dicendi sunt.*

¹⁸ Ensslin 1923: 18; Seyfarth 1971: 369, n. 173, with further references. This view is rejected by Matthews (1989: 455).

¹⁹ Amm. Marc. 23.6.13: *geographici stili*; 27.4.2: *veteres . . . stili*. Cf. Apul. *Met.* 6.29: *doctorum stilis . . . perpetuabitur historia* (a writer known to Ammianus: Fletcher 1937: 393–394, with bibliography).

²⁰ See below, 311 and n. 35.

of course, also describes *doctrinis florentes*.²¹ The second and third passages come from the section in which Crassus sets out the components of the ornate style. While it cannot be proven that Ammianus has deliberately inserted recognisably Ciceronian phraseology as a cross reference (although it has been noted that he does use internal and external cross references)²² or even that he had the *De oratore* in mind when he wrote the epilogue, nevertheless, those parts of the *De oratore* from which the phraseology comes offer an appropriate expansion of Ammianus' own succinct statement and incorporate views found elsewhere in the *History*.

Far from being a humble confession of inadequacy, Ammianus' epilogue is the signature statement of an author confident enough to associate his work with two (perhaps three) of the greatest of the *maiores stili* and proud enough of his method to recommend it to his successors. Ammianus' identification of his compositional method and its clear association with Cicero are confirmed by scholarly researches which have elicited a large number of parallel passages in addition to those in which the historian either quotes or makes direct reference to Cicero.²³ There has been little discussion, however, of the manner in which Ammianus has used his borrowings.

Ammianus makes direct reference to Cicero twenty-four times, in the vast majority of places calling him Tullius.²⁴ In fourteen of these passages (to which should be added two passages in which Cicero is not named)²⁵ Ammianus introduces direct quotations more or less verbatim. In all but one of these sixteen passages the quotations are introduced to support an ethical point, often made directly by the historian himself in discussing a personal characteristic or action which had a public consequence—for instance, the cruelty or lack of mercy of an emperor.²⁶ This use of Ciceronian quotations to support ethical points conforms to Ammianus' use of quotations from other sources, twelve in all, ten of which are from Greek authors.²⁷ In contrast to his use of Ciceronian quotations, in the other ten passages in which Cicero is named but not quoted, Ammianus' purpose is rarely ethical. These observations suggest that, whether or not, as has been

²¹ See Blockley 1975: 158–159. The relationship between the education approved by Ammianus and the education of the orator described by Cicero is noted by Camus (1967: 74–76).

²² Examples in Sabbah 1978: 13, n. 12.

²³ The most important studies are Michael 1874 and Fletcher 1937: 377–381. There are a few additional parallels in Wirz 1877: 633.

²⁴ Cicero: 27.11.4; 30.4.7. Tullius: 14.2.2; 15.5.23, 12.4; 16.1.5; 19.12.18; 21.1.14, 16.13; 22.7.3–4, 15.24, 16.16; 26.1.2, 9.11, 10.12; 27.4.8, 9.10; 28.1.40, 4.26; 29.1.11, 5.24; 30.4.7 and 10, 8.7; 31.14.8.

²⁵ 16.5.10; 29.2.18.

²⁶ 19.12.18; 21.16.13 (Constantius); 26.10.12; 29.2.18 (Valens); 30.8.7 (Valentinian).

²⁷ 16.5.2 (Cato); 29.2.18 (Caesar). Both of these could be historical anecdotes rather than quotations. At 29.1.22 an anonymous maxim is quoted. A list of the Greek quotations will be found in Blockley 1975: 195.

suggested, Ammianus is referring to Cicero in order to parade his learning²⁸—and this practice would certainly have both authenticated his insistence that historians be *doctrinis florentes* and advanced his own qualifications in this respect—, he is using Cicero as his main authority in discussing public ethics.²⁹

In addition to the direct references and quotations, scholarly industry has identified well over three hundred places in the *History* where Ammianus has either borrowed phrases from Cicero or has clearly modelled his language upon Ciceronian phraseology. This number does not include the very large number of single words and grammatical constructions that are common enough in Cicero to be categorised as “Ciceronian.”³⁰ The Ciceronian phrases in Ammianus number about two hundred and seventy five and represent the large majority of his works in all four categories: works on oratory; speeches; philosophical works; letters.³¹ Ammianus shows, however, a marked preference for phrases from the speeches and philosophical works, which contribute about seventy percent of the examples. Moreover, a few works are drawn on noticeably often: *De oratore*; *Brutus*; *II in Verrem*; *Tusculanae disputationes*; *De natura deorum*; *De officiis*; *Ad familiares*; *Ad Quintum fratrem*.³²

While many of the Ciceronian phrases are taken over without change,³³ far more are adapted, some closely, some quite radically altered. The adaptations are of various kinds, involving a change of construction or the substitution of different nouns, verbs, or adjectives, which often result in a complete alteration of the sense; and at times there is the additional purpose of achieving the accentual *clausulae* which Ammianus followed. Thus, *patere auris tuas querelis omnium* of the

²⁸ So Michael 1874: 6.

²⁹ Camus (1967: 76), in his discussion of the educational formation of the orator prescribed by Cicero, makes the conventional scholarly comment, which he applies to Ammianus: “Désormais, acquérir une culture générale consiste moins à former son jugement qu’à accumuler des connaissances, des matériaux, à enrichir une mine, dans laquelle on puisera pour orner ses discours.” This, I believe, was emphatically not the view of Ammianus, who seems to have valued the *liberales artes* (as represented especially by Cicero) for their ethical and formative content (as Camus recognises elsewhere, pp. 62–68).

³⁰ While many of the shorter phrases and single words, because of the tradition of borrowing amongst Latin authors, cannot always confidently be assigned to a specific author (and one can assume that in many cases Ammianus would not have been aware of a particular source), the sheer number of clearly Ciceronian phrases, as well as the direct references, make it certain that the Ciceronian element in Ammianus’ language was very large. A careful trawl of the concordances would probably reveal many usages which have not been registered. Indeed, of the three borrowings from *De oratore* noted above, 308, only one is registered in the studies cited at n. 23.

³¹ The works not registered in the lists are: *Opt. gen.*; *Topica*; *Inu. rhet.*; *Quinct.*; *I Verr.*; *Tull.*; *Leg. agr.*; *Red. pop.*; *Red. sen.*; *Dom.*; *Har. resp.*; *Vat.*; *Rab. Post.*; *Lig.*; *Paradoxa stoicorum*.

³² Borrowings registered are: *De or.* (16); *Brut.* (12); *II Verr.* (21); *Tusc.* (13); *Nat. D.* (14); *Off.* (14); *Fam.* (18); *Q. fr.* (13). Other substantial counts are: *Orat.* (7); *Phil.* (10); *Clu.* (7); *Rep.* (9); *Acad. pr.* (8); *Amic.* (8); *Att.* (9). In total I counted about 39 passages borrowed from the writings on oratory, 103 from the speeches, 90 from the philosophical works, and 43 from the letters.

³³ Fletcher 1937 has the largest number of these.

good governor in *Ad Q. fr.* 1.1.8.25 becomes *auris patebant susurris insidiantium* of the paranoid emperor Constantius II at 15.2.2; *oraculis . . . flexiloquis et obscuris* of *De div.* 2.56.115 becomes *Hunni flexiloqui et obscuri* at 31.2.11; and *animo magno elatoque humanasque res dispiciente* of *De off.* 1.18.61 becomes *popularitatem elato animo contemnebat et magno* at 21.16.1, a rewriting and a change of word order which both alter the sense and obtain a desired *clausula*.

Occasionally the change is punning, as when the Ciceronian *aut certare cum aliis pugnaciter* (*Acad. pr.* 2.20.65) becomes *aut pugnaciter cum aleis certant* (14.6.25), used by Ammianus of the gambling of the low life at Rome.³⁴ Sometimes two Ciceronian phrases from different works are combined by Ammianus into a completely new phrase, as when, speaking of the Aquitani, he writes, *merces adventiciae convehuntur, moribus ad mollitiem lapsis* (15.11.5), which is constructed from *importantur non merces solum adventiciae sed etiam mores* of *De rep.* 2.7 and *mores lapsi ad mollitias* of *De leg.* 2.38.³⁵ Often a Ciceronian phrase appears in different forms and sometimes (but not always) with different meanings in various places in the *History*, as, for instance, the already-noted phrase, *mores lapsi ad mollitias* of *De leg.* 2.38, which turns up not only as *moribus ad mollitiem lapsis* at 15.11.5, but also as *ad errores lapsorum et lasciviam* at 14.6.7, *prolapsos in vitia* at 28.3.8, and *ad unum prolapsos errorem* at 29.5.23.³⁶

The vast majority of Ciceronian borrowings are found in those parts of Ammianus' text which deal with political events and offer political and social commentary.³⁷ They also occur in those sections which deal with natural phenomena and religious matters. On the other hand, they are very rare in the military parts of the narrative, which misled Michael, who noted their rarity in books 23–25, into suggesting that this was so because for those books (on Julian's Persian expedition) Ammianus used a written source which did not draw upon Cicero.³⁸ That Ammianus used a written source for books 23–25 was a fashionable view at the time when Michael was writing, but he failed to notice that

³⁴ *Leg.* 1.10.53: *aetatem in litibus contere* becomes at 14.6.13 *aetatem . . . in stipite conteres*. *Fam.* 4.7.2: *spe vincendi . . . abieci* becomes at 19.6.2 *abiecta vivendi cupiditate*. For another example, see above, n. 7.

³⁵ Michael (1874: 7) notes another example: 26.2.9 draws upon *Ad Q. fr.* 1.1.6.18 and *Amic.* 22.85. Again, 14.1.7 draws upon *Clu.* 6.15 and *Cael.* 24.60.

³⁶ *Mur.* 2.3: *diligentissime perpendenti momenta officiorum* becomes at 22.9.9 *causarum momenta aequae iure perpendens* and at 26.10.10 *vitae necisque momenta pensantur*. Three Ciceronian phrases, *volucrum fortunam* (*Sull.* 32.91), *fortunae rotam* (*Pis.* 10.12), and *vaga volubilisque fortuna* (*Mil.* 3.8; cf. *Div.* 2.6.15) turn up in various combinations and adaptations in Ammianus (e.g., 22.1.1; 24.8.3; 26.1.3; 31.1.1).

³⁷ Michael (1874: 48) remarks that Ammianus draws more upon Cicero, "cum mores describeret hominum." Ciceronian passages cluster in the following sections of the *History*: 14.6 (vices of the people of Rome); 15.5 (revolt of Silvanus); 21.16 (virtues and vices of the emperor Constantius); 28.1 (investigations of criminal activity at Rome); 29.2 (treason and magic trials at Antioch); 30.4 (faults of lawyers); 30.8 (vices of the emperor Valentinian).

³⁸ Michael 1874: 48.

Ciceronian borrowings are also rare in books 18 and 19, which deal with military affairs in which Ammianus participated and for which he was indisputably the main source. It is clear that Ammianus did not make much use of Cicero for the military parts of his narrative because for these more appropriate phraseology was available elsewhere, in, for instance, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus.

Beyond the broad context—political, social, or, embracing both, ethical—for which he deemed Ciceronian usage appropriate, Ammianus made no attempt to correlate the narrower context with that in which the Ciceronian phrase occurred. Indeed, as a result of adaptation the sense is often completely changed or reversed.³⁹ In handling quotations or *sententiae* from Cicero, Ammianus often places his subject in a negative relationship to the original passage, a practice which also extends to his use of historical *exempla*.⁴⁰ This is hardly surprising in a writer who takes such a negative view of many of the events and characters in his *History* and who regards Cicero as an authority not only for language but also on politics, ethics, theology, and natural phenomena. This attitude in Ammianus has been termed, perhaps too restrictedly, “nostalgia.”⁴¹

To Ammianus, Cicero seems to have been the most important of the *maiores stili*. Adaptations of Ciceronian phraseology are pervasive in those sections of the *History* where it is appropriate. Others contributed and, indeed, predominated in those parts of the *History*, such as the military narrative, where their writings were more suitable as quarries. Ammianus drew upon a large number of writers for his language, and the precise makeup of his list of *maiores stili* is unclear, although Cicero, Vergil, Sallust, Livy, and Tacitus provided the largest number of borrowings.⁴² The range and depth of his borrowings from Cicero show that Ammianus was not dependent upon a collection (or collections) of excerpts but had access to a large number of original texts.⁴³ Furthermore, his borrowings are not the clumsy and haphazard copyings of a writer desperately trying to patch up his inadequate Latin (the older view). They are, rather, the carefully chosen and artfully adapted components of a style that is highly artificial, complex, and controlled. That is, the work of a very learned writer.⁴⁴

³⁹ *Cael.* 12.28: *ad frugem bonam . . . recepisce* / 25.4.16: *deviarat a fruge bona*; *Fam.* 13.10.14: *amicitiae fores aperiantur* / 27.11.18: *obseratis amicitiae foribus*; *Font.* 12: *multo sudore* / 15.12.5: *levi sudore*.

⁴⁰ For the Ciceronian passages, see, e.g., 19.12.18; 22.7.3; 26.10.12; 29.2.18. An analytical list of the historical *exempla* will be found in Blockley 1975: 191–193.

⁴¹ Barnes 1990: 59–92, esp. 83–84.

⁴² For Tacitus see above, n. 6. Vergil: Hagendahl 1921: 1–14; Fletcher 1937: 382–383. Sallust: Hertz 1874a; Wirz 1877: 628–633; Fesser 1932: 3–23; Weinstein 1913–14: esp. 14–23. Livy: Wirz 1877: 633–634; Fesser 1932: 383–386; Hertz 1874b: 265.

⁴³ Cf. Michael 1874: 6.

⁴⁴ See the studies cited above, n. 3 and cf. Barnes 1990: 72: “It is an extremely learned history, replete with erudite allusions on every page. These . . . are not mere ornaments.” This contrasts with the older view, represented by Michael (1874), who complains (p. 6), “sed qui multo melius nobis satis fecisset, si ad exemplum Sallustiorum, Tulliorum, Liviorum narrationem formare studuisset,

While the subject of this paper has been, like that of the second sentence of the epilogue, the foundation of Ammianus' style, it has been suggested that Cicero was a paramount influence not only on the historian's style but also on his political and philosophical opinions. It is a subject that would be well worth investigating in light of the philosophical works of which Ammianus appears to have made greatest use, as well as *II in Verrem* with their attack upon the corruption of a magistrate and *Ad Q. fr.* with its disquisition on governance.⁴⁵ Equally suggestive is the prominence of *De oratore* since it contains Cicero's most comprehensive surviving discussion of historiography as a rhetorical technique.⁴⁶ It is generally recognised that Ammianus is one of the most "rhetorical" of historians. It is quite possible, indeed, that he is an exponent of Ciceronian historiography.⁴⁷

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nihil aliud consecutus est, quam ut flosculis undique carptis ac delibatis orationem variaret." See also Gimzane 1889: 265–267 and Thompson 1947: 17.

⁴⁵The discussion of Sabbah (1978: 72–75) does not bear on this question. Camus (1967: 62–68) offers a general discussion, noting (64) that, "les réflexions morales de Cicéron sont, aux yeux d'Ammien, le dernier mot de la philosophie," although he regards Ammianus as somewhat indiscriminating in his choice of passages (67–68).

⁴⁶Sabbah (1978) discusses Ammianus' relationship with Ciceronian historiographical theory (esp. 74–79) and makes a number of references to the relevant part of *De oratore*. But since he regards the lost letter to Cornelius Nepos as a more important and influential statement, his discussion of *De oratore* is desultory.

⁴⁷The implications for classical historiography of the Ciceronian theory, especially as it is set out in *De oratore*, are provocatively discussed by Woodman (1988: 74–101). His argument that in the eyes of the classical historian there was no practical distinction between objective historical truth and rhetorical *amplificatio* based upon probability does not, in my view, hold for Ammianus and, indeed, strains the sense of Cicero's text. I intend to discuss this subject in detail elsewhere.

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