

## WHO WAS CRASSICIUS PANSA?

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Suetonius *De grammaticis* 18:

1. L. Crassicius genere Tarentinus ordinis libertini cognomine Pansicles, mox Pansam se transnominavit.
2. Hic initio circa scenam versatus est dum mimographos adiuvat, deinde in pergula docuit donec commentario Zmyrnae edito adeo inclaruit ut haec de eo scriberentur:

Uni Crassicio se credere Zmyrna probavit:  
desinite indocti coniugio hanc petere.

Soli Crassicio se dixit nubere velle  
intima cui soli nota sua extiterint.

3. Sed cum edoceret iam multos ac nobiles (in his Iullum Antonium triumviri filium), ut Verrio quoque Flacco compararetur, dimissa repente schola transiit ad Q. Sextii philosophi sectam.

### I

Crassicius was not a common name. The earliest known holders of it are C. Crassicius P.f., *magister* of a *collegium* on Delos in 113 B.C.; C. Crassicius P.f. C.n. Verris (evidently a close relative, if not the same man), local magistrate at the Latin town of Cora, responsible for approving and dedicating the new temple of Castor and Pollux; and Ti. Crassicius, one of the contractors for the wall in front of the temple of Serapis at Puteoli in 105 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

Since the other dedicator of the Cora temple (M. Calvius M.f.P.n.) and the two magistrates who had earlier been responsible for getting it built ([M.] Calvius P.f.P.n., C. Geminus C.f. Mateiclus) were also from families attested at the time on Delos, it has been convincingly argued that at Cora, as elsewhere in Latium and Campania, ambitious new building projects were being financed by the munificence of local aristocracies made rich by intensive cultivation for export to the Greek

<sup>1</sup> *ILLRP* 759, 60, 518 ad fin.

East.<sup>2</sup> (At Cora, the slopes of the Monti Lepini are well suited to olive cultivation, and we know that Italian *olearii* were already active on Delos by about 100 B.C.)<sup>3</sup> It is no surprise, therefore, to find Crassicii also at "little Delos," as a contemporary author called the port of Puteoli.<sup>4</sup>

They appear comparatively early at Beneventum as well, where a L. Crassicius (no *cognomen*) was *Ilvir iure dicundo*.<sup>5</sup> The communications centre of southern Italy, ideal for keeping in touch with Puteoli and the bay of Naples in one direction and Tarentum and Brundisium in the other, Beneventum was a natural base for commercial interests;<sup>6</sup> the Beneventan Crassicii, however, may be there for a different reason, the settlement of legionary veterans in 41 B.C.<sup>7</sup>

Our Crassicius seems to attest the *gens* at Tarentum itself—probably in the seventies B.C., though the chronology is unclear.<sup>8</sup> The great days of Lacedaemonian Taras had been ended by the Punic Wars; in 122 B.C. the Roman colony of Neptunia was founded there, and from then on Tarentum was an amalgam of Greek and Roman, where the Latin satires of Lucilius and the Greek poems of Archias were appreciated with equal enthusiasm.<sup>9</sup> Pompey settled some ex-pirates on marginal land there in 67 B.C., but the main part of the proverbially fertile Tarentine territory was occupied by great estates, where a landowner of Epicurean tastes could live in luxury.<sup>10</sup> The produce of those estates was shipped out of the great harbour; founded by a dolphin-riding son of

<sup>2</sup> F. Coarelli, in *Les "bourgeoisies" municipales italiennes aux II<sup>e</sup> et I<sup>er</sup> siècles av. J.-C.* (Paris and Naples 1983) 217–40, esp. 237f.; for Delos, cf. *BCH* 36 (1912) 24 (M. Calvius A.f.), *ILLRP* 750a (a Geminus among those who financed the north portico of the slave market; cf. Coarelli, *Op. Inst. Rom. Finl.* 2 (1982) 119–45 on the so-called "Agora of the Italians"). For the phenomenon in general, see also G. Bodei Giglioli, *Riv. stor. ital.* 89 (1977) 72–76.

<sup>3</sup> *ILLRP* 344, *BCH* 36 (1912) 140; cf. F. Coarelli, *Lazio* (Guide archeologiche Laterza, Bari 1982) 244 for Cora and olives.

<sup>4</sup> Festus (Paulus) 109L, citing Lucilius. On Puteoli, see now M. Frederiksen, *Campania* (London 1984), the final chapter by Nicholas Purcell, esp. pp. 324–30.

<sup>5</sup> *CIL* IX 1643: he and P. Cerrinius "viam straverunt et lacus fecerunt d.d. pro ludis."

<sup>6</sup> See Additional Note below, on *CIL* IX 1781.

<sup>7</sup> *CIL* IX 1610, M. Crassicius M.f. Ste. Castellus of the *legio* XXX; see L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement in Italy 47–14 B.C.* (London 1983) 157, suggesting that the *Ilvir* might be a son or grandson of the veteran.

<sup>8</sup> He was a *collusor et sodalis* of Antony in 43 (Cic. *Phil.* 13.3), but how old he was at the time is anybody's guess; his pupil Iullus Antonius was praetor (i.e. thirty years old?) in 13 B.C.

<sup>9</sup> Cic. *Fin.* 1.7 (Lucilius), *Arch.* 5 (Archias); cf. Gell. *NA* 13.2.2 (Pacuvius and Accius at Tarentum), Plut. *Cic.* 29.2 ("Thyllus of Tarentum," i.e. the Greek poet Thyillus? T. P. Wiseman, *Cinna the Poet* [Leicester 1974] 141–46). For the cultural amalgam, cf. *CIL* IX 239 ("Cn. Nearchus nepos Fabianus"), Strabo 6.253.

<sup>10</sup> Cic. *Fam.* 7.12.1, Hor. *Odes* 2.6.9–20, *Sat.* 1.6.59f.; cf. *Sat.* 2.4.34, *Epist.* 1.7.45, 16.11, *Juv.* 6.297 etc; Nisbet and Hubbard, *A Commentary on Horace: Odes Book II* (Oxford 1978) 94f. Fertility: Strabo 6.281. Pirates: Probus on Virg. *Georg.* 4.125.

Poseidon, Tarentum was always an important port, even after Brundisium had taken much of the traffic to Greece and the East.<sup>11</sup>

However, if Suetonius is right that Pasicles the freedman was Tarentine by *birth*, then he provides no sure evidence that the Crassicii were active in the town. For the most likely way for a Tarentine to be enslaved in the seventies B.C. was by capture in a pirate raid, in which case Crassicius could have bought him in the slave market at Delos or elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> No comment in Suetonius, but some such explanation seems called for by the apparent contradiction between “*genere Tarentinus*,” a phrase appropriate to a free man, and “*ordinis libertini*”; perhaps Pasicles’ situation was analogous to that of the grammarian Tyrannio of Amisus, captured and manumitted by L. Murena after the sack of the city in 72 B.C.<sup>13</sup>

On manumission, Pasicles turned himself into a plausible-sounding Roman by changing his name. Of more than sixty cases of double nomenclature in the city of Rome—known from the indices of *CIL* VI, and the formula *qui et* (or *quae et*) linking the old name and the new—about half seem to represent a transition from a Greek to a Latin name; a characteristic case is that of Zosimus the trierarch, who on enfranchisement became “M. Plotius Paulus qui et Zosimus.”<sup>14</sup>

For a man who had to carve out his own career in the first generation of Roman Italy, no doubt it was better to be known as Pansa than as Pasicles. But it was precisely because of the hellenisation of Roman culture that his career was possible at all.

## II

In a Greek city, the theatre was usually the most conspicuous building, visible from afar to the approaching traveller (as for instance at Miletus, Ephesus, or Pergamum), and symbolising the *polis* itself as the place where *politai* met to honour their gods and conduct their political

<sup>11</sup> Produce (especially oil, cf. Hor. *Odes* 2.6.15f.): Ph. Desy, *Ant. Class.* 52 (1983) 187–94. Harbour: Strabo 6.278, 282, Livy 23.33.4, 27.15.3, etc. Dolphin: B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum* (Oxford 1911) 54f.; Paus. 10.13.10, etc.

<sup>12</sup> Tarentum is not specifically mentioned in connection with pirate raids, but cf. Cic. *Leg. Man.* 32f. (Brundisium, Caieta, Misenum, Ostia), 2 *Verr.* 5.90–100 (Syracuse); Plut. *Pomp.* 24.6f., Dio 36.21–22 (Italian ports in general); Strabo 14.668 (and above, note 2) for the Delos slave market.

<sup>13</sup> Plut. *Luc.* 19.7. For other *grammatici* of ambiguous origin and status, cf. Suet. *Gramm.* 7.1, 11.1, 20.1, 21.1.

<sup>14</sup> *CIL* VI 3621; full list at *CIL* VI vol. 7 pp. 4912 (*quae et*), 4940 (*qui et*). Cf. [Virg.] *Cat.* 10.8, “iste post Sabinus ante Quintio”; Cic. *Fam.* 15.20.1 (Sabinus), *Cluent.* 72 (Paetus), *Sest.* 68f. (Ligus), 72 (Serranus). For a change to a Greek name, see Suet. *Gramm.* 10 on L. Ateius Praetextatus, “Philologus ab semet nominatus,” following the precedent of Eratosthenes.

business.<sup>15</sup> When the munificent local aristocrats of central Italy used their wealth to adorn their native towns in hellenistic style, it was theatres as well as temples that they built—or complexes that were temple and theatre all in one, as at Tibur and Praeneste.<sup>16</sup> This *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* was not merely architectural: theatres, *exhedrae*, and *scholae* were for actors, dancers, rhetors, and poets to perform in, and the hellenised towns of Italy, including Rome itself by the first century B.C., became part of the “circuit” for dramatic performers and literary men who toured the centres of Greek culture from festival to festival, showing off their skills to appreciative audiences.<sup>17</sup>

L. Crassicius Pansa started in the theatre, “helping the mime-writers.” That puzzling phrase becomes easier to understand when we remember that in the first century B.C. “mime” was no longer mere knockabout farce, but sophisticated entertainment appealing to a cultured and hellenised public. For Cicero’s contemporaries, the “Greek stage” with its voluptuous dancers was something new, associated above all with Alexandria, and to be welcomed or deplored according to one’s attitude to hellenistic cultural innovations in general.<sup>18</sup> One branch of it developed into the tragic ballet of the *pantomimi*, so popular in the Augustan age,<sup>19</sup> and there is clear (though neglected) evidence to show that already in the late Republic scholarly accounts of mime as a genre might include discussion of tragic plots from Greek mythology, and the question of their historicity.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>15</sup> In contrast to the Roman tradition: Cic. *Flacc.* 15–17, on which see L. R. Taylor, *Roman Voting Assemblies* (Ann Arbor 1966) 29–31. The theatre begun in 154 B.C. “a Lupercal in Palatium versus” (Vell. 1.15.3), and successfully opposed by P. Scipio Nasica as “inimicissimum . . . bellatori populo ad nutriendam desidiam lasciviamque commentum” (Oros. 4.21.4, cf. Taylor 124f.), would have dominated the harbour of Rome and impressed arrivals there just like the theatres of Miletus and Ephesus.

<sup>16</sup> E.g. *ILLRP* 621 (Paeligni), 646 (Pompeii), 680 (Tibur), 708, 710, 719 (Capua); P. Zanker (ed.), *Hellenismus in Mittelitalien* (Göttingen 1976); J. A. Hanson, *Roman Theater-Temples* (Princeton 1959); H. Kähler, “Das Fortunaheiligtum von Palestrina Praeneste,” *Annales Universitatis Saraviensis* 7 (1958) 189–240 = F. Coarelli ed., *Studi su Praeneste* (Perugia 1978) 221–72.

<sup>17</sup> See A. Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae: Poets, Patrons and Epideixis in the Graeco-Roman World* (Liverpool 1983), esp. ch. 2; T. P. Wiseman, in *Les “bourgeoisies” municipales* (above, note 2) 299–307, esp. 300f.

<sup>18</sup> Cic. *Rab. Post.* 35. Dancers: Antipater of Sidon 61 G-P = *Anth. Pal.* 9.567 (Antiodemis), *ILLRP* 803 (Eucharis, “Graeca scaena”), Plut. *Sulla* 2.2f., Varro *Men.* 513B, Lucr. 4.973–83. See above all J. C. McKeown, *PCPS* 205 (1979) 71–84, on mime in relation to Roman elegy.

<sup>19</sup> For the origins of “pantomime,” see E. J. Jory, *BICS* 28 (1981) 147–61, esp. 154f. and 157 on the late Republic. Cf. B. Helly in *Les “bourgeoisies” municipales* (above, note 2) 373 for a Roman organising “pantomime” in Thessaly in the first century B.C.

<sup>20</sup> If mime was defined as the imitation of real people (cf. Diomedes *GL* 1.490K, *μῖμος ἐστὶ μίμησις βίου τὰ τε συγκεχωρημένα καὶ ἀσυγχώρητα περιέχων*), perhaps its extension to mythological subjects forced the theorists to ask how much reality such *fabulae* contained.

The evidence comes in the Berne scholia to Lucan. Commenting on “Thyesteae noctem duxere Mycenae” at 1.544, the scholiast describes as *fabulosum* the story that the sun hid in horror to avoid seeing Thyestes unwittingly eat his own children whom Atreus had murdered. What really happened was that Atreus predicted an eclipse, and was made king *ob hanc scientiam* in place of his brother. The scholiast had found this version of events “in libro Catulli qui <in>scribitur †permimologiārum,” a title of which the only plausible emendations are *περὶ μιμολογιῶν* (Müller) and *περὶ μίμων λογάριον* (Ussani).<sup>21</sup> It is natural to associate this work with “Catullus the mimographer,” author of *Phasma* and *Laureolus* (of which the latter was being performed on the day of Caligula’s murder),<sup>22</sup> now convincingly identified with the mimographer Valerius, author of *Phormio*, whom Cicero mentions in a letter of January 53 B.C.<sup>23</sup> I argue elsewhere that this person is no other than *doctus Catullus*, the love poet of Verona;<sup>24</sup> if not, then at any rate a contemporary and a relative.

Against this background, it becomes easier to understand why a learned Greek might be “helping the mimographers” before moving on to teach literature as a *grammaticus* and to write an erudite commentary on the most Alexandrian of Roman poems, Cinna’s epyllion *Zmyrna*.<sup>25</sup> The commentary made him famous. Suetonius’ account, and the poem he quotes (like those of Bibaculus on Orbilius and Valerius Cato),<sup>26</sup> give an idea of the prominence a successful *grammaticus* might achieve in the world of hellenised Rome. From the elder Catulus to Hadrian and beyond, Greek culture was an integral part of the life of the Roman élite; and the men who taught it (often ex-slaves, unlike the rhetors and philosophers) could enjoy a prestige quite unrelated to their social origins.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Comm. Bern. pp. 35–36 Usener (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 1.568, Hyg. *Fab.* 258); L. Müller, *RhM* 24 (1869) 622; V. Ussani, *Boll. fil. class.* 9 (1902–3) 63f.

<sup>22</sup> Juv. 8.185, 13.110, Mart. 5.30.3, Suet. *Gaius* 57, Tert. *Adv. Valent.* 44; M. Bonaria, *Romani mimi* (Rome 1965) 133–35.

<sup>23</sup> Prisc. *GL* 6.7, 73K, Cic. *Fam.* 7.11.2; D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *Cicero Epistulae ad Familiares* I (Cambridge 1977) 338, and *Two Studies in Roman Nomenclature* (New York 1976) 71; cf. also W. S. Watt, *Hermes* 83 (1955) 497f.

<sup>24</sup> *Catullus and his World* (Cambridge 1985) 194–97; *contra*, but without argument, Shackleton Bailey, *loc. cit.* (above, note 23)

<sup>25</sup> See S. F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (London 1977) 120–22 on the *pergula* mentioned by Suetonius; *ibid.* 62f., 217 on *grammatici* as literary scholars. For the *Zmyrna*, see above all Cat. 95, with clear allusions to Callimachus (fr. 398, *Epigr.* 28 Pf.) and the assurance that it will be read in the Greek world where its story is set (the river Satrachus in Cyprus); cf. Wiseman (above, note 9) 44–58, esp. 48f. on the influence of Parthenius.

<sup>26</sup> Suet. *Gramm.* 9.5, 11.4

<sup>27</sup> Catulus: Suet. *Gramm.* 3.5, Pliny *NH* 7.128 (on Lutatius Daphnis). See A. Wallace-Hadrill, *Suetonius* (London 1983) 30–38, 181–89, on the symbiosis of *studia Graeca* and Roman aristocratic society; E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in Cicero’s Italy* (London 1985)

Suetonius' account is not quite the whole of our knowledge about Crassicius Pansa. The fifth-century grammarian Consentius cites him on defective verbs, and the use of the name "Pansa" in grammatical examples cited by Charisius, Diomedes, and Marius Victorinus is plausibly referred to Pansa's own work.<sup>28</sup> He may also have been a friend of M. Antonius; Cicero names a Crassicius in a list of Antony's *collusores et sodales* that includes Volumnius Eutrapelus, to whose wit, fine literary judgement, and profound erudition Cicero himself pays tribute in his correspondence.<sup>29</sup>

Volumnius was of course the patron of Antony's mistress Cytheris, the mime actress later famous as Gallus' "Lycoris."<sup>30</sup> Antony enjoyed the company of actors, and allegedly granted lands in Campania to *mimi* and *mimae* among his cronies; indeed, two members of the land commission itself were connected with the theatre—Numisius(?) Nucula, who wrote mimes, and Caesennius Lento, who had acted in tragedy.<sup>31</sup> Antony was a philhellene, and his tastes (reported for us by hostile witnesses) were those of a substantial part of the Roman élite of his time. Mime was an aspect of hellenistic culture, not just erotic entertainment for the masses.<sup>32</sup>

Another beneficiary of the land distributions of 44 B.C. was Antony's tutor in oratory, the Sicilian *rhetor* Sex. Clodius. Like Crassicius, he had adopted a Roman name (Sabinus); like Crassicius, he was bicultural, giving demonstration speeches in both Latin and Greek on the same day—"male καὶ κακῶς," said Cassius Severus.<sup>33</sup> He wrote a trea-

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ch. 5, on the status differences among the learned professions; and K. Quinn, *ANRW* II.13 (1983) 104–12, 103–34 and 150f., on *grammatici* and their significance.

<sup>28</sup> Consentius *GL* 5.378K; see J. Tolkiehn, *BPhW* 13 (1911) 412–16 on Charisius 1.25B, Diomedes *GL* 1.510, 516K, Marius Vict. *GL* 6.113K, Consentius *GL* 5.347, 360, 365K.

<sup>29</sup> Cic. *Phil.* 13.3: "Eutrapelum, Melam, Coelium, Crassicius, Tironem, Mustelam, Pettissium; comitatum relinquo, duces nomino"; *Fam.* 7.32 (wit), 33.2 ("imatulo et polito tuo iudicio et illis interioribus litteris tuis"). The "Crassicius" or ("Cassius," in some MSS) named in company with Tiro and Mustela at *Phil.* 5.18, as one of the officers in charge of Antony's armed escort to the temple of Concord on 19 September 44 B.C. (cf. 2.8, 106; 8.26; 12.14 for the other two), can hardly be the freedman Crassicius Pansa, despite the suggestion in R. Syme, *JRS* 51 (1961) 24, note 25 = *Roman Papers* (Oxford 1979) 521, note 1.

<sup>30</sup> Cic. *Fam.* 9.26.1f., *Phil.* 2.58, *Att.* 10.10.5; Serv. *Ecl.* 10.2.

<sup>31</sup> Cic. *Phil.* 2.101 (cf. 8.26): "agrum Campanum . . . tu compransoribus tuis et collusoribus dividebas; mimos dico et mimas, patres conscripti, in agro Campano collocatos" (cf. Nic. Dam. *FGH* 90F75 on Sulla). Did Crassicius benefit (*collusor*, above, note 29)? Antony and mimes: Plut. *Ant.* 9.3–5 (Hippias and Sergius, cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.62), 21.2, 24.2, etc. Nucula (cf. R. Syme, *Hist.* 13 [1964] 120) and Lento: Cic. *Phil.* 11.13.

<sup>32</sup> Rightly emphasised by McKeown (above, note 18), esp. 71f. Antony as philhellene: e.g. Plut. *Ant.* 24 (Ephesus), 29 (Alexandria), 56.4–57.1 (Samos, Athens); cf. J. Griffin, *JRS* 67 (1977) 17–26.

<sup>33</sup> Cic. *Phil.* 2.42f., 101 (cf. 8.26), Suet. *Rhet.* 29, Sen. *Contr.* 9.3.13f.

tise "On the Gods" in Greek, which included a comically Euhemerised account of Faunus and the Bona Dea.<sup>34</sup>

### III

Crassicius taught Iullus Antonius, presumably in the thirties and early twenties B.C. We know from Horace that Iullus was well known as a poet, and the scholiast gives the details: "heroico metro Διομηδεΐας XII libros scripsit egregios, praeterea et prosa aliqua."<sup>35</sup> Was the epic in Greek, as the title implies? The Roman aristocrat's poem on an Argive hero takes its place alongside the Veronese scholar-poet's *Περὶ μυμολογιῶν* (on Mycenaean legend) and the Sicilian rhetorician's *Περὶ τῶν θεῶν* (on Italian mythology) as part of the extraordinary amalgam of Latin and Greek, Roman and Hellene, that made up the literary culture of the first century B.C.<sup>36</sup> One of the most striking aspects of it is revealed in the third stage of Crassicius' career.

Philosophy played an important part in the culture of hellenised Rome, both privately, with the "house philosophers" attached to distinguished Romans,<sup>37</sup> and publicly, with the ethical preaching of the various sects to whatever audiences they could find.<sup>38</sup> It was not an esoteric discipline, but integral to literary studies in the broadest sense: L. Piso's tame Epicurean Philodemus of Gadara was a love poet and a literary theorist as well as a philosopher and a historian of philosophy,<sup>39</sup> while in the theatres of the hellenistic world, which now included hellenised Italy, you could hear recitations of Empedocles as well as Homer, and even see philosophical works performed as pantomime.<sup>40</sup> It is no accident that Varro describes his work of popular philosophy, the *Menippean Satires*, as "hic modus scaenatilis."<sup>41</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Arnob. *Adv. nat.* 5.18, Lact. *Div. inst.* 1.22.11, cf. Plut. *Mor.* 268D-E; Wiseman (above, note 9) 136f.

<sup>35</sup> Hor. *Odes* 4.2; Ps.-Acro on *Odes* 4.2.33.

<sup>36</sup> Latin as Greek: Philoxenus of Alexandria, *Περὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων διαλέκτου* (GRF 443-46 Funaioli). Romans as Hellenes: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ῥωμαϊκὴ ἀρχαιολογία* 1.5.1, 89-90, 7.70 etc. See G. Williams, *Change and Decline* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1978) 112-24; T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics* (Leicester 1979) 154-57.

<sup>37</sup> E.g. Athenodorus of Pergamum with Cato (Plut. *Cato min.* 10, 16.1, Strabo 14.674); Diodotus the Stoic with Cicero (Cic. *Acad.* 2.115, *Brut.* 309); Staseas of Naples with M. Piso (Cic. *Fin.* 5.8, 75, *De or.* 1.104).

<sup>38</sup> E.g. Cic. *Cael.* 41 (*scholae*), Varro *Men.* 517B (*acroasis*); cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.33ff., Petr. *Sat.* 71.12, etc.

<sup>39</sup> Cic. *Pis.* 68-72; see Gow and Page, *The Greek Anthology: The Garland of Philip II* (Cambridge 1968) 371-74 on his poetry, G. M. A. Grube, *The Greek and Roman Critics* (London 1965) 193-206 on his literary criticism.

<sup>40</sup> Athen. 14.620D (from Dicaearchus), 1.20C-D (second century A.D., *PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 148).

<sup>41</sup> Varro *Men.* 304B (Non. 259L), cf. Cic. *Acad.* 1.8; for the theatre, see especially the fragments of his *Ὅνος λύρας* (348-69B) and *Parmeno* (394-99B). Cf. also J.-P. Cèbe,

Nevertheless, it is startling to find a Roman of distinguished birth not merely studying Greek philosophy, not merely popularising it, but actually starting a new sect of his own, as if he were Zeno or Epicurus. But that is what Q. Sextius did in the forties B.C. Rejecting a senatorial career under Caesar, he turned full time to philosophy (a decision not without mental anguish) and expounded in frank, vigorous, and inspiring writings an ethical system with Stoic and Pythagorean features, but independent of both and with a Roman firmness and confidence.<sup>42</sup> He wrote in Greek; one of his best known followers was a Greek (Sotion of Alexandria); and he spent some considerable time in Athens.<sup>43</sup> While he was there he successfully anticipated a poor yield of oil, and made a great profit by buying up the whole olive crop while prices were low.<sup>44</sup>

It may be a coincidence that the Crassicii had been active in Cora, Tarentum(?), and Delos, centres for the export and marketing of olive oil;<sup>45</sup> when Crassicius Pansa abandoned the teaching of literature to follow Sextius, it was no doubt to pursue frugality, temperance, and fortitude,<sup>46</sup> not to discuss the economics of cash crop farming. But it is a salutary reminder of what lay behind the cultural hellenisation of the first century B.C.<sup>47</sup>

#### IV

It is just possible that the story of L. Crassicius Pansa had a final chapter unknown to Suetonius. A marginal gloss in a twelfth-century manuscript of a commentary on Donatus' *ars maior* runs as follows:<sup>48</sup>

*Pandor* similiter inaequaliter declinatur et facit praeteritum *passus* et non facit *pansus* differentiae causa, ne videatur eius parti-

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Varron, *Satires menippées* 6 (Rome 1983) 1027f., and bibliography cited there, on *Men.* 218B.

<sup>42</sup> Sen. *NQ* 7.32.2, *Ep.* 59.7, 64.2–5, 98.13 (Caesar), Plut. *Mor.* 77E (anguish); see M. T. Griffin, *Seneca: a Philosopher in Politics* (Oxford 1976) 37–40.

<sup>43</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 59.7 ("Graecis verbis Romanis moribus philosophantem"), Jer. *Chron.* 171BH (Sotion), Pliny *NH* 18.274.

<sup>44</sup> Pliny *NH* 18.273f. (in imitation of Democritus?), cf. 17.11 on the effect of rain and south winds *circa vergilias*.

<sup>45</sup> See notes 3 and 11 above.

<sup>46</sup> Sen. *Ep.* 73.15, "hac itur ad astra."

<sup>47</sup> "Some day, someone, writing the right book, will crack open the great eggshell still called 'Roman civilization' and show us in full the Greco-Roman creature that we all know lies within; we can then properly study the nature and origins of its hyphenation . . . so as to say that the same people who wrote eclogues (or whatever) were also active in commerce (or whatever). So our knowledge of the Hellenizing process might be gradually refined." R. MacMullen, *Hist.* 31 (1982) 484 and 502—the beginning and end of his admirable article on "Roman attitudes to Greek love."

<sup>48</sup> *GL* 8 (Suppl.) 255 Hagen; pointed out by Tolkien (above, note 28) 414.



cipium femininum, quod est *pansa*, proprium nomen, videlicet cancellarii Augusti Caesaris qui Pansa vocabatur.

The glossator has some other material not found elsewhere, no doubt from grammatical works now lost: one of his derivations of *numerus* is from Numa Pompilius “qui fuit auctor numerandi,” comparable to Suetonius’ theory that Numa gave his name to coinage (*nummus*); and his aetiological account of the origin of dramatic masks may have come ultimately from some work on *scaenicae origines* which gave an explanation different from those offered by Festus and Gavius Bassus.<sup>49</sup>

As for Pansa, whether the phraseology is the glossator’s own (twelfth century) or that of his putative source (fourth to sixth century?), *cancellarius* is likely to be an anachronism. In Augustus’ day it meant a door-keeper; from about the middle of the fourth century onwards, it comes to refer to the confidential official attached to a senior magistrate.<sup>50</sup> The nearest equivalent under the principate was perhaps a *libellis* or a *cognitio-nibus*,<sup>51</sup> but in Augustus’ time those offices had probably not yet evolved; what position would correspond to a *cancellarius* on his staff is anybody’s guess. One cannot help thinking, however, of the private secretary’s job Horace was offered and turned down.<sup>52</sup> Was that, or something like it, given to L. Crassicius Pansa? If so, then Suetonius was unaware of the fact, despite his familiarity with Augustus’ correspondence.<sup>53</sup>

Given the nature of the evidence, all one can do is to draw attention to the possibility.<sup>54</sup> But it is not wholly incredible that Augustus should turn to a distinguished scholar, a follower of the most respectably Roman of philosophical sects,<sup>55</sup> to help him with the burden of his paperwork. The bicultural Pansa would be well qualified for the job, equally at home with either half of Augustus’ Greco-Roman empire.<sup>56</sup> So too was another man with a good Roman name—Pansa’s younger contemporary, the poet and dramatist Cn. Pompeius Macer. Augustus’ librarian in Rome, and subsequently his *procurator* in Asia, Macer was

<sup>49</sup> Hagen pp. 240 (cf. Suet. ap. *Suda* s.v. ἀσσορία), 248 (cf. Festus 238L, *GRF* 490f.). His own capacities can be gauged from Hagen p. 237, where he cites “ad balneas Palatinas” as from *quidam poeta*; in fact, it is Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 18 (read “Pallacinas”), used by Servius and Pompeius (*GL* 4.431K, 5.162K) as an example of *balnea* (f.); presumably the glossator’s source did not name the author.

<sup>50</sup> O. Seeck, *RE* 3 (1899) 1456–59.

<sup>51</sup> For which see F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1977) 232, 249–51.

<sup>52</sup> Suet. *Hor.* p. 45 Reiff.; for the *ab epistulis*, Millar (above, note 51) 224f.

<sup>53</sup> See now Wallace-Hadrill (above, note 27) 91–95, arguing convincingly against the thesis that Suetonius’ knowledge of the letters was due to his own tenure of the office *ab epistulis*.

<sup>54</sup> Pansa the *cancellarius* does not appear in *PIR* or *RE*.

<sup>55</sup> Sen. *NQ* 7.32.2, “Romani roboris secta.”

<sup>56</sup> See the important chapter on “Greeks in the imperial service” (many of them were philosophers) in G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford 1965) 30–41.

the son of Theophanes of Mytilene.<sup>57</sup> He was a distinguished *eques*, father of a senator; Pansa, with the taint of slavery in his background, could not equal that. But in other respects they had a lot in common.<sup>58</sup>

#### Additional Note

Among the funerary inscriptions of Beneventum (cf. above, note 6) is one of A. Castricius Achilleus and his wife Culcia Isidora (*CIL* IX 1781). Both were evidently ex-slaves of families active in Campania and the Greek East. For "Culcius," the *TLL Onomasticon* offers only eleven examples, of which four are from Campania (*CIL* X 2354–55, Puteoli; 3768, Suessula; 8074.2, Pompeii?) and three from Asia Minor (*Ath. Mitt.* 1889.94, Smyrna; 1891.438, Cyzicus; 1908.414, Pergamum). A. Castricii are known in Puteoli (*AE* 1978.124, A.D. 35), Herculaneum (*CIL* X 1403.f.3.14), Capua (X 4607) and Thebes (III 7301); otherwise only at the port of Tarracina (X 6338, cf. Coarelli [above, note 2] 236), and at Lanuvium (XIV 2105 = *ILS* 2676).

The Lanuvine inscription was copied as follows: "A. Castricius Myrio / Talenti f. tr.mil. praef.eq. / et classis mag. colleg. / Lupercor. et Capitolinor. / et Mercurial. et paga/nor. Aventin. XXVIvir / [...]moni per plures / [...]li sortitionibus / [...] dis redemptis"; see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 541, Devijver *PME* C 99. For the form of the name, cf. P. Servilius [...]cinus Telemaci f., evidently enfranchised by P. Servilius Isauricus *cos.* 48 B.C. (*ILLRP* 405). Some however read "Myriotalentis f."; for a comparable compound name, cf. P. T. Eden, *Seneca, Apocolocyntosis* (Cambridge 1984) 141 on Pheronaotus = Φηρών ἄωτος at *Apocol.* 13.5 (neither Talentus nor Myriotalentus appears in L. Pape's *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen* [1911]). For the social level of the *magistri Capitolini* and *Lupercorum*, cf. *ILLRP* 696 (= *CIL* I<sup>2</sup> 1004 = *ILS* 1924), the tombstone near Tarracina of the wealthy freedman Geganus Clesippus, whose piquant story is told by Pliny (*NH* 34.11f.); he did not aspire to equestrian officerships or the vigintisexvirate, but held the respectable position of *viator tribunicus* (cf. N. Purcell, *PBSR* 51 [1983] 140f., 152–54). (For the *collegium* named at line 6 of the Lanuvium inscription—really *pagani Amentini*?—see Th. Mommsen, *Hermes* 17 [1882] 44, note 2, referring to *CIL* VI 251 and Pliny *NH* 3.68.)

A Castricius may have been buying and selling slaves in the 40s B.C. (Cic. *Att.* 12.28.3; cf. 2.7.5, 59 B.C.); the Castricius who was honoured in fulsome terms at Smyrna (Cic. *Flacc.* 75) was no doubt engaged in commercial *negotia*; so too perhaps was M. Castricius, "summo splendore ingenio gratia praeditus," honoured by Verres in Sicily (Cic. 2 *Verr.* 3.185; cf. *Ath. Mitt.* 1881.42, M. Castricius Diadoumenos in Cyzicus). And the elder Pliny used the works of a Castricius who wrote in Greek on market gardening (κηπουρικά, *NH* 1.19, index). It seems probable that the Castricii—dealt with in this separate note in order to avoid confusion of the similar names—were a *gens* very like the Crassicii; and that A. Castricius Myrio, a Greek who made himself at home in the military, civil, and religious life of Rome, was a figure as characteristic of the hellenised society of the first century B.C. as was L. Crassicius Pansa himself.

<sup>57</sup> See Bowersock (above, note 56) 36–41, and in F. Millar and E. Segal (eds.), *Caesar Augustus: Seven Aspects* (Oxford 1984) 176–83. Macer's *Medea* is cited by Stobaeus (617H).

<sup>58</sup> This article has benefited substantially from comments made on an earlier draft by Elizabeth Rawson, to whom I am very grateful.