

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE CORNELIAN GENS IN ROMAN HISTORY

by

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PREFACE

The purpose of this treatise is to portray the greatness of the gens Cornelia, the most famous of the noble families of ancient Rome. The various claims to fame advanced by the gens will be dealt with in the course of this book. As the work is naturally limited in scope, it has been necessary not to go into too great detail with some of the more prominent members. There are already, for instance, whole volumes devoted to certain individuals such as Africanus and Sulla, while Capellmann has dealt thoroughly with the Scipios. In this treatise the emphasis has been placed on the gens as a whole. The dry, annalistic nature of certain chapters, almost a catalogue in places, is inescapable, although to avoid this as far as possible, numerous references to individuals of minor importance have been omitted.

M. C.

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This chapter is not intended to delve into the mysteries of the descent of the Romans or to trace the wanderings of their forefathers, from the home of the race in Cental Asia, to the Tiber. Let it suffice to make but a few general observations concerning their derivation that have already been universally established.

A great branch of the Aryan race found its way to the Italian and Balkan peninsulas and there produced the consequent civilization of Greece and the Empire of Rome. At the dawn of history we find the centre of the Italian peninsula occupied by the Italic branch of the Greeco-Italic group. The Greeks, migrating from the old land, were in possession of the south; and the Etruscans, an entirely alien racial group, had overrun much of the north east. North of Etruria were the Ligures and Gauls, more distantly allied, but kindred branches of the great Aryan parent tree. (1)

The most important kindred Italic communities were the Umbrians, east of the Upper Tiber; the so-called Sabellians, centrally situated; the Sabines, on the left bank of the Tiber; the Samnites, north of the Sabellians; the ancient Oscan communities of the Volsci, Hernici, Aequi and Aurunci, to the south of Latium; and the Latins dwelling south of the Tiber in the vicinity of Rome. (2)

The political systems of these primitive communities was simple indeed, consisting of a clan system into which their social existence had been early resolved. These tribes or clans consisted, at the very outset, of autonomous groups loosely federated into tribes with common religious rites. A number of individuals owing obedience to a common (real or reputed) kinsman, generally long deceased and not always ascertainable; that is, all who could claim

legitimate male descent from a common male progenitor, constituted a gens having community of cult, sanctuary, altar and festival. (3)

Gentiles sunt qui inter se eo nomine sunt; non est satis; qui ab ingenuis oriundi sunt; ne id quidem satis est; quorum majorum nemo in servitutine servivit; abest etiam nunc qui capite non sunt diminuti. (4)

This form of social organization was very common in ancient communities. A similar institution existed among the Greeks, but the characteristic spirit of the Greek peoples modified their γένρ equally as much, if in the opposite direction, as the Romans modified their Gentile system. The Hellens had formerly designated himself by two names, equivalent to the Roman praenomen, and nomen or clan name. A spirit of individuality reduced the significance of the clan name to a secondary position whereas the Latin, who originally dispensed with a gentile name, gradually emphasized its importance, no doubt because of the undue subservience to parental authority encouraged in the state until it became the recognized appellation, superseded to a great extent by the appearance of the cognomen.

In the latter era we have the Gaelic clan, the Irish sept, and the modern institution existing among the Arabs, all exhibiting certain tendencies and characteristics of the Latin gens though none present an exact counterpart.

The internal governing organs of the gens were the general body of the gentiles, the council of elders; originally supreme authority rested with the chief or princeps. The princeps was the visible and acknowledged head of the clan in the embryonic stage of gentile development. However with the enlargement and consequent divisions of the gens, the princeps disappeared and the

various family heads functioned in his civil capacity. The offshoots or families produced by the constant splitting of the clan were usually appropriately designated by a cognomen, thereby giving rise to a third name to be borne by the individual. (5)

It is extremely probable that in the earliest Roman times the heads of the gens constituted the membership of the senate which was fixed in the time of Tarquin at three hundred. This figure probably represents, with all the accuracy which we require in the present treatise, the number of the gentes of Ancient Rome.

No doubt external pressure, economic crises or other temporary emergencies, caused the bonds between neighbouring gentes to be drawn closer, thus establishing cities and setting up tyrannies of which Rome may be cited as an example. It might be mentioned here that the populace of Rome, if we consider the entire people, was one of diverse character. The Plebeians and Patricians were not of the same blood. The Patricians were a victorious nobility mainly of Latin extraction; the Plebeians a conquered, client, foreign, or freedman population which gradually congregated around the citizen nucleus of the gentiles.

This nucleus comprised the noble and most powerful families of republican Rome, the "Trojugenae", as the ancient historians, alluding to the myth of the Aeneid, will have it. The composition of this nobility, around which a complex and obscure social system was later built up, consisted of a union of three more or less diverse elements, the Ramnes, the Titii and the Luceres.

The first of these was undoubtedly Latin and since they gave their name to Rome, and their language survived to be the only recognized medium of intercourse within the city, we may safely assume that they were the predominant element. The Titii seem to

have been of Sabine extraction, possessing much the same customs, language, and ritual as the Romans. Ancient writers claim an Etruscan origin for the Luceres. Modern investigation, however, points to the racial homogeneity of the Patrician class, discarding the theory that progressive peoples are the product of a union of outstanding races, on the grounds that there is insufficient evidence of a Tuscan migration to Rome, or of the influence on Roman rites and customs that such a migration might be expected to exert. ⁽⁶⁾

Whatever the origin of the Vicus Tuscus, the Tarquin dynasty or the Luceres themselves, the new Romans absorbed and assimilated the original constituents and a new Latin city reared her walls on the seven hills and entered the conflict for the hegemony of the thirty cities of Latium. ⁽⁷⁾

Further additions swelled the numbers of the struggling gentes. From the surrounding communities of kindred stock numerous gentes were received and incorporated into the national and social life of the young city. The Claudii and Valerii were Sabines; the Octavii were Volscians and the Cornucanii Umbrians. ⁽⁸⁾ Further, there is evidence of gentes of an extraction showing little or no affinity with the Italic tribes. Thus the Porcii were derived from Etruria; the Cornelii Balbi were Phoenicians from Spain and the Salvii, ⁽⁹⁾ Tuscans from Ferentium.

Even the lowly Plebeians contributed not a few names to the roll of Roman nobility, such as the haughty Metellus, who deprecated the election of Marius to the consulship, yet who was himself descended, if we may trust the etymology of his nomen ⁽¹⁰⁾ Caecilius, from a Plebeian sutler. Yet we must not imagine that access to the privileged order was by any means easy. The Patricians, who alone enjoyed the honours and offices, civil, religious

and military, preserved the purity of their blood with the most insulting jealousy. Marriages between Patricians and Plebeians were forbidden by the Laws of the Twelve Tables, and the uniform operations of human nature may attest that the custom survived the law, and this too, in the face of Plebeian opposition, which early attempted to assert rights of equality. (11) (12)

Of the original three hundred houses, many, such as the Lemonii and Camilii, became extinct early, while others disappeared as time went on. One of the survivors was the gens Cornelia, the most famous of the gentes of ancient Rome. (13)

Their prominence is well attested by the remarks of ancient writers, by the pages devoted to their exploits by modern investigators, by numerous busts, coins, monuments and other remains of the famous civilization they helped to organize and consolidate. There was practically no line of endeavor open to Patricians, and few events of any consequence in which some Cornelian was not involved. They were a line of great men, some honest, some dishonest; they harboured both the pacific and the violent within their precincts; and they furnished some of the greatest traitors to, as well as the staunchest supporters of, their autonomy.

The origin of their clan and name, and their racial extraction, can only be conjectured. We find no mention in the ancient historians of their migration from any particular part so we may safely conclude that they were of the original gentile stock of Rome. This applies of course, only to the Patrician branches of the gens, for we frequently encounter references to the extraction of the Plebeian families, such as the Galli and Balbi, who however, do not come within the scope of this treatise.

Authorities state that traces of totemism are to be found

in the clan system of the Romans. If this applies to the Corneli, the obvious derivation of their name would be from cornu, a horn, and has perhaps, the force of a patronymic. That is to say, the name would mean that the bearer thereof was a member or descendant of a member of the clan that once had the horn as their tribal emblem or manifestation of kinship.

The Corneli were not without their geographical monuments, as we find, among other things, both a highway and a city gate named after their gens. The Via Cornelia was a minor road running north of the Circus Gai, diverging from the Via Triumphalis a little to the west of the Pons Neronianus. Its general direction was north west between the Via Aurelia and the Via Clodia. The Porta Cornelia was on the right bank of the Tiber near the south west corner of Hadrian's Mausoleum, spanning the Via Cornelia. ⁽¹⁴⁾

The Tribus Cornelia was undoubtedly named after the gens, and, in addition, we find in the pages of Pliny references to a ⁽¹⁵⁾ Castra Cornelia and a Forum Corneli.

Coins, too, often bear the name of Cornelius as several branches of the gens issued coinage at various times in commemoration of some achievement, if not to meet economic needs. Extant specimens are inscribed with the cognomina Blasio, Cinna, Lentulus, Scipio, Sisenna and Sulla.

In contrast with the other gentes, the Corneli loom into considerable prominence. Aurelius Victor, in selecting famous men of Rome, mentions ten Corneli but only seven Claudii and six ⁽¹⁶⁾ Valerii. Of the three occasions on which spolia opima were taken, a Cornelian was the hero on one, and, considering that one of the other instances, namely that of Romulus, was very probably

legendary, the Cornelian's deed attracts considerable attention.

Suetonius informs us that the Claudii were honoured with twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, six triumphs and two ovations. ⁽¹⁸⁾ The Cornelii held nearly a hundred consulships, were honoured with eighteen triumphs, and furnished the state with twelve censors and nine dictators. They filled the office of pontifex maximus nine times while that of flamen dialis was practically confined to their gens.

Of the thirty odd praenomina used by the Romans we find the Cornelii using ten; Publius, Gnaeus, (in its variant forms) and Lucius most frequently; Aulus was however popular among the Cossi, Servius with several branches, while Tiberius and Marcus are rarely encountered in the gens. Sextus occurs but once while Faustus was revived by the Sullae; and Cossus, in the Imperial Period, was used indiscriminately as an agnomen or a praenomen by the Lentuli.

EARLY CORNELII

The earliest Cornelii are "sine cognominibus" but sufficient evidence has been unearthed to connect the Maluginenses with Ser. Cornelius, to be mentioned hereafter, and to establish the fact that the Maluginenses, Cossi and Arvinae comprised one family, which ultimately designated its separate families by separate cognomina. That is, the Cossi and Arvinae, who appear on the pages of history shortly after the Maluginenses, were descended from the last mentioned and not from any other branches of the gens that happened to be in existence at the time. This conclusion is based on the fact that certain individuals bore names compounded of two of the above mentioned, and on the authority of the Fasti.⁽¹⁾

The Cossi and Maluginenses were an illustrious family and very prominent during the fifth century, but we hear little of them from then on, not because of the extinction of their family, which is precluded by their numbers, but because the surviving members very probably assumed new cognomina, perhaps Scipio and Lentulus, in support of which theory there is some, though untrustworthy, evidence.⁽²⁾ The compounded Scipio Maluginensis and the Lentulan adoption of both Cossus and Maluginensis in a later period tend to justify this conclusion.

Out of the mists of legend and tradition that obscure the antiquity of Rome, emerged a triumphant Republic on the ruins of a regal constitution and a foreign dynasty. The immediate difficulties facing the young republic were overcome one by one. The Latins, the Sabines and the Oscan tribes to the south were constantly in the field and almost as constantly repelled by the Romans.

In 485 Ser. Cornelius, as consul, defeated the Aequi and Volsci but his consulship was rendered unpopular by the disposal of the booty taken for the benefit of the treasury.⁽³⁾

In addition to the annual warfare with the Aequi and Volsci Rome now commenced a long war with the Etruscan city of Veii. The contest was usually in favour of the Romans but on one occasion the famous Fabian gens was surrounded and annihilated at the River Cremera.

Cornelius' son, L.Cornelius Maluginensis, filled the consulship with Q.Fabius in 459 B.C. but remained within the walls to protect the city while his colleague prosecuted the Volscian and Aequian campaign. Maluginensis, however, as some annalists recount, was responsible for the recapture of the revolted city of Antium.⁽⁴⁾

Indecisive warfare with the Volscians, Aequians and Sabines dragged on through the ensuing years and though the Romans sustained more than one defeat the dictator Cincinnatus temporarily crushed all opposition.

A decemvirate appointed to draw up a constitution was at this time subjected to severe criticism. L.Maluginensis, as his son was a member of the commission, defended its policies and vouched for its integrity. Livy represents them as brothers but either he or the Fasti are wrong.⁽⁵⁾

M.Maluginensis, the son, was in command of an army in 449 and was decisively defeated by the Sabines at Mt.Algidus, the annual battlefield of his time. Later he suffered a severe reverse at the hands of the Aequi, losing his camp and baggage and flying ignominiously to Tusculum.⁽⁶⁾ The decemvir, unpopular though he was, yet gave four sons to the service of the Republic, all of high attainment, Marcus, who carried on the line of Maluginensis; Servius and Aulus, who adopted the cognomen of Cossus for unknown reasons, (Cossus means a species of red larvæ found under the bark of trees and was sometimes applied to men of ruddy countenance) and Publius,

(7)
known as P. Cornelius Rutilus Cossus.

Marcus was consul in 436 and Servius, military tribune
(8)
two years later. Aulus, the most noteworthy, won unprecedented
honours for a private citizen while military tribune in 437, when
he obtained the spolia opima by slaying the king of the Veientes,
Lar Tolumnius. The combat is graphically depicted by Livy, who
(9)
portrays Cossus charging on horseback with levelled spear, un-
horsing the king, pushing him back with the boss of his shield and
pinning him to the earth with his deadly weapon. Subsequently,
having stripped him of his armour and cut off his head, he figured
in the triumph of the dictator, Man. Aemilius, and the soldiers
improvised rude verses comparing him with Romulus, who had per-
formed a similar feat. He dedicated the spolia, as was customary,
to Jupiter Feretrius. Livy, regardless of the ancient historians
whom he had followed, declares this must have happened in 425
during his consulship, because only a leader can win the spolia
opima and also because Cossus inscribed consul on his dedication.
Authorities vary in this matter and also in respect to his name,
(10)
some confusing him with his brother Servius. In 426 Cossus, as
military tribune, remained in charge of the city while his
colleagues campaigned against the Veientes. When they met with
severe reverse he appointed Man. Aemilius dictator and was in
(11)
turn appointed Master of the Horse.

A fourth son, P. Rutilus Cossus, was appointed dictator
in 408 at the threat of a Volscian and Aequian invasion. With
C. Servilius Ahala as his Master of Horse he did not only defeat
the enemy but stormed one of their fortresses on Lake Fucinus,
capturing three thousand prisoners. He was more fortunate than
experienced, Livy states, and laid down his office immediately

he had finished the campaign.

Bolae was captured in 415 by another P. Cossus after a skirmish and a siege. This Cornelian, of obscure genealogy, is not to be identified with the tribune of 406 or Livy would have designated his second command by the usual "iterum".⁽¹³⁾

It was, however, the family of the winner of the spolia opima that held the spotlight for the next few years, though it is true in a rather uneventful epoch. A. Cossus, consul for 415, is noted for the moderation shown in punishing a military conspiracy, but as is usually the outcome of such a policy, he disappointed both factions because of his very moderation.⁽¹⁴⁾

His brother Gnaeus was military tribune in the following year, with nothing conspicuous to his record, and consul five years later with L. Furius. The consuls were forced to retire from a long and futile siege at Carmentum but recaptured Verrugo from the Volsci, and after devastating their territory returned home laden with plunder.⁽¹⁵⁾

Publius, tribune in 408, deeply resented, as did C. Julius, the appointment of P. Rutilus Cossus, his uncle, to the dictatorship in the Aequian and Volscian wars as a hint at his own incapacity.⁽¹⁶⁾

War with Veii broke out about this time. Cn. Cossus consular tribune, was allotted the command against Etruria. This invasion turned out to be a widespread and systematic campaign of plundering, as his expedition against the Capenates five years later.⁽¹⁷⁾

Cossus was the son of the tribune for 415 B.C.

In the eventful year of 404 two Cornelii, P. Maluginensis and Cn. Cossus campaigned together as tribunes, defeated the Volsci, invaded their territory and laid siege to Antena. Though

the citadel held out for a considerable time it was ultimately betrayed to them by the treachery of a slave. ⁽¹⁸⁾ P.Maluginensis' sons to be mentioned hereafter, played quite a role in the ensuing years of Roman politics.

The capture of the city of Veii, soon followed by that of Falerii, Volsinii and Sutrium, was accomplished by the Romans after a siege of ten years under the dictator Camillus. The Fasti assert that P.Maluginensis, who had been tribune the previous year, to check a predatory raid of the men of Tarquinii, served as Camillus' Master of the Horse, but it is likely that Livy, who claims that P.Scipio officiated in that capacity and who is supported by ⁽¹⁹⁾ Plutarch, more accurately records the fact. Scipio had been tribune the previous year with Maluginensis and the two Cornelii held a dual command, ravaging the territory of the Falisci, leaving not a single fruit tree standing. Scipio was tribune again in 394 and was appointed interrex in the following year, which position he passed on to L.Valerius Potitus according to law. Again in 390 ⁽²⁰⁾ it was found necessary to appoint him to the same position.

Maluginensis was elected to the consulship in 393 but he and his colleague were forced to resign by reason of an error in the procedure of the elections. He may have been the tribune of 390 but Livy neglects to use the customary "iterum" in recording the fact, so the evidence tends to support the theory of an otherwise unknown Cornelian appearing here. ⁽²¹⁾

Marcus, brother to the foregoing, was appointed to the censorship in 393 in the place of C.Julius, deceased in office; an ill-omened appointment, it was said, since Rome was taken by the Gauls during his term of office. ⁽²²⁾ Another brother, Servius, held the rank of military tribune seven times, from 386 to 368 B.C.

When the Senones, a Transpadane tribe of Gauls, attacked Clusium, they were warned not to attack Roman allies, but, owing to the Roman envoys taking part in the conflict, a Gallic army was soon on its way to Rome. The Romans were scattered at the River Allia and the Gauls took possession of the city, but they were frustrated in an attempt on the Capitol by the vigilance of M. Manlius. The garrison were reduced to terms of capitulation and bribed Brennus, the enemy leader to withdraw, which only L. Cornelius Lentulus, a haughty, bold and hard-headed Senator, voted against. (23) Livy says that Camillus returned from exile in time to retrieve the gold and disperse the enemy but the truth is probably (24) that the Gauls, hearing of an incursion of the Veneti, returned home with the ransom to protect their territory.

Trouble with the Latins, Etruscans and the Ocean tribes followed, during which P. Valuginensis exercised the duties of the military tribuneship with the three Fabii, sons of M. Fabius Ambustus, and two others. (25)

A Volscian incursion in 365 occasioned the appointment of a dictator, for which position A. Cossus was chosen. After defeating the enemy he returned to celebrate a triumph and to throw M. Manlius, who had saved the Capitol in 390, into prison on a charge of currying favour with the populace with a view to overthrowing the constitution. (26) Manlius was hurled from the Tarpeian Rock.

During the twenty year war with the Faliscans and Tarquinii that followed, a host of Cornelii served their city in various military capacities, A. Cossus as tribune in 369 and 367; Ser. Valuginensis as Master of the Horse in 361 (against the Gauls); P. Scipio as curule aedile in 366 and Master of the Horse in 350; as censor in 340 with his brother Lucius who had functioned as

as interrex in 352 and two years later as consul. It is to be noted that these Scipios were the sons of Camillus' Master of the Horse. (27) The two Tuscan cities were in the end forced into a long truce and Caere was annexed. The power of the Cisalpine Gauls was broken by a series of invasions and they ceased to give any trouble.

Roman influence, now predominant in the north, extended to the south where it was resisted by the sturdy Samnites. Incursions of these hardy mountaineers into Campania forced the Romans to have recourse to arms.

A. Cornelius Cossus Arvina, Consul, who had seen considerable service against the Etruscans and Gauls, as Master of the Horse in 353 and 349, led an expedition into Samnium. His army was trapped in a defile in the mountains and only extricated by the bravery of P. Decius Mus. Notwithstanding these facts, Arvina (28) celebrated a triumph on his return to Rome. The Romans, it appeared had a slight advantage over the Samnites at the end of the closely contested war.

The revolt and subjection of the Latin cities occupied the next two years. Two new Cornelian families appear at this period, the Rufini and the Cethegi. P. Rufinus, the ancestor of the Sullae, was appointed dictator in 334 but was obliged to resign through some defect in the auspices, (29) while Cethegus, elected to the consulship for 332, through a similar defect had to lay down the insignia of office.

The second war with the Samnites was occasioned by the high-handed action of the Greek city of Palaeopolis in harrying Roman coloni, with the support of the Samnites. The Romans suffered many disasters, even passing beneath the yoke, the acme of

disgrace, at the Caudine Forks in 321 B.C. The Senate refused to ratify the conditions of the surrender and turned over the sponsors of the peace to the Samnites. One of the *fetiales* charged with supervising the return of the prisoners was A.Cornelius Arvina, whose exact relationship is unknown. L.Lentulus, a veteran of the war, having been consul in 327 and commander of an army in 324, urged the acceptance of terms on a point, it may be supposed, of honour, but when he was subsequently made dictator in 318 B.C., he ably avenged the disgrace, in recognition of which his ancestors were allowed to assume the cognomen *secundum* of Caudinus.

Another hero of the war was A.Arvinus, son of the above mentioned of that name, consul and dictator, who was decreed the honour of a triumph over the Samnites. His brother Publius, though he attained the dignity of a consulship in 306 and took command of the army, achieved no definite results, and P.Cornelius Scapula, who had been consul in 328, was appointed dictator. Scapula, in the following year, became *pontifex maximus*.

At the close of the war, after which the Samnites retained only their independence, Ser.Cornelius Lentulus occupied the consulship.

A complaint of the Lucani about Samnite raids brought about the third appeal to arms. A formidable coalition faced the Romans, when the Etruscans, Umbrians, Senones came to the aid of their southern allies, but the battle of Sentinum in 295 B.C. broke up their combination.

L.Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, a grandson of L.Scipio, served as consul in this war against the Etruscans, defeating them; then the following year he campaigned as *legatus* under Q.Fabius, and, more extensively, as *propraetor* against the Gauls, Etruscans

(36)
and Samnites. P. Rufinus, consul with M' Curius Dentatus, obtained a triumph for his exploits and the two consuls brought to an end a war of forty years. (37)

The census of Rome was taken in 294 by P. Arvina, who became consul for a second time in 288 B.C. (38) The Senones were defeated in 283 by the consul P. Cornelius Dolabella Maximus. He was voted a triumph in recognition of his victory and, it is likely, of his aim --- to annihilate the race that had burned Rome. (39) In fact, hearing that the Roman ambassadors had been slain, he abandoned the war in Etruria and cut the Senones to pieces, killing the males and selling the women into slavery. Their king Britomaris, or as Appian says in another fragment, his son, was reserved for torture and his triumph. (40) On the lands thus left vacant Dolabella established a colony. Eutropius records his praenomen as Cnaeus and states that he inflicted a defeat on the Gauls, Tuscans and Samnites. (41)

After the reduction of the Samnite mountaineers, the Romans came in contact with a new element, the fringe of Greek cities along the coast of southern Italy or Magna Graecia. The Tarentines had established a loose hegemony over these cities and strongly resented any interference in their own sphere. When L. Valerius and a fleet appeared in the harbour of Tarentum in defiance of an existing treaty, the Tarentines attacked and sunk four of the ships. Appian, mistaken, says that L. Cornelius was in command of the fleet. (42) Compensation was refused and application made to Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, for aid in the approaching struggle.

Pyrrhus appeared in Italy in 280 B.C. and, with the aid of the unwarlike Tarentines, defeated the Romans at Heraclea and

advanced as far as Praeneste. An exchange of prisoners was negotiated by P. Dolabella and two colleagues. Though Pyrrhus won another battle at Asculum in 279 B.C., he could do nothing with the persistent and obstinate Romans, either in military operations or in the way of peace.

So Pyrrhus crossed over to Sicily to reorganise the political forces of the island. Meanwhile the Romans made steady progress in Italy. P. Rufinus, consul again in 277 with C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus, captured Croton. (43)

When Pyrrhus returned to Italy despite the Carthaginian fleet lying in wait for him, he found himself confronted by the consuls M. Curius Dentatus and L. Lentulus, the son of Tib. Lentulus. (44) Pyrrhus was decisively defeated at Maleventum, now called Beneventum, and shut up in Tarentum, though he subsequently escaped to Epirus. For a while the Romans campaigned indecisively in Samnium and Lucania, under the consul Ser. Cornelius Merenda, who had, as legate to L. Lentulus, consul in 275 B.C., been rewarded for his efficient services in capturing a stronghold in Samnium, by the presentation of a costly gold chaplet from his commander. (45) But in the end Tarentum and other hostile places were reduced. In 270 during the process of reduction Cn. Cornelius Blasio officiated in the consulship and after his campaign celebrated a triumph. (46) The Roman hold was consolidated, either by establishing colonies or enrolling the states as *cives foederatae*. (47) Rome now held the paramount position from the Rubicon to the Gulf of Tarentum.

THE AGE OF THE SCIPIOS

Undoubtedly the foremost family among the Cornelii was that of the Scipios, though in numbers they were surpassed by the Lentuli and perhaps in the dignity of their traditions. The origin of their name is variously disputed.

As a great part of the popularity and fame enjoyed by the Scipios was due to the exploits of the two Africani, their various poetical and rhetorical epithets have been construed as a key to the significance of their family appellation. Cicero calls them "fulmina nostri imperii"; Virgil the "duo fulmina belli" and Lucretius has occasion to mention, "Scipiades belli fulmen, Carthaginiis horror" ⁽¹⁾ The word "Scipio" itself means staff or cudgel, but when we consider the words "scipio", the Greek σκίππων, σκᾶπτρον, σκῆπτρον and the cognate words "scapus", English "shaft" and the Greek σκηπτός, σκήπτω and their relation with thunderbolt, we can readily imagine, in view of the above references, that the Scipios emphasized the thunderbolt far more than the lowly staff in any references to their family history. The only recorded coin of the Scipios seems to warrant this inference, since it portrays, on the reverse, an image of Jupiter with a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left; which however might recall both meanings of the word. ⁽²⁾

Tradition, however, derives their name from the dutiful role of the founder of this line who served as a staff for the guidance of his blind father. ⁽³⁾

Besides the lonely coin, however, we have perhaps more concrete and extensive testimony of the exact circumstances and social peculiarities of the Scipios, more so than of any other gens. Along the Appian Way, outside the Porta Capena, the Scipios excavated their sepulchres ⁽⁴⁾ in the tufa rock, and there, for a period of four

hundred years, interred their dead. Their burial places do not resemble those of other gentes since the gens Cornelia was peculiar in the custom of burying without cremation. Sulla, the dictator, was the first Cornelian to be disposed of in this, the usual Roman manner.⁽⁵⁾

The Scipios, then, had to prepare stone sarcophagi or loculi of large dimensions instead of mere pigeonholes for the reception of urns. A few inscriptions have been preserved, the earliest being that of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, consul 298 B.C., and the latest that of C. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus, praetor in 139 B.C.⁽⁶⁾ The inscriptions, discovered in 1780, now lie in the Museo Pio-Clementine at Rome.

L. Barbatus' epitaph, written in pre-classical Latin, reads thus:

CORNELIUS LUCIUS SCIPIO BARBATUS CNAEO PATRE PROGNATUS
FORTIS VIR SAPIENSQUE CUJUS FORMA VIRTUTI PARISSUMA
FUIT CONSUL CENSOR AEDILE QUI FUIT APUD VOS TAURASIA
CISAUNAM IN SAMNIO CEPIT SUBIGIT OMNES LUCANIAM
OBSIDESQUE ABDUCIT.

That of his grandson, L. Scipio, consul 259 B.C., which was evidently written before that of Barbatus, runs along in the same vein:

NONCOINO PLOIRUME CONSENTIONT ROMAI
DUONORO OPTUMO FUISE VIRO VIRORUM
LUCIUM SCIPIONE FILIUS BARBATI
CONSOL CENSOR AIDILIS HIS FUET APUD VOS
HEC CAPIT CORSICA ALERIAQUE URBEM
DEDIT TEMPESTATEBUS AIDE MERETOD VOTAM.

This noble house was the first to introduce poetical

elegia in Saturnian verse into the carmina triumphalia and to add them to the short tituli painted with minium on the sarcophagi. Later elegiac distichs were substituted for the time-honoured Saturnian verse. The names of the deceased and his curule offices were also given in the inscription. This usage was later adopted by the state for public use.

Other branches of the clan which attained prominence during this period were the Lentuli, Cethegi and Dolabellae as well as several less important families which will be alluded to as they occur in the chronology of the period.

The Lentuli were the real aristocrats of the Cornelian gens, thinking of whom Cicero coins the word, "Lentulitas" expressing an attribute of aristocracy.⁽⁷⁾ Cicero gives further light on contemporary attitude in scornfully alluding to the conspirator Lentulus as a lazy and impractical fellow as if his name were derived from lentus, slow, the diminutive of which would be lentulus.⁽⁸⁾ The name was however taken from lentes, lentils, a vegetable that the first members of the family were fond of cultivating in the fourth century B.C.⁽⁹⁾ They seem to have had the reputation of being haughty, bold and hard-headed.

These lordly Lentuli boasted, besides the usual Cornelian praenomina, the use of Servius, Tiberius and the revival of the ancient cognomen Cossus. As a family they were very numerous and extended through a considerable portion of Roman history.

The Cethegi did not appear in any conspicuous roll in Roman history till the end of the third century B.C. when, almost from obscurity, the first great Cethegus, the unique Marcus, attained an unusual pitch of fame. They were extremely conservative, and, as a matter of tradition, affected a simplicity of manner in the ever increasing complexities of the times. Their adherence,

as a family, to the ancient usages acquired for them the reputation of being old-fashioned. Like the younger Cato they preserved the ancient fashions in dress, dispensing with the tunic and wearing a cinctus, or loincloth, under the toga and leaving their arms bare. They discriminated but little in their choice of praenomina, Lucius and Publius, however, being the most popular. Marcus, unusual among members of the gens at this period, occurs as well as Servius and Gnaeus.

The Dolabellae as a family were not exceptionally noteworthy and, although several members of the family occupied high official positions, there is a paucity of evidence concerning their origin. One might remark however, after noting the legal entanglements in which several Dolabellae became involved, that they were extraordinarily inclined to rapacity and plunder.

Such were the families fated to uphold the dignity and power of Rome on the eve of the Punic Wars.

For Greek and Carthaginian, Sicily had long been the field of conflict, yet after a series of protracted campaigns extending over two hundred years, we find them occupying there almost the same relative positions, the latter being relegated to the western part of the island. A new element of discord was now introduced. The Mamertini, a group of Campanian mercenaries, had established themselves in Messina and had become the terror of the countryside. Hiero of Syracuse defeated and besieged them, whereupon they appealed to Rome and to Carthage for help. The Carthaginians occupied the citadel of Messina and Rome prepared to dislodge them, fearful of their influence in the eastern part of the island. The resulting complications caused an open breach and Carthage and Rome entered on a long struggle.

During the first two years of the war the Romans consist-

ently drove the Carthaginians westward. Finally they resolved to build a fleet and entirely expel them from the island. In the spring of 260 the two consuls, Cn.Cornelius Scipio Asina and C. Duilius sailed to relieve Segesta. Scipio was captured by a stratagem off the island of Lipara and carried to Carthage a prisoner, but was subsequently released and returned to Rome though Orosius claims he was killed. Florus relates that, having invited him to a conference, the enemy treacherously threw him into chains --- perfidiae Punicae documentum.

Duilius however defeated them, relieving Segesta and L.Scipio. Barbatus dislodged the Punic garrisons in Sardinia and Corsica, defeating and killing Hanno in 259. L.Scipio celebrated a triumph after his consulship and in the following year took up the duties of censor. In the consulship of CN.CORNELIUS BLASIO in 257 the war dragged on indecisively. In 254 CN.ASINA captured Panormus but nothing further was achieved by the Cornelii from then till the end of the war.

In the following years, Carthage became involved in a life and death struggle with her mercenaries, which Rome took advantage of, sending the consul L.LENTULUS CAUDINUS to occupy Sardinia and Corsica, although she was herself having trouble in the north at this time. Lentulus, consul in 237, won a triumph over the Ligures. His brother Publius succeeded him in the consulship but little is known of him except that he left two sons, Lucius, curule aedile in 209, and Publius, praetor in 204.

The third and last instance of spolia opima being taken occurred in 222 when M.Marcellus, consul with CN.CORNELIUS SCIPIO CALVUS, slew the king of the Insubrian Gauls. The next year the Histri, a warlike Illyrian race on the Venetian border, were subjugated,

though with terrific Roman losses, by the consuls P.SCIPIO ASINA and Minucius.⁽²⁰⁾

Placentia, founded as a outpost against the Gauls, was at this time colonized by P.ASINA, CN.SCIPIO and P.Papirius. Asina, consul in 221, served on a commission to assign the lands taken from the Gauls but was driven back to Mutina by an outbreak of the Boii.⁽²¹⁾⁽²²⁾

Meanwhile the second Punic War had begun. Hamilcar Barca, resenting the ungenerous attitude of Rome in siezing Sardinia and Cósica while Carthage was weakened by the revolt of her mercenaries, had built up a substantial empire in Spain with a view to future revenge. But the Romans, fearful of Punic ascendancy in any part, exacted a pledge from his successor that the Ebro would be the northern limit of their conquests. Hannibal, Hamilcar's son, eventually elected to his father's command, attacked and captured Saguntum, south of the Ebro but an ally of Rome.

This was the pretext for the next appeal to arms. Hannibal, by an unexpected movement, disconcerted the Roman plan of campaign by collecting a large army and beginning a long and exacting but well organized expedition to Italy by way of Gaul and the Alps in 218 B.C.

P. ASINA, appointed interrex in this emergency, accurately reflecting the alarm of the Roman people, advised that all the outlying armies should be recalled to the vicinity of the capital.⁽²⁰⁾

In the meantime A. CORNELIUS MAMMULA had been consolidating the Roman hold on Sardinia. When he raised money from the allied communities in a rather arbitrary fashion, his harsh and extortionate administration drew some comment but was generally recognized as necessary. In 215 he returned to Rome bringing a warning that Sardinia was on the brink of revolt.⁽²³⁾

At Rome P. SCIPIO, consul with T. Sempsonius, was ordered
 (24) to embark for Spain to oppose Hannibal, but he was delayed by
 an incursion of the Boii and the consequent necessity of a new levy.
 When he finally touched the mouth of the Rhone, he learned, to his
 surprise, that Hannibal was in that neighbourhood. Foiled in an
 attempt to come up with him, Scipio, sending his brother Gnaeus to
 Spain, reembarked for Italy and waited for Hannibal to descend from
 the Alps. (25) He was defeated and wounded at the Ticinus River but (26)
 managed to retire to Placentia and take up a strong position on the
 Trebia. Here his colleague joined him and persuaded him to do
 battle, with the result that they were decisively defeated, and had
 (27) to take refuge in Placentia.

For a year little beyond skirmishing took place. P. SCIPIO
 then went to Spain, as his command was extended, and joined his
 brother in the struggle with Hasdrubal. (28) GNAEUS SCIPIO had already
 conciliated many of the Spaniards and had captured Hanno with his
 camp and stores, but had suffered a slight defeat at sea. (29) He
 reduced the Ilergetes to submission, capturing their leader Indibilis.
 When P. Scipio arrived, together the brothers pushed the Carthaginians
 back into Lusitania and, in spite of financial distress, pressed on
 with a series of victories in 214 B.C. (30)

The tide of fortune ebbed and flowed but the Scipios on the
 whole steadily gained ground and increased their prestige. By 213
 however, the Carthaginians were in overwhelming force and converged
 on the Roman lines with three armies, under Hasdrubal, son of
 Hamilcar; Hasdrubal, son of Gisco; and Mago. The Romans were
 defeated with great losses. Publius himself was pierced in the
 side with a spear while directing his troops, (31) and Gnaeus was forced
 to retreat to a ridge where he faced the united Carthaginian forces. (32)

He fell in the first attack, or, according to some authorities, perished in the capture of a tower to which he had escaped and which had been fired by the enemy.

The fall of the Scipio brothers was a great blow to the Roman hope in Spain. They, especially Gnaeus, ^{who} was reputed to be an excellent disciplinarian, were greatly mourned at Rome and also by the Spaniards. ⁽³³⁾ L. LENTULUS, son of L. CAUDINUS and praetor in Sardinia at this time, took over the administration of affairs in Spain. For his meritorious services he received a belated ovation, ⁽³⁴⁾ eleven years afterwards. He was succeeded in Spain by P. SCIPIO, son of P. Scipio mentioned above.

C. CETHEGUS, made curule aedile at Rome in his absence, took over control in Spain in 200, where, it is related, he slaughtered 15,000 Spaniards and took seventy-eight standards. The games of Cethegus, exhibited when he returned home to fill the curule aedileship, were exceptionally magnificent. ⁽³⁵⁾

In Sicily too, Roman and Carthaginian faced each other. The new tyrant of Syracuse, Hieronymus, was hostile to Rome and severed relations with her. On his death the city went definitely pro-Carthaginian and was besieged by Marcellus, actively aided by P. LENTULUS, who campaigned as propraetor in 213 and negotiated a treaty with Syphax, king of the Massaesylians in Numidia. ⁽³⁶⁾

Meanwhile in Italy disaster clung to Roman arms. In 217 B.C. the consul Flaminius was ambushed and killed, and his army annihilated at Trasimene Lake by the wily Carthaginian.

Q. Fabius was appointed dictator at the news of this latest disaster. When Hannibal turned south he followed him, cutting off stragglers and marauders, avoiding battle but always dogging the footsteps of the Punic host. Fabius, through this policy of

(37)

inaction, was surnamed Cunctator.

But in 216, the consuls, L. Aemilius and C. Terentius Varro, who had been elected over a Cornelian, P. CORNELIUS MERENDA, repaired to the scene of operations, and, owing to the rashness of Varro, attacked at a disadvantage. The Roman legionaries triumphantly broke through the opposing centre only to be hemmed in by the Carthaginians while the Numidian Horse charged and recharged through their ranks. Varro and a remnant escaped, but Aemilius fell in battle. P. Scipio, later Africanus, was left in charge of the scattered units of the defeated army. (38) It is related that a military (39) tribune, CN. LENTULUS, brother of the contemporary L. Lentulus, in flying from the field noticed the consul wounded and resting on a stone. Dismounting, he offered his horse, an example of the self-sacrificing spirit of the early Romans, saying, "Do not make this day sadder by a consul's death!" Needless to say this brave and generous offer was refused so Lentulus survived the catastrophe to take a prominent (40) part in Roman politics of the future.

The Cornelii were particularly prominent in politics of the year 213 B.C. M. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS, then a curule aedile, was elected pontifex to fill the office of L. Lentulus deceased, and later he held a meeting of the comitia to elect a permanent successor to the position of the above. (41) We find the same Cethegus in Apulia in 211 functioning in the praetor's chair and, the following year, in charge of Sicilian affairs, where he left a good record as a successful administrator. (42) Censor in 209, although he had not yet held the consulship, (43) he became consul five years later with P. Sempronius Tuditanus. (44) Serving his proconsulship in Cisalpine Gaul, he defeated Mago, who had landed in Liguria two years previously. He died in 196 B.C., succeeded in his pontificate by L. Valerius Flaccus, and

leaving a good record, well remembered by posterity. As a man of letters he excelled all his contemporaries, especially in eloquence and oratory. Ennius calls him "Suadae medulla" and Horace refers to him as an authority on Latin words. (45)

Another Cornelian, P.SULLA, a son of the flamen dialis, was praetor in this year, functioning as praetor urbanus et peregrinus. It was he who presided over the first Ludi Apollinares introduced in accordance with a mandate of the Sibylline Books. Sulla left two sons, Publius, praetor in 185 and Servius, praetor in 173. (46)

Another, L.LENTULUS was appointed decemvir sacrorum and he remained in that office till his death in 173 B.C., being succeeded by A.Postumius Albinus in that year. In 211 he went to Sardinia as praetor. (41)

Two more, P.SCIPIO and M.CETHEGUS, became curule aediles and, a few years later, CN.DOLABELLA entered upon the office of rex sacrorum, which he held until 180 B.C. (47)

In southern Italy, while the Romans were beseiging Capua, Hannibal came to its relief but was driven off by the timely arrival of CN.LENTULUS with the army of Sempronius. Lentulus has a long and glorious record. He was curule aedile in 294 with his brother Lucius; two years later he was in command of the fleet in Sicilian waters. The following year he became consul and went over to Africa to settle peace conditions. After his consulship, Lentulus, being proconsul of Spain, campaigned in his province. By a decree of the Senate, he was welcomed on his return by an ovation for his successful conduct of the Spanish campaign. It is most unlikely that he served as triumvir in colonizing work in 199, as he was in Spain at the time. This C.LENTULUS is of unrecorded ancestry and otherwise unknown. (48) (49) (50)

P.SCIPIO, who had saved his father's life at the Ticinus (51)

and had volunteered, though only twenty-four years of age, to accept the responsibility of a command in Spain after it had been avoided by everyone of merit, became the man of the day. He had already served at Ticinus and Cannae, and, placed in the command of the survivors of that battle, he prevailed on the nobility to persevere in the struggle. Orosius relates that with drawn sword he stood in the Curia and dissuaded the Senators from relinquishing Italy. He was elected aedile in 212, and in 210 took over the army in Spain. During the next four years he drove the Carthaginians entirely out of Spain, with the aid of his brother, and on his return to Rome, was elected consul while was as yet under the legal age and had not filled the office of praetor. ⁽⁵⁵⁾

He then determined to carry the war into Africa and set out from Lilybaeum, counting on the assistance of two Numidian kings, Syphax and Masinissa, whose alliance he had won during his operations in Spain. ⁽⁵⁶⁾ Syphax, however joined Hasdrubal, but both were defeated at Utica in 203 B.C. ⁽⁵⁷⁾ The alarming nature of Scipio's campaigns led the Carthaginian Senate to recall Hannibal to the defence of Africa.

Scipio had defeated another Carthaginian army, Laelius had captured Syphax, and Mago had been decisively beaten in north Italy, so the Carthaginians were constrained to sue for peace. All efforts at negotiation broke down however and Scipio and Hannibal faced each other in what was to be the final battle of the war. The tactics of Hannibal were matched by the alertness of Scipio and the superiority of the Roman legionaries soon proved itself. At Zama in 202 the hopes of Carthage were ruined and she had to submit to the harsh terms imposed on her. ⁽⁵⁸⁾ ⁽⁵⁹⁾

Scipio returned to Rome and the new consul, CN. LENTULUS, possessing very definite ideas on a Carthaginian policy, arrived in

Africa to consummate the conditions of peace. There are those who charge that Scipio advised and hastened peace, lest another, that is, Lentulus, the new commander and a unique general, might get the credit of finishing the war. (60)

However the conqueror of Hannibal was received with universal rejoicing and in addition to a triumph, the cognomen of Africanus was conferred on him in honour of his recent exploit. Scipio enjoyed great renown for the rest of his life. (61)

Among his particular friends were Polybius, who became the instructor of P. AFRICANUS MINOR, and Ennius. Not only was Ennius interred in the Scipionic tomb but his likeness was sculptured thereon. In sepulchro Scipionum putatur is esse constitutus ex marmore. (62) (63) (64)

Some ancient authors have imputed a divine origin to Africanus or at least credit him with divine inspiration, a reputation he used to play up to by the pretence of secret interviews with Jupiter. Some modern writers believe this farce to have been carried on in all sincerity, due, in their opinion, to an innate sense of importance acquired by constant success in the major events of the period. As to personal appearance, he was an ordinary Roman. In his youth he wore his hair long, though he must have become bald in his old age and taken to shaving, if we may trust an extant statue of him which closely agrees in feature with his likeness in the "Death of Sophonisba" found at Pompeii. (65) (66)

While the Romans were engaged in the life and death struggle with Hannibal, they were also at war with Philip V, the ambitious king of Macedon, who had negotiated a treaty with the Carthaginians. The war was not prosecuted with much vigour and no gain was made by the treaty of peace drawn up in 205.

However Philip did not keep the terms of the treaty of Phoenice as his restless ambition led him into various projects hostile to Rome. His refusal to abstain from conquests in Greece brought a coalition of the Romans, Athens, Rhodes and Pergamus against him. After a few skirmishes, T Quinctius Flaminius, succeeding L. LENTULUS in the consulship in 198⁽⁶⁷⁾, manoeuvred the king into a position at Cynoscephalae where he utterly defeated him.

An embassy of ten, including P. LENTULUS, propraetor in Sardinia in 203, settled the terms on which peace was to be established.⁽⁶⁸⁾

In the meantime C. Cethegus, consul in 197, having vowed a temple to Jupiter Sospes if successful, defeated the Genomani and Insurbres in the north, earning a triumph. Many noble Gauls as well as Hamilcar, a Carthaginian, were led in his triumphal procession.⁽⁶⁹⁾ It is he who, censor in 194 with Sex. Aelius, first assigned special places to the senators at Roman Games. He also took the census finding the Roman people to number 143,704. His games have been already mentioned and his rapid rise to the chief executive position well attests his popularity as the games provide reason for it.⁽⁷⁰⁾

In Africa a dispute between Masinissa and Carthage brought Cethegus, P. Scipio and M. Rufus to the scene as arbitrators.

As for Greece, all was in disorder. The Aetolians, Boetians and Nabus of Sparta, dissatisfied with the existing political arrangements, invited Antiochus of Syria to intervene. At the head of ten thousand men he landed in Greece and gained the promises of the congress of Lamia. Their support however did not materialize and with only the Aetolian League at his back he faced the wrath of Rome.

M. Acilius Glabrio defeated Antiochus at Thermopylae, but as he wished to return, a successor had to be appointed. A. Cornelius

Mammula was considered, as he had while serving his propraetorship among the Brutii, brought a new levy of recruits to guard the coast around Brundisium and Tarentum in view of the impending war. (71) However L. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, brother of Africanus, whom he had served in Spain, finally obtained the consulship, in which capacity he took (72) command and, with the aid of his brother, who served as an unofficial adviser, defeated Antiochus at Mt. Sipylus and compelled him to sue (73) for peace.

Scipio celebrated a triumph and, at his own request, was (74) surnamed Asiaticus.

One of Africanus' sons, Lucius, or according to some authorities, Gnaeus, a corrupt and degenerate scion of an illustrious sire, was captured while on a scouting party, or according to Appian, while en route from Chalcis to Demetrias, but having been treated with every respect was delivered safely into the hands of his father (75) at Elaia. This culmination of his career must have been discouraging to his father for he had already been ejected from the Senate and had only obtained a praetorship through the voluntary withdrawal (76) of Cicereius, his father's former secretary. The Scipio mentioned (77) on the embassy to Antiochus in 196 was very probably this one.

An interesting anecdote is related of a meeting between Africanus and Hannibal at the court of Antiochus, whither Scipio had repaired as ambassador, wherein the modesty and restraint of the two greatest generals of the ancient world were well demonstrated. (78)

P. LENTULUS CAUDINUS, a brother to the consuls of 201 and 199, went to Asia on a commission to adjust the terms of peace. (79)

At Rome ASIATICUS was brought to trial, on his return, for accepting a bribe from Antiochus given in return for lenient terms and, although defended by his kinsman, NASICA, the eminent jurist, he was condemned. He was ejected from the senate by M. Cato, the arch-enemy of the

Scipios; his statues were cast out beyond the Porta Capena and he himself was imprisoned, although he was soon released by Gracchus. (80) Emboldened by success, the prosecution extended their charge to include the great Africanus but on the anniversary of the battle of Zama, Africanus appeared at the trial in festive robes and, after an imposing speech, pompously led the mob to the Capitol to give thanks to the gods for his former victory, a strategem which enabled his brother-in-law Gracchus to prevail on the accusers to let the matter drop. Africanus however retired to Liturnum and never returned to Rome. (81)

IN the north of Italy almost continual warfare dragged on. The consuls L. CORNELIUS MERULA and Q. Minucius Thermus proceeded to Cisalpine Gaul and Liguria, respectively, in 193. MERULA finally Overwhelmed the Boii and leaving his army under the command of M. Marcellus, proceeded to Rome to demand a triumph. This was opposed by the tribunes M. and C. Titinius who declared they would veto any proposal of that nature in view of the terrific losses sustained in the victory and the suspected negligence of MERULA himself. (82)

The Romans were held at bay for two years. Then P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA, consul for 191, subdued the Boii in the valley of the Po, killing over twenty thousand of them. (83) The Ligurians too were giving trouble at this time. P. CETHEGUS, consul in 181, obtained a triumph over them although he won no battle, the first instance of a triumph being celebrated when no battle had been fought. The colony Ligures Corneliani was named after him as he served on a commission for its foundation in 173. (84) As for the Ligurians themselves, although some were removed to Hannium, some deprived of their vessels, lands and walls, and military roads constructed through their territory, they were not pacified until

the time of Augustus.

A host of Corneliis come under the spotlight at Rome during this period, between the war with Antiochus and that of Perseus. P. SULLA occupied the praetorship in 186,⁽⁸⁵⁾ and P. CETHEGUS and A. Albinus exhibited the Ludi Romani as curule aediles. Cethegus in accordance with the decree of the Senate, after a year in the praetor's chair administering justice between citizens and non-citizens, exhibited the Ludi Apollinares in 184.⁽⁸⁶⁾ He was praetor again in the following year with P. CORNELIUS SISENNA, praetor urbanus and SER. SULLA, brother of P. SULLA.⁽⁸⁷⁾

The death of CN. DOLABELLA left the position of rex sacrorum vacant in 180. His logical successor was L. DOLABELLA, a kinsman, at the time serving as duumvir navalis, entrusted with the protection of the eastern coast of Italy. His refusal to resign and take up the duties of rex sacrorum drew a fine from the pontifex maximus and his appeal was subsequently thwarted by a portent.⁽⁸⁸⁾

P. CORNELIUS MAMMULA was praetor in the same year⁽⁸⁹⁾ and, in the following year, M. CORNELIUS SCIPIO MALUGINENSIS.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Mammula drew Sicily, and Maluginensis, Spain, as their provinces. In 176 CN. SCIPIO HISPALLUS, who had been praetor with Maluginensis, was elected to the consulship.⁽⁹¹⁾

One of the foremost figures of this period was P. NASICA, the conqueror of the Boii and a son of Cn. Calvus, of Spanish fame. Incidentally he was the first to bear this agnomen, obviously derived from the prominence of his nose. He was a man of considerable worth. In 204 in obedience to a mandate of the Sibylline Books, consulted for the purpose of expelling Hannibal from Italy, the sacred effigy of Cybele, the Great Mother, said to have fallen from heaven, was brought from her ancient sanctuary on the slopes of Mt. Dindymus in

Phrygia. The image was to be placed in the house of the most virtuous citizen of Rome. NASICA, still a young man, was chosen for the honour, and accordingly went forth with the matrons of the city to Ostia to receive the image of the goddess. (92)

Curule aedile in 196, praetor in 194 with CN. CORNELIUS BLASIO among others, NASICA had seen service in Spain, and after his Gallic victory, he was granted a triumph at Rome. (93) (94) Ampelius, however, in support of the legend of his virtue, declares he abdicated the consulship, broke up his own statues and refused the triumph. (95) His reputation as a jurist was such that the state presented him with a residence on the Via Sacra in order that he might be more accessible for consultations in emergencies.

An excellent story is told by Cicero concerning NASICA and Ennius. Nasica, calling on the poet, was informed by a hand-maiden that her master was not at home. Later, when Ennius was returning the visit, Nasica, in person, made a similar excuse. Ennius however recognized his voice and protested, whereupon Nasica roundly abused him for his impudence in not believing him, pointing out that he had even believed the other's servant. (96)

The march of history now takes us to a new field of operations. Perseus, the son of Philip of Macedon, deeply resented the continual commissions with which the Romans were harassing him as a result of information laid by Eumenes of Pergamus. On one of these commissions M. CORNELIUS MAMMULA served, sent in 137 to obtain information. The party returned by way of Alexandria with the object of renewing a treaty with Ptolemy. (97) Another that enraged him was sent to Greece in 171, comprising, among others, SERV. and P. LENTULUS. These men were sons of SERV. LENTULUS, curule aedile in 207 and tribune in Spain two years later, but otherwise they are of unknown

genealogy. Servius later served Sicily as propraetor in 169⁽⁹⁸⁾ and his son Lucius occupied the praetorship in 140.⁽⁹⁹⁾ A third commission, mentioned here because it contained a Cornelian, P. BLASIO, in its membership, was sent to the Carni, Iapydes and the Istri. Blasio served again in an embassy to the Pisani and Lunenses in 168. A coin has been found inscribed "BLASIO CN. F." If this was issued on his authority, it would probably be sufficient evidence to prove his relationship to Cn. Blasio mentioned on page 34.⁽¹⁰⁰⁾

Perseus, then, decided to risk a war and at the beginning, owing to the incompetence of the Roman general staff, he inflicted several defeats on the Roman arms, till L. Aemilius Paulus reorganized the army. L. LENTULUS, sent to negotiate peace, failed to come to any agreement with the king so Paulus pushed the campaign vigorously, defeating him at Pydna in 168 B.C. and ultimately capturing him in Samothrace.

From the close of the third Macedonian war till the third Punic war a few Cornelii appear in the pages of history. LENTULUS, mentioned above, a son of the consul of 199 B.C., attained considerable prominence during this period, playing a conspicuous role in Roman politics for forty years, from 169 to 121 B.C. Curule Aedile with NASICA in 169, he had, for perhaps the first time, exhibited bears and elephants to the populace. In 162 he was consul suffectus with Cn. Demitius and was later recognized as princeps senatus. Although an old man, he was wounded in the Gracchan riots of 121 B.C.⁽¹⁰²⁾

M. CETHEGUS and two colleagues were ordered to arrest the mad endeavor of C. Cassius Longinus, who marched from his province, Gaul, through Illyria to provoke a quarrel with Perseus when trouble was brewing in that quarter. CETHEGUS served on a Board of

Three delegated to settle one thousand and fifty families on the lands of Aquileia. He later, as consul in 160, drained the Pomptine marsh and converted it into cornland. (103)

L. SCIPIO ASIATICUS, in his capacity as quaestor, was ordered to Bithynia on an official mission in 167 B.C., and a Commission of Ten, on which SERV. SULLA served, was dispatched to Macedonia to organize the land taken from Perseus. (104) (105)

In 162 CN. CORNELIUS MERULA was sent to settle a quarrel between Ptolemy Philometor and Physcon over the island of Cyprus. His report on this matter induced the Senate to annul its agreement with the Egyptian sovereign. CN. CORNELIUS DOLABELLA, praetor in 165, became consul in 160. (106) (107)

A noted personage of these uneventful years was L. LENTULUS LUPUS, a son of the consul of 201, and the object of a scurrilous satire by Lucilius which he ignored, retaliating in no way. He was aedile in 163, consul in 156 and censor in 147. (108)

Still more famed was P. NASICA CORCULUM, a son of the conqueror of the Boii. He obtained the epithet Corculum, little heart, for his knowledge of civil and pontifical procedure, for in legal matters he rivalled the discernment of his father, and indeed, in the strictness of his personal conduct, he was a close second to him and popularly reputed to be a veritable Cato. He was consul in 156 B.C. and succeeded to the command in Dalmatia where C. Marcius Figulus was prosecuting the war. He was finally successful in capturing Delminium, a position of some strength, but was repulsed by the Pannonians. Appian, however, gives the credit for this success to Figulus. (109)

The office of pontifex maximus, entered upon in 155, was the culmination of his career and in this capacity he ordered the demolition of the first permanent Roman theatre, then well under

construction, pointing out that such facilities for recreation were
(110)
too luxurious for a warlike people.

A new series of wars now broke out, beginning in Spain in 155. The Lusitani took up arms and carried on an obstinate struggle until Galba in 150, having given them a pledge of safety, treacherously cut them to pieces. For this act he was impeached in the Senate by
(111)
L. Cethegus.

In Macedonia two pretenders appeared to claim the throne of the dismembered state. Though there was never any serious danger, the attention of Rome was focused on the needs of the state, which resulted in the construction of the Via Egnatia in 146 B.C. and the reorganization of the province under one praetor.

The constant quarrelling in Greece again led to intervention by the Romans who finally, under the leadership of L. Mummius, completely destroyed Corinth in 146 B.C.

The same year saw the same fate meted out to Carthage. Forbidden by a previous peace treaty to take the field without Roman permission, the Carthaginians were harassed by the Numidian, Masinissa, till exasperated by Roman delay, they were forced to take defensive measures of their own volition.

The so-called defiance of Carthage was variously debated in the Senate, old Cato insisting, "Delenda est Carthago", and Nasica appealing for justice and pleading for its preservation if only to preserve Roman discipline, with "Carthago servanda est!"
(112)

The circumvention of Carthage was accomplished by a policy of deliberate and cold-blooded deception. Confronted by a Roman army the Carthaginians were compelled to surrender their war material to P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica and CN. Cornelius Scipio Hispanus, and then ordered to remove their city ten miles from the coast. Determined to

resist this cruel decree, the Carthaginians toiled day and night to renew their preparations.

In the army besieging Carthage P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, adopted grandson of Africanus, served as tribune under Manilius, and by his personal skill and bravery saved a considerable section of the force from annihilation. For this exploit he subsequently received a golden crown. (113) So popular was Scipio on his return to Rome that, although not having attained the legal age and only seeking an aedileship, he was elected to the consulship and assigned to Africa. Carthage, assailed with the utmost vigour, was compelled to surrender, and later was destroyed, (114) while Scipio stood by and shed tears at his own work. An exceptionally splendid triumph was celebrated on his return, (115) Hasdrubal being the main spectacle.

Scipio soon had occasion to exercise his military capacity in Spain. The Lusitani, reorganized by Veriathus, one of the survivors of Galba's massacre, stood at bay until their leader was murdered at the instigation of one of the exasperated Roman generals. The Celtiberi however carried on a desperate struggle for some years longer, defeating one Roman army after another. Finally the younger Africanus, consul in 134, was despatched to Spain. After whipping the army into shape, he besieged and captured the headquarters of the Celtiberi, Numantia, selling the inhabitants into slavery and levelling the dismantled walls to the ground, a mute witness, as Carthage and Corinth, to the ruthlessness of Rome. Scipio celebrated another triumph, parading fifty Numantines along the streets of Rome and assumed another agnomen, Numantinus. (116)

Meanwhile at Rome CN. HISPANUS, praetor in 139, published an edict that all Chaldaeans leave Rome within ten days. At the

expiration of his praetorship he was, because of his disgraceful life, prevented by the Senate from assuming control of the province he had drawn by lot. (117)

This chapter would not be complete without some word about the man, Africanus minor. He was the son of L.Aemilius Paulus and CORNELIA, sister of Africanus, adopted by P.Africanus the son of the conqueror of Hannibal. (118) His adoptive father was a man of letters. (119) His orationes and Greek history are praised by Cicero as the product of a man who, possessing his father's greatness of mind, possessed yet greater learning. His delicate health and weak body prevented him from taking a prominent part in politics other than a few non-exacting offices. (120) His adopted son shared his taste for literature as the "Scipionic Circle" well attests. Brought up in an atmosphere created by Polybius, Panaethius and Ennius, Scipio admitted to his friendship Laelius and the poets Lucilius and Terence. It has even been claimed that Scipio assisted the latter in the composition of his comedies. However, the type of friends he chose (121) reflects the mental attitude of this versatile Roman.

First inured to scenes of bloodshed at Pydna under his father, he had served under Lucullus in Spain, gaining a reputation for bravery, later to be proved in Africa. At Interetia he slew in single combat a challenging barbarian and, on at least one occasion, was the first to mount the walls in the storming of a city. (122)

Scipio's attitude to Gracchus' murder and his opposition to the policies of the popular party in general incurred the odium of the people. He was slain by an assassin's dagger, a victim, according to the authority of Cicero, of the violence of Carbo. Some assert that the deformed and childless Sempronia, his wife and sister to the Gracchi, with the aid of Cornelia, his cousin and

(123)
their mother, contrived his death by having him smothered.

However, this unsolved mystery appropriately introduces us to a new age in Roman history, the age of violence, unchecked ambitions and the resultant chaos.

FROM SULLA TO THE END OF THE REPUBLIC

The Sullae were a minor and impoverished branch of the Cornelian gens. Their obscurity was the result of sloth for their ancestors seem to have accumulated their share of wordly goods and to reaped some fame. However they retained their patent to nobility by functioning in the curule offices. They were descended from P. RUFINUS, dictator in 332 B.C., as shown in the accompanying genealogical table on page 78. There is an ancient tradition that the name Sulla originated from Sibylla and that it was first applied to Rufinus' great grandson in recognition of his services in organizing the first Ludi Apollinares in accordance with a behest of the Sibylline Books. Aulus Gellius supports this theory as far as ascribing the first instance of its application to this Sulla, but Plutarch, without much authority, contends that L. Felix was the first to bear it and that it means the same as Rufinus, denoting in this case a blotchy, red countenance. Quintilian, however, derives it from a peculiarity of the body.

Other families of this period, which did not attain any great prominence previously, were the Cinnae and Merulae. The Cinnae were obscure, not heard of until the second century B.C., and then only through a single family, which disappeared under the early Empire. However unknown. the Cinnae, from their slender numbers, contributed three consuls to the service of the state. The traditional praenomen seems to have been Lucius, as we find five members of the family bearing it in direct succession .

The Merulae were not many, nor of conspicuous attainment. Their name, according to Quintilian, means blackbird, so one can easily imagine, in view of the humour often shown in Roman names, the circumstances under which it was first first applied.

This chapter covers a period of civil strife and chaos in general, fittingly introduced by the uprising of Sicilian slaves herewith described. The rigour of slave life and the harshness of the ergastula eventually led to a series of widespread outbreaks, one of which, in Sicily in 139 B.C., assumed alarming proportions. LENTULUS and the praetors associated with him were, to their abiding disgrace, defeated and their camp captured by the slaves. Several Roman armies were repulsed before P. Rupilius finally subdued them in 132 B.C. Again in 101 B.C. they attempted violent resistance but were in the following year starved into surrender.

The impoverished condition of the peasants of Italy gained a champion in Tiberius Gracchus. In his veins ran the blood of the great Africanus, whose daughter was his mother, given to Sempronius Gracchus for services rendered as tribune of the Plebs. A woman of severe virtues, no little literary talent and a refined character, she bore Gracchus twelve children, of which only three survived, Tiberius and Caius, to be murdered in the streets of Rome, and Sempronia, the deformed wife of AFRICANUS MINOR. She herself has rendered the eternal tribute of mankind to her sons in answering the condolence of her friends, declaring that "The woman who had the Gracchi for sons cannot be considered unfortunate," and, we might add, AFRICANUS for a father. Moreover, her memory was commemorated by a grateful people with a statue inscribed, "CORNELIA, MOTHER OF THE GRACCHI".

However, the Gracchi were in their lifetimes universally execrated by the Roman nobility, including their own kin, P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO NASICA SERAPIO and AFRICANUS MINOR. Serapio, who had been consul in 138, called on the consuls during an exciting election meeting, to arrest the "tyrant" and on their refusal, led an attack in which Tib. Gracchus fell. The consequent and universal

detestation of the people compelled the senate to send him on a pretended mission to Asia in spite of his position as pontifex maximus. (11) Not daring, or more probably, disdaining to return to Rome, he died at Pergamum. (12) Serapio, the name by which he is constantly mentioned, was a nickname given in derision by C. Curialus because of the former's likeness to a dealer in sacrificial victims. Curialus had, as tribune of the Plebs, imprisoned Serapio for over-severity in the levies.

The foreign policy of Rome was meanwhile bearing fruit. In 129 B.C. King Attalus of Pergamum died, leaving his kingdom to his ally, Rome. A proposal was made to distribute his personal wealth to the Roman people, but owing to the opposition of Serapio, (13) was not carried.

In Africa the kingdom of Masinissa had passed ultimately to the hands of his grandson Jugurtha. Jugurtha had established himself by treachery, and his highhanded actions in the bribing of Roman commissions forced the latter to declare war in the consulship of P. NASICA and L. Calpurnius Bestia. (14) So notorious was the corruption of the Roman generals, with the exception of NASICA, (15) who was absolutely inaccessible to bribery, that the war was suspended till an investigation was held. Q. Caecilius Metellus and his legate C. Marius, then prosecuted the war, without much success till L. SULLA, the future dictator, and Bocchus, king of Mauretania, (16) contrived the treacherous capture of Jugurtha, who ended his days in the Mamertine prison, thus effectively closing the war.

Roman politics had long centred around the aspirations of two parties, the Optimates or privileged classes and the Popular-es or popular party. Discord ensued in the year 100. The political demagogue Saturninus, by a policy of elimination by murder, was

elected tribune and formed a triumvirate of himself, Marius and Glaucia. Their unpopular radical measures, particularly odious to the Senate, and the assassination of Glaucia's rival to the consulship, resulted in their being declared public enemies. Marius, as consul, eventually had to arrest them, but they were attacked in prison by a mob and murdered. Among the partisans of Saturninus, CN.CORNELIUS DOLABELLA, a relative and the great grandfather of (16) Caesar's protégé, met his fate.

One of the most fervent anti-Populares at this time was L.SCIPIO ASIATICUS, great grandson of the first Asiaticus. He figured prominently among the enemies of Saturninus and later in the Social War in the course of which he escaped from Aesernia, a town in Samnium, disguised as a slave. (17)

Sulla was born in 138 B.C., and although poor, he received a good education; he was a lover of literature and art, but morally profligate and sensual. His retiring father, son of the praetor of 185, was poor and, owing to sloth and inability, left a slender and impoverished fortune to his son. (18) Sulla became quaestor in 107 and then legate to Marius in Africa. After the Jugurthine War he served under the same leader against the Teutones and Cimbri but his very efficiency earned him the jealousy of Marius, so he went over to the army of Catulus. After a few quiet years at Rome he became praetor and in 92 he obtained the propraetorship of Cilicia with a mandate to restore the expelled king of Cappadocia. He defeated the generals of Mithridates and restored the king.

This success only further inflamed the enmity between Marius and Sulla, and, since the Optimates began to look to Sulla as their leader, political animosity was added to their private hatred, which however was temporarily hidden while they merged their

abilities in the Social War.

One of the planks in Saturninus' platform had been the extension of citizenship to the Italians. L.Livius Drusus continued his work along these lines but met practically the same fate as Saturninus. Then another tribune, Q.Varius, led the reaction. Illegal prosecutions drove a host of reformers into exile. The Italian socii, seeing no hope of enfranchisement, formed a republic and declared war on Rome. They at first gained some successes.

However, with Sulla taking a hand in the operations, fortune was soon reversed. After a series of victories in the south, (19) he took Bovianum in Samnium, and Cn.Strabo took Asculum, the chief town of Picenum. The extension of citizenship, primarily the cause of the war, now effectively put an end to the trouble, and the Italians, in theory at least, obtained the desired franchise.

After the Social War the strife between the Optimates and Populares resulted in an open breach between Marius and Sulla. Sulla was elected consul for 88 B.C. and entrusted with the prosecution of the Mithridatic War, a command which Marius, though an old man now, coveted. At a meeting of the Comitia, called for the purpose, conferred it on Marius. The tribune P.Sulpicius then passed a series of radical measures which inflamed the Senators, the resistance of whom was broken down by force of arms. Sulla was forced to fly to his army, but with the other consul Pompeius Rufus, he advanced on Rome, determined to decide the issue by main force. (21)

Sulpicius was murdered and Marius forced to fly. Sulla, After repealing the laws of Sulpicius, left Italy to take over his command against Mithridates. He left L.CORNELIUS CINNA, son of L.CINNA, consul in 127, and Cn.Octavius in the consulship, on condition that no alteration be made in the constitution. When (22)

Cinna attempted to recall Marius and to enforce the laws of Sulpicius, Octavius expelled him from the city and had L.CORNELIUS MERULA, at the time flamen dialis, elected consul in his place. Collecting a strong force, Cinna returned and took control of the city, massacring the partisans of Sulla, and ^{forcing} the new consul Merula, (23) to commit suicide, by opening his veins in the Capital under the eyes of Jupiter. P.IENTULUS, father of P.SURA, and onetime legate to L.Caesar in the Social War, was one of the victims of this pro- (24) scription.

Another Cornelian implicated in this dissension was P. CETHEGUS who was declared a public enemy by the Sullans and forced to fly to Marius in Africa. Such was his personality that he later effected a reconciliation with the superman and returned to Rome. Though his conduct was notoriously shameless, his unusual endowment of character gave him considerable influence and commanded a considerable amount of respect. (25)

Let us turn to the theatre of war in the East. Mithridates, the powerful king of Pontus, had been practically forced to fight by the provocations of the Roman officials investigating succession disputes in Cappadocia and Bithynia. The result was that the Romans and their allies were twice defeated, and Asia, where the people had long been exasperated by the exactions of the publicani, flared into rebellion. European Greece too, staked its existance on the cause of Mithridates.

Sulla arrived in Greece in the spring of 87 B.C. and laid siege to Athens and the Peiraeus. After chastising the inhabitants of these places he defeated the Pontic forces at Chaeronia (26) and Orchomenus. The Greek cities, ever fickle and vacillating, swung over to the Roman side once more.

In the meantime Cinna, declaring Sulla a public enemy,

had arranged for L.Valerius Flaccus to supersede the Cornelian.⁽²⁷⁾
 Flaccus was murdered by his legate Fimbria, who took command and
 proceeded against the Pontic king. Sulla and Mithridates, now had
 two opponents each and so came to terms, dictated, of course, by
 Sulla.

Fimbria, deserted by his men, fled before Sulla to Pergamum
 where he put an end to himself. Sulla appropriated his army and,
 after arranging for the payment of back tribute and assessing fines,
 left for Italy.⁽²⁸⁾

Cinna prepared to meet him in Greece but was stoned to
 death by his rebellious army when he gave the order to embark.⁽²⁹⁾
 Cinna had been consul four times, and his administration was noted
 for its harshness and cruelty, characterized as "flagitiosissimus"
 by Aurelius Victor.⁽³⁰⁾ He was survived by four children, Lucius,
 later implicated in Caesar's assassination; another son, possibly
 Cnaeus, who served under Dolabella in the East; and two daughters,
 married to L.Domitius Ahenobarbus and Cn.Caesar.⁽³¹⁾ Sulla later att-
 empted to force Caesar into repudiating CORNELIA, the daughter of
 his great enemy, but Caesar staunchly refused, though divested of
 his sacerdotal office and hunted for weeks.⁽³²⁾

Sulla with his veteran army, met and scattered the forces
 of the consul C.Norbanus, at Capua, and captured his colleague, L.
 SCIPIO ASIATICUS, who had been deserted by his troops. After winn-
 ing the bloody battles of Clusium and the Colline Gate, Rome lay
 within his grasp.⁽³³⁾

His first act was to draw up a list of traitors, as he
 termed them, who were to be executed on sight.⁽³⁴⁾ Among these was L.
 ASIATICUS, who had been released and had, unwillingly, broken his
 promise to Sulla, but who escaped to Marseilles, where he spent the
 remainder of his life. His daughter was CORNELIA, the wife of P.

(35)
Sestius. Constantly, this list was revised and Sulla's friends were gratified by the insertion of their personal enemies' names. This reign of terror was effective in checking all opposition for the time being and Sulla, in addition to being consul for 80 and 79, was appointed dictator. He then revised the existing laws with a view to reestablishing the authority of the aristocracy. (36)

Sulla had barely set his country in order when he surprised his friends, and his enemies no less, by resigning the dictatorship and retiring to his villa at Puteoli. Here, encompassed by the books and art treasures he had striven all his life to collect, he passed his last year in literary pursuits, and more wordly pleasures. His death was caused by the loathsome disease termed phthiriasis, hastened by debauchery and unrestrained intemperence. (37) His funeral was more magnificent than his triumph, one item alone being the exhibition of two thousand golden crowns. Contrary to the customs of his gens, his body was cremated. He was the first Cornelian to be disposed of by this method. (38)

His rise from obscurity to dictator occasioned his assumption of the agnomen Felix and stories wererecalled, or invented, concerning the prophetic utterance, elicited without reason, from his ancient nurse, "Salve, puer tibi et reipublicae tuae felix." (39)

Sulla is variously depicted as a hero and a monster. His success cost the world, at a very moderate estimate, the lives of 100,000 men, 90 Senators, 15 ex-consuls and 2,600 Equites. (40) Though his clemency is extolled by Sallust, his reputation is blackened forever, not only by the indecency of his married life, but also by the innate cruelty of his disposition and his total ignorance of fear, which made him capable of the most bloodthirsty and inhuman deeds, from the proscriptions to the massacre of thousands of prisoners. (42)

Two Dolabellae attract our attention during these times.

Cnaeus, a protege of Sulla, and consul under him in 81, defeated the Thracians during his proconsulship in Macedonia and obtained a triumph. Cn.Caesar, undaunted by Dolabella's association with Sulla, accused him of extortion in 77 B.C. and vigourously prosecuted the case, but of course Dolabella, though guilty, was acquitted. ⁽⁴³⁾ The other, also CN.DOLABELLA, praetor urbanus during the consulship of the preceding, was accused by Scaurus and as his legate Verres turned state's evidence, was condemned; later he went into exile, leaving his wife and children in poverty. Cicero severely scored his conduct at the trial of P.Quinctius. ⁽⁴⁴⁾

The universal corruption ensuing from the unrestrained use of suddenly aquired power resulted in a political chaos of the worst kind. Individuals were struggling for supemacy in this chaos, caused by the oppression of the provinces and accentuated by the degenerate domestic life of the time, the increasing multitudes of debased humanity called slaves and the rapidly deteriorating rabble of unemployed. Although the old parties, the Optimates and Populares still survived, they were now championed by ambitious adventurers.

Lepidus, consul in 78, supported by L.CINNA, passed the necessary legislation for the cheap distribution of corn and the recall of the Sullan exiles. In the following year, at the head of a proconsular army, he was prepared to go to greater extremes and marched on Rome. He was defeated on the outskirts of the city and his son, SCIPIO AEMILIANUS, (evidently adopted into the family of the Scipios, his mother's family perhaps) was captured and dispatch-⁽⁴⁵⁾ at Alba. CORNELIA, his wife, a woman of exemplary chastity, suffered ⁽⁴⁶⁾ disgracefully at the hands of the mob in Rome.

Among the praetors of this year was L.CORNELIUS SISENNA, the historian, whose works are quoted by several contemporary

annalists and are even commended by Cicero. He served in Sicily the following year, subsequently becoming legate to Pompey and, it is recorded, expired in Crete at the age of 52, after a life of righteousness, marked at times by a certain imprudence. A coin, inscribed "CN.L.F.SISENNA" is extant, an issue probably struck by
(47)
his son.

Sertorius created a diversion in Spain, where at the head of the Lusitani and a group of Roman malcontents and anti-Sullans, he defied the arms of Rome till he was struck down by a jealous subordinate. In Illyria the troublesome Scordisci, a Celtic people, were destroyed by L.ASIATICUS who was bribed by the Maedi and
(48)
Dardani, neighbouring tribes, with gold from their temples.

Yet another source of terror was to harass the war-wearied land of Italy. A body of gladiators belonging to CN.LENT-
(49)
ULUS BATTIATES cast off their chains of servitude and, establishing themselves on the slopes of Mt.Vesuvius and being constantly augmented by servile and discontented elements, defeated one Roman
(50)
army after another, including that of CN.LENTULUS CLODIANUS, 72 B.C. They were finally overcome by Crassus and Pompey.

The next event of importance was the second struggle with Mithridates, who had foreseen the necessity of preparation and had quietly reorganized his army and navy. When Bithynia passed to the Romans he realized that it meant the ruin of Pontic trade and moved to occupy that kingdom. After the long struggle with Lucullus and Pompey, he was finally overcome, "felicitate Sullae, virtute Luculli
(51)
et magnitudine Pompeii"

The disruption of the ancient monarchies and civil dissension at Rome allowed the pirates of Cilicia to get control of the Mediterranean and to expand in numbers and power. It was to destroy these that Pompey accepted and brought to a successful

issue the mandate authorized by the lex Gabinia in 68 B.C. CN.

LENTULUS CLODIANUS and L.Gellius were given the task of protecting
(52)
Italy: to L.SISENNA was entrusted the coast of Greece; and P.LENT-
ULUS MARCELLIUS served as legate to the commander himself. P.MARC-
ELLUS was a Clodian, son of M.Marcellus and brother to M.Aeserninus,
but had been adopted into the Cornelian gens by some Lentulus. He
is little known, except for his quaestorship in 74 and the fact that
(53)
he married a CORNELIA SCIPIO.

CN.CLODIANUS and L.Gellius, later confederates in the
consulship and in the Servile War, and authors of many noteworthy
laws, were appointed censors in 70. Though a mere creature of
Pompey, Clodianus vigorously prosecuted his duties and struck 64
Senators from the roll, one eighth of the whole order, the majority
of whom, however, were restored by a vote taken on the case. (54)

Clodianus was obviously adopted into the Cornelian gens from the
Claudian, perhaps by Cn. Lentulus, the consul of 97 B.C. He was a
(55)
man of reserve and sound judgement, a consummate orator, possessing
a good voice, skillful and artistic, but he lacked the requisite
(56)
talent for a great politician.

In 65, Catilina, an embittered and unscrupulous bankrupt,
though an energetic and versatile man, was suspected of a conspiracy
to overthrow the constitution but the charge was never investigated. (57)
The constant opposition he met with in his political career served
only to turn him to thoughts of revolt. Surrounded by a circle of
ruined aristocrats, including P.LENTULUS SURA, C.CETHEGUS and P. and
(58)
SER.SULLA, he contrived a plot of alarming ramifications. In the
desperate character of his accomplices we discern the mettle of the
leader. The agnomen, given him in memory of his arrogance in the
Senate, had given an early indication of the temper of P.SURA.
Accused de peculatu and called to account for his quaestorship, he

haughtily refused and held out the calf of his leg (sura) for punishment, as a small boy who had made an error at ball. Praetor in (59) 75, he served in Sicily and was elected consul for 71 B.C. In the following year, a strange consummation for his list of honours, he was expelled from the Senate for disgraceful and undignified conduct. However he became praetor again and identified himself with Catiline to whom so many of the nobility had become attached. He was more or less the leader in Rome after the flight of Catiline and it was owing to his hesitation and dilatory procedure that the plot was anticipated. Cicero ridicules his laziness and rebukes him for using the image of his famous grandfather as his seal. His ambition was not commensurate with his energy, for he declared that the Sibylline Books prophesied that three Cornelii would sway the destinies of Rome; Cinna and Sulla had already preceded him in that role, (60) which he himself was about to fill.

Cethegus, though more energetic, was more unprincipled. A bold and hardy desperado, a profligate and ruined spendthrift loaded with debt, who had already attempted to assassinate Q. Metellus (61) in the Sertorian War, he was greatly hampered by the hesitant Lentulus from making the conspiracy a success. There is no doubt that, had he been at the head, his practical ability and superior mentality, combined with prompt execution, would have furthered the chances of success. (62)

Nor were the Sullae, sons of SER. SULLA, of less unsavoury reputation. Publius was prevented from entering the consulship in 66, to which he had been elected, by a charge of bribery laid by (64) Torquatus, a charge on which he was convicted. (65)

However the vigilance of the consul Cicero frustrated the conspiracy and led to the arrest of several of the members.

Catiline was defeated and killed at the head of his army and the conspirators already arrested were condemned by the Senate and strangled in the Tullianum. Both Cethegus and Lentulus paid this penalty. P.SULLA, ably defended by Cicero and Hortensius, escaped punishment while SER.SULLA, although his guilt was so evident that no one would undertake his defence, never even had a charge entered against him. Publius later joined the Caesarian party and commanded his right at Pharsalus.

Of great assistance to Cicero in crushing the conspiracy was P.LENTULUS, a great friend of the consul, who calls him "Clarissimo atque optimo viro." His agnomen Spinther was humourously applied to him because of his likeness to a lowly actor of that name. After officiating as praetor in 60 B.C., he served in Spain and, on his return, finding Cicero in exile and himself consul, worked hard for his recall. Their attachment had an unhappy ending as a decided coolness soon sprang up between them. He celebrated a triumph in 51 B.C. in connection with the suppression of some Cilician disturbances. Both he and his son took a prominent part in the ensuing disturbances of both triumvirates.

Another Cornelian, METELLUS SCIPIO, who posed as a friend of Cicero and Atticus, rendered valuable assistance and was, in return, defended by Cicero when himself was before the courts on a charge of bribery in 60 B.C. CORNELIUS CETHEGUS, brother of the conspirator, is recorded as voting in the Senate for the death of his brother.

L.CORNELIUS LENTULUS NIGER "the Black" stood for consul in 58 but was defeated, probably owing to his insignificant political record. Macrobius has described the splendid and ostentatious banquet given at his inauguration as flamen martialis sometime

(71)

previous to his venture into politics. When his death occurred in 56 B.C. he was succeeded by his son Lucius. Niger the son signalized himself by his vigorous defence of Scaurus and, in 54, by associating himself with the prosecution of Gabinius, in which case he was suspected of "praevaricatio" in the evidence he tendered. Cicero calls him a friend of Antony but he was probably not as affectionate as the term "familiarissimus" might lead one to believe. (72)
Coins issued by him represent him as flamen martialis.

CN. IENTULUS MARCELLUS, brother to P. Marcellus, occupied the consulship with L. Marcius Philippus, whom he had succeeded as praetor of Syria two years earlier. Marcellus, a son of Pompey's lieutenant, had been brought into prominence as prosecutor in the famous Verres' case and was later associated with L. CRUS in the charge laid against Clodius of violating the rites of Bona Dea. Cicero calls him the "best of consuls", a mark of praise no doubt elicited by Marcellus' strenuous opposition to every move of Clodius. (73)

In 59 B.C. C. Caesar, one of the consuls of that year, proposed to Cn. Pompeius and L. Crassus that a triumvirate, consisting of those three, should assume control of Roman affairs. Caesar was to take over the provinces of Gaul and Illyricum, to which Gallia Transalpina was later added, for a term of five years. Before Caesar's departure, the triumvirate provided for its interests by allowing Clodius, the arch-enemy of Cicero, to engineer the banishment of the great orator, and by securing the nomination of another Senatorial leader, Cato, for a commission in Cyprus.

Caesar's famous campaigns in Gaul and Britain, Clodius' murder and Milo's trial, in addition to the gradual estrangement of the triumvirs, are the outstanding events of the next few years. The partisans of Clodius cremated his body in the Curia, which,

once ignited, was soon levelled to the ground. FAUSTUS SULLA contracted to rebuild it and henceforth it was known as the Curia Cornelia. METELLUS SCIPIO, Milo's rival for the consulship, strongly condemned the action of Clodius' slayer in the Senate. Milo went into exile and Scipio, whose daughter Cornelia was the wife of Pompey, was named as Pompey's colleague in the consulship. (75)

In 49 B.C. both consuls, C.Marcellus and L.LENTULUS CRUS, were hostile to Caesar. Caesar, ordered to disband his army, suggested a compromise, that he would do so if Pompey would do the same, and in answer it was voted, at the suggestion of Metellus Scipio, to send an ultimatum but this was vetoed by Caesar's friends, the tribunes M.Antonius and Q.Cassius. L.CRUS was particularly responsible for precipitating the outbreak, for, though indebted to Caesar, he insisted on hostility and urged the Senate to arrest his ambitious career, even going so far as to forbid Antonius and Cassius entering the forum. (77) Martial law was declared "ne quid res publica detrimenti caperet" and the Caesarians barely escaped from the city.

Caesar crossed the Rubicon, on the boundry of his province, and marched on Rome. The surprise was complete. Caesar captured Corfinium and secured Sardinia and Sicily. P.SPINTHER, who was captured at Corfinium, was released and his son, unless Paterculus, (78) by mistake, refers to the father, fled with Pompey. Striking out rapidly in all directions, Caesar besieged Marsellaes, which had declared for Pompey, and leaving C.Trebonius in command, set out for Spain. He was everywhere successful, except in Africa, where Curio had been defeated and killed, so he set out to settle the conflict with Pompey himself. He made a dash on Dyrrachium but failed to take it. Indeed CN.LENTULUS MARCELLUS, son of CN.MARCELLUS and quaestor of Caesar's eighth legion, was repulsed with heavy losses and only saved from

complete annihilation by the timely arrival of M.Antonius. This is the Marcellus who issued the coin showing his ancestor M.Marcellus "quinque consul", dedicating the spolia opima he had won by slaying the Insubrian king. (79)

P.DOLABELLA, in command of the fleet, was not more successful, while defending the coasts of Illyricum his fleet was destroyed by the Pompeians notwithstanding the assistance rendered by C.Antonius. (80)

After a harassing but indecisive series of manoeuvres and skirmishes, Caesar and Pompey met at Pharsalus. Pompey had just been reenforced by Metellus Scipio who had destroyed the Caesarian forces of C.Calvisius. In overwhelming numbers Pompey attacked, with Metellus Scipio commanding the centre and L.Crus the right, but his Asiatic hordes could not stand up under a Roman charge, under P.SULLA, and his cavalry were outmanoeuvred by Caesar's strategy. (81) (82)

Pompey fled, collecting a fleet in the Aegean, to Egypt, where, as he landed, he was murdered in the sight of his agonized wife CORNELIA, who had joined him at Mitylene. (83)

L.CRUS, who was largely responsible for the breach, met a like fate on his arrival in Egypt when his execution was ordered by King Ptolemy at Pelusium. He had, a man of unknown connections, gradually worked his way through all the honours of office. His first political move was the vigorous prosecution of Clodius for violating the mysteries of Bona Dea whose sacred rites men might not attend. He left a numerous progeny to perpetuate the line of Crus. (84)

Caesar settled the affairs of Egypt and Asia, then after a three months' stay in Rome, crossed over to Africa, where the Senatorial party, chiefly through the influence of Cato, had rallied around Metellus Scipio. Scipio was a direct descendant of the Serap- (85)

ios, his father being P.NASICA, praetor in 94, and his mother Caecilia daughter of Q.Caecilius Metellus, by whom he was adopted. His half-brother, CRASSUS SCIPIO, was also adopted by his maternal grandfather, L.Licinius Crassus, the orator. Although a professed Pompeian, Metellus Scipio was nevertheless recalled by Pompey from his province Syria as he was about to plunder the temple of Artemis. (86) A curious controversy between the trio, Cicero, Atticus and Scipio, is explained in the correspondence of the great orator. Cicero had contended that no statue had been erected to the memory of Serapio, that is, Scipio's great-grandfather. But Scipio himself seemed to have erected a gilded equestrian statue which he had copied from one standing near the temple of Ops. In his contention Cicero explains the the statue standing near the temple of Ops is a replica of Africanus, since it had the word "censor", which Serapio had never been, inscribed on it, and in addition the statue resembled other extant likenesses of the conqueror of Hannibal. Consequently the statue erected by Metellus Scipio was not, in reality, a reproduction of Serapio at all. (87) Altogether his character was rather unenviable, as he had inherited his great-grandfather's violence, combined with cowardice, selfishness and licentiousness. Asconius however, speaks less harshly of him, (88) emphasizing his better traits.

Caesar again prevailed, capturing Utica and scattering the Senatorial forces at Thapsus. Metellus Scipio attempted to escape to Sex.Pompey, but being driven back on the African coast and captured by P.Settius, he either committed suicide or was butchered (89) by the soldiery. Cato committed suicide and Faustus Sulla fell in a military riot or, according to some authorities, at the express command of Caesar in retaliation for the persecution he had suffered (90) at the hands of the dictator. Aurelius Victor, supporting the latter

theory, states that Caesar ordered only Lentulus, Afranius and (91) Faustus Sulla to be dispatched. Faustus, the lucky, had served his early years of military service under Lucullus and Pompey. In the storming of Jerusalem in 63 B.C. he was reported as the first to mount the walls. On his return to Rome he exhibited games as enjoined by his father's will and, as elsewhere related, rebuilt the burned Curia. His somewhat promising political (92) career was interrupted by his early death.

In 45 B.C. Caesar was once more forced to take the field this time in Spain, where the scattered remnants of the Senatorial party had assembled under Cn. and Sex. Pompeii. After a few minor defeats Caesar overwhelmed them at Munda. After the battle, CORNELIUS SCAPULA, who had been with the Pompeians at Pharsalus and had fled to Spain, erected a funeral pyre at Corduba and, (93) despairing of eventual success, destroyed himself thereon. Cn. Pompeius was later killed but Sextus, at the head of a formidable naval armament, controlled the Mediterranean for many years.

When Caesar emerged triumphant from the chaos of civil war that had convulsed every corner of the Roman world, he assumed dictatorial powers and inaugurated a series of real reforms. But public opinion had been antagonized by rumours of royal honours which were, with the active cooperation of jealous Senators, sufficient to instigate conspiracy. Cornelians there were among the conspirators, Cinna, Lentulus, Dolabella, etc., but the leaders were Brutus and Cassius.

L. CINNA, scion of Sulla's opponent, although at one time the brother-in-law of Caesar, delivered a bitter indictment of him, publicly extolling the action of the assassins, Cinna was greatly in Caesar's debt, for, having fled to Sertorius in Spain, he lived the laborious life of an exile until Caesar repeal-

ed Sulla's law prohibiting the children of the proscribed from holding office, recalled him and installed him in the praetor's chair. However, he identified himself with the conspirators, temporarily discarding his praetor's robe. So great was popular indignation and so violent the actions that ~~Malvius~~ Cinna, the poet, due to an error in the names, was torn to pieces by the Roman mob in their misguided fury. (94)

P. DOLABELLA, the son of P. DOLABELLA, praetor urbanus in 67 and subsequently governor of Asia, was a conspicuous figure at this time. When M. Antonius, consul, managed to inflame the populace so that Brutus and Cassius were forced to fly to their provinces, Macedonia and Syria, the Senate was induced to grant these provinces to Dolabella and C. Antonius. (95) Dolabella, although talented, and due to Cicero's training somewhat of an orator and rhetorician, was a financial and moral bankrupt, and perhaps the most profligate man of his age. He had at eighteen, married Cicero's daughter Tullia, after the death of her husband Piso, but was so harsh and cruel to her that she finally divorced him. Cicero was greatly disappointed in him, and after he declared for Caesar, he spoke harshly of him in his correspondence. He had himself adopted into a plebeian gens so that he could become tribune of the Plebs. In view of his services in Gaul where he had defeated the Treveri, he was appointed admiral of part of the fleet by Caesar, and fought at Pharsalus and again in Spain as Caesar's legate. Though only twenty-four he was designated consul for 44 B.C. and in the turmoil resulting from the dictator's death, he usurped the position, although opposed by Antony, and in the ensuing political controversy, pursued an ambiguous course, at one time destroying Caesar's statues, at another proposing

radical legislation. Antony endeavoured to draw him into alliance by getting Syria for him. Dolabella, however, so unmercifully plundered the cities of Greece and Asia that he was declared a public enemy; this was repealed by Octavius, and Cassius sent to restrain him. In the meantime Dolabella had captured Smyrna and put C. Trebonius to death, the first of the conspirators to pay the penalty for their nefarious deed. But Cassius, an able general shut him up in Caesarea in 43 B.C. and stormed the city, whereupon Dolabella instructed his private secretary to put him to death. (96)

One of the most reliable subordinates of Cassius was P. SPINTHER, who was with Fannius, commanded the infantry at the siege of Rhodes. Spinter, the most ostentatious man of his age, had been adopted into the ancient and distinguished Manlian gens in order that he might join the College of Augurs, which already included FAUSTUS SULLA and which could not, according to pontifical law, have two members from the same gens. After the civil war he had returned, pardoned by Caesar's general amnesty, but after the assassination, ungratefully linked himself with the conspirators. He did excellent service under Cassius, not only at Rhodes but at Myra and also in collecting a much needed levy of troops. Although he did not actually participate in the assassination, he boasted of it, and was accordingly put to death by the triumvirs without gaining any credit for his assertions. (97)

There is no need here to touch on the various and continually shifting alliances that followed the assassination. In the end the young Octavius, nephew of Caesar, established himself as the supreme dictator of the Roman world and a new era follows.

CORNELII OF THE IMPERIAL ERA

The battle of Actium definitely established Octavius as the dictator of the Roman world. Henceforth domestic tranquillity reigned, the only serious threat of disturbance being, peculiarly enough, the conspiracy of a Cornelian, which was however nipped in the bud.

A definite group of provinces was recognized as under the direction of the Imperator in 27 B.C. An obsequious Senate in 23 B.C. conferred on Augustus, among other honours, the tribunicia potestas for life and the proconsulare imperium for five years. As head of the army and with a specified group of imperial provinces directly subordinate to his authority, Augustus, as he will be hereafter known, practically assumed regal power.

Under the new regime ambition was dangerous and a career had its limits. Still many men left noteworthy records and not a few of these were Cornelians.

The ancient branches of the family had sunk into insignificance or had been extirpated by the last century of discord. Often the connection of the surviving individuals with earlier branches of the clan is difficult to establish. Then too, in the case of the imperial Lentuli, their inclination to favour the name Cossus, if we should credit it with any genealogical significance, only serves to complicate any attempt at solution. The Cethegi, Dolabellae and Sullae lingered on for a century more or less, and the Orphiti, a new family perhaps originating from the Scipios, survived till the second century. The Maluginenses mentioned by Tacitus were probably Lentuli, as were the imperial Scipios by adoption. A host of new names, such as Lupus, Primus,

Tacitus, Palma, as well as the undoubtedly foreign Laco, Sabinus and Gallus, are those of freedmen and naturalized peregrini of their descendents. L. Cornelius Balbus,⁽¹⁾ who was a Phoenician from Gades, founded a family that produced the emperor Balbinus in the third century. A. Cornelius Celsus, a patrician and perhaps of gentile stock, a medical writer noted for his purity of style, is quoted by Pliny but no indication of his origin has come down to us.

In this last century of the gentes, the subject will probably be best dealt with by tracing each separate family to its disappearance.

The line of the Dolabellae produced several prominent individuals under the Empire, beginning with P. DOLABELLA, son of Caesar's protégé by his wife Fabia. This Dolabella campaigned with Augustus and, following his leader to Egypt, he warned Cleopatra that the future emperor intended her to grace his triumph. Coins he issued represent him as triumvir monetalis, and he seems to have been of substantial character, excelling in vigilance, fidelity and candour.⁽²⁾

All in all, the later Dolabellae, with their nobility of character and constant efficiency, retrieve the baseness of their immediate ancestors. The next generation produced P. DOLABELLA, consul in 10 A.D. and the erector of the "Arch of Dolabella", still standing in Rome today, a plain travertine arch near the palace of Caracalla, built to carry the aqua Marcia and later the aqua Claudia. His career, somewhat sullied by adulation and flattery, reached its climax in the defeat and death of Tacfarinas in 24 A.D., terminating a war that had occupied the proconsuls of Africa for many years. Tiberius, for political and personal reasons, refused to grant him

the insignia of a triumph, but this only served to increase the
 reputation of Dolabella.⁽³⁾

The last of the Dolabellae was Cnaeus, friend of Galba who dismissed a cohort of Germans because of their attachment to Dolabella near whose spacious gardens their quarters were. He was exiled by Otho because of his connection with Galba, and on his return to Rome was formally charged before Vitellius, without proof or foundation, of tampering with the soldiers and of demagogic tactics. Vitellius however ordered his execution, because, Tacitus says, he was a representative of the rarely found ancient nobility, that is, for being a Cornelian, too famous to exist.⁽⁴⁾

Of the Cinnae we find one noteworthy representative, CN. CORNELIUS CINNA MAGNUS, son of L. CINNA the praetor of 44, and grandson of Pompey, and having in addition the blood of Aemilius Paulus, Fabius Maximus, the Cossi and Servillii flowing in his veins. Though, Seneca says, a "stolidi ingenii virum" he was a favourite of Augustus, enjoyed a priesthood presented to him by the emperor and experienced his clemency most unexpectedly. After his consulship in 5 A.D. he organized a conspiracy, was detected and magnanimously pardoned. His brother, possibly named Lucius, was a jurist of some eminence.⁽⁵⁾

L. Crus had two sons, CRUSCELLO, who was among those proscribed by the Second Triumvirate and who evaded all traps and succeeded in reaching Sex. Pompeius in Sicily,⁽⁶⁾ and CN. LENTULUS who became an outstanding figure under the early principate. Cnaeus became consul in 18 B.C. in conjunction with CN. LENTULUS MARCELLINUS, scion of Caesar's quaestor of that name. He was very probably the one whom the troops of Drusus rescued from certain death by stoning, when he

was arrested by the mutinous Pannonian legions in 14 A.D., who suspected him as being the most experienced and influential legate, of encouraging the firmness of Drusus. This could not have been COSSUS LIENTULUS, as is sometimes supposed, as he was consul in 1 B.C. and, if, as Mommsen thinks, ⁽⁷⁾ the legal age for entering the consulship was thirty-seven under the Empire, he would not conform to Tacitus' reference in this connection "ante alios aetate". He took a prominent part in the work of the Senate up till the time of his death in 25 A.D. He died, in the words of Tacitus, a man of illustrious ancestry to which he had added the honour of a consulship and the insignia of a triumph over the Getae, a Thracian people on the banks of the Danube, as well as a successful record in the campaigns against the Daci and Sarmati; also he had added that of honourable poverty, then an honestly acquired fortune which he modestly ⁽⁸⁾ enjoyed.

His son Cossus, consul in 1 B.C. with L. Calpurnius Piso, earned the agnomen Gaetulicus by his conquest of Gaetuli and Musulani in Africa, as well as the ornamenta triumphalia. (Private citizens were no longer permitted a procession in the streets of Rome.) This is the first instance of Cossus being used as a praenomen, and even in this case there was a certain amount of confusion, for Tacitus always ⁽⁹⁾ calls him by Gnaeus, his father's name.

⁽¹⁰⁾ Two sons, Cossus and Gnaeus, were consuls in 25 and 26 A.D. respectively. The latter was accused by Abudius Ruso on the grounds that his son Cossus had married Aelia the daughter of Sejanus. In this case, strange to say, the only satisfaction obtained by the informer was a sentence of exile on himself. He was however in command of the legions of Upper Germany at this time, which might have had something to do with his acquittal on the foregoing charge,

though perhaps the influence of his grandfather, yet living and a great friend of Tiberius, may have been exerted to that end. A bold letter to Tiberius, declaring that he had become the son-in-law of Sejanus at the emperor's suggestion and that he was just as liable to make mistakes as Tiberius, must have clinched the decision. He is represented as a man of considerable independence and strength of mind, a writer of some note, both as a poet and as a historian, although Pliny⁽¹¹⁾ charges him with tampering with facts. He married Apronia, daughter of L. Apronius, who bore him five children. His popularity with the soldiers, his unbounded clemency and well tempered discipline, aroused the jealousy and fear of Caligula who⁽¹²⁾ charged him with conspiracy and put him to death.

The next generation are very numerous, Cossus having a son Cossus; and Gnaeus three, Cossus, Gnaeus and D. Junius Silanus Gaetulicus father of Lutatius Catulus. Gnaeus had also two daughters, CORNELIA CAESIA and CORNELIA GAETULICA. Cossus, son of Cossus, was⁽¹³⁾ consul in 60 A.D. and his daughter CORNELIA COSSA⁽¹⁴⁾ was chosen as vestal virgin to replace Lollia deceased. His cousin Gnaeus was consul in 55 A.D.

When Augustus negotiated the treaty with the Parthians whereby the standards lost by Crassus were recovered, this was commemorated not only in the works of poets and orators, but by an issue of coins struck by L. NIGER in his official capacity as⁽¹⁵⁾ flamen martialis. His son attained the consular dignity in⁽¹⁶⁾ 3 B.C. with M. Valerius Messalinus.

Another branch of the Lentuli was that of CN. LENTULUS AUGUR, a son of CN. CLODIANUS. He was consul at the death of Augustus and was forced by Tiberius to commit suicide and make the emperor his sole heir because of his extreme wealth and contemptible

spirit. Seneca comments on his miserly and taciturn disposition, "nummos citius emittebat quam verbos, tanta illi inopia erat sermonis," although he usually, in his capacity as augur, took a prominent part in Senatorial discussions on pontifical procedure.

According to inscriptions, P.SCIPIO, consul in 2 A.D., and SER.MALUGINENSIS, flamen dialis, were sons of the augur. Another P.SCIPIO, consul in 16 B.C., appears on the records. Suetonius says that his father was of consular rank, but the last Scipio to hold the consulship previous to 16 B.C. was L.Asieticus and P.Scipio is listed in the Fasti as P.P.F.P.N.CORNELIUS SCIPIO. A purely conjectural solution to this difficulty would be to identify P.Scipio with P.Lentulus Scipio, consul 2 A.D. and let his adoption by Cn.Augur account for the various inconsistencies. (Cf. Tables V and VI)

Of the Cethegi two individuals, Ser.Cornelius Cethegus, consul in 24 A.D., and Cethegus Labeo, legate of the "legio quinta", are all that attract our attention.

Cornelius Marcellus, who was implicated in the charges against Silanus in 65 A.D., and put to death by Galba in 68 A.D., may have been a Lentulus Marcellus, otherwise he would be of plebeian or freedman origin.

Some authorities believe that the Sullae found under the Empire were all descended from P.Sulla, consul in 66 B.C. A more probable theory is that explained in Table X of the accompanying genealogical tables. The use of the agnomen Felix and the praenomen Faustus by these Sullae tends to support this conclusion. Tacitus would seem to solve the problem, as he refers, in connection with Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix, to his "nomen dictatorium", inferring that he was of the blood of Marius' arch-enemy. See Table X for a

complete list of the Sullae and their political careers. The last of their line was FAUSTUS SULLA FELIX, consul in 52 A.D., who, on account of his illustrious ancestry, was charged with plotting against the Empire, but as the prosecution broke down, his fate was postponed till 58 when, though no proof was submitted, he was condemned and banished to Marseilles where the emissaries of Nero put him to death in 62 A.D. (24)

The Orfiti too, present a problem. Of their origin there is nothing that can be said beyond the fact that they seem to be connected with the Scipios, perhaps adopted by them from the family of the Salvidieni. SER.CORNELIUS ORFITUS was consul in 51 A.D. with the emperor Claudius. His conduct was a mixture of adulation and duplicity, fittingly brought to an end by the informer Regulus. (25) We can trace the line of Orfitus down to 189 A.D. without interruption. SER.CORNELIUS SCIPIO SALVIDIENUS ORFITUS, son of the above, is mentioned by Suetonius and Philostratus. (26) The next generation produced the consul of 110 A.D. and his son was consul in 149 A.D. and subsequently became, under the emperor Antoninus Pius, prefect of Rome (28) SER.ORFITUS was consul in 178 A.D. and his son was salius palitinus in 189 A.D. (30) After a break of a hundred years the name again appears, when L.CORNELIUS SCIPIO ORFITUS became augur in 295 A.D. See Table (31) XVI for the genealogy of this family.

No authentic representatives of the gens appear later than this in the pages of Roman history, though the name was used freely by the later Romans and survives in a dozen lands and languages today. As a gens they disappeared which will be accounted for in the next chapter.

THE EXTINCTION OF THE GENTES

For a few glorious centuries Rome drew her illustrious citizens from the class of the Patricians and not a few Cornelians have their name emblazoned on the roll of history in glaring letters as a reward of their activities during this period. Then slowly the light died, and the early empire finds the old families ruined by extravagance and confiscation, sunk in sloth and enervated by excesses. (1)

Juvenal depicts the lamentable condition of the old nobility in the description of the effeminate scions of the ancient aristocracy, shaking the dice after an all night debauch about the hour that their ancestors would have been ordering their legions to advance. (2)

Ruined in fortune and apathetic in despair, they plied ignoble trades or contented themselves with accepting a dole or pension from the emperor or some wealthy patron, perhaps a freedman. (3)
 (4) A Valerius Messala, a member of the famous gens whose achievements begin with Poplicola and end only with the Valerian emperors; and a grandson of Hortensius (5) the famous orator, relied on subsidies from the imperial purse for their existence. Another Valerius tended sheep on a Laurentine ranch and still another, the blind informer, kept Rome in a frenzy of despair with his cruel and infamous betrayals.

Gone were the days of military glory and the Patrician prerogative of generalship. Under the Julio-Claudian despots, Caligula and Nero, the nobility fought in the arena, under compulsion in many cases it in true, like common gladiators, or perhaps performed on the stage, an equally degrading form of punishment inflicted on the possessors of great names. (6)

The Cornelii must have shared in the universal degradation, and indeed, their apathy and adulation are well marked in the pages

of Tacitus. P. Delabella drew the scorn of Tiberius by suggesting, "absurdam in adulationem progressus" that the Emperor should return from his visit to Campania--in triumph. Sulla, "ob flagitia egentes" was expelled from the Senate and Orfitus proposed that May and June should be renamed Claudius and Germanicus, names of the Emperor Nero.⁷ Natural decay was therefore an important factor in the general disappearance of the original Patricians.. But revengeful dictators and emperors sought a quicker method of extermination and thus their ranks were considerably depleted by massacres, proscriptions and executions.

Sulla first, though his vengeance was directed against the popular party, set the example in letting senatorial blood in quantities. After the preceding years of domestic discord, Caesar found it necessary to add families to the diminishing numbers of the Patrician order and to infuse new blood in their already decayed and corrupted stock. Many a Cornelian undoubtedly fell with their kinsmen Merula and Cinna; more must have fallen in the struggle with Caesar, as did Faustus Sulla and Metellus Scipio.

Yet worse was to follow. The civil war between the conspirators and the triumvirs, and the subsequent campaigns of Octavius against Antonius and Sex. Pompeius were followed by more or less indiscriminate proscriptions and executions. Here too, Philippi, not to mention Caesarea, Actium, Sicily, all took their toll of Cornelian lives.

Then the imperial tyrants, corrupted by an excess of power, and unsated with the endless streams of blood already spilt, sent victim after victim to the shades. Tacitus, whose pages seem almost to consist solely of a catalogue of judicial murders, as he himself complains, numbers but a few of their victims.

The fall of Sejanus precipitated Tiberius into an orgy of destruction; there was not a day without an execution. Caligula secretly disposed of an unknown number of the nobility and, according to Suetonius, Claudius, to gratify his favourites, accounted for a mere thirty-five of the Senatorial order.

By the middle of the first century there remained but a few of the old Patrician families, or even of those created by Caesar and the Saenian law of Augustus.⁽⁸⁾ Not that their disappearance was an abrupt and sudden phenomenon, even in view of the unusual pressure exerted by the period of transition from commonwealth to empire. The conservatism of their social contacts had occasioned the extinction, in the regal period, of such pre-republican families as the Lemonii and Camilii, and, as times advanced, of such as the Lartii. The constant artificial supplies of new noble families, created by far-sighted emperors, were just as constantly swept away by civil discord, bankruptcy, the rage of the tyrants and racial intermixture.⁽⁹⁾

It is on record that a certain family, the Pisones, always lost its more important members in middle age;⁽¹⁰⁾ Vitellius put a Dolabella to death because of his noble ancestry;⁽¹¹⁾ and Nero had another Cornelian murdered in his place of exile for the same reason.⁽¹²⁾

A great many upstarts of servile and foreign origin had established themselves in the empire assuming Roman gentile names in every case where it was found possible to do so with impunity. The more illustrious the name the more frequently it was assumed. As early as the reign of Claudius it was found necessary to impose the death penalty on the "nouveaux riches" who had assumed the clan names and were masquerading as scions of Rome's ancient and noble houses.⁽¹³⁾

Another factor in the disappearance of the gentes was

the breakdown of the naming system. Originally the Roman name consisted of two elements, the praenomen and the nomen, to which a cognomen was later added, and finally a cognomen secundum or agnomen. But the nomen was a constant factor and never varied until more extravagant times obscured its significance by a profusion of epithets. One name on record shows thirty elements. Hence no one part could have much importance and the clan name would count for little and might easily disappear as this multitude of names passed on from generation to generation. This confusion makes it difficult to trace the genealogy of the times and a concise account of the last days of the Corneli is impossible without an adequate insight into this important branch of history.

Several branches of the gens however persist in holding a prominent place far into the Imperial Era. When the Scipios, Cethegi and Lentuli disappear the Orfiti carry on the name of the gens in this period. The last effort of the gens to hold its place in the eyes of the world was the appearance of Ser. Orfitus, who flourished in 295 A.D. No subsequent reference to the gens can be vouched for with even a reasonable degree of authenticity. That the blood persisted we cannot doubt, and even today, if there remains any trace of the Roman race at all, descendants of the gens must dot the world profusely. But as a family they disappeared and the name Cornelius ceased to have any significance.

Still, even in Ammianus Marcellinus, we hear the name Cethegus, a Senator beheaded for adultery in the fourth century, (14) which awakens memories of the simple, old-fashioned Cethegi, who would, if any, survive the test of time and the gauntlet of persecution. It is pleasing, if highly improbable, to imagine that the retiring Cethegi, a name not famous enough to be adopted to any extent, endured

those centuries of confusion to produce the last Cornelius on
 record. However, Gibbon goes so far as to state that the only
 (15)
 ancient family to survive the imperial wrath and the passage of time
 were the Calpurnii Pisones.

Ammianus mentions as well a Cornelius, also a Senator,
 (16)
 executed by Maximin for poisoning; and an Orfitus, prefect of the
 city, who was convicted of peculation in 308 A.D. (17) It is improbable
 that these men bear any relation to or in any way represent the gens
 Cornelia.

In patristic literature the church fathers have helped
 perpetuate the name, recording among others, two individuals of
 station, Cornelius, fourth bishop of Antioch since the Apostles, (18)
 and Cornelius, bishop of Rome in the third century and friend of
 (19)
 St. Cyprian.

However all these individuals boasting of this famous name
 may be classified with the later Italian nobility. Half the
 aristocracy of Italy, a century ago or more, claimed descent from
 ancient gentes, but their almost entirely foreign origin has been
 (20)
 conclusively shown by Muratori.

GENEALOGICAL TABLES

73.

TABLE I.

Note: These tables are
transcribed in the main
from Pauly-Wissowa.

P. CORNELIUS
SER. CORNELIUS
cons. 485 B.C.
L. MALUGINENSIS
cons. 458 B.C.
M. MALUGINENSIS
dict. 450 B.C.

M. MALUGINENSIS cons. 436 B.C.	SER. COSSUS m.t. 434 B.C.	P. RUTILIS COSSUS dict. 408 B.C.	A. COSSUS cons. 428 B.C.
SER. MALUGINENSIS m.t. 404 B.C.	P. MALUGINENSIS m.t. 404 B.C.	CN. COSSUS cons. 409 B.C.	A. COSSUS m.t. 408 B.C.
SER. MALUGINENSIS mag. equit. 361 B.C.	P. MALUGINENSIS m.t. 397 B.C.	M. MALUGINENSIS cons. 392 B.C.	SER. MALUGINENSIS m.t. 386 B.C.
			A. ARVINA cons. 322 B.C.
			P. ARVINA cons. 288 B.C.
			A. ARVINA fetal

TABLE II

P. CORNELIUS
A. CORNELIUS
P. COSSUS
m.t. 415 B.C.
CN. COSSUS
m.t. 406 B.C.

TABLE III

P.SCIPIO
m.t. 395 B.C.

P.SCIPIO
mag.equit. 350 B.C.

L.SCIPIO
cons. 350 B.C.

CN. SCIPIO

L. BARBATUS
cons. 298 B.C.

L.SCIPIO
cons. 259 B.C.

CN. ASINA
cons. 260 B.C.

P.SCIPIO
(see Table IV)

CN. CALVUS
cons. 222 B.C.

P. ASINA
cons. 221 B.C.

P. NASICA
cons. 191 B.C.

CN. HISPALLUS
cons. 176 B.C.

P. CERCULUM
cons. 162 B.C.

CN. HISPALLUS
pr. 134 B.C.

P. SERAPIO
cons. 138 B.C.

CN. SCIPIO
pr. urb. 109 B.C.

P. SERAPIO
cons. 111 B.C.

P. NASICA - 1. LICINIA
2. CAECILIA

Q. METELLUS SCIPIO
cons. 52 B.C.

L. CRASSUS SCIPIO

CORNELIA - CN. POMPEIUS MAGNUS

TABLE IV

75.

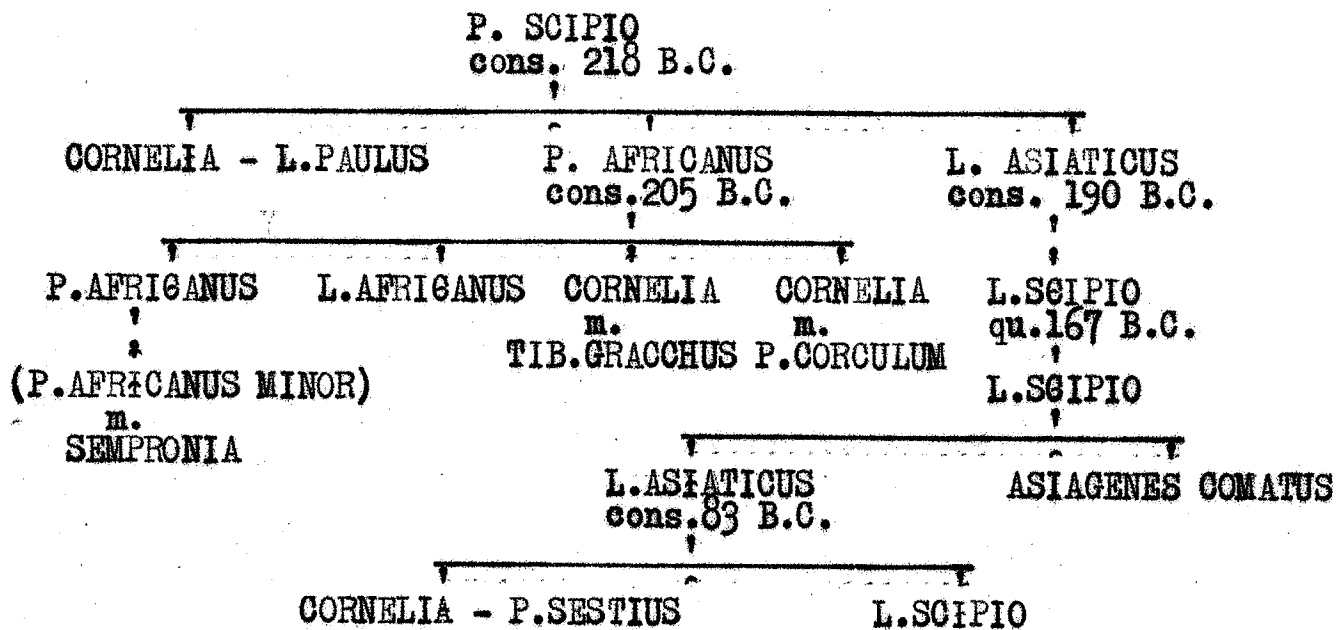
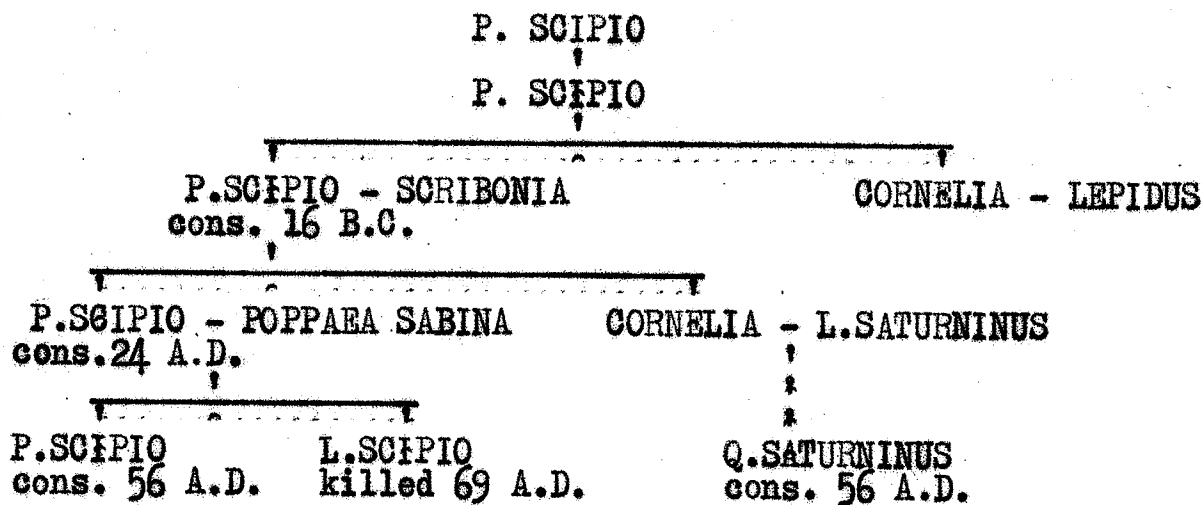


TABLE V



Note: P. Scipio, consul 16 B.C., may have been adopted by
Cn. Augur and in that case would be identical with
P. Scipio, consul 2 A.D.

TABLE VI

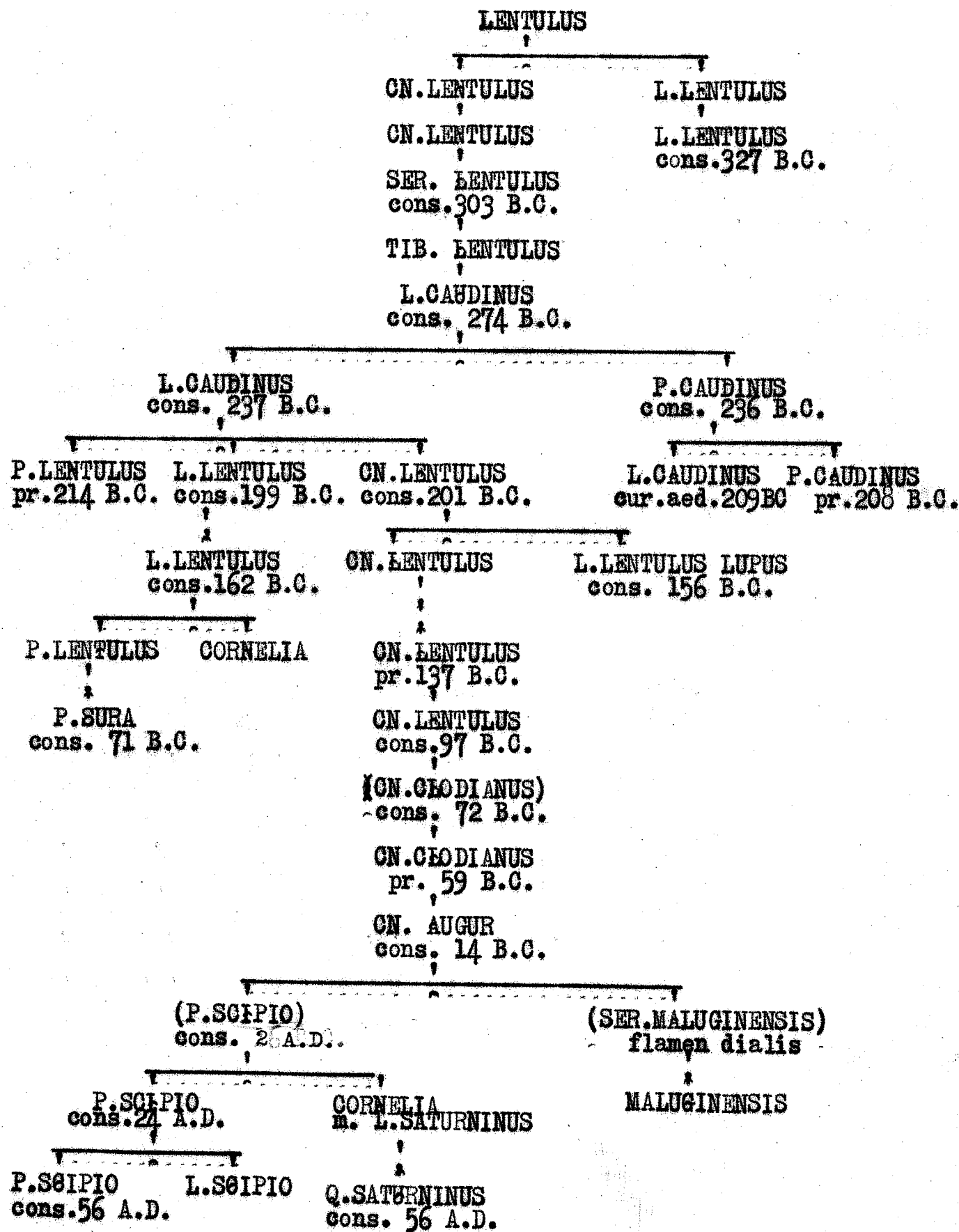


TABLE VII

P.MARCELLINUS - CORNELIA SCIPIO
trium.monet.90 B.C.

CN.MARCELLINUS - SCRIBONIA

P.MARCELLINUS
qu. 74 B.C.

P.MARCELLINUS
qu. 48 B.C.

MARCELLINUS

P.MARCELLINUS
cons. 18 B.C.

TABLE VIII

L. NIGER
pr. 62 B.C.

L. NIGER
flam. mart. 54 B.C.

P. NIGER

L. LENTULUS
cons. 3 B.C.

CORNELIA

TABLE IX

SER. LENTULUS

SER. LENTULUS
cur. aed. 207 B.C.

SER. LENTULUS
pr. 170 B.C.

P. LENTULUS

L. LENTULUS
pr. 140 B.C.

Note: P.Marcellinus was the son of M.Claudius Marcellus.

TABLE X

78.

P.RUFINUS
dict.334 B.C.

P.RUFINUS
cons.290 B.C.

P.CORNELIUS
flamen dialis

P.SULLA
pr.211 B.C.

P.SULLA
pr.185 B.C.

SER.SULLA
pr.173 B.C.

L.SULLA

L.FELIX - 1.JULIA
2.AELIA
3.CAELIA
4.CAECILIA
5.VALERIA
(See Table XI)

SER.SULLA

CORNELIA

P.SULLA SER.SULLA
cons.des.66 B.C.

P.SULLA

L.SULLA
cons.5 B.C.

SULLA (Tac.Ann.II-48)

TABLE XI

L.FELIX

FAUSTA-1.T.MILO POSTUMA
2.C.MEMMIUS

FAUSTUS SULLA
m. POMPEIA

SULLA

CORNELIA SULLA
m. Q.POMPEIUS

C.MEMMIUS

SULLA

CORNELIA
m.L.AEMILIUS

GN.CAESAR

SULLA FELIX

FAUSTUS SULLA
cons. 31 A.D.

L.SULLA FELIX
cons. 33 A.D.

FAUSTUS FELIX
cons. 52 A.D.

TABLE XII

79.

L. LENTULUS

L. CRUS
cons. 49 B.C.

L. CRUSCELLIO

CN. LENTULUS
cons. 18 B.C.

COSSUS LENTULUS
cons. 1 B.C.

COSSUS LENTULUS
cons. 25 A.D.

CN. GAETULICUS
cons. 26 A.D.
(See Table XIII)

COSSUS LENTULUS
cons. 60 A.D.

CORNELIA COSSA

TABLE XIII

CN. GAETULICUS
cons. 26 A.D.

CN. LENTULUS
cons. 55 A.D.

COSSUS LENTULUS
CORNELIA

D. JUNIUS SILANUS
GAETULICUS

CORNELIA
GAETULICA

CORNELIA
CAESIA

M. JUNIUS SILANUS

LUTATIUS CATULUS

TABLE XIV

L. CINNA

L. CINNA
cons. 127 B.C.

L. CINNA
cons. 87 - 84 B.C.

Q. POMPEIUS

CINNA

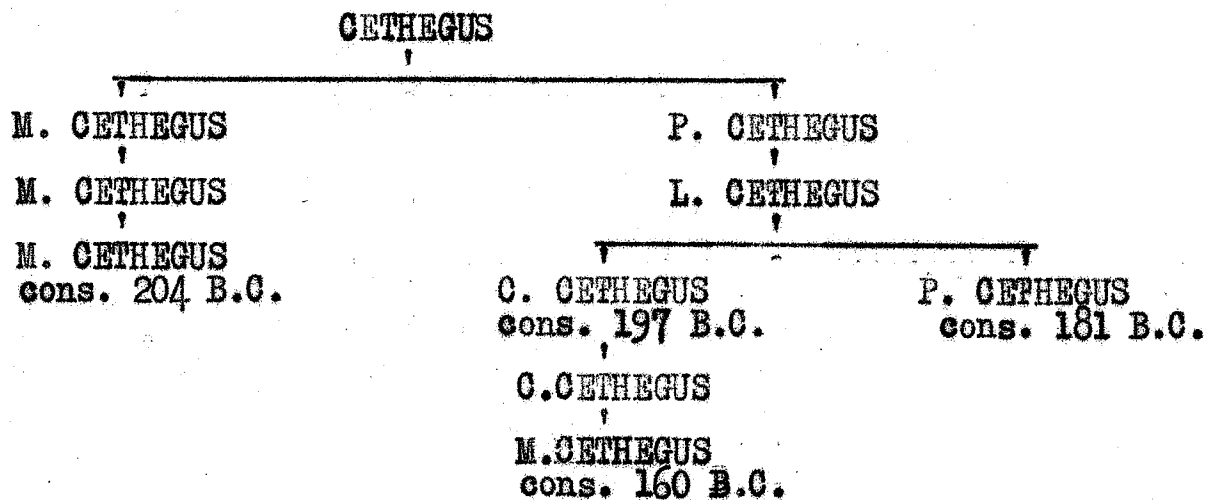
CORNELIA
M.
CN. DOMITIUS
AENOBARBUS

CORNELIA
M.
CN. CAESAR

L. CINNA - POMPEIA

CN. MAGNUS
cons. 5 A.D.

L. CINNA

TABLE XVTABLE XVI

SER. ORFITUS
cons. 51 A.D.

↓

SER. ORFITUS

↓

SER. ORFITUS
cons. 110 A.D.

↓

SER. ORFITUS
cons. 149 A.D.

↓

SER. ORFITUS
cons. 178 A.D.

↓

SER. ORFITUS
sal. pal. 189 A.D.

Note: The genealogy of the Cethegi is, to a great extent,
purely conjectural.

EPILOGUE

The gens Corelia greatly influenced the trend of Roman history. In numbers, in fame of their exploits and in political prominence, they far surpassed the other gentes. They maintained their family from 485 B. C. until 295 A.D., longer than any other gentes, except the Calpurnii Pisones and perhaps the Valerii.

The achievements of the gens begin with the constant and usually reliable service tendered by the Maluginenses and Cossi during the first century and a half of the Republic; and the winning of the spolia opima by A. Cossus in 437 B.C.

The Scipios and Lentuli flourished from 390 until the end of the Republic. The Scipios in particular figured prominently and the momentous character of the issues in which they were involved serves to intensify interest in their family. In addition to the exploits of Cn. Asina, Cn. Calvus, P. Scipio and others in the Punic Wars, we find, that when the very existence of Rome was threatened, P. Africanus, a greater than Napoleon, saved the day. His nephew and adopted grandson destroyed Carthage and Numantia. The Nasica played a conspicuous role for over a century and even the Gracchi could boast of Cornelian blood. The Lentuli also served their country faithfully though mostly in uneventful consulships and minor positions.

Sulla, "the superman", rivals Africanus in the magnitude of his exploits, and, by his ambitious career of self-aggrandizement, created the dangerous precedent of perpetual dictatorship.

In a more dishonourable capacity, a Dolabella followed Saturninus; Scipio Aemelianus conspired with his father Lepidus; Lentulus, Cethegus and the two Sullae aimed, with Catiline, to overthrow the constitution; Cinna, Spintner and a certain Dolabella were enrolled among the assassins of Caesar; Cn. Magnus

ungratefully plotted against Augustus; Gaetulicus was suspected of conspiracy against Caligula and Faustus Felix of one against Nero; and Marsellus was implicated in the charges against Silanus.

The gens was given great publicity at various periods. The Sibylline Books were reported as declaring that three Corneli would sway the destinies of Rome; during the Civil War there was a tradition that the Scipios were invincible in Africa, an encouragement to Metellus Scipio; and the name of Cornelius was so odious to Vitellius that he ordered the execution of the bearer of it.

In the literary field P. Scipio, the son of Africanus, and Gaetulicus made noteworthy contributions. Perhaps we may credit the tradition that Africanus the younger collaborated with Terence in the composition of the latter's comedies.

Besides the authority of the ancient writers on the gens we have more concrete testimony in the evidence of inscriptions, tombs, busts, coins and other remains of their gens that have survived the ravages of twenty centuries.

The gens disappeared in the first century of the Christian Era, victims of the Imperial wrath and the passage of time; all except the ingrafted Orfiti, who survived in a single family for two centuries longer.

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13. Livy IV-49.
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15. Livy IV-55.
16. Livy IV-56.
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18. Livy IV-61.
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21. Livy V-36.
22. Livy V-31, IX-34.
23. Livy IX-4.
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27. Livy VI-36,42, VII-1,9,21,28,24.
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30. Livy IX-10.
31. Livy VIII-22,23; IX-4.
32. Livy VIII-38,39.
33. Livy IX-42.
34. Livy VIII- 28; IX-44,46.
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36. Livy X-11,12,14,25,26,40,41.
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39. Florus I-8.
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18. Livy XXVII-29, XXIX-38.
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85. Livy XXXIX-6, 8.
86. Livy XXXIX-7, 23, 38, 39.
87. Livy XXXIX-32.
88. Livy XL-42; XLI-5.
89. Livy XL-35.
90. Livy XLI-14, 15.
91. Livy XL-44; XLI-14, 16.

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