

## **Imprint**

**Université du Luxembourg 2024**

### **Luxembourg Centre for Contemporary and Digital History (C<sup>2</sup>DH)**

Université du Luxembourg  
Belval Campus  
Maison des Sciences Humaines  
11, Porte des Sciences  
L-4366 Esch-sur-Alzette

### **Editors**

Asst. Prof. Dr. Marten Düring (Luxembourg Centre for Contemporary and Digital History | C<sup>2</sup>DH)  
PD Dr. Christian Rollinger (Universität Trier)  
Dr. Cinderella Petz (IEG – Leibniz-Institut für Europäische Geschichte)  
Dr. Ingeborg van Vugt (Königlich Niederländische Akademie der Wissenschaften)  
Clemens Beck, M. A. (Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena)

ISSN 2535-8863

### **Contact**

#### **Principal Contact**

JHNR-editors@historicalnetworkresearch.org

#### **Support Contact**

Dr. Marten Düring (Université du Luxembourg)  
JHNR-support@historicalnetworkresearch.org

### **Cover Design and Typesetting**

text plus form, Dresden, Germany

#### **Cover image**

Martin Grandjean

#### **Copyediting**

Andy Redwood, Barcelona, Spain

### **Published online at**

<https://doi.org/10.25517/jhnr.v10i1>

This work is licensed under a Creative Commons License:

Attribution-NoDerivatives 4.0 (CC BY-ND 4.0)

This does not apply to quoted content from other authors.

To view a copy of this license, please visit

<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nd/4.0/deed.en>



CHARLES GUÉRIN

# Mapping Roman Declamation: Towards a Network Analysis of Seneca the Elder's Anthology

*Journal of Historical Network Research 10 (2024) 1–53*

**Keywords** Social networks, network analysis, Seneca the Elder, declamation, rhetoric, Roman schools, Roman empire, ancient Rome, ancient studies, Classics

**Abstract** With his *Sententiae, diuisiones, colores rhetorum et oratorum*, published around 30 CE, Seneca the Elder, father of the Stoic philosopher Seneca, produced an anthology of excerpts from declamations (forensic or deliberative mock speeches) by 116 different declaimers (teachers, students and non-professional practitioners) who lived during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. By citing these declaimers, Seneca intended to offer an informed and critical view of their qualities and shortcomings, and to memorialize the emerging literary genre of declamation. But his text also lends itself to a more social reading. By mining the *Sententiae, diuisiones, colores* for mentions of direct contact between declaimers, and by applying the methodology of network analysis, it becomes possible to read the anthology as a depiction of a structured intellectual milieu. The aim of this article is to identify and reconstruct a set of social relationships within the declamatory world described in the anthology, using mentions of criticism (where one declaimer comments on the performance of another) as markers of relationships. After explaining the goals and biases of Seneca and their impact on his depiction of the declamatory milieu, this article expounds a method for: 1) identifying concrete links between declaimers with a reasonable degree of certainty; 2) building a set of usable data based on these findings; and 3) assessing the significance of the expected results given the incompleteness of the anthology. It then reconstructs and plots this particular declamatory network, identifying its central figures and mapping its main relational structures.

## 1. The elusive world of Roman declaimers<sup>1</sup>

At the turn of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, the literary tastes of the Roman educated class began to shift, and declamation (*declamatio*) suddenly attracted a lot of attention. Originally, declamation was a pedagogical tool that formed the final stage in the training of young orators: after years of working on discrete exercises (the *progymnasmata*, προγυμνάσματα) aimed at honing their skills in particular aspects of oratory (narration, description, argumentation, dialogue), around the age of fifteen, students were required to write and perform complete mock speeches on deliberative (*suasoriae*) and forensic (*controversiae*) topics. A typical declamation would present the teenagers with cases that, while fictional and literary, raised intricate legal, moral and technical issues, and thus had broad educational goals.<sup>2</sup> A *controversia* exercise would mention a set of fictional laws defining the context, and a short story (the *thema*) stating the bare facts. The student would then speak for one side or the other, or for both successively. The following exercise taken from the corpus of Ps.-Quintilian's *Minor Declamations* (2<sup>nd</sup> century CE) encapsulates the whole process in a simple form:

⟨*Exulem intra fines deprehensum liceat occidere*⟩. *Legatus sacrosanctus sit. Proditor cum liberis exulet. Cuius filius legatus erat proditoris damnatus est. Reuertentem legatum quidam occidit. Caedis reus est.*

Law: ⟨Let it be lawful to kill an exile caught inside the borders⟩. Let an envoy be sacrosanct. Let a traitor be exiled with his children. Theme: A man whose son was an envoy was convicted of treason. Someone killed the envoy as he was on his way home. He is charged with murder.<sup>3</sup>

Along with pedagogical instructions, Ps.-Quintilian provides a set declamation, rather dry in this instance, for the prosecution; the text thus offers a framework for a classroom exercise. But the *themata* could show much more flourish, and gave many opportunities for a declaimer to shine. Beginning with the reign of Augustus, famous teachers and ambitious practitioners of the genre declaimed in public, first in private venues, and soon in public ones. Within a few decades, declamation became a mainstream cultural practice, where the humble rubbed shoulders with the powerful, where ordinary teachers met senators, and where foreign declaimers could address members of the imperial court. Just as literary and philosophical circles and communities had existed since the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE

- 
- 1 The research related to this paper was carried out thanks to a sabbatical leave granted by the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (France), which I had the privilege to spend within the research team HiSoMA (UMR 5189), at the University of Lyon, France.
  - 2 For a synthetic view on Roman declamation, see Gunderson 2003, Bloomer 2007, Corbeill 2007, Bernstein 2013, Lentano 2017, Dinter and Guérin 2020.
  - 3 Ps.-Quint., *Decl. min.* 266 (text and translation adapted from Shackleton-Bailey 2006).

onward, so declamatory circles and public performances began to grow and flourish at the end of the civil wars.

Although scattered references to declamation, its public and its practitioners can be found in many classical texts, our main and most informative source focuses on the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and showcases the performances of declaimers who were active between the 30s BCE and the 30s CE. With his *Sententiae, diuisiones, colores rhetorum et oratorum*, published around 30 CE during the reign of Caligula, Seneca the Elder (father of the Stoic philosopher Seneca) produced an anthology that reflected the declamatory milieu of the time. Divided into two parts, one devoted to *controuersiae* and the other to *suasoriae*, the anthology collects thousands of declamatory excerpts – mostly in Latin, but sometimes also in Greek.<sup>4</sup>

The *Controuersiae* are divided into ten books, each containing between six and eight chapters. Each chapter deals with a declamatory topic, with its own laws and theme, collects excerpts from declamations delivered at different times and venues, and organizes them into three headings, each *pro et contra*. The first heading deals with epigrams (*sententiae*), the second with the various structures the declaimers chose to organize their argument (*diuisiones*), and the third lists the various narrative patterns (*colores*) that the declaimers used to deal with the case at hand. The *suasoriae* are shorter: presented in a looser pattern, they gather the excerpts around seven topics, organizing them under two headings, one mixing *sententiae* and *colores*, the other dealing with *diuisio*.

The excerpts which make up the different sections are not simply presented bare, as Seneca painstakingly attributes each quote to its author:<sup>5</sup>

*Triarius dixit: in fili mei manus incucurri. Bassus Iulius dixit: ego me fili mei manus cecidi. Haterius dixit: ago gratias tyranno quod alterum filium meum custodiri iussit, ne mori posset. (C. 9.4.16)*<sup>6</sup>

Triarius said: “I ran on to my son’s hands”. Iulius Bassus said: “I beat myself with my son’s hands.” Haterius said: “I thank the tyrant for ordering my second son to be guarded so that he could not die.”

Seneca’s purpose, as he himself explains, is threefold: to provide examples of both good and bad taste, to publicize his own judgments, and to attribute their

4 On Seneca’s anthology, see Sussman 1978, Fairweather 1981, Berti 2007, Dinter, Guérin, and Martinho 2020.

5 On the forms taken by these mentions of authorship, see Guérin 2015, 55–57.

6 Seneca’s text is taken from Håkanson 1989; translations are adapted from Winterbottom 1974.

productions as accurately as possible to past declaimers in order to memorialize the entire genre.<sup>7</sup> The anthology collects excerpts from 116 different declaimers,<sup>8</sup> all of whom Seneca claims to have heard himself,<sup>9</sup> and has two main layers: the excerpts themselves, which form a discontinuous declamatory text, and Seneca's comments and anecdotes.

Seneca's anthology, with its endless list of declaimers and all the information it provides, should be a treasure trove of data on the world of Roman declamation at the beginning of the Principate. Through the exchanges delineated in the text, one would expect a whole literary and intellectual milieu to materialize. However, although Seneca provides us with a great deal of detail about individual declaimers,<sup>10</sup> the world of declaimers as a whole has proven (and still proves) rather elusive, for two main reasons: first, due to the focus of Seneca on individual declaimers rather than on the community they might form; and second, to the global picture he intends to paint of the declamatory world.

#### a. Focus

Aside from a few references, Seneca does not really describe the schools, venues or relationships between the declaimers he quotes. His anthology revolves around texts and declamatory themes, rather than people and social circles. He devotes the bulk of his comments to the stylistic and rhetorical peculiarities of each excerpt, focusing on the idiosyncrasies of each declaimer: this method, inherited from Cicero's *Brutus* (46 BCE), is quite efficient for dealing with all things rhetorical, but it also deprives us of the global picture one might have hoped for. This focus makes the anthology difficult to navigate, since the excerpts are meant to show how a *sententia*, an argument or a *color* evolves, for better or worse, from one declaimer to another, as the practitioners follow their own tastes. Bart Huelsenbeck has shown how, in this theme-centered anthology, excerpts, and thus declaimers, are linked to one another in a "turn-taking-system". Declaimers did not act independently, but were part of a larger system that forced them to relate to each other: when speaking, a declaimer had to take into account the production of those who had spoken before him. Moreover, each declaimer sought to make his 'contribution' to the system: each intervention was to add a different element to the edifice already built. Declamation was not a solitary exercise; it primarily followed a network logic where each development built on the previous one.<sup>11</sup>

---

7 C. 1 pr. 1–12. On Seneca's relation to memory, see Dinter 2020.

8 The anthology mentions 164 different individuals, of whom 116 are declaimers (Echavarren 2007, 351).

9 C. 1 pr. 3.

10 See the prosopographical works of Bornecque 1902 and Echavarren 2007.

11 Huelsenbeck 2020, 162, 170.

Huelsenbeck's approach has made the whole structure of the text, as well as its intentions, incomparably clearer: contrary to Seneca's claim, who pretends to follow his memory haphazardly when quoting,<sup>12</sup> the anthology has a very clear and well-thought-out structure that helps materialize the literary relationships that link the various performances. But this literary structure has little to do with the concrete relationships that existed between declaimers, and one should not conclude that, because he is quoted after another speaker, a declaimer has simply taken his turn in a declamatory contest, in the same venue and at the same time.<sup>13</sup> As Huelsenbeck concludes, some excerpts are explicitly paired, but others are included in the anthology only because they are representative of a tendency or a style: they may only have an indirect connection – with lost intermediary sources – to the preceding quotes.<sup>14</sup> The order in which the excerpts are quoted is primarily the result of Seneca's work: by collecting and compiling his own notes (or, if we are to believe him, by plucking his own memory),<sup>15</sup> Seneca combined declamations that were performed in different places and at different times, sometimes even years apart. Thus, when Seneca associates two declaimers by quoting them one after the other, the reader can safely conclude that they share a *literary* affinity, but not that they are *socially* connected: the order in which Seneca quotes the declaimers tells us a lot about the process of imitation and the circulation of declamatory texts and excerpts in the first centuries BCE and CE, but it cannot be taken as a valid picture of the relationships maintained by Roman declaimers. A telling illustration of this situation is provided by C. 9.1 (*Cimon Ingratus Calliae*):

*Latro dixit: Filiam tuam dimittam? Quid adultero faciam? Pro una rogas, duos eripis. Hanc Hybreas aliter dixit sententiam: σοὶ δέ, μοιχέ, τί ποιήσω; μὴ καὶ σοῦ Καλλίας πατήρ ἐστιν; haec tota diuersa sententia est a priore, etiamsi ex eadem est petita materia. (C. 9.1.12)*

Latro said: "Am I to let your daughter go? What am I to do with her lover? You are begging for the life of one, but getting off two." Hybreas put this epigram differently: "What shall I do with you, adulterer? Surely, Callias is not your father too?" This epigram is totally different from the earlier one, even though it is taken from the same material.

First, Seneca quotes Porcius Latro, in his eyes the best declaimer of his time, and follows up with a Greek declaimer named Hybreas. But Hybreas had never tried to imitate Latro or improve on his *sententia*, since he belonged to an earlier gen-

12 C. 1 *pr.* 4–5, Berti 2007, 34.

13 Feddern 2013, 60–61.

14 Huelsenbeck 2020, 180.

15 On Seneca's claim that he relied chiefly on his memory, and his use of written sources, see Lockyer 1970, Sussman 1978, 51–52, Fairweather 1981, 27, 37–49, Berti 2007, 31–36.

eration and never managed to travel to Rome from his native city of Mylasa in Asia.<sup>16</sup> Hybreas was simply a ‘classic’ among declaimers: everyone read him, but in no way could he be part of the Roman declamatory scene in Seneca’s time. In C. 9.1.12, Seneca was not emphasizing a literary relationship based on imitation, even less a social one: he was merely pointing out a difference between these two treatments – one by a great Latin declaimer of his time, the other by an older Greek classic – and was obviously mentioning Hybreas by quoting from a textual source.<sup>17</sup> The global structure of the anthology does not in itself provide a reliable basis for approaching the concrete relationships of the declaimers.

## b. Critical stance

The retrospective view that Seneca gives us in the 30s CE consolidates his vision of the genre and its practitioners. But his stance does not meet any criterion of objectivity: leaving aside his duties as a historian,<sup>18</sup> Seneca provides us with a personal assessment of the qualities and shortcomings of the declaimers of his time, and even makes a list of those he considers the four best:

*Primum tetradeum quod faciam quaeritis? Latronis, Fusci, Albuci, Gallionis. Hi quotiens confluxissent, penes Latronem gloria fuisset, penes Gallionem palma [...].*  
(C. 10 praef. 13)

You ask whom I make the first quartet? Latro, Fuscus, Albucius, Gallio. In every clash between them, Latro would have got the glory, but Gallio the prize [...].

To this leading ‘quartet’, Seneca adds a name, that of Capito who, he says, could sometimes compare himself to these four great declaimers. The list is enlightening: it includes three teachers (Porcius Latro, Arellius Fuscus, Albucius Silus) and one non-professional declaimer, Iunius Gallio. Two of these four characters were closely associated with Seneca: Porcius Latro and Seneca were childhood friends, and Gallio was so close to the author that he adopted his son Novatus.<sup>19</sup> Seneca intended to extol the circles to which he belonged,<sup>20</sup> and it was on these characters that he lavished most of his attention. Thus, Latro, Fuscus and Albucius each appear in one of the prefaces (respectively those of books 1, 2 and 7), where their characteristics and habits are described in detail, and one can assume that the same was true of Gallio, in one of the lost prefaces.<sup>21</sup> Focusing his comments

16 Magie 1950, 430–2, 441–2, Bowersock 1965, 5–6, Osgood 2006, 225–6.

17 Guérin 2020, 73–75.

18 On Seneca’s historiographical works, see Scappaticcio 2020.

19 Fairweather 1981, 10–11.

20 Griffin 1972, 12, Bloomer 1997, 115–36 who nevertheless places too much stress on Seneca’s “social ambition” and tends to read the *Controversiae* (and particularly their prefaces) mainly as an exercise in self-promotion.

21 See below, 16.

on a small number of practitioners who he intended to showcase, Seneca did not bother to draw a global picture of the declamatory milieu: schools, personal ties and relationships between declaimers thus do not figure prominently in his text.

The fact that Seneca did not set out to describe the declamatory milieu itself in its entirety is reflected in the anecdotes with which he peppered his anthology. When they involve declaimers, these anecdotes aim above all to highlight the (rather tenuous) relationships that some declaimers had with the grandees of the time, and especially with the imperial court.<sup>22</sup> Thus, we learn that Latro declaimed privately before Augustus, Maecenas and Agrippa (C. 2.4.12–3). The episode turned out rather badly for him, but the stakes lay elsewhere: the anecdote was simply meant to prove that the leading figures of Rome were interested in him, and in declamation in general. The over-representation of Octavian Augustus in the anthology should not surprise us: he appears fifteen times and is linked to ten declaimers by a direct relationship,<sup>23</sup> but this is mainly to show that declamation was not a practice meant only for schools and students, and that it attracted the attention of the greatest. Anointed by these relationships, declamation can be described as a worthwhile literary pursuit.

This insistence on the connections between declaimers and non-declainers within the anthology<sup>24</sup> is misleading, since Seneca tends to record exceptional situations and encounters,<sup>25</sup> leaving aside the day-to-day dealings between declaimers. But these anecdotes are not the only kind of information the anthology provides about the declaimers' relationships. By focusing on markers of social connections and by applying the method of network analysis, it becomes possible to use Seneca's text as a solid basis for approaching the general structure and functioning of the Roman declamatory world at the beginning of the Principate.

## 2. Applying network analysis to Seneca's anthology

Whatever the method, Seneca's text cannot provide us with new information about the identity of the declaimers or about the most concrete aspects of their performances. However, it remains possible to enrich our understanding of the declamatory milieu considerably by focusing on the mentions of concrete connections between declaimers in the anthology. These connections, if properly

---

22 Helms 2016, 140–88.

23 Seneca mentions a face-to-face encounter with Octavian Augustus for Craton, Iunius Gallio, Haterius, Gavius Silo, Lucius Vicinius, Passienus, Porcius Latro, Publicus Vinicius, Timagenes, and Varius Geminus.

24 Helms 2016, 132–34 provides a good assessment of the social strategy which underlies these connections.

25 On this general trend in ancient sources, see Ruffini 2020, 337.

identified by carefully selected markers, will in themselves constitute an entirely new set of usable data about declaimers. Using this data, I shall approach the declamatory milieu as a *network* – defined minimally as “a set of relationships”<sup>26</sup> – in its own right, and work toward building a clearer understanding of how these declaimers interacted with each other, organized themselves into subgroups or even schools, and related to the central figures of their social and intellectual milieu. Network analysis will provide the means to go beyond the misleading impression given by Seneca’s presentation of the material, according to which four (or five) declaimers held the stage, while the rest of the group practiced their art in the shadow of the greats. By mining the information Seneca more or less unwittingly provides about the declaimers’ relationships, I shall construct a picture of the declamatory world that will be less dependent on the axiology (the *tetra-deum*) and the representation (the anecdotes) that the anthology tries to impose upon us.

My analysis rests on four core methodological principles. First, I shall draw the data used to construct the network exclusively from Seneca’s text, in order to avoid the bias that the selection of additional sources would induce.<sup>27</sup> Second, only direct relationships shall be considered (what constitutes a ‘direct’ relationship will be defined further below). Therefore, links between declaimers and past written sources must be eliminated when identified. Third, the network shall not take into account the encounters mentioned in the anecdotes if they do not deal with declaimers debating on declamation. This principle excludes the contacts between declaimers and the grandees of the time: our main goal is to catch a glimpse of the declamatory milieu from within. The last principle is also the most important: the sequence of declamatory quotes in the text – as in the example quoted above, 3, where Triarius was followed by Iulius Bassus and Haterius – shall not be used as proof of a relationship, since it depends entirely on Seneca’s interpretation. Textual proximity cannot be used as a marker, as it would be in a semantic network: this network shall only record *explicit marks of contact* between declaimers within their milieu.

---

26 Kadushin 2012, 14.

27 More generally, on the benefits of using a ‘discrete and bounded’ source for building a network analysis, see Ruffini 2020, 335.

### a. Models of relationship

The anthology provides numerous mentions of connections among declaimers. Thus, we learn that Vallius Syriacus directly addressed Brutedius Niger during a declamatory session:

*Cum responderet Syriacus, ait: primum non apud eundem praeceptorem studuimus: tu Apollodorum habuisti, cui semper narrari placet; ego Theodorum, cui non semper.* (C. 2.1.36)

When Syriacus replied, he said “First of all, we did not study under the same teachers. You (sc. Brutedius Niger) had Apollodorus, who likes always to have a narration. I had Theodorus, who doesn’t always insist on one.”

We thus have evidence that the two declaimers were present at the same event,<sup>28</sup> and that they had the opportunity to discuss declamatory matters face to face. We can therefore use C. 2.1.36 to assert the existence of a relationship between these two figures active during the reign of Tiberius, Brutedius Niger, an orator and a senator, and Vallius Syriacus, a declaimer who the *Princeps* put to death in 30 CE.<sup>29</sup>

Information of the same kind can also be found whenever Seneca did not merely create a sequence by accumulating excerpts, but instead commented on how these excerpts related to each other, as he did when he brought together two *sententiae* (of which the first, in Greek, has not survived) by Nicetes and Murredius:

*Dixerat Nicetes:\*\*\*. Murredius, dum hanc sententiam imitari uult, stultissimam dixit: reliqui in acie pugnantes manus.* (C. 1.4.12)

Nicetes had said: \*\*\*. Murredius, wishing to imitate this epigram, produced a very foolish one: “I left my hand behind fighting in battle.”

Murredius is explicitly shown engaging with Nicetes’ *sententia* in one of his performances. With this brief comment (*dum hanc sententiam imitari uult*), Seneca signaled the existence of a relationship between these two declaimers. While we do not have proof that Murredius had in fact heard Nicetes in person (although they were active at the same time), we can be sure that he had at least heard

28 Brutedius Niger and Vallius Syriacus spoke in succession. On successive performances, see Hömke 2002, 24.

29 Brutedius Niger appears as one of the accusers of Iunius Silanus during his trial *de maiestate* before Tiberius in 22 CE (Tac. *Ann.* 3.66). The execution of Syriacus is mentioned by Cassius Dio (58.3.7).

of him and his *sententia*. We can therefore use C. 1.4.12 to assert the existence of a ‘directed relationship’ in which Murrelius (source) relates to Nicetes (target). However, the quote does not provide any evidence for a relationship between Nicetes as source and Murrelius as target: the link between them is therefore ‘non-symmetrical’.<sup>30</sup>

Such small pieces of information may seem of little relevance in a text in which 116 declaimers are mentioned, but since Seneca repeatedly provides this kind of hints in his anthology, the data collected in this way might slowly build up into a network in which declaimers relate to each other. However, all mentions of contact cannot be aggregated in an undifferentiated way if we want to collect usable data. The network must reflect a definite kind of relationship that places the agents in more or less similar situations and points to the same kind of social interaction.<sup>31</sup> The main methodological challenges are therefore

- 1) to define a stable model of relationships whose occurrences would show comparable patterns,
- 2) to determine what qualifies as a point of contact between declaimers, and
- 3) to choose appropriate criteria for the selection of relevant mentions.

The mentions of direct encounters (such as the debate between Niger and Syriacus I discussed above) would not by themselves provide a usable corpus. These encounters reflect relationships of very different kinds, from the closest familiarity (e.g. Gallio and Messala in S. 3.6) to the most casual contacts (e.g. Pacatus greeting Moschus, C. 10 *praef.* 10), including encounters between teacher and student (e.g. Buteo and Gargonius, C. 1.7.18). The network based on these mentions would aggregate links of very different intensity without any clear distinction or means of comparing them.

As for the remarks in which Seneca points out that one declaimer imitates or competes with another, they would certainly provide a relevant corpus, since these mentions offer a recurrent pattern of relationships in which the link between source and target is stable and easily identifiable. However, the use of this corpus would require an additional methodological step in order to distinguish the literary connections that Seneca seeks to highlight<sup>32</sup> from the social links that

---

30 Kadushin 2012, 14–5.

31 Undoubtedly, the declaimers present in the network maintain different types of relations with each other, but the aim here is to retain only one kind of relationship and to eliminate what network analysis theory calls ‘role multiplexity’ (Kadushin 2012, 36), i.e. the fact that the agents can occupy “more than one position that ties them together”.

32 These are the literary links that Huelsenbeck 2015 reconstructs in the form of aesthetic ‘communities’, which are different from ‘communities’ as defined by network analysis – see below, 22.

this article intends to trace and reconstruct. Within this article, which aims to provide a proof of concept and an appropriate methodology, the corpus consisting of these mentions would be too difficult to handle efficiently.

Therefore, I chose to base the network on a third kind of relationship, that which materializes from the reactions of the declaimers to the performances of their peers. The teacher Cestius Pius gave a particularly telling example of this pattern, when he discussed (C. 1.3.9, *Incesta de saxo*) the theme of the priestess thrown from a rock after being condemned, but who survived her gruesome punishment against all odds (the case is fictitious, as usual). Should she be thrown again, or should she be pardoned, since the gods had obviously shown her mercy? Cestius Pius, while teaching, made fun of two *sententiae*, one recently used by Albucius, and another by Iulius Bassus (at an unknown time), two prominent teachers in Seneca's anthology:

*Dicebat autem in Albucium, qui illis diebus dixerat in hac controuersia 'durius saxo', et in Bassum Iulium multa, qui dixerat: 'uirgo desultrix.'* (C. 1.3.11)

He also spoke against Albucius, who had at much the same time said in this *controuersia* "harder than the rock", and a great deal against Bassus, who had said "a virgin good at leaps".

Cestius' criticism denotes a direct relationship with his two targets: he had heard about them, and had to show his students – who obviously knew them – why their example should not be followed. There is no doubt that these three teachers belonged to the same social circle, where information flowed among and between them. The criticism directed at Albucius, who spoke only days before Cestius' class (*illis diebus*), must therefore be taken as evidence of a direct relationship between Cestius (source) and Albucius (target). Either Cestius attended Albucius' performance, or he simply heard about it. Either way, he used Albucius' recent *sententia* in his teaching and explicitly related to him: Albucius was part of his world. The case of Bassus may seem trickier, since Seneca does not give us a time-frame in his case: what if Cestius were referring to a text published decades ago, and not to a recent performance? This is where the usefulness of a global approach becomes apparent: only when we see Bassus criticizing the bombastic character of a *sententia* used by Latro (C. 10.1.14), or when Seneca lets us know that his own sons had the opportunity to listen to him (C. 10 *praef.* 12), can we consider Bassus as a contemporary with some degree of certainty, and count Cestius' criticism as a directed link between him and the famous teacher.

Thus, mentions of criticism – whether negative or laudatory – made by one declaimer about another provide a set of relationships with a clear and stable pattern: *X* comments on the performance of *Y*, and the criticism is what materializes the relationship between the two declaimers. Moreover, as I will argue below, Seneca records these criticisms using recurring formulas and consistent termi-

nology, which makes the collection of relevant passages rather straightforward. Finally, these criticisms leave little room for Seneca's interpretations: the anthologist intervenes only through the selection of the quotations he provides. Following the methodology described below (see 18), I have identified 104 mentions of criticism in the anthology, and used them to build the dataset that formed the basis for the network analysis that follows.

## b. Objectives

Within the limits of this article, three main objectives can be set for this research. The first is to establish a clear protocol for applying network analysis to this particular corpus and for determining the representativeness of the results obtained. The second is to show how the exchange of criticism can help identify different structures and subgroups within the declamatory milieu. The third goal brings us back to individual declaimers, or at least those with the most prominence (since it will not be possible to treat each figure appearing in our datasets individually), as I will try to determine their role within the network. I will then be able to assess the gap between Seneca's explicit axiology and the deep structure of his anthology as revealed by the network.

## 3. Method

### a. Expected results and limitations

At first glance, the anthology offers a corpus ideally suited for network analysis. Written by a single individual, with a clear intention, it displays an obvious unity.<sup>33</sup> Of course, the network delineated in the text cannot be taken as a faithful representation of the declamatory milieu as a whole, but the very coherence of Seneca's project promises to yield results that will at least depict the structure of this milieu *as perceived by Seneca*. The corpus is not an artifact produced by the analyst, but an object that emanates from the very space that one seeks to describe: in this sense, the network corresponds to a unified and contemporary take on the world of declamation.

---

33 Already noted by Sussman 1971. On the usefulness of this unity for conducting a network analysis, see above, 8.

### a.1 *Seneca's project*

Because it depends on Seneca's intention, the anthology is not only judgment-oriented, but also synchronic. The text represents the author's retrospective view, at the end of the 30s CE, on performances that potentially span 60 years.<sup>34</sup> As a result, one might consider that it is not possible to reconstruct an actual milieu, since the declaimers active in the 20s BCE are not the same as those in the 20s CE. But the problem can be addressed in another way: by focusing on direct and explicit relationships, and by leaving aside floating mentions of individuals not connected to the rest of the network, one collects information about declaimers who were necessarily practicing at the same time (even if only for a short period). Moreover, the densest spaces in the network must correspond to practitioners active in the middle of the period covered by the anthology: it is precisely those declaimers who, by virtue of their median position, are most likely to have maintained relationships with both older and younger declaimers. Far from being hampered by the fact that the anthology spans a wide period, network analysis should provide us with valuable information by mechanically giving greater weight to characters who are chronologically central within the text. Finally, Seneca's project resulted in a corpus that is entirely static. Unlike an epistolary collection, the anthology offers no real sequence: did Cestius formulate his criticism of Albucius before his comments on Latro? Did his judgment of these two teachers evolve over time? The anthology never answers such questions, and paints a picture that is entirely suspended in time.

### a.2 *Missing links*

Beyond the limitations imposed by Seneca's method, the chaotic transmission of the text poses some additional challenges. Of the ten books that originally made up the *Controuersiae*, only five (C. 1, 2, 7, 9 and 10) have been transmitted to us more or less extent.<sup>35</sup> The others (C. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8) can only be read today in the form of excerpts in which the names of the declaimers, as well as Seneca's comments, have disappeared:<sup>36</sup> as such, they do not provide any information for our study. Among the prefaces, only seven have survived (C. 1–4, 7, 9–10). Finally, seven chapters of *Suasoriae* have come down to us, but it remains impossible to determine whether this second corpus is complete or not. Can we draw general conclusions from such a mutilated corpus? And can we hope to reconstruct the picture Seneca intended to paint?

---

34 Berti 2007, 29. Feddern 2013, 60 notes that the earliest declamations quoted by Seneca date back to the time when he was still a pupil of Marullus, and that the most recent may date from the 30s CE.

35 Huelsenbeck 2011.

36 Huelsenbeck 2016.

I will limit my considerations to the corpus of the *Controversiae*, for which we have some hard facts at our disposal. Since our analysis is based on little more than 50% of the original text, we must first assess the weight of the missing links and figures, and compare them with those we are still able to record. But we also need to determine how these missing links should affect our analysis of the relationships that we do take into account: would these phantom relationships have profoundly changed the global balance of our network if they had been preserved?

First, I shall consider the thirteen most connected declaimers of our network<sup>37</sup> and their distribution in the preserved text, correlating their weight and Seneca's tendency to overrepresent in the corresponding book the figures he put forward in a preface.<sup>38</sup> It is this possible discrepancy – between the image provided by the preserved part of the anthology and the one that would have emerged from the complete text – that we must try to assess. The following table (Tab. 1) summarizes the available data.

Four different situations can be distinguished for these declaimers.

- 1) A declaimer appearing in a preface and the corresponding book, whose presence is mostly limited to this single book: Votienus Montanus.
- 2) Declaimers appearing in a preface and the corresponding book, whose presence is pervasive throughout the anthology: Porcius Latro, Arellius Fuscus, Albucius Silus.
- 3) Declaimers appearing in a preface to a lost book: Cassius Severus, Asinius Pollio, Haterius.
- 4) Declaimers absent from the prefaces: Buteo, Cestius Pius, Iunius Gallio, Messala Corvinus, Pompeius Silo, Triarius.

The case of the declaimer Votienus Montanus can be used as a general model to assess the importance of missing links and figures. Montanus is described in the preface of book 9, and is mentioned 37 times in the anthology, with a revealing distribution: 5 times in book 7, 29 times in book 9 and 3 times in book 10. As for his links to other figures, book 7 includes 1 of them, book 10 only 2, whereas book 9 has 8 (i.e. 73%). We can see how the loss of book 9 would have affected our perception of the network: Votienus, who ranks fifth in terms of centrality degree, would have appeared only three times and would have been linked to only two declaimers (instead of seven). The pattern used for Votienus, who appears more or

---

37 These declaimers exhibit the thirteen highest 'centrality degrees', that is the highest number of different connections within our network. On this measure see below, 21.

38 See Sussman 1971, 286–87, Fairweather 1981, 29–30.

| Rank | Declaimer         | Described in preface | Preface w. preserved book? | Centrality degree | Books where links appear                                         | Books where present                        |
|------|-------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1    | Cestius Pius      | No                   | NA                         | 22                | C. 1, 2, 3<br><i>praef.</i> , 7, 9,<br><i>Suas.</i>              | All                                        |
| 2    | Porcius Latro     | 1                    | Yes                        | 17                | C. 1, 2, 7, 9,<br>10                                             | All                                        |
| 3    | Asinius Pollio    | 4                    | No                         | 8                 | C. 2, 4 <i>praef.</i> ,<br>7, 9, <i>Suas.</i>                    | All but<br>C. 10                           |
| 4    | Arellius Fuscus   | 2                    | Yes                        | 7                 | C. 1, 2, 7,<br><i>Suas.</i>                                      | All                                        |
| 5    | Votienus Montanus | 9                    | Yes                        | 7                 | C. 7, 9, 10                                                      | C. 7, 9, 10                                |
| 6    | Albucius Silus    | 7                    | Yes                        | 5                 | C. 1, 2, 7, 10                                                   | All                                        |
| 7    | Buteo             | No                   | NA                         | 5                 | C. 1, 2, 7.                                                      | C. 1, 2, 7,<br>9, 10                       |
| 8    | Cassius Severus   | 3                    | No                         | 5                 | C. 3 <i>praef.</i> , 4<br><i>praef.</i> , 9, 10,<br><i>Suas.</i> | All                                        |
| 9    | Haterius          | 4                    | No                         | 5                 | C. 4 <i>praef.</i> , 9,<br><i>Suas.</i>                          | C. 1, 7, 9,<br>10, <i>Suas.</i>            |
| 10   | Triarius          | No                   | NA                         | 5                 | C. 1, 7, 10                                                      | All                                        |
| 11   | Iunius Gallio     | No                   | NA                         | 4                 | C. 1, 9, <i>Suas.</i>                                            | All                                        |
| 12   | Messala Corvinus  | No                   | NA                         | 4                 | C. 2, <i>Suas.</i>                                               | C. 2, 3<br><i>praef.</i> ,<br><i>Suas.</i> |
| 13   | Pompeius Silo     | No                   | NA                         | 4                 | C. 1, 2, 7, 9                                                    | All                                        |

**Tab. 1** situation of the declaimers with the thirteen highest centrality degrees

less in a single book, suggests that books 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8 could contain similar figures.<sup>39</sup> Two different scenarios must then be considered.

The first scenario would contend that the missing books could have materialized a number of important figures and structured groups that completely elude us today. Thus, Capito, described by Seneca in *C. 10 praef. 12*, as the fifth best de-

39 Papirius Fabianus is treated more or less in the same way: presented in the preface of book 2, he is quoted 18 times in this very book but appears again only in the *Suasoriae*. Without book 2, he would disappear entirely from our network.

claimer of Rome, is mentioned only twice in the preserved text (C. 7.2 and 9.2). If we follow the pattern Seneca adopted for Votienus, it is plausible that book 8 made Capito a central figure. According to this first scenario, figures who Seneca deemed important could have featured prominently in the lost books, perhaps with a preface, and even become members of groups in which exchanges were particularly intense.

The second scenario concerns characters already well represented in the network, but whose weight might have been increased by the missing books. Among these individuals, Iunius Gallio is a very likely candidate for a preface since he is the only member of the *tetradeum* without one in the current state of the text. As an already essential figure within the network, Iunius Gallio is par excellence a figure whose relative position would have changed if all the books had been preserved. This potential change can be assessed by looking at the situation of Porcius Latro. While he appears in all the books, C. 1 and 2 contain 84% of the quotes pertaining to his connections.<sup>40</sup> Assuming that Seneca used the same pattern for Gallio, and that he enjoyed a preface in one of the lost books, we can assume that about 80% of his connections elude us.<sup>41</sup> Since Gallio is one of the few declaimers who left significant traces outside the anthology,<sup>42</sup> the current text most likely gives a greatly distorted view of his importance within the declamatory milieu.

A similar bias certainly applies to the figures who appear in the prefaces of C. 3 and 4: Cassius Severus, Asinius Pollio and Haterius. All three are well represented in the surviving books, but their connections are not distributed in the same way. Since Haterius' relationships appear in only three books (2 in C. 4 *praef.*, 2 in C. 9, 1 in *Suas.*), he is obviously presented in a pattern similar to that of Votienus. One can conclude that the content of C. 4 would have given him more weight, and safely assume that the importance of Haterius is largely underestimated in the network reconstructed from the remaining books. The situation is somewhat similar for Cassius Severus and Asinius Pollio. Their relationships appear in five books, and more densely so in the prefaces in which they feature. One can assume that, like Latro, their well-distributed presence in the text would have been increased by the contents of C. 3 and 4, giving them even more weight in a network in which they already feature prominently.

The rhetor Cestius Pius represents a very different case: he enjoys the highest centrality degree, and a very stable distribution, even in the absence of a preface.<sup>43</sup>

40 Respectively, 10 links for C. 1, 11 for C. 2, 2 for C. 7, 1 for C. 9, and 1 for C. 10.

41 Gallio's links are featured as follows: C. 1: 1, C. 10: 1, S.: 2.

42 *Ov. Pont.* 4.11, *Inst.* 3.1.21, *Tac. Ann.* 6.1–3, *Dio* 58.18.

43 As Seneca was clearly hostile to Cestius, we can safely assume that he was not featured in the prefaces (he already appears in C. 3 *pr.* 16–8 as one of the victims of Cassius' jest).

His 33 attested critical exchanges (which materialize 22 different links) are distributed in a relatively homogeneous way<sup>44</sup>, but they feature massively in book 1 with 12 occurrences. Of these 12 occurrences, only one links Cestius to Latro<sup>45</sup>, the declaimer presented in the preface. In the same way, there is no Fabianus-Cestius link in book 2 (in whose preface Fabianus appears),<sup>46</sup> and one finds only 3 links (referring to the same event) between Albucius and Cestius in book 7 (in whose preface Albucius is described).<sup>47</sup> In other words, the content of the prefaces has no influence on the mentions of Cestius' connections. We can thus conclude that the lost books would not have left Cestius aside and would have made his connections grow even more. Cestius is very much at the center of Seneca's picture of the declamatory world.

### a.3 *Reading principles*

These various distortions can be summarized as four sets of methodological principles.

- 1) The anthology originally included characters who are now completely unknown to us, or who are relegated to the background of the surviving corpus. These characters may have played as important a role as Votienus Montanus in Seneca's original text. Thus, the extant text would have added other relationships and subgroups to those we now identify, but it would not necessarily have changed the position of the declaimers who now enjoy the highest centrality.
- 2) The figures who appear in the prefaces of the extant books (Porcius Latro, Arellius Fuscus, Albucius Silus, Votienus Montanus, in C. 1, 2, 7, and 9 respectively) enjoy the best possible textual presence. Any discrepancy between this favorable situation and their role in the network must then be considered as particularly significant.
- 3) As for the figures mentioned in the prefaces of C. 3 and 4 (Cassius Severus, Asinius Pollio and Haterius), many of their connections are now lost to us since these books have survived only as excerpts. Their roles were certainly more important than they appear to be in the present state of the text.
- 4) As for the characters who appear outside the prefaces, some, like Cestius, are faithfully represented in the remaining books; others, like Iunius Gallio, must have appeared much more extensively in the original anthology.

---

44 C. 2: 5 links, C. 3 *pr.*: 2, C. 7: 7, C. 9: 6, S.: 1.

45 C. 1.5.9

46 C. 2.5.18.

47 C. 7 *pr.* 8–9.

## b. Data collection

The corpus used for this study is based on L. Hakanson's Teubner edition (1989). Using the Brepolis LLT database,<sup>48</sup> I relied on a lexical approach to aggregate a working corpus containing all potential mentions of criticism, appreciation, evaluation or inquiry by anyone other than Seneca. In accordance with Seneca's linguistic habits, the following markers were used, with a set of wildcards in order to retain all possible verbal, nominal and adjectival forms:

- Verbs used to introduce a comment made by someone other than Seneca: *ait*, *aiebat*, *dicebat* (*ait/aiebat* is never used to introduce excerpts, *dicebat* very rarely so).
- Verbs, adverbs and nouns indicating criticism: *accedere*, *adsensus*, *adsentior*, *admirari*, *amator*, *arguere*, *coarguere*, *corripere*, *displicere*, *improbare*, *laudare*, *male*, *mirari*, *negare*, *obiurgare*, *placere*, *probare*, *putare*, *respondere*, *sentire*, *urgere*, *uocare*.
- Verbal adjectives indicating a precept to follow: *abstinendum*, *agendum*, *declamandum*, *dicendum*, *disputandum*, *efficiendum*, *faciendum*, *ferendum*, *parcendum*, *quaerendum*, *sequendum*, *suadendum*, *tractandum*, *uindicandum*, *uitandum*.
- Markers of aggression and derision: *contumeliose*, *deridere*, *ridere*.

The search in the Brepolis LLT yielded more than 450 hits, which were manually parsed, analyzed, tagged and supplemented by a complete rereading of the anthology in order to build a working corpus collecting all the instances of a critical link between two declaimers, with the following criteria:

- 1) All comments and reactions by one declaimer to the performance of another were treated as marking a critical relationship. No distinction was made between simple mentions (*Moschi color non placebat Gallioni*, C. 10.1.12), quotations in direct speech (*aiebat Cestius: 'quod si ad deridendum me dixit, homo uenustus fuit'*, C. 9.6.12), or in indirect speech (*Belle de hoc uitio illius Scaurus aiebat illum acta in aurem legere*, C. 2.1.39).
- 2) To be retained in the corpus, critical comments had to have unambiguous sources and targets. Thus, unsourced comments (as in C. 1.8.11 on Aeschines: *Videbatur hic non seruasse ...*), and comments of a general nature that could not be linked to a specific target (as for *Latro* in C. 1.1.25 and 2.3.15, and *Cestius* in C. 7.5.14) were not taken into account. In the same way, comments addressed to a group (a series of previously quoted declaimers), where no individualization is possible, were omitted (*Romanus Hispo* in C. 7.7.14).

---

48 The Library of Latin Texts provided by Brepols (<https://www.brepols.net/series/LLT-O>) contains the Teubner text for Seneca's anthology, and allows for complex searches within it.

- 3) Critical remarks directed at declaimers who did not practice in Rome<sup>49</sup> were not taken into account, since they denote a textual rather than a social relationship. This led to the exclusion of the rhetor Hybreas (see above, 6).
- 4) The criticism had to be explicitly stated by the source itself. A simple contrast between two declaimers was not considered sufficient, as in the following example (C. 1.8.11), where *Latro* seems to oppose *Aeschines*:

*Hoc loco Aeschines ex nouis declamatoribus, cum diceret: 'non me gloria cupidiorum tui fecit, non omnibus admiranda uirtus, confitebor' inquit 'adfectus patris, quos ut quisque uolet interpretetur: οὕτως ἄν καὶ δειλὸν ἐφίλουν'. [...] Placebat autem Latroni potius ratione retinere patrem quam affectu, cum in ratione habeat aliquem locum et affectus.*

In this passage, *Aeschines*, one of the new declaimers, said: “Your fame did not make me more fond of you, nor your virtue that is the wonder of all. I will confess what a father feels – let each take it as he likes: I should love even a coward as much.” [...] *Latro*, however, wanted the father to hold his son back because of reason rather than emotion, though emotion too has some place in reason.

In this case, *Seneca* mentions *Latro*’s preference for one type of treatment over another (*placebat potius*: reason rather than emotion), but there is no explicit indication that *Latro* directly criticized *Aeschines* (who focused on emotion rather than reason). Since this opposition may be due to *Seneca* himself, the mention was not retained (as is the case with *Latro*, *Cestius* and *Geminus* in C. 7.8.10).

- 5) Finally, the criticism must take place exclusively within the declamatory space. Thus, the comment by *Votienus Montanus* on a speech delivered in court by *P. Vinicius* (C. 7.5.12) and the remark of the same *P. Vinicius* on *Ovid*’s poetry (C. 10.4.25) were left aside.

Once these problematic cases were set aside, the final corpus included 104 different mentions of actual critical comments between declaimers. This raw data was then turned into a CSV file that aggregates these passages and their textual references, the section of the text in which the comment occurred (section dealing with *sententiae*, *colores*, *diuisiones* or preface), the source, and the target, as shown in Tab. 2.<sup>50</sup> Finally, the original dataset was transformed into a list of relationships between declaimers. The list of relationships was then converted into an *R* graph (Tab. 3).

49 For geographical and chronological data on the declaimers, see Echavarren 2007.

50 For the full dataset, see the CSV file *Critics\_data*, and the table below, 45.

| Mention of criticism                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Section of chapter | Source          | Target         |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| C. 1.1.20 <i>Buteonis colorem non probabat Latro: praestitisse se dixit exiguum, tantum quo spiritum posset producere, et cum descripsisset pallorem eius ac maciem, adiecit: apparet illum ab inimicis ali. Hunc colorem cum improbaret Latro, hac sententia usus est: non est, inquit, abdicato quicquam ex gloria criminis sui detrahendum.</i> | colores            | Porcius Latro   | Buteo          |
| C. 1.3.8 <i>impro&lt;ba&gt;bat Albucium, quod haec non tamquam particulas incurrentes in quaestionem tractasset sed tamquam problemata philosophumena.</i>                                                                                                                                                                                         | diuisiones         | Cestius Pius    | Albucius Silus |
| C. 4p11 <i>Memini et illam contradictionem sic ab illo positam magnam materiam Pollionis Asinii et tunc Cassi Seueri iocis praeuisse: 'at, inquit, inter pueriles condiscipulorum sinus lasciua manu obscena iussisti.'</i>                                                                                                                        | praefatio          | Asinius Pollio  | Haterius       |
| S. 6.11 <i>et adiecit illam sententiam, quam Cassius Seuerus unice mirabatur: quid deficiemus?</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | sententiae         | Cassius Seuerus | Varius Geminus |

**Tab. 2** Extract from raw dataset

| Source           | Target            |
|------------------|-------------------|
| Cassius Severus  | Varius Geminus    |
| Fabius Maximus   | Romanus Hispo     |
| Iunius Gallio    | Romanus Hispo     |
| Iulius Bassus    | Porcius Latro     |
| Messala Corvinus | Papirius Fabianus |
| Haterius         | Clodius Sabinus   |

**Tab. 3** Extract from relationship list (6 out of 104 instances)

### c. Tools, key operating concepts and methodology

The *R* environment (via *Rstudio*) was used for all data handling, graph construction, graph analysis and plotting. I used the *tidyverse* and *dplyr* packages to aggregate the data and construct the dataframe, the *igraph* package to build the graphs and perform the graph analysis, and the *ggraph* package to plot the graphs.

The graph building process can be briefly summarized as follows. The list of relationships mentioned above (Tab. 3) forms the basis for the construction of the graph. Each name in the list represents one member of the network, and each member becomes a ‘node’ (or ‘vertex’) in the graph. Each row of the list corresponds to a verified contact and is materialized as a link between two nodes. Each of these links is called an ‘edge’ in the graph. Since several links can exist between the same declaimers, these edges are ‘weighted’ according to the number of attested contacts between the same declaimers.<sup>51</sup> Finally, since critical relationships are not bidirectional, these edges do have a direction that must be taken into account. The graph is thus ‘directed’: it shows (in the form of arrows in the plot) the source and target of the edge. Using this data, constructing the graph involved the following steps:

- extracting a list of nodes from the relationships list
- enriching each node with attributes:<sup>52</sup> language used in the delivery (Greek or Latin), role (teacher, student or simple declaimer, see below, 23, n. 64) and status (senatorial rank or not) in order to detect possible ‘homophilies of status’<sup>53</sup>
- compiling the edge list
- building the directed graph with the *igraph* package
- plotting the graph with the *ggraph* package<sup>54</sup>

The analysis was then performed on three levels: on the graph as a whole, on the nodes themselves, and on the subgroups detected within the graph.

The measures applied to the whole network were the most basic, which simply aimed at determining the general nature of the graph: its ‘diameter’ (the maximum distance between two nodes, function *diameter()*), its ‘average distance’ (the average distance between two nodes, function *mean\_distance()*), and its ‘density’

---

51 For example, the edge linking declaimer 2 (Cestius) to declaimer 24 (Albucius) has a weight of 5, because the anthology shows five instances in which Cestius criticizes Albucius.

52 In each case, I relied on the information provided by Echavarren 2007.

53 Kadushin 2012, 19.

54 I systematically used the force-directed drawing algorithm to plot the graphs, along with the *set.seed* function, for the sake of legibility.

(the number of existing edges compared to the number of possible edges in the network, function *edge\_density()*). These measures are useful when one wants to evaluate “the overall ‘closeness’ of the individuals in that network”,<sup>55</sup> that is, how tightly connected the various members are.

A second set of measures has been applied to the nodes themselves. The first measure concerns the ‘centrality’ of the nodes,<sup>56</sup> or the number and importance of each node’s connections. This centrality was assessed through ‘degree centrality’ (measuring the number of direct connections),<sup>57</sup> ‘betweenness centrality’ (measuring how important a node is for connecting other nodes in the graph),<sup>58</sup> and ‘eigenvector centrality’ or ‘relative centrality’ (measuring “how connected the vertex is to other influential vertices”).<sup>59</sup>

Finally, the analysis focused on the group dynamics that structure the network, and thus on the detection of ‘subgroups’ formed by declaimers who interact more intensely with each other. The detection of these subgroups is achieved by using computational methods provided by the *R* environment. The first of these, the methodology of ‘clique detection’, aims to identify subgroups (‘cliques’) where all members interact with one another.<sup>60</sup> It gave poor results for our network, since the graph shows very few cliques, and none with more than three members. The other method aims to detect ‘communities’. In the terminology of network analysis, communities refer to a subset where relationships are denser, and ‘community detection’ aims to identify a “high edge density between the vertices inside a cluster”.<sup>61</sup> Therefore, the notion of ‘community’ that I use in this paper does not refer to a group of declaimers who would share common tastes or rhetorical options, or to the declaimers’ use of common literary passages.<sup>62</sup> Here, communities simply gather declaimers who are *connected by more intense relationships of approval, opposition or conflict*: members are brought together in a community because they offer more criticism of or praise to each other than they do to non-members. In other words, these communities did not necessarily see themselves as such: they simply help materialize, within the graph, a higher degree of consideration for the performances of their ‘members’. *R* offers several algorithms to perform community detection, but for our network, the Louvain algorithm – which I ended up using exclusively – proved to be the

---

55 McNulty 2022, § 5.1.4.

56 Kadushin 2012, 31–33.

57 McNulty 2022, § 6.1.1.

58 McNulty 2022, § 6.1.3.

59 McNulty 2022, § 6.1.4.

60 Kadushin 2012, 47.

61 McNulty 2022, § 7.1.3.

62 Huelsenbeck 2015, 57.

most efficient.<sup>63</sup> For the sake of clarity, I have given each community the name of the declaimer who, within that community, presented the highest eigenvector (a measure showing how connected a node is to other influential nodes) – but it should not be assumed that this central figure was necessarily some sort of ‘leader’ of the community.

## 4. Network Analysis

### a. General structure of the network

Our network includes 52 people: 30 declaimers (including 17 senators), 16 teachers, and 6 students.<sup>64</sup> Of these 52 speakers, only four declaimed in Greek.<sup>65</sup> With a diameter of 9, and a mean-distance of 2.279012, the network includes many declaimers who are very loosely connected to the rest of network, especially Greek speakers (Dorion, Lesbocles, Nicetes, and Nicocrates). Two pairs (Bruttedius Niger – Valerius Syriacus; Dorion – Nicocrates) even form autonomous ‘dyads’: these declaimers relate to each other but are not connected to anyone else. More importantly, the network has a very low density (0.03016591), with only 80 edges (out of 2652 possible connections) between its 52 nodes.<sup>66</sup> As these different measures of closeness clearly show, the network does not form a tightly knit group.

The 52 members of the network are divided into five communities. The first graph (Fig. 1) plots the network with its five communities differentiated by color, and indicates the status of each node (teacher, student, declaimer) with three different symbols.

Two of these communities include teachers as central figures (Cestius and Latro), while three place prominent declaimers in their center (Votienus Montanus, Asinius Pollio, Messala Corvinus). The graph paints a picture that is sharply different from the one Seneca painted with his *primum tetradeum*: Capito is ab-

63 The community detection algorithms were applied to a non-directed version of the graph. The results were included afterward as node attributes in the directed graph, for the sake of visualization. On the characteristics of algorithms used for community detection, see McNulty 2022, § 7.1.3.

64 I designate as ‘student’ a character who appears only in relation to his teacher and is never featured independently. Some declaimers are identified as students of a certain teacher, but do declaim in his absence (like Argentarius, pupil of Cestius, or Papirius Fabianus, pupil of Fuscus): these are categorized as declaimers.

65 On the presence of Greek declaimers within Roman declamation, see Citti 2007, Lechi 2008, Citti 2018, Guérin 2020, 61–66.

66 If all members were connected to one another, the network would exhibit 2652 edges (“Density is defined as, the number of direct actual connections divided by the number of possible direct connections in a network”, Kadushin 2012, 29).

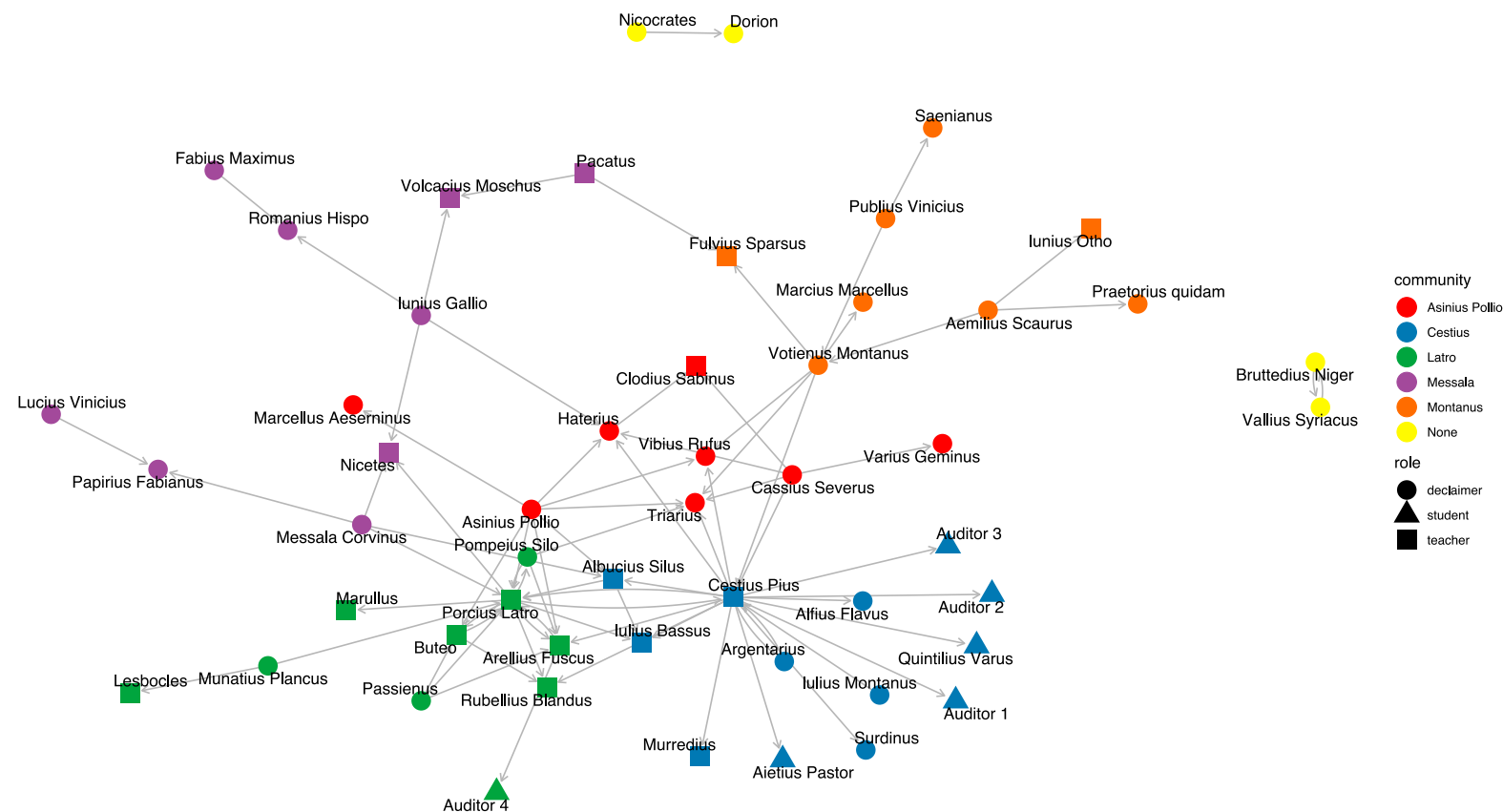


Fig. 1 Role, community

sent from the network, and Gallio, as one might expect (see above, 16), does not feature among the most central figures. More strikingly, neither Albucius nor Fuscus emerge as the main protagonists of their communities (the Cestius and Latro communities, respectively), even though their textual situation is most favorable in our text, as we have seen (see Tab. 1). Although their respective eigenvectors rank among the highest,<sup>67</sup> they live in the shadow of more influential people within their group, as the second graph (Fig. 2, where the size of each vertex varies according to its eigenvector) shows.

Before analyzing the situation of the main members of the network, as well as the structure of each community, I will first offer a tentative explanation for this discrepancy affecting Albucius and Fuscus.

The situation concerning Albucius, who appears throughout the anthology as a character who mainly keeps to himself, can be explained quite easily. Seneca reports that he heard little of him, for he spoke in public only five or six times a year, and that his private exercises, presumably intended for his students, were largely closed to the public.<sup>68</sup> Although Seneca placed him in the *tetradeum*, Albucius himself did not dare to comment much on other declaimers (out-degree 2, with only one recorded comment on a *sententia* by Latro, C. 10.1.14). Criticized five times by Cestius, once by Pollio, and once by Messala, Albucius attracted the attention of central figures, which explains his rather high eigenvector (0.3315). But he had no self-confidence,<sup>69</sup> and Seneca describes him as a manic imitator, always in search of a better model.<sup>70</sup> Moreover, Suetonius' biography indicates that Albucius had placed himself under the patronage of Munatius Plancus, who himself, according to Seneca, was a *summus amator* of Latro:<sup>71</sup> Albucius remained in the shadow of others, and the graph clearly shows a figure who, though important, did not play a structuring role within the community.

The position of Fuscus is more surprising, since Seneca never suggests that he was cut off from the milieu. One of the most quoted declaimers – especially for his *Suasoriae* – he was a prominent teacher, who counted Ovidius and the philosopher Papirius Fabianus (one of Seneca the Younger's models) among his students, and had his declamations widely disseminated in writing.<sup>72</sup> The graph, however, places Fuscus in the orbit of Latro. Author of only two remarks, he

---

67 Arellius Fuscus: 0.226768214116693, Albucius Silus: 0.336126393804789.

68 C. 7 pr. 1. Albucius also stayed away from the forum, and put an early end to his forensic career (Suet. *DGR* 30.5).

69 C. 7 pr. 5: *nulla erat fiducia ingenii sui*; C. 7 pr. 6: *Tristis, sollicitus declamator et qui de dictione sua timeret etiam cum dixisset*.

70 C. 7 pr. 4–5.

71 See Suet, *DGR* 30.1 and C. 1.8.15.

72 Lockyer 1970, 178–81.

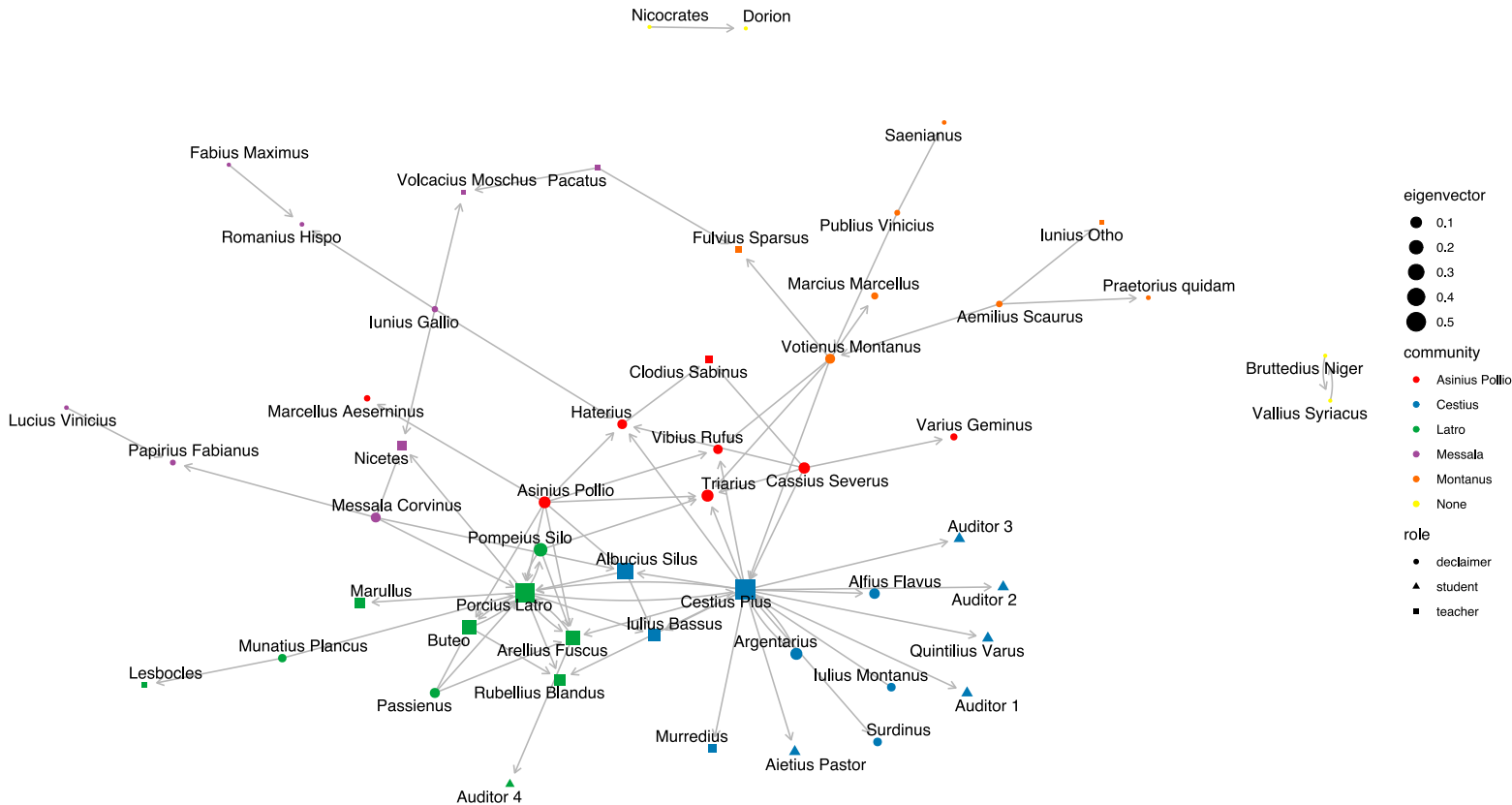


Fig. 2 Role, community, eigenvector

seems to have mainly been the object of criticism by others, especially for his *colores*, which tended to be implausible or to add elements that were alien to the theme, in obvious violation of the basic rules of declamation.<sup>73</sup> The anthology passes over Fuscus as a critic, and even more so as a teacher, and his situation is difficult to interpret. It shall become clearer when contrasted with that of Cestius (see below, 39).

## b. Central members and community structures

Communities can be distributed according to the position of their central node, by using three different sets of measures. The first is based on betweenness centrality, which measures “how important a given vertex is in connecting other pairs of vertices in the graph”<sup>74</sup> and thus helps to assess its role as a bridge between the other members of the network<sup>75</sup>. The third graph (Fig. 3) shows significant differences between the various declaimers in this regard.

The betweenness centrality measure places two nodes at the top, far above the other participants: Cestius Pius (242.5) and Porcius Latro (189.5). They are followed by Votienus Montanus (52), Haterius (16), Arellius Fuscus (15) and Pompeius Silo (3.5). The other 45 declaimers have a betweenness centrality of 0. Thus Asinius Pollio and Messala Corvinus, although central within their communities, seem to play only a minor role in connecting the various members of the network when taken as a whole. Should we conclude that three communities functioned as bridges in the network (Cestius, Latro, Montanus), while two others functioned more or less in isolation? The betweenness measure should not be interpreted in this way, since the network does not use any kind of social interaction as a sign of connection, but only critical comments. Thus, the difference between these communities lies elsewhere, in the fact that Pollio and Messala only *emit* criticism but do not themselves attract comments, unlike Votienus, Latro or Cestius, who play the role of both *emitter* and *receiver* of comments. The next two graphs (Fig. 4 & 5) successively highlight the producers of criticism (by ‘out-degree centrality’, showing the number of declaimers they comment on, Fig. 4) and the receivers (by ‘in-degree centrality’, showing the number of declaimers who comment on them, Fig. 5). The numerical data are then presented in Tables 4 and 5.

Besides the two most important communities (Latro and Cestius, to which I will return below, 35), we can detect a common pattern in the two communities

73 On the *colores* of Fuscus, see C. 1.3.9, 2.3.22 (Cestius), 1.7.15 (Pompeius Silo), 7.2.12 (Passienus), 7.7.14 (Romanus Hispo). See also C. 2.3.11 (Latro) and S. 1.11 (Asinius Pollio) on the divisions of Fuscus. On Fuscus’ faulty *colores*, see Guérin 2022.

74 McNulty 2022, § 6.1.3.

75 Kadushin 2012, 32–3.

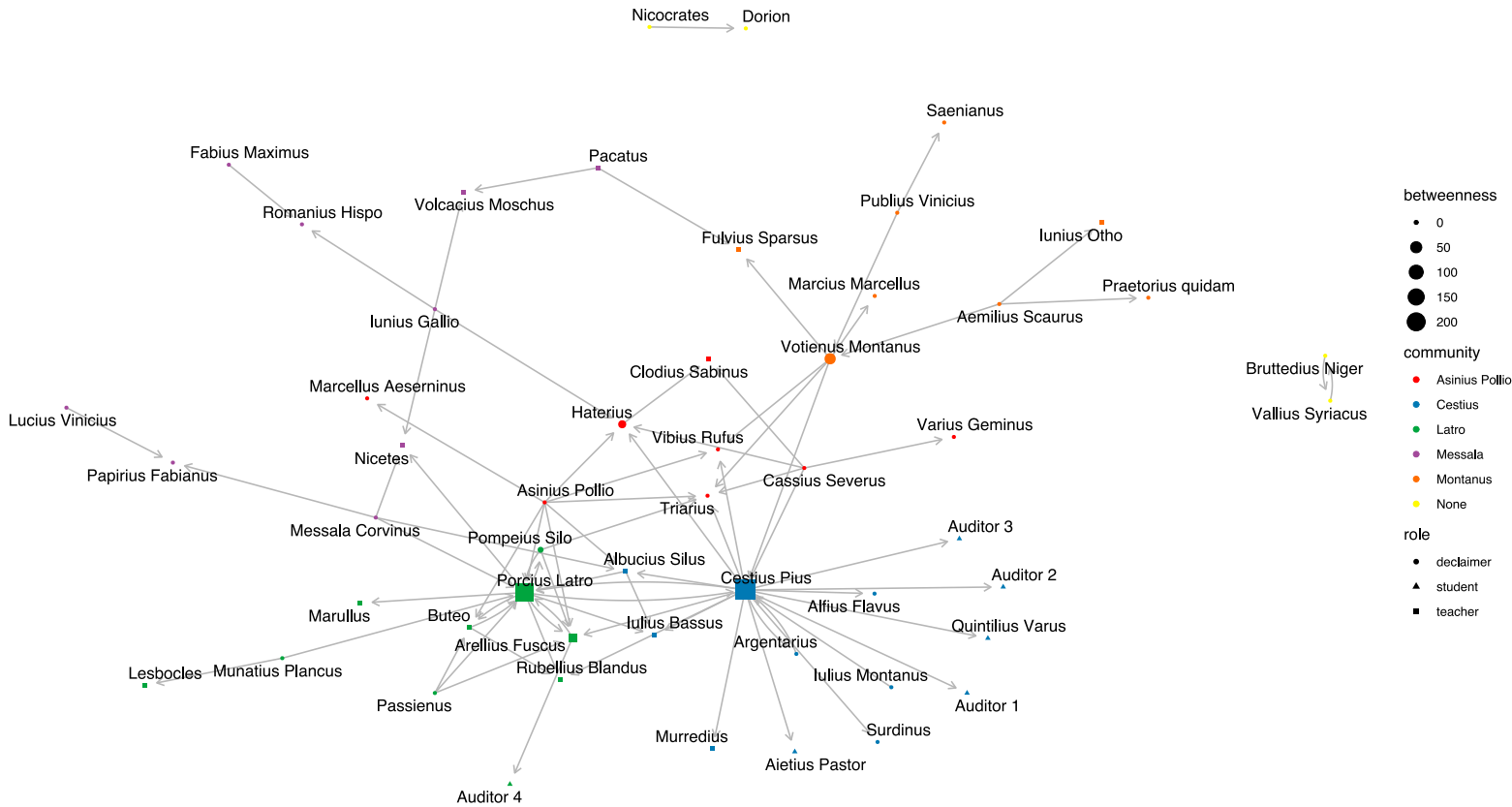


Fig. 3 Role, community, betweenness centrality

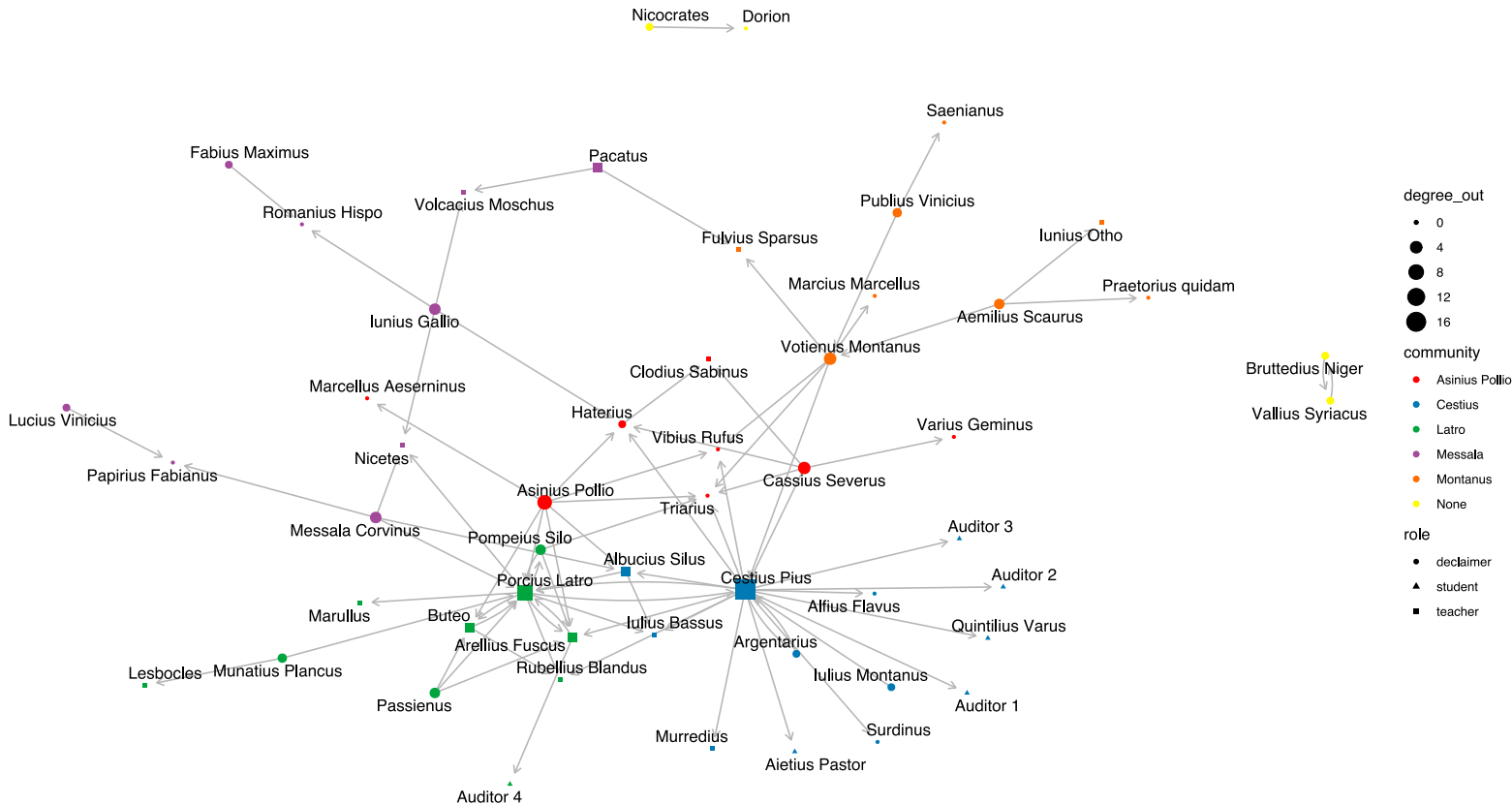


Fig. 4 Role, community, out-degree

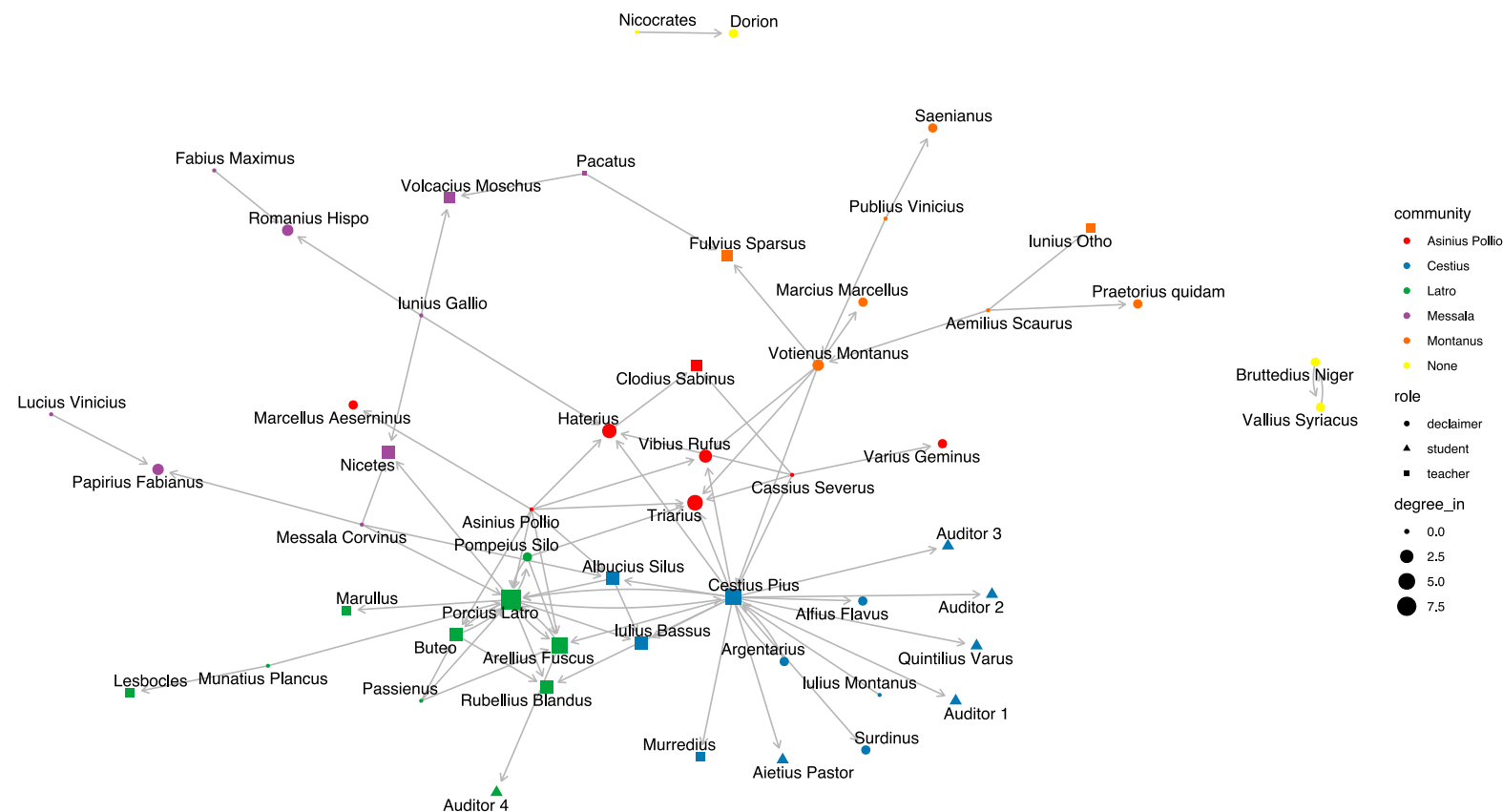


Fig. 5 Role, community, in-degree

| Declaimer                | Out-degree | In-degree | Betweenness |
|--------------------------|------------|-----------|-------------|
| <b>Cestius Pius</b>      | 17         | 5         | 242.5       |
| <b>Porcius Latro</b>     | 8          | 9         | 189.5       |
| <b>Asinius Pollio</b>    | 8          | 0         | 0           |
| <b>Votienus Montanus</b> | 5          | 2         | 52          |
| Cassius Severus          | 5          | 0         | 0           |

**Tab. 4** List of declaimers showing the five highest out-degree measures (communities main nodes in bold)

| Declaimer            | In-degree | Out-degree | Betweenness |
|----------------------|-----------|------------|-------------|
| <b>Porcius Latro</b> | 9         | 8          | 189.5       |
| <b>Cestius Pius</b>  | 5         | 17         | 242.5       |
| Arellius Fuscus      | 5         | 2          | 15          |
| Triarius             | 5         | 0          | 0           |
| Haterius             | 4         | 1          | 16          |

**Tab. 5** List of declaimers showing the five highest in-degree measures (communities main nodes in bold)

where critical relationships are most uneven (Asinius Pollio, Messala). In the last community (Montanus), the relationships seem to be more evenly distributed.

The Pollio community gathers 8 individuals, and is characterized by the high social status of its members, as it gathers five declaimers of senatorial rank (62.5%) as shown in the sixth graph (Fig. 6), which displays both the community and the senatorial status of each node.

The Pollio community is sharply divided into two subgroups: those who criticize (Asinius Pollio and Cassius Severus), and their victims (criticism in this subgroup could often become viciously aggressive),<sup>76</sup> with Haterius (a senator) the only one to play both roles.<sup>77</sup> Although he declaimed, Asinius Pollio here embodies the dilettante critic whose authority, poise and social standing<sup>78</sup> ensured that he could criticize almost anyone with little risk, and with no real fear of being criticized himself.<sup>79</sup> Cassius Severus, who did not hold a senatorial position and was known for his low origins (Tac., *Dial.* 26), shows another type of behavior. Cassius, in fact, imposed his presence on the declaimers (and political figures) through verbal violence, and took pleasure in debasing declamation and its milieu.<sup>80</sup> Thus, the overall structure of the community is not determined by the social positions of its various members, but only by the roles (critics/recipients) they played within it. Since there is no direct contact between Pollio and Cassius (they do not belong to the same social circles, and their paths never cross within the anthology), it is clear that, in the current state of the text (that is, without the information that C. 4 would have provided), the Pollio community does not appear as a space where actual exchanges take place, but rather seems to be simply aggregated around the common victims of the two critics: Haterius, Triarius and Clodius Sabinus.<sup>81</sup> An exception to this pattern is provided by Marcellus Aeserninus, a close friend of Asinius Pollio who was involved in his training: in

---

76 See for example, on Triarius, C. 2.3.19 *deridebat hoc Asinius Pollio*, C. 10.5.19 *hos aiebat Cassius Seuerus qui hoc facerent similes sibi uideri furibus*.

77 This dual role makes Haterius a potentially important figure in this space, but with the loss of C. 4, his centrality within the network is mechanically diminished (see above, 16).

78 A former lieutenant of Caesar, Pollio was closely associated with the triumvirate and became a prominent member of the imperial court as well as a major intellectual figure (as orator and historian, but also as declaimer) during the reign of Augustus.

79 We must nevertheless keep in mind that Seneca may have chosen to concentrate on the criticisms that affected him in the now lost C. 4.

80 Cassius Severus was condemned and exiled by Augustus ca. 8 CE and exiled further away by Tiberius (see D'Hautcourt 1995, Deroux 2004). Maternus, in Tacitus' *Dialogus de oratoribus*, criticizes his violence both in everyday life and as an orator (*Dial.* 26.5). The anthology contains only one positive remark by Cassius, on Varius Geminus (S. 6.11), but the praise can also be read as a criticism of the genre of declamation as a whole.

81 Triarius enjoys a special status among these three. Attacked by 5 different critics, he offers a meeting point between four communities (Pollio, Montanus, Latro, Cestius), and was used by Seneca to personify the stereotype of the bad declaimer (C. 1.7.7; 2.1.15).

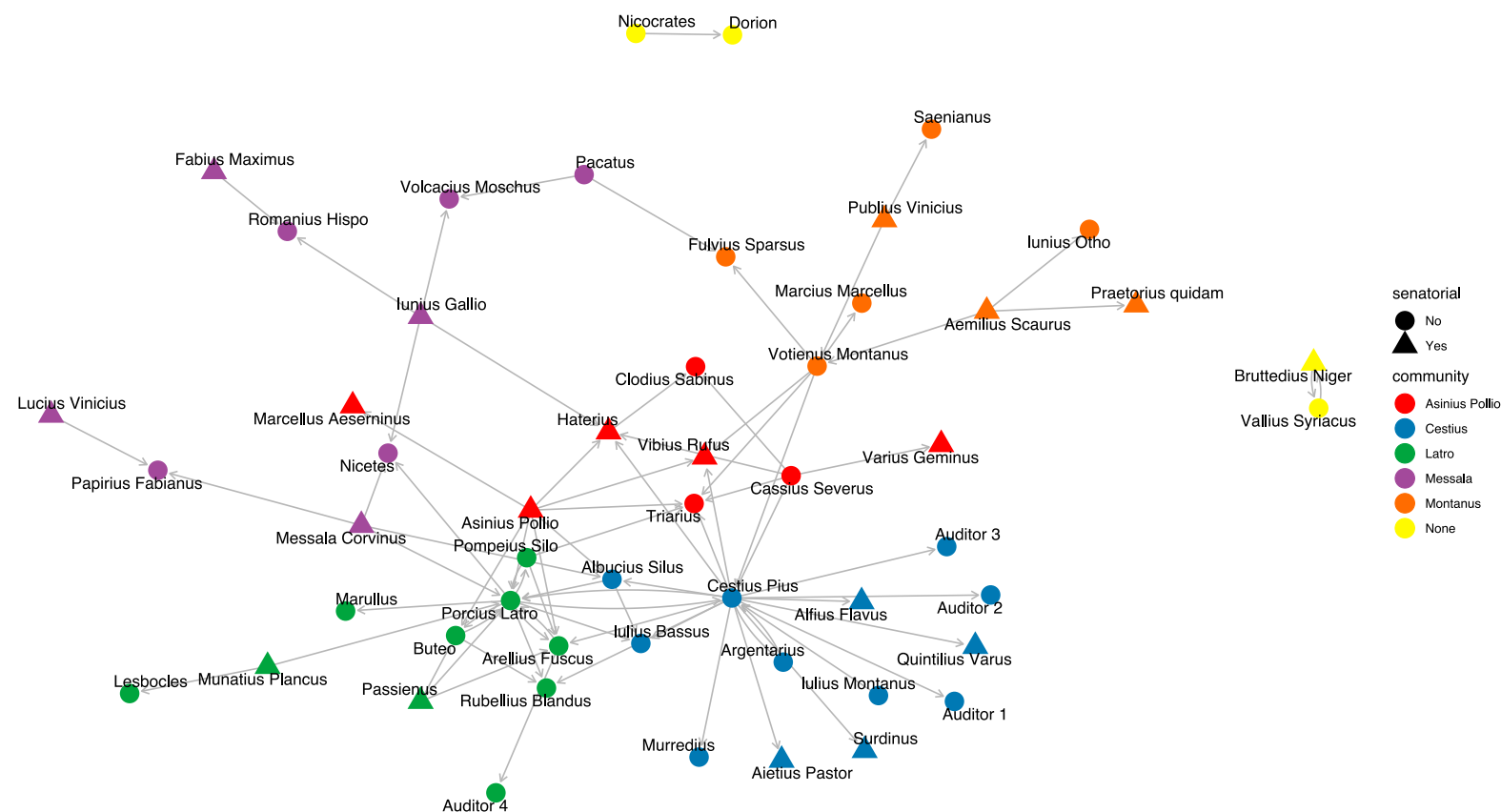


Fig. 6 Community, senatorial status

C. 4 *praef.* 3, Seneca depicts Pollio correcting one of his protégé's declamations.<sup>82</sup> In this case, the critical relationship reflects a strong intellectual connection, all but unique within this community.

The Messala community is made up of 9 individuals, including 4 senators (44.5%). The division of functions is as clear-cut as in the Pollio community (5 characters give criticism, 4 receive it, no one plays both roles simultaneously),<sup>83</sup> but this time it corresponds to a clear social divide. Four of the five critics are senators (Messala Corvinus, Gallio, Fabius Maximus, Lucius Vinicius), while none of those being criticized are. The graph thus reveals a group structured around two central critics (Messala and Gallio) who launch their attacks on characters of lower social rank, three of whom are teachers (Nicetes, Romanus Hispo, Volcacius Moschus). As in the case of the Pollio community, the group does not constitute a space in which real exchanges can take place: it simply delineates the critical activity of an intellectual circle – that of Messala and Gallio, to which Seneca probably belonged, as S. 3.6–7 suggests – at the expense, for the most part, of declamation teachers.<sup>84</sup>

The Montanus community consists of ten members, including 3 senators and 2 teachers. Here too, we can draw a sharp distinction between figures who exclusively issue (Publicus Vinicius, Aemilius Scaurus) and others who exclusively receive criticism.<sup>85</sup> Votienus Montanus, the central figure of the community, is the only declaimer who plays both roles. In contrast to the Messala community, the division between the issuers and the recipients of criticism is not a social one: although he was well introduced into the circles of power (which led to his downfall after an indictment *de maiestate* in 25 CE), Votienus was not a senator. The group represented by the graph is clearly organized around him. He acts as a bridge between its various members, as evidenced by his betweenness of 52, which makes him one of the top three figures in the network for this measure. What we see emerging here is a space where discussions and exchanges actually took place, and which was structured around an individual who was not a teacher. It is through two important school figures, Latro and Cestius, that this model of exchange will take full shape, in two different forms: the declamatory circle, and the declamatory school.

---

82 C. 4 *praef.* 3: [...] *praetermissa ostendebat, tacta leuiter implebat, uitiosa coarguebat; deinde dicebat partem contrariam.*

83 M. Valerius Messala Corvinus is the most prestigious member of the community. Born around 64 BCE, he fought against Octavian at Philippi, joined the armies of Antonius, and progressively managed to become closer to Octavian. He became consul in 31 BCE, and later became a prominent member of Augustus' court and intellectual circle.

84 The devaluation of the Greek rhetor Nicetes played an important role within this circle, as evidenced by Gallio's frequent jokes about him, which were very much enjoyed by Messala, and even by the Emperor Tiberius (see Guérin 2020, 71–72).

85 Fulvius Sparsus, Iunius Otho, Marcius Marcellus, Saenianus, and an unknown *praetor*.

### c. A circle and a school

The Cestius and Latro communities are the largest (with 13 nodes for Cestius and 10 for Latro) and gather around the two most central figures of the declamatory world depicted by Seneca. No other declaimer even comes close to the centrality of these two figures who, as we have seen, represent the two main connecting points of the network.

Cestius shows the highest centrality degree of the network (all-degree 22, out-degree 17, in-degree 5), the highest eigenvector (0.552) and the highest betweenness (242.5). Latro comes close behind,<sup>86</sup> but with an important difference in centrality as Latro exhibits a more balanced pattern with an in-degree of 9 and an out-degree of 8. This is enough to show that their respective roles in the network were quite different. Cestius was mainly portrayed as a critic by Seneca, as he received four times less criticism than he delivered in the entire anthology. Latro, on the other hand, shows almost the same score in both cases, and has the highest overall score as a target of criticism. This discrepancy corresponds to a fundamental difference of position – and perhaps of authority – in the declamatory milieu. The numerous comments that Latro received were not due to a major flaw or to low status: rather, they signaled his prevalence within the network. If so many declaimers referred to Latro, it was because he set the trends for the entire genre – or so Seneca would have us believe. Declaimers discussed his divisions, his style and his colors in many different ways. Plancus praised him (C. 1.8.15), Messala and Bassus condemned his style,<sup>87</sup> others approved<sup>88</sup> or questioned<sup>89</sup> some of his technical choices, but without casting any doubt on his intrinsic qualities: Latro obviously attracted a lot of attention among the declaimers. Moreover, not only did he connect with many declaimers, but he actually gathered around him a group of declaimers which was particularly lively.

The Latro community includes six issuers of criticism and eight targets; four figures play both roles. The declaimers in this subgroup are much more interconnected than anywhere else. They actually debate and exchange views on their respective performances: the contrast with the Pollio and Messala communities is particularly striking. But the position of Cestius and those around him is also quite different. Only five characters in the entire anthology comment on Cestius' performances, and none of their comments are laudatory – many of them were even tinged with aggression.<sup>90</sup> Even more strikingly, the anthology records only

---

86 Latro: all-degree 17, betweenness 189.5, eigenvector 0.496.

87 Messala: *sua lingua disertus est*, C. 2.4.8. Bassus: *Latronis illas sententias aiebat tumidas magis esse quam fortes*, C. 10.1.14.

88 Passienus, C. 2.5.17

89 Cestius C. 1.5.9, 2.6.6., Fuscus C. 2.3.16, Buteo C. 2.5.15, Messala C. 2.4.8, Silo C. 7.8.10.

90 See C. 3 pr. 16, 7.1.27, 9.3.12, 9.6.10,

three comments by figures other than Cestius within the community, namely Argentarius, Iulius Montanus (a declaimer close to the Emperor Tiberius), and Albucius. Of these three declaimers, only Iulius Montanus and Argentarius comment on Cestius. What Seneca wants us to understand is that Cestius attracted much less attention than Latro, that he was the object of vicious criticism, but also that his role was dramatically different from that of Latro, as was his behavior: our rhetor clearly stifled the debate and held everyone around him in his grip. Thus, with 17 criticisms issued and 5 received, Cestius appears in a position that seems quite similar to that of Pollio, but with one essential difference: Cestius was a teacher, and the community to which he belongs consists largely of his own students.

The discrepancies between the Latro community and the Cestius community reflect a fundamental difference in their composition, since no member of the Latro community can be identified as one of Latro's students,<sup>91</sup> while Cestius is linked to 8 of his students, who make up 61% of the community.<sup>92</sup> Latro's situation is due to his teaching method, since he simply declaimed in front of his students and refused to correct their declamations<sup>93</sup> – a method that Seneca finds much more respectable than the usual one, which involved a sequence of listening to the students, correcting them and then proposing a model declamation.<sup>94</sup> This explains why Seneca doesn't record any of Latro's critical comments about his students, and also reflects Latro's strategy of distinction, aimed at distancing himself from the schools and their teachers. As Asinius Pollio pointedly noted,<sup>95</sup> Latro did everything possible to adopt the behavior of a forum speaker. His goal was obviously to escape the socially degraded space of teaching, as he struggled to reach the higher social circles of Rome.<sup>96</sup>

But Cestius had no such ambition, and indeed his method of teaching was the traditional one, which suggests that the peculiar structure of the community to which he belonged could be explained by his pedagogical activity. Cestius' criti-

---

91 We know of only two students, possibly three, among those belonging to Latro's school: Echavarren 2007, 224.

92 Three anonymous students, Aietius Pastor, Quintilius Varus, but also Alfius Flavius, Argentarius and Surdinus (these last three characters are former students of Cestius. Since they declaim independently within the anthology, they are not identified as students in the graph).

93 For this reason, Latro's students were called *auditores* ('listeners'), as were those of Nicetes who used the same method (C. 9.2.23). At first derogatory, the term stuck and became widely used in the schools, whatever method they chose.

94 C. 9.2.23: "he said he was a model, not a school teacher" (*aiebat se non esse magistrum sed exemplum*). Seneca concludes by saying that "this was a case of selling one's oratory, not one's patience" (*Hoc erat non patientiam suam sed eloquentiam uendere*).

95 See C. 2.3.13.

96 Latro's strategy met that of Seneca, who himself tried to enhance the standing of his own circle and friends (see above, 6).

cism was mostly directed at his students, and therefore remained within his own school, where he legitimately acted as sole critical authority: what the structure of the graph shows above all is a teacher training his students. The situation was well known to his contemporaries, and Cassius Severus criticized the devotion of Cestius' students and the influence – which he considered quite harmful – that the rhetor had on them:

*Cestium suum praeferunt sed etiam Ciceroni praeferrent, nisi lapides timerent. Quo tamen uno modo possunt praeferunt; huius enim declamationes ediscunt, illius orationes non legunt nisi eas quibus Cestius rescripsit. C. 3 praef. 15.*

They prefer their Cestius, and they'd prefer him to Cicero, if they didn't fear a stoning. They do prefer him to Cicero, in fact, in the one way open to them: they learn off Cestius' declamations while not reading Cicero's speeches – except the ones to which Cestius has written replies.

We can therefore conclude that the centrality that Cestius enjoys in the network is the result of the emphasis that Seneca placed on his role as teacher (which he mentioned mainly to underline Cestius' harshness). The fact that Cestius also commented on many declaimers outside his school<sup>97</sup> can be read as another aspect of his teaching. In C. 1.3.11, while correcting a declamation by Aietius Pastor, Cestius ended his remarks with an angry comment:

*Cestius hunc corripuit et dixit: "Hoc est quare ego auditores meos inuitem ad alios audiendos ire?"*

Cestius picked on him and said: "Is this why I encourage my students to go and hear others?"

Cestius' school was thus not as inward-looking as Cassius Severus claimed: Cestius routinely had his students listen to other declaimers as part of their training.<sup>98</sup> However, they were asked to do so with a critical mindset, and needed to avoid bringing back bad habits from these sessions. Therefore, after criticizing Aietius Pastor, Cestius inveighed at length against Albucius and Bassus, who were the sources of the poor *sententia* used by the student.<sup>99</sup> In the same way, most of Cestius' comments must have been part of his teaching: they were certainly kept within the school and we should not picture Cestius making this kind of quip in a public venue. For the most part, Seneca did not describe Cestius when he performed in public, as the following exchange with his pupil Alfius Flavus clearly

97 Albucius Silus, Haterius, Iulius Bassus, Porcius Latro, Triarius, and Rubellius Blandus.

98 A parallel to this method can be found in the Armenian version of Aelius Theon's *Pro-gymnasmata*, chap. 14 (Patillon).

99 See above, 11.

shows. On this occasion, Cestius judged his student's performance, explained how to improve it, and declaimed his own version for the class:

*Cestius hunc colorem tam strictum non probavit, sed dixit temperandum esse, et ipse hoc colore usus est, quem statim a principio induxit. (C. 1.1.24)*

Cestius did not like this harsh colour, and said it should be toned down. He himself employed a colour which he brought in right from the start.

We must then assume that Seneca did in fact regularly visit Cestius' school – which was relatively open to outsiders.<sup>100</sup> When the anthology describes Cestius, it shows us a teacher at work.

Of course, Latro's criticism may also have been intended for his students. But the responses he received, the popularity he enjoyed, and the fact that other critics (such as Fuscus, himself a teacher) had sustained exchanges with him and are placed in the same subgroup by the Louvain algorithm, all suggest that his criticism was not intended solely for his students, and that his comments were uttered during public performances rather than within his school. Although we sometimes see Latro explaining his choices,<sup>101</sup> nothing in the text links these remarks to his actual teaching: in the anthology, his teaching practice is indistinguishable from his public performances. In other words, Latro stood at the center of a declamatory *circle* and was not simply the head of a *school* like Cestius. In all likelihood, he knew how to attract a wide audience – hence the dense flow of comments and remarks on his performances.

Latro and Cestius did not enjoy the same social standing. Latro had contact with the imperial court,<sup>102</sup> while Cestius, born in Asia Minor and originally a Greek speaker (although he declaimed exclusively in Latin),<sup>103</sup> may have been a freedman and was far removed from the circles which Latro frequented. However, Cestius was not a second-rate teacher, marginalized and despised like the poor *rhetor* Clodius Sabinus, who taught in both Latin and Greek.<sup>104</sup> Cestius attracted students from the highest circles, as shown in Fig. 6 (see above, 33): of the nineteen figures of senatorial rank present in the network, four are mentioned as Cestius' students, while all others are described as declaimers in their own right, free from any pedagogical relationship.<sup>105</sup> Of course, infor-

---

100 C. 3 *pr.* 16.

101 See for example C. 1 *pr.* 21, 7.2.8.

102 C. 2.4.12.

103 See Guérin 2020, 82–84.

104 C. 9.3.13–14.

105 Marcellus Aeserninus maintains a pedagogical relationship with Asinius Pollio, as we saw above, 32, but outside the schools.

mation about Latro's students is completely lacking – they are never mentioned *per se* –<sup>106</sup> which makes any kind of comparison difficult. Nevertheless, the presence of four senatorial students in Cestius' school is enough to show that he, too, knew how to attract the attention of the higher circles and that his teaching was perhaps worth the harshness that sometimes came with it. By the time Cestius rebuked him, Aietius Pastor was already an adult, and even a well-established senator, and Seneca was shocked by the abuse Cestius hurled at Quintilius Varus, the son of the famous defeated general.<sup>107</sup> surely, such an unpleasant and violent teacher must have had extraordinary rhetorical talents to treat these high-profile students as he did and still attract them.

The central role played by Latro and Cestius in the network illustrates the two prevalent approaches to school declamation at the beginning of the Principate: acting as a model for a declamatory circle (Latro), or applying a complete training program in an actual declamatory school (Cestius). This contrast, and Seneca's apparent preference for Latro's method, can finally help us make Arellius Fuscus' position a little clearer.<sup>108</sup> As a teacher himself, Fuscus favored the same method as Cestius, and his comments were certainly part of his teaching: we do indeed see him commenting on a performance by one of his students (an unknown figure labeled 'Auditor 4' in the graph), but this happens only once.<sup>109</sup> To explain Fuscus' limited presence in the critical network, we could therefore hypothesize that his critical activity, like that of Cestius, took place mainly within a traditional school setting. But as we see in the preface of C. 2, where he appears as a secondary figure, Seneca held Fuscus in high esteem, and indeed included him in the *tetradium*. We can therefore assume that Seneca tried to downplay the pedagogical aspect of Fuscus' activity in order to enhance his reputation, and thus passed over most of his criticisms, unwittingly relegating him to the background – at least in the picture drawn by our network.<sup>110</sup>

---

106 Florus, one of Latro's students, is mentioned for a *sententia* he made in Latro's absence (C. 9.2.23).

107 On Aietius Pastor, see above, 37; on Quintilius Varus, see C. 1.3.10 where Cestius relates his student's lack of precision to his father's catastrophic defeat: *ista neglegentia patertuus exercitum perdidit*.

108 On Fuscus' position within the network, see above, 25.

109 S. 4.5: *Auditor Fusci quidam [...] dixit [...]. Fuscus illi ait [...]*.

110 Other relationships and groups would have emerged if other relational markers – imitation or plagiarism, for example – had been chosen; this network only offers one of several possible configurations for Seneca's depiction of the Roman declamatory world.

## 5. Conclusion

The network analysis carried out on the corpus of critical comments found in Seneca the Elder's anthology has allowed us to identify three types of structuring within the declamatory world described in our source.

The first type corresponds to spaces where small groups comment on the performances of other declaimers (Pollio community, Messala community). These communities stifle any real critical debate. Within them, the recipients of criticism do not offer any comment themselves, either because they did not have the opportunity to do so, or because Seneca did not consider them worthy of memorialization, or because the textual losses (especially C. 4) have distorted our representation of these groups. What stands out in Seneca's depiction of these declamatory spaces is the divide between those who offer criticism, and those who are subjected to it. In the Messala community, this divide seems to be based on sharp differences in social status.

A second type, represented by the Montanus community, corresponds to a space where criticism flows more freely. With a declaimer who is neither a senator nor a teacher firmly set at its center, this space allows for genuine critical exchange among its members.

Finally, a third type materialized around the two prominent figures of the network, the teachers Porcius Latro and Cestius Pius. In the case of the Cestius community, we see the emergence of a school in the truest sense of the word, where a teacher mostly corrects his students or comments on other declaimers for their benefit. In the case of the Latro community, it is a literary circle that takes shape, where Latro stimulates debate and exchange.

This picture is quite different from the one suggested by the *tetradeum*. The incomplete state of the anthology undoubtedly explains why Iunius Gallio seems to be relegated to the background. Nevertheless, the general structure of the network, which pits two prominent teachers using two radically different pedagogical methods against each other, cannot simply be attributed to textual losses. The emergence of an unexpected figure from outside the *tetradeum*, Cestius Pius, and his constant juxtaposition with Latro, has been consciously set up by Seneca, in a move which probably hints at the role he thought (and lamented, as did Cassius Severus) that Cestius played among the declaimers of his time. Thus, books 1 and 2 of *Controversiae*, both of which highlight Latro, organize most of the declaimer's excerpts into sequences that include Cestius, often at the beginning of the chapters: 56% of Cestius' quotations are linked to Latro's and 52% of Latro's are linked to Cestius' (Tab. 6).

Although these sequences do not tell us anything about the concrete relationships between Latro and Cestius, they do confirm what the network itself makes

| Sequence                                   | Occurrences | Chapters                 |
|--------------------------------------------|-------------|--------------------------|
| Latro – Cestius                            | 14          | 1.2, 1.3, 1.6–8, 2.1–6   |
| Cestius – Latro                            | 4           | 2.3–6                    |
| Latro – member of Cestius’ group – Cestius | 5           | 1.1, 1.5, 2.2            |
| Other sequences for Cestius                | 18          | 1.1–4, 1.6–8, 2.1–3.     |
| Other sequences for Latro                  | 21          | 1.1–2, 1.4–8, 2.1, 2.3–5 |

**Tab. 6** Sequences of quotations for Latro and Cestius in C. 1–2.

clear: Seneca deliberately set these two declaimers in opposition to each other. It should come as no surprise that the criticism Seneca recorded tends to present the Roman world of declamation as globally divided into two main subgroups that were strongly linked to each of these figures, even to the point of sharing specific declamatory cultures. By distancing itself from the schools, the Latro community fit the model of what Seneca called ‘show declamation’ (*ostentatio*), while Cestius’ group remained conspicuously closer to what he called ‘training declamation’ (*exercitatio*),<sup>111</sup> and consequently stood lower on the scale of social prestige. The contrast between these two models gives the entire anthology – in its current state of preservation – its main underlying structure and shows that, while Seneca was obviously concerned with enhancing the prestige of Latro and describing declamation as a liberal pursuit, he nevertheless left us a unique testimony of the relationships and the social communities that developed within the schools.

Was this testimony entirely biased, and should we see this network simply as a reflection of Seneca’s idiosyncratic vision of the declamatory world? Perhaps not, for the opposition of Latro and Cestius remained visible in later sources. Quintilian, while condemning Cestius’ method of responding to Cicero’s speeches,<sup>112</sup> also advocated a pedagogy that seems to be the exact opposite of Latro’s: to receive proper training, the aspiring orator needed a teacher who would comment, correct and explain every step of the process.<sup>113</sup> A century later, Suetonius dedicated a now-lost biography to Cestius, along with Latro and Albius, and placed Cestius among the most important teachers of Roman elo-

111 C. 2 pr. 4; 3 pr. 14; 9 pr. 1, 4. See also Quint. *Inst.* 2.10.9–10, App. BC, 5.8.76.

112 *Inst.* 10.5.20.

113 See *inst.* 2.6.1–4, the use of declamation to explain the *status* theory (in part. *inst.* 3.6, 3.11, 7.1.42–63) and the pedagogical comments in Ps.-Quint. *Decl. min.* which reflect the exact same orientation.

quence.<sup>114</sup> The fact that these authors, who had access to sources other than Seneca's text, still retained the memory of these two figures may indicate that the general structure delineated in this network can be accepted with a reasonable degree of confidence. Even if other declaimers and subgroups disappeared along with the lost books or were deliberately neglected in the anthology, Cestius and Latro certainly played central – but very different – roles at a time when Roman declamation began to attract the attention of the Roman literate class, and to grow beyond its primary educational purpose.

## 6. Bibliography

### Primary sources

- Håkanson, L. *Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Oratorum et Rhetorum Sententiae, Diuisiones, Colores*. Leipzig: Teubner, 1989.
- Shackleton-Bailey, D. R., ed. *Quintilian. The Lesser Declamations*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006.
- Vacher, Marie-Claude, ed. trad. *Suétone, Grammairiens et Rhéteurs*. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1993.
- Winterbottom, Michael, ed. trad. *The Elder Seneca: Declamations 1–2*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974.

### Studies

- Bernstein, Neil W. *Ethics, Identity, and Community in Later Roman Declamation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.
- Berti, Emanuele. *Scholasticorum Studia. Seneca il Vecchio e la Cultura Retorica e Letteraria Della Prima Età Imperiale*. Pise: Giardini, 2007.
- Bloomer, W. Martin. "Roman Declamation: The Elder Seneca and Quintilian." In *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric*, edited by W. Dominik and J. Hall, 297–306. Malden: Blackwell, 2007.
- Bloomer, W. Martin. *Latinity and Literary Society at Rome*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997.
- Bornecque, Henri. *Les Déclamations et les Déclamateurs d'après Sénèque le Père*. Lille: Université de Lille, 1902.
- Bowersock, Glen W. *Augustus and the Greek World*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.
- Citti, Francesco. "Declamazione Greca e Romanae Aures: Osservazioni sulle Citazioni Greche in Seneca il Vecchio." In *Generi Senza Confini. La Rappresentazione Della Realtà Nel Mondo Antico*, edited by G. Martino, F. Ficca, and R. Grisolia, 57–69. Napoli: Satura, 2018.

---

114 On the index mentioning Cestius, see Vacher 1993, 33–34.

- Citti, Francesco. "La Declamazione Greca in Seneca il Vecchio," In *Papers on Rhetoric VIII – Declamation*, edited by L. Calboli Montefusco, 57–102. Roma: Herder, 2007.
- Corbeill, Anthony. "Rhetorical Education and Social Reproduction in the Republic and Early Empire." In *A Companion to Roman Rhetoric*, edited by W. Dominik and J. Hall, 69–82. London: Blackwell, 2007.
- D'Hautcourt, Alexis. "L'Exil de Cassius Severus: Hypothèse Nouvelle." *Latomus* 54 (1995): 315–18.
- Deroux, Carl. "Auguste, Cassius Severus et le Procès de Nonius Asprenas." *Latomus* 63 (2004): 178–81.
- Dinter, Martin T., Guérin, Charles, and Martinho, Marcos, eds. *Reading Roman Declamation. Seneca the Elder*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Dinter, Martin T. "Seneca and the Past." In *Reading Roman Declamation. Seneca the Elder*, edited by M. T. Dinter, C. Guérin, and M. Martinho, 37–56. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Dinter, Martin T., and Guérin, Charles. "Introduction: What is Declamation." In *Reading Roman Declamation. Seneca the Elder*, edited by M. T. Dinter, C. Guérin, and M. Martinho, 1–12. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Duret, Luc. "Dans l'Ombre des Plus Grands. II. Poètes et Prosateurs Mal Connus de la Latinité d'Argent," *ANRW* II.30.3, 1447–1560. Berlin: De Gruyter, 1986.
- Echavarren, Arturo. *Nombres y Personas en Séneca el Viejo*. Pamplona: EUNSA, 2007.
- Fairweather, Janet. *Seneca the Elder*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- Feddern, Stefan. *Die Suasorien des Älteren Seneca: Einleitung, Text und Kommentar*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2013.
- Griffin, Miriam. "The Elder Seneca and Spain." *JRS* 62 (1972): 1–19.
- Guérin, Charles. "Extraction, Remémoration et Discontinuité dans les *Controverses* de Sénèque le Père: du déclamateur au texte." In *Lire en Extraits. Lecture et Production des Textes, de l'Antiquité à la fin du Moyen Âge*, edited by S. Morlet, 53–71. Paris: PUPS, 2015.
- Guérin, Charles. "Greek Declaimers, Roman Context. (De)constructing Cultural Identity in Seneca the Elder." In *Reading Roman Declamation. Seneca the Elder*, edited by M. T. Dinter, C. Guérin, and M. Martinho, 57–86. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Guérin, Charles. "Quia Ad Testem Ducit (Sen. Rhet. Contr. 7, 2, 12): Passienus, le Color d'Arellius Fuscus et les Éditeurs de Sénèque le Père." *RPh* 94 (2022 [2020]): 115–44.
- Gunderson, Erik. *Declamation, Paternity, and Roman Identity. Authority and the Rhetorical Self*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Helms, Kyle. "Masters of Eloquence and Masters of Empire: Quintilian in Context." PhD diss., University of Cincinnati, 2016.

- Hömke, Nicola. *Gesetzt den Fall, ein Geist Erscheint: Komposition und Motivik der Ps-Quintilianischen Declamationes Maiores X, XIV und XV*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2002.
- Huelsenbeck, Bart. "The Rhetorical Collection of the Elder Seneca. Textual Tradition and Traditionnal Text." *HSPH 106* (2011): 229–99.
- Huelsenbeck, Bart. "Shared Speech in the Collection of the Elder Seneca (Contr. 10.4): Towards a Study of Common Literary Passages as Community Interaction." In *Law and Ethics in Greek and Roman Declamation*, edited by Eugenio Amato et al., 35–62. Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015.
- Huelsenbeck, Bart. "Annotations to a Corpus of Latin Declamations: History, Function, and the Technique of Rhetorical Summary." *Lexis 34* (2016): 357–82.
- Huelsenbeck, Bart. "The Ocean (Seneca Suas. 1): Community Rules for a Common Literary Topic." In *Reading Roman Declamation. Seneca the Elder*, edited by M. T. Dinter, C. Guérin, and M. Martinho, 151–85. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020.
- Kadushin, Charles. *Understanding Social Networks: Theories, Concepts, and Findings*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Lechi, Francesca. "Et ad hanc Controversiam Graeci Porrexerunt Manum: Declamatori Greci et Controversie 'Romane'." In *Studi Offerti ad Alessandro Perutelli*, edited by P. Arduini et al., 99–106. Rome: ARACNE, 2008.
- Lentano, Mario. *La Declamazione a Roma*. Palermo: G. B. Palumbo, 2017.
- Lockyer, Charles W. "The Fiction of Memory and the Use of Written Sources: Convention and Practice in Seneca the Elder and Other Authors." PhD diss., Princeton University, 1970.
- Magie, David. *Roman Rule in Asia Minor to the End of the Third Century After Christ*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950.
- McNulty, Keith. *Handbook of Graphs and Networks in People Analytics: With Examples in R and Python*. Chapman and Hall, 2022. <https://ona-book.org/>
- Osgood, Josiah. *Caesar's Legacy. Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*. Cambridge: Cambridge university Press, 2006.
- Ruffini, Giovanni. "An Epilogue: Social Network Analysis and Greco-Roman Politics," In *Journal of Historical Network Research 4* (2020): 325–39.
- Scappaticcio, Maria Chiara., ed. *Seneca the Elder and his Rediscovered Historiae Ab Initio Bellorum Civilium*. Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020.
- Sussman, Lewis A. "The Artistic Unity of the Elder Seneca's First Preface and the *Controversiae* as a Whole." *AJPh 92* (1971): 285–91.
- Sussman, Lewis A. *The Elder Seneca*. Leiden: Brill, 1978.

## 7. Annex: mentions of criticism, sections, sources, targets

| Critical comment                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Chapter section | Source           | Target            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| C. 1p22 Aiebat Latro: ‘non mehercules tui pedes spinas calcant sed habent’, et statim ipse dicebat sententias, quae interponi argumentis cum maxime declamantis Marulli possent.                                                                                                                                                            | sententiae      | Porcius Latro    | Marullus          |
| C. 1.1.20 Buteonis colorem non probabat Latro: praestitisse se dixit exiguum, tantum quo spiritum posset producere, et cum descripsisset pallorem eius ac maciem, adiecit: apparet illum ab inimicis ali. hunc colorem cum improbaret Latro, hac sententia usus est: non est, inquit, abdicato quicquam ex gloria criminis sui detrahendum. | colores         | Porcius Latro    | Buteo             |
| C. 1.1.24 Cestius hunc colorem tam strictum non probavit sed dixit temperandum esse, et ipse hoc colore usus est, quem statim a principio induxit: miratur aliquis, quod, cum duo grauissimam fratris acceperimus iniuriam, ego et filius, ego solus irascor?                                                                               | colores         | Cestius Pius     | Alfius Flavius    |
| C. 1.2.17 Marullus cum descripsisset dignationem puellae magnam fuisse altius quiddam superbiusque uultu ipso praeferentem, hanc adiecit sententiam, quam solebat mirari Latro, immo, ut ipse aiebat, exosculari: narrate sane omnes tamquam ad prostitutam uenisse, dum tamquam a sacerdote discesserint.                                  | sententiae      | Porcius Latro    | Marullus          |
| C. 1.2.22 Audiebat illum Scaurus, non tantum disertissimus homo sed uenustissimus, qui nullius umquam impunitam stultitiam transire passus est: statim Ouidianum illud ‘inepta loci’, et ille excidit nec ultra dixit.                                                                                                                      | sententiae      | Aemilius Scaurus | Praetorius quidam |
| C. 1.3.8 Impro(ba)bat Albucium, quod haec non tamquam particulas incurrentes in quaestionem tractasset sed tamquam problemata philosophumena.                                                                                                                                                                                               | diuisiones      | Cestius Pius     | Albucius Silus    |
| C. 1.3.9 Aiebat Cestius malle se casu uideri factum quam deorum uoluntate; nam si semel illos interuenire huic rei fatemur, manifestius erit (a) poena se ruatam (es)se sacerdotem quam in poenam.                                                                                                                                          | colores         | Cestius Pius     | Arellius Fuscus   |
| C. 1.3.9 [...] itaque non probabat illud Triari: remissam tibi poenam putas?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | colores         | Cestius Pius     | Triarius          |

| Critical comment                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | Chapter section | Source        | Target           |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------|
| C. 1.3.10 Declamauerat apud illum hanc ipsam controuersiam Varus Quintilius, tunc Germanici gener ut praetextatus. Cum descripsisset circumstantium <indignationem> quod tam cito oculis poena subduceretur, dixit: exaudierunt dii immortales publica uota et preces: incestam ne cito supplicium transcurreret reuocauerunt. Cestius multa contumeliose dixit in istam sententiam [...]. | sententiae      | Cestius Pius  | Quintilius Varus |
| C. 1.3.11 Cestius hunc corripuit et dixit: 'Hoc est quare ego auditores meos inuitem ad alios audiendos ire? Aeque male mihi facit ille qui aut athleta aut pthisicus est.'                                                                                                                                                                                                                | colores         | Cestius Pius  | Aietius Pastor   |
| C. 1.3.11 Dicebat autem in Albucium, qui illis diebus dixerat in hac controuersia 'durius saxo'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | sententiae      | Cestius Pius  | Albucius Silus   |
| C. 1.3.11 [...] et in Bassum Iulium multa, qui dixerat 'uirgo desultrix'.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | sententiae      | Cestius Pius  | Iulius Bassus    |
| C. 1.5.3 Haec sententia deridebatur a Cestio quasi improba.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | sententiae      | Cestius Pius  | Argentarius      |
| C. 1.5.9 Latro aiebat non quidquid spargi posset suspiciose, id etiam uindicandum: colorem hunc esse, non quaestionem; eam quaestionem esse, quae impleri argumentis possit.                                                                                                                                                                                                               | diuisiones      | Porcius Latro | Cestius Pius     |
| C. 1.5.9 Cestius aiebat et hanc posse impleri argumentis.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | diuisiones      | Cestius Pius  | Porcius Latro    |
| C. 1.6.10 Sed aiebat Latro non esse tanti detrachere illi commendationem soluti adolescentis, ut detraheretur inuidia relictis patris.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | colores         | Porcius Latro | Buteo            |
| C. 1.6.11 Aiebat enim Cestius ualde fieri <praescium, si per> hanc orbam et iam iurasset.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | colores         | Cestius Pius  | Triarius         |
| C. 1.6.11 Latro aiebat *** quoque ius iurandum ineptum esse; nihil enim minus conuenire quam aliquem per patrem iurare patrem relicturae.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | colores         | Porcius Latro | Iulius Bassus    |
| C. 1.7.12 Sed hoc utraque quaestio continet, ut aiebat Gallio, et prior, in qua quaeritur, an omnis pater alendus sit; dicitur enim: quid, si quis filium excaecauerit?                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | diuisiones      | Iunius Gallio | Romanus Hispano  |
| C. 1.7.15 Silo Pompeius et ipse iram fassus est: aiebat enim non habiturum fidem, si negasset iratum fuisse, sed irae causam non dixit quam Fuscus: transeundas aiebat eas offensas, quibus ille gloriaretur.                                                                                                                                                                              | colores         | Pompeius Silo | Arellius Fuscus  |
| C. 1.8.13 Latroni non placebat hic color: malebat adulescentem iudicio quam morbo militare.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | colores         | Porcius Latro | Nicetes          |

| Critical comment                                                                                                                                                                                        | Chapter section | Source           | Target            |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| C. 1.8.15 Putabat Plancus, summus amator Latronis, hunc sensum a Latrone fortius dictum,                                                                                                                | sententiae      | Munatius Plancus | Porcius Latro     |
| C. 1.8.15 Putabat Plancus [...] hunc sensum [...] a Lesbocle Graeco tenerius, qui dixit sic: κείσομαι: ὡς τεῖχος ὥς) τάφρον ὑπέρβηθι καὶ πατέρα.                                                        | sententiae      | Munatius Plancus | Lesbocles         |
| C. 2.1.35 Syriacus, cum secunda actione hunc colorem urgeret, diserte multa dixit, inter quae et hoc: 'adulte-rum accusator in cubiculum usque perduxit, patronus in lectum,' et paene causam abstulit. | colores         | Vallius Syriacus | Bruttedius Niger  |
| C. 2.1.36 Cum responderet Syriacus, ait: primum non apud eundem praeceptorem studuimus: tu Apollodorum habuisti, cui semper narrari placet; ego Theodorum, cui non semper.                              | diuisiones      | Vallius Syriacus | Bruttedius Niger  |
| C. 2.1.36 Niger Bruttedius, cum ageret, obiecit Syriaco quod causam non posuisset, et [non] institit adsidue quare non appareret quomodo seruus sollicitatus esset, quomodo perductus in cubiculum.     | diuisiones      | Bruttedius Niger | Vallius Syriacus  |
| C. 2.1.39 Belle de hoc uitio illius Scaurus aiebat illum acta in aurem legere.                                                                                                                          | colores         | Aemilius Scaurus | Iunius Otho       |
| C. 2.3.11 Non probabat Fuscum, qui paulo apertius agebat: est <contra> controuersiam promittere. Potest nihilominus et bonus agi pater et non exoratus.                                                 | diuisiones      | Porcius Latro    | Arellius Fuscus   |
| C. 2.3.13 Pollio Asinius aiebat hoc Latronem uideri tamquam forensem facere, ut ineptas quaestiones circumcideret [...].                                                                                | diuisiones      | Asinius Pollio   | Porcius Latro     |
| C. 2.3.16 Fuscus parum hoc putabat ualens esse tamquam quaestionem, satis ualens tamquam argumentum                                                                                                     | diuisiones      | Arellius Fuscus  | Porcius Latro     |
| C. 2.3.19 Belle deridebat hoc Asinius Pollio: filius, inquit, ceruicem porrigat, carnifex manum tollat; deinde respiciat ad patrem et dicat: 'agon?'                                                    | sententiae      | Asinius Pollio   | Triarius          |
| C. 2.3.21 Hunc sensum non imprudenter Silo Pompeius improbat; aiebat enim non posse mutari semel latam sententiam.                                                                                      | sententiae      | Pompeius Silo    | Triarius          |
| C. 2.3.22 Cestius non probabat, et hac sententia usus est, cum hunc colorem argueret: dum uult uideri rogatum diu raptae patrem, efficit ut uideatur suum diu non rogasse.                              | colores         | Cestius Pius     | Arellius Fuscus   |
| C. 2.4.10 Fabianus ex omnibus istis colorem secutus est optimum, quo aiebat Messala posse non tantum bonam partem adulescentis fieri sed etiam honestam                                                 | colores         | Messala Corvinus | Papirius Fabianus |

| Critical comment                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | Chapter section | Source           | Target            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| C. 2.4.8 Non probabat hanc Messala sententiam: non habet, inquit, fiduciam, si mauult uideri recepissee puerum quam adduxisse, neque rationis est adoptatum esse non quia debuerit, sed quia secutus sit.                                                   | sententiae      | Messala Corvinus | Albucius Silus    |
| C. 2.4.8 Fuit autem Messala exactissimi ingenii quidem in omni studiorum parte, sed Latini utique sermonis obseruator diligentissimus; itaque cum audisset Latronem declamantem, dixit: sua lingua disertus est. Ingenium illi concessit, sermonem obiecit. | diuisiones      | Messala Corvinus | Porcius Latro     |
| C. 2.4.9 In hac parte dixit nobilem illam sententiam, quam Fabius Maximus circumferebat: uenit adsidue in domum meretrix, non recedit; paulum abest, quin nouerca sit.                                                                                      | sententiae      | Fabius Maximus   | Romanus Hispanus  |
| C. 2.5.14 Latro ex suo more has non quaestiones putabat sed membra illius ultimae partis ex aequitatis quaestione pendentis.                                                                                                                                | diuisiones      | Porcius Latro    | Rubellius Blandus |
| C. 2.5.15 Buteo, aridus quidem declamator sed prudens diuisor controuersiarum, contra Latronem sentiebat,                                                                                                                                                   | diuisiones      | Buteo            | Porcius Latro     |
| C. 2.5.15 Buteo [...] Blando accedebat; aliud enim esse aiebat: 'quae intra quinquennium non peperit, non utique sterilis est', aliud: 'quae intra quinquennium non peperit, non statim dimitti potest sterilitatis nomine'.                                | diuisiones      | Buteo            | Rubellius Blandus |
| C. 2.5.15 Sed Blandum quoque arguebat; aiebat enim (non) sic fuisse quaerendum, an tyrannidis tempus excipi deberet, deinde, [an] etiamsi non in aliis, an (in hac, tamquam) inter has gradus essent.                                                       | diuisiones      | Buteo            | Rubellius Blandus |
| C. 2.5.16 [...] et hoc contra Latronem dicebat: quomodo istam quaestionem putas in aequitatis tractionem cadere, cum quid liceat quaeratur, non quid oporteat?                                                                                              | diuisiones      | Buteo            | Porcius Latro     |
| C. 2.5.17 Passienus, uir eloquentissimus et temporis sui primus orator, hanc subtilitatem actionis non probabat in (Buteone)                                                                                                                                | diuisiones      | Passienus        | Buteo             |
| C. 2.5.17 Passienus [...] Latroni se adsentiri dicebat ideo, (quia istae) quaestiones [per]tractandae per se essent, si haec mulier (in)iusti repudii ageret [...].                                                                                         | diuisiones      | Passienus        | Porcius Latro     |
| C. 2.5.19 L. Vinicius, (fateri) Fabiani colorem ualde probabat et aiebat onerari uxorem uno modo posse [...]. At si hunc colorem Fabiani sequor, multa efficiam.                                                                                            | colores         | Lucius Vinicius  | Papirius Fabianus |

| Critical comment                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | Chapter section | Source          | Target               |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|----------------------|
| C. 2.6.6 Cestius <a> parte patris aiebat simulationem luxuriae significandam magis quam profitendam [...].                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | colores         | Cestius Pius    | Porcius Latro        |
| C. 2.6.6 Latro aperte putabat simulationem confitendam [...].                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | colores         | Porcius Latro   | Cestius Pius         |
| C. 2.6.7 Cestius aiebat adolescentis partem diligentius colorandam: facere illum rem non ita probam, patri non remittere quod a patre ipsi remissum sit.                                                                                                                                                                                               | colores         | Cestius Pius    | Rubellius Blandus    |
| C. 2.6.8 Hunc sensum ipse Cestius sano genere dixit; Flauum Alfium, auditorem suum, qui eandem rem lasciuus dixerat, obiurgauit. [...] Cestius hoc aiebat dulcius quidem <esse> sed corripuit ultimam sententiam [...].                                                                                                                                | colores         | Cestius Pius    | Alfius Flauus        |
| C. 2.6.10 Silo Pompeius patronum adolescenti dedit, quod non putabat in accusatoris persona Latro faciendum, ut aliquis per patronum accusaret patrem.                                                                                                                                                                                                 | colores         | Porcius Latro   | Pompeius Silo        |
| C. 3p16 Ego negaui me de balneo publico exiturum nisi lotus essem.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | praefatio       | Cassius Severus | Cestius Pius         |
| C. 3p17 Deinde libuit Ciceroni de Cestio in foro satis facere.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | praefatio       | Cassius Severus | Cestius Pius         |
| C. 4p3 Audiebat illum dicentem et primum disputabat de illa parte quam Marcellus dixerat: praetermissa ostendebat, tacta leuiter implebat, uitiosa coarguebat; deinde dicebat partem contrariam.                                                                                                                                                       | praefatio       | Asinius Pollio  | Marcellus Aeserninus |
| C. 4p11 Memini et illam contradictionem sic ab illo positam magnam materiam Pollionis Asinii et tunc Cassi Seueri iocis praebuisse.                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | praefatio       | Cassius Severus | Haterius             |
| C. 4p11 Memini et illam contradictionem sic ab illo positam magnam materiam Pollionis Asinii et tunc Cassi Seueri iocis praebuisse.                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | praefatio       | Asinius Pollio  | Haterius             |
| C. 7p2 Sententiae, quas optime Pollio Asinius albas uocabat, simplices, apertae, nihil occultum, nihil insperatum adferentes sed uocales et splendidae.                                                                                                                                                                                                | sententiae      | Asinius Pollio  | Albucius Silus       |
| C. 7p8 Aiebat Cestius: 'ite ad illum cras: declamabit uobis, quare turdi uolent, cucurbitae non uolent'.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | praefatio       | Cestius Pius    | Albucius Silus       |
| C. 7p9 Cum dixisset Albucius in illo fratre, qui fratrem parricidii damnatum in exarmata naue dimisit: 'imposuit fratrem in culleum ligneum', Cestius eandem dicturus sic exposuit controuersiam: 'quidam fratrem domi a patre damnatum nouerca accusante cum accepisset ad supplicium, imposuit in culleum ligneum.' ingens risus omnium secutus est. | praefatio       | Cestius Pius    | Albucius Silus       |

| Critical comment                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | Chapter section | Source           | Target            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|-------------------|
| C. 7p9 Et cum a scholasticis non laudaretur, nemo, inquit, imponit hos in culleum ligneum, ut perueniant nescio quo terrarum, ubi calices franguntur, spongiae non franguntur?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | praefatio       | Cestius Pius     | Albucius Silus    |
| C. 7.1.27 Montanus Iulius, qui comes fuit <Tiberii>, egregius poeta, aiebat illum imitari uoluisse Vergili descriptionem                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | sententiae      | Iulius Montanus  | Cestius Pius      |
| C. 7.2.12 Hic color displicebat Passieno, quia †ad testem ducit† [...].                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | colores         | Passienus        | Arellius Fuscus   |
| C. 7.4.3 illud unum, quod dicebat Pollio Asinius, referam: numquam debere temptari in causa uerecunda improbam quaestionem.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | diuisiones      | Asinius Pollio   | Buteo             |
| C. 7.5.11 Vinicius, exactissimi uir ingeni, qui nec dicere res ineptas nec ferre poterat, solebat hanc sententiam Saeniani deridere [...]. Haec finitio, dixit, ridicule est.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | sententiae      | Publius Vinicius | Saenianus         |
| C. 7.5.12 Vinicius [...] similem illi referre in oratione dictam Montani Votieni. [...] Montani Votieni sententiam huic aiebat esse similem et deridebat hanc: insomne et experrectum est animal canis, utique catenarius [paratur].                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | sententiae      | Publius Vinicius | Votienus Montanus |
| C. 7.7.19 Illud et in hac controuersia et in omni uitandum aiebat Cestius, quotiens aliqua uox poneretur, ne ad illam quasi ad sententiam decurre(re)mus. Sicut in hac apud Cestium quidam auditor eius hoc modo coepit: 'ut uerbis ducis uestri, iudices, incipiam, cauete prodicionem'. sic finiuit declamationem, ut diceret 'finio quibus uitam finit imperator: cauete prodicionem'. Hoc sententiae genus Cestius echo uocabat et <sic> dicenti discipulo statim exclamabat: ἡμερτὴν ἤχώ. | sententiae      | Cestius Pius     | Auditor 1         |
| C. 7.7.19 [...] ut in illa suasoria, in qua deliberat Alexander, an Oceanum nauiget, cum exaudita uox esset: 'quo(us)que, inuicte?' ab <hac> ipsa uoce quidam coepit declamare et in hac desit. ait illi Cestius desinenti: ἐν σοι μὴν λήξω, σέο δ' ἄρξομαι.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | sententiae      | Cestius Pius     | Auditor 2         |
| C. 7.7.19 Et alteri, cum descriptis Alexandri uictoriis, gentibus perdomitis, nouissime poneret: 'quousque, inuicte?', exclamauit Cestius: tu autem quousque?                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | sententiae      | Cestius Pius     | Auditor 3         |
| C. 7.8.10 Silo Pompeius dixit adulescentem uerecundum natura et rustici pudoris non sustinuisse confessionem. non placebat Latroni <hic> color: minus, inquit, ignoscetur illi, si scit se rapuisse et sciens mentitus est.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | colores         | Porcius Latro    | Pompeius Silo     |

| Critical comment                                                                                                                                                                                            | Chapter section | Source            | Target            |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| C. 7.8.10 Contra dicebat Silo (non) posse ulli fidem fieri aliquem nescire, an rapuerit.                                                                                                                    | colores         | Pompeius Silo     | Porcius Latro     |
| C. 9.2.19 Aiebat autem illam sententiam Rufi Vibii colorem actionis esse: bonum se animum habere pro reo in quo libido omnis intra meretricem esset, crudelitas intra carcerem.                             | colores         | Votienus Montanus | Vibius Rufus      |
| C. 9.2.25 Pollio tamen Asinius aiebat hanc se sententiam recipere.                                                                                                                                          | sententiae      | Asinius Pollio    | Vibius Rufus      |
| C. 9.3.12 Indignabatur Cestius detorqueri ab illo totiens et mutari sententias suas: quid putatis, aiebat, Argentarium esse?                                                                                | sententiae      | Cestius Pius      | Argentarius       |
| C. 9.3.12 Aiebat inuicem: quid putatis esse Cestium nisi Cesti cinerem?                                                                                                                                     | colores         | Argentarius       | Cestius Pius      |
| C. 9.3.13 Dixit Haterius quibusdam querentibus pusillas mercedes eum accepisse, cum duas res doceret: numquam magnas mercedes accepisse eos, qui hermeneumata docerent.                                     | colores         | Haterius          | Clodius Sabinus   |
| C. 9.3.14 Cassius Seuerus uenustissimam rem ex omnibus, qui, ab auditione eius cum rediret, interrogatus, quomodo dixisset, respondit: male καὶ κακῶς.                                                      | colores         | Cassius Severus   | Clodius Sabinus   |
| C. 9.4.15 Montanus tamen aiebat nihil posse melius dici (quam quod Marcellus Marcius dixit:) ex hac parte tyrannus iubet, ex altera lex uetat.                                                              | sententiae      | Votienus Montanus | Marcus Marcellus  |
| C. 9.5.10 Silonis Pompei color fuit, ut Latroni uidebatur, qui controuersiae repugnaret.                                                                                                                    | colores         | Porcius Latro     | Pompeius Silo     |
| C. 9.5.14 (Montanus Votienus) Marcellum Marcium aiebat sic narrasse: puer me secutus est.                                                                                                                   | colores         | Votienus Montanus | Marcus Marcellus  |
| C. 9.5.17 Et propter hoc et propter alia, quibus orator potest poetae similis uideri, solebat Scaurus Montanum 'inter oratores Ouidium' uocare; nam et Ouidius nescit quod bene cessit relinquere.          | colores         | Aemilius Scaurus  | Votienus Montanus |
| C. 9.5.17 Ne multa referam, quae 'Montaniana' Scaurus uocabat, uno hoc contentus ero: cum Polyxene esset abducta, ut ad tumulum Achillis immolaretur, Hecuba dicit: cinis ipse sepulti in genus hoc pugnat. | colores         | Aemilius Scaurus  | Votienus Montanus |
| C. 9.6.10 Illud quidem intolerabile esse aiebat: induxerat Cestius matrem dicentem filiae: 'da fratri uenenum', (filiam respondentem: 'mater, quid est uenenum?')                                           | diuisiones      | Votienus Montanus | Cestius Pius      |

| Critical comment                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | Chapter section | Source            | Target            |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| C. 9.6.11 Non ferebat nec illam Triari sententiam, qua aliter Haterius usus <est>, cum ad epilogum peruenisset: hoc loco debebat reus flere.                                                                                                                                             | sententiae      | Votienus Montanus | Triarius          |
| C. 9.6.12 Cestius pueriliter se dixisse intellegebat ‘mater, quid est uenenum?’; deridebat enim Murredium, qui hanc sententiam imitatus in epologo [...] et aiebat Cestius: quod si ad deridendum me dixit, homo uenustus fuit; et ego <non>numq(uam) scio me ineptam sententiam dicere. | sententiae      | Cestius Pius      | Murredius         |
| C. 9.6.13 Et illud Rufi Vibi tolerabilius aiebat esse, sed et ipsum aliqua obiurgatione dignum: dixerat in epologo: nutrix, ream tolle.                                                                                                                                                  | sententiae      | Cestius Pius      | Vibius Rufus      |
| C. 9.6.13 Illud in Haterio, qui et promisit oratorem et praestitit, negabat se perferre, quod dixerat: haec rea non mittenda in exilium sed ferenda est [...].                                                                                                                           | diuisiones      | Cestius Pius      | Haterius          |
| C. 9.6.18 Montanus Votienus Marcellum Marcium, amicum suum, cuius frequenter mentionem in scriptis suis facit tamquam hominis disertum, aiebat hanc dixisse sententiam                                                                                                                   | sententiae      | Votienus Montanus | Marcus Marcellus  |
| C. 10p10 Itaque non inurbane Pacatus rhetor, cum illi Massiliae mane occurrisset, schemate illum salutauit: poteram, inquit, dicere: aue, Mosche.                                                                                                                                        | praefatio       | Pacatus           | Volcacius Moschus |
| C. 10p11 [...] ille Sparso dixit scholam communem cum rhetore quodam, declamatore subtili sed arido, habenti: tu potes controuersiam intellegere, qui non intellegis te laterem lauare?                                                                                                  | praefatio       | Pacatus           | Fulvius Sparsus   |
| C. 10.1.12 Moschi color non placebat Gallioni [...].                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | colores         | Iunius Gallio     | Volcacius Moschus |
| C. 10.1.13 [...] admirabatur hanc Bassi sententiam: non mehercules te ferrem, si canem ad ostium alligasses                                                                                                                                                                              | sententiae      | Albucius Silus    | Iulius Bassus     |
| C. 10.1.14 Idem Latronis illas sententias aiebat tumidas magis esse quam fortes, <quae> summa hominum admiratione circumferebantur [...].                                                                                                                                                | sententiae      | Albucius Silus    | Porcius Latro     |
| C. 10.1.14 Ipse autem laudabat haec utique <quae> adaequaret, nam in hac ipsa controversia, ne Bassus videretur aliquid dixisse sordidius, dixit ipse: ita ne sic peribunt decem iuvenes propter dipondios tuos?                                                                         | sententiae      | Albucius Silus    | Iulius Bassus     |
| C. 10.4.23 Illud Sparsus dixit, quod non corruptum tantum sed contrarium dicebat esse Montanus: solus plura habes membra quam tot hominibus reliquisti.                                                                                                                                  | sententiae      | Votienus Montanus | Fulvius Sparsus   |

| Critical comment                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | Chapter section | Source            | Target          |
|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| C. 10.4.23 Et illud aequae aiebat ab illo corrupte dictum: prodierunt plures mendici <quam> membra.                                                                                                                                                                | sententiae      | Votienus Montanus | Fulvius Sparsus |
| C. 10.5.19 Hos aiebat Seuerus Cassius, qui hoc facerent, similes sibi uideri furibus alienis poculis ansas mutantibus. multi sunt, qui detracto uerbo aut mutato aut adiecto putent se alienas sententias lucri fecisse.                                           | sententiae      | Cassius Severus   | Triarius        |
| S. 2.10 Pollio Asinius aiebat hoc non esse suadere <sed> lasciuire.                                                                                                                                                                                                | diuisiones      | Asinius Pollio    | Arellius Fuscus |
| S. 2.22 Aiebat Nicocrates Lacedaemonius insignem hanc sententiam futuram fuisse, si media intercideretur.                                                                                                                                                          | sententiae      | Nicocrates        | Dorion          |
| S. 3.6 Quaerebat a Gallione Messala, quid illi uisus esset Nicetes; Gallio ait: 'plena deo'.                                                                                                                                                                       | diuisiones      | Iunius Gallio     | Nicetes         |
| S. 3.6 Quaerebat a Gallione Messala, quid illi uisus esset Nicetes; Gallio ait: 'plena deo'.                                                                                                                                                                       | diuisiones      | Messala Corvinus  | Nicetes         |
| S. 3.7 Apud Caesarem cum mentio esset de ingenio Hateri, consuetudine prolapsus dixit: 'et ille erat plena deo'.                                                                                                                                                   | diuisiones      | Iunius Gallio     | Haterius        |
| S. 4.5 Fuscus illi ait: si hoc dixisses audiente Alexandro, scisses apud Vergilium et illum uersum esse: capulo tenus abdidit ensem.                                                                                                                               | sententiae      | Arellius Fuscus   | Auditor 4       |
| S. 6.11 Cassius Seuerus aiebat alios declamasse, Varium Geminum uiuum consilium dedisse.                                                                                                                                                                           | diuisiones      | Cassius Severus   | Varius Geminus  |
| S. 6.11 Et adiecit illam sententiam, quam Cassius Seuerus unice mirabatur: quid deficiemus?                                                                                                                                                                        | sententiae      | Cassius Severus   | Varius Geminus  |
| S. 7.12 In hac suasoria, cum iusiurandum bellis sensibus prioribus complexus esset, adiecit: 'ita te legam.' Cestius, homo nasutissimus, dissimulauit exaudisse se, ut adolescentem ornatum quasi inpudens <esset> obiurgaret: 'quid dixisti? quid? ita te fruar?' | sententiae      | Cestius Pius      | Surdinus        |