Introduction

> To the Ancients, Friendship seemed
> the happiest and most fully human of all loves;
> the crown of life and the school of virtue.
> The modern world, in comparison, ignores it.
> (C. S. Lewis, *The Four Loves*, p. 69)

In the story of the grand traditions which Western culture proudly anchors in its classical past – democracy and philosophy, for example, or drama and sculpture – Greece is most often the protagonist, with Rome in a distinctly secondary if nonetheless honored role. The Romans were inspired by the Greeks, followed in their footsteps, copied, transmitted and perpetuated; they have been admired for their architecture, roads, military discipline. Friendship is different. Typical is Montaigne's influential essay on friendship (*De l'amitié*, published in 1580) in which he reflects on his dazzling experience of friendship with Étienne de la Boétie. Here the authority of antiquity takes the form not of Homer, Plato or Aristotle but of Cicero, Catullus, Terence, Horace and Virgil. A quotation from Horace – "As long as I am in my right mind, I would compare nothing to a delightful friend" – is prominently placed, and Montaigne evokes the sense of loss he felt after his friend's death through a series of citations from other Latin poets.[1] For his part, Francis Bacon opens his essay "Of Friendship" with a quotation from Aristotle and subsequently cites such Greek thinkers as Pythagoras and Heraclitus, but the concrete examples of friendship he offers are all taken from Roman history – and (in a move that is, as we will see, emblematic) all of them are men.[2]

[1] Hor. *Sat.* 1.5.44: *nil ego contulerim iucundo sanus amico*. The other passages quoted are Verg. *Aen.* 5.49–50 (Aeneas on his father's death); Ter. *Haut.* 149–150 (Menedemus on his son); Hor. *Carm.* 2.17.5–9 (Horace on Maecenas); Catull. 65 and 68 (on his brother's death: see Chapter 2). See Screech 2004 for an English translation of Montaigne's essay.

[2] All of Bacon's examples are politically high-ranking figures: Pompey and Sulla, Brutus and Caesar, Augustus and Agrippa, Tiberius and Sejanus, Septimius Severus and Plautianus. See discussion at Korhonen 2006, pp. 287–301.

Exploration of Rome's centrality to the history of Western friendship is beyond the scope of this book, but some broadly relevant factors are clear.[3] There has long been an awareness that *amicitia* played a fundamental role in Roman culture, pervading social relations and shaping ethical ideals seemingly even more than did *philia* in the Greek world. But much of the credit goes to a single Roman writer, and one of his texts in particular. Even more than Plato's *Lysis* or the eighth and ninth books of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, Cicero's *De amicitia* has offered readers over the centuries a powerfully appealing combination of theoretical reflection and practical advice, and this text played a key role in the transformation of classical into Christian discourses of friendship. Aelred of Rievaulx, for example, begins his *De spiritali amicitia* with an act of homage – reading the *De amicitia* opened his eyes to true friendship – and humanist thought on the question looked back to Cicero more consistently than to Aristotle.[4] In addition to the *De amicitia*, Cicero's letters to his friend Atticus to which we will return in Chapter 3 have left a lasting impression. Several generations later, publishing a corpus of essays in the form of letters to his own friend Lucilius, Seneca predicts that one day the two of them will join the ranks of Epicurus and Idomeneus, Cicero and Atticus, pointedly observing that the name of Atticus is alive not because of his connections to Agrippa or Augustus, but because of his eloquent friend's letters to him. (While the name of Lucilius was and is far less well known than that of Atticus, Seneca's confidence was not entirely misplaced – his *Epistulae morales ad Lucilium* are still being read under that title.) And centuries later, Voltaire gushes: "Céthégus était le complice de Catilina, et Mécène le courtisan d'Octave; mais Cicéron était l'ami d'Atticus."[5]

In the continuous chain of textual reflection on friendship within the Western tradition, then, some of the most important links are Roman. It is all the more paradoxical that when scholars of classical antiquity have written on friendship, they have tended to perpetuate the imbalance regularly occluded by that hybrid concept "Greco-Roman." A monument in the modern study of ancient friendship is Laurent Dugas' *L'amitié antique*

[3] For an overview of the history of friendship in the Western tradition see Konstan 1997, pp. 1–23; for some key moments, see Hyatte 1994, Bray 2003, Hermand 2006.

[4] Aelred of Rievaulx, *De spiritali amicitia*, preface: *tandem aliquando mihi venit in manus liber ille quem de amicitia Tullius scripsit; qui statim mihi et sententiarum gravitate utilis et eloquentiae suavitate dulcis apparebat*. See MacFaul 2007, pp. 1–29, for the massive influence of Cicero's *De amicitia* on the English humanists.

[5] Sen. *Ep.* 21.4: *nomen Attici perire Ciceronis epistulae non sinunt. nihil illi profuisset gener Agrippa et Tiberius progener et Drusus Caesar pronepos; inter tam magna nomina taceretur nisi <sibi> Cicero illum applicuisset*; Voltaire, *Dictionnaire philosophique* s.v. "Amitié."

(first edition 1894, second edition 1914). The *antiquité* of his title turns out to be almost entirely Greek, his *Anciens* overwhelmingly philosophers.[6] Decades later, the title of a 1974 monograph by Jean-Claude Fraisse is equally revealing in the equivalence it smoothly establishes: *Philia. La notion d'amitié dans la philosophie antique*. More recently, in a collection bearing the title *Greco-Roman Perspectives on Friendship*, only one out of eleven essays focuses on Latin texts, and they are almost exclusively Ciceronian at that; David Konstan's monograph *Friendship in the Classical World* has a structure typical of thematic studies of classical antiquity (three chapters on Greece, one on Rome, one on early Christianity); and a 2000 bibliographical survey confirms the impression that studies of *philia* far outnumber those of *amicitia*.[7] My book aims to redress this imbalance.

ROMAN IDEALS

Latin literature is full of friends, and Roman idealizing of friendship could be powerful indeed.[8] Not only was *amicitia* inextricably woven into the fabric of social relations in the Roman world, but it could be placed on a pedestal which strikes many modern eyes as surprisingly lofty, extolled in language that perplexes many modern ears. In the preface to

[6] Consider the first sentence of the first chapter of the second edition: "Les Anciens donnaient au mot 'amitié' l'extension que nous donnons au mot 'amour'. Ils disaient: l'amitié paternelle, familiale, l'amitié amoureuse (φιλία ἐρωτική)"; on this first page "l'amitié proprement dite" is glossed with φιλία ἑταιρική (Dugas 1914, p. 1). All of this is more or less directly taken from Aristotle, who by synecdoche stands for "les Anciens." Revealingly enough, the qualification found in the title of the 1894 first edition (*L'amitié antique d'après les moeurs populaires et les théories des philosophes*) was tacitly dropped in the 1914 revised edition, simply entitled *L'amitié antique*; but in this second edition, even a chapter devoted to "l'amitié considérée dans les institutions et dans les moeurs" (pp. 11–68) is structured around discussion of Socrates, the Pythagoreans, Epicureans and Stoics. Subsequent studies of friendship in the ancient philosophical tradition include Voelke 1961, Steinmetz 1967 (focusing on Cicero's *De amicitia*), Fraisse 1974 (pp. 388–413 on Cicero's *De amicitia*), Price 1989, Pangle 2003.

[7] Fraisse 1974, Konstan 1997, Fitzgerald 1997; the essay in question is Fiore 1997. The titles of two other essays (David Balch, "Political Friendship in the Historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities*," and Alan Mitchell, "New Testament Evidence for the Greco-Roman *topos* on Friendship") gesture toward Rome, but each of them begins by declaring a focus on Greek *philia*. Bibliographical review in Devere 2000.

[8] This book reads *amicitia* as it joins individuals, but many of the issues with which we will be engaging also apply to relationships between the Roman Senate and foreign states or leaders, which were often described in terms of both *clientela* and *amicitia*. See Williams 2008 for discussion and bibliography. See Cimma 1976 for the distinction between *socii* and *amici* in the language of inter-state relationships: The former implies the existence of a formal agreement or treaty (*foedus*), the latter does not. Sallust's *Jugurtha* invites being read as a story, among other things, of *amicitia* between a succession of Numidian kings and the Roman people or powerful Romans like Scipio Aemilianus.

his *De amicitia*, which pointedly, indeed insistently presents itself to its readers as a book on friendship written to a friend by a friend (Cic. *Amic.* 5: *hoc libro ad amicum amicissimus scripsi de amicitia*), Cicero explains that he will be speaking to Atticus in the voice of Laelius, meditating upon friendship soon after the death of his friend Scipio in 129 BC. In words to which we will return, Laelius offers this fervent definition:

> est enim amicitia nihil aliud nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio, qua quidem haud scio an excepta sapientia nihil melius homini sit a dis immortalibus datum. (Cic. *Amic.* 20)
>
> Friendship is nothing other than agreement in all matters, divine and human, joined with goodwill and affection. Besides wisdom, I think the immortal gods have given humanity nothing better.

Giving the credit not to the gods but to Nature herself, Manilius' poem on astronomy makes a similar point: "She has created from herself nothing greater or rarer than the bond of friendship."[9] A poem by Catullus fervently evokes the joys of friendship between men:

> Verani, omnibus e meis amicis
> antistans mihi milibus trecentis,
> venistine domum ad tuos penates
> fratresque unanimos anumque matrem?
> venisti. o mihi nuntii beati!
> visam te incolumem audiamque Hiberum
> narrantem loca, facta nationes,
> ut mos est tuus, applicansque collum
> iucundum os oculosque saviabor.
> o quantum est hominum beatiorum,
> quid me laetius est beatiusve?
>
> (Catull. 9)
>
> Veranius! Out of all my friends,
> I prefer you to three hundred thousand.
> So you have come back home to your household gods,
> and to your brothers with whom you share heart and soul,
> and to your aged mother?
> Yes, you have come back. Blessed the messengers!
> I shall come see you, safe and sound, and I shall listen to you
> as you tell stories about Spain, its places and events and peoples,
> in your usual way; and I shall cling to your neck

[9] Manil. 2.581–182: *idcirco nihil ex semet natura creavit / foedere amicitiae maius nec rarius umquam.* Cf. Cic. *Fin.* 1.65: *nihil esse maius amicitia, nihil uberius, nihil iucundius* (an element in Torquatus' Epicurean vision of friendship that will, however, have seemed axiomatic to most of Cicero's readers). All translations from Greek and Latin in this book are mine.

and kiss your delightful mouth and eyes.
Of all the happy men there are,
who is more blessed or happier than me?

And, in an overlap to which we will return in Chapter 3, the same poet not only writes of his relationship with Lesbia in terms that anticipate later traditions of romantic love – "I loved her like no one else will ever love a woman" – but describes it as a hallowed friendship (*sancta amicitia*).[10]

In Chapter 2 we will be considering a set of paradigmatic pairs of friends in the mythic tradition, the most prominent among them being Orestes and Pylades. Son of the Argive king Agamemnon and his wife Clytemnestra, Orestes is banished in his youth after his mother has killed his father and placed her lover Aegisthus on the throne; in exile, he befriends Pylades, who remains by his side through all of his subsequent tribulations. These begin with the divine command to kill his mother in revenge for her murder of his father; continue as he is pursued by the Furies for having carried out that command; and culminate when he travels to the land of the Taurians in modern-day Crimea, now on orders from Apollo to steal a wooden cult image of Artemis. Upon arrival he not only finds that his sister Iphigenia has ended up in the same place, but discovers that she has been made priestess of Artemis and given the duty of sacrificing strangers who arrive on the Taurian shores – including Orestes and Pylades themselves. This is the scenario depicted in a fresco painted on the wall of a house in Pompeii in the mid-60s AD (now in the Naples museum) which gives us a rare opportunity to read friendship in Roman art (Figure 1).[11] Orestes and Pylades form one point of a triangular arrangement together with the local king Thoas, who sits in front of them on the other side of a small altar accompanied by an attendant, and Iphigenia, who stands at the top of a flight of stairs leading to the temple of Artemis behind them. The composition emphasizes the two friends' intimacy and unity of purpose. Their hands bound behind their backs, they stand close together, painted in such a way that the body of one partially obscures that of the other. Although it is hard to know which is

[10] Catull. 8.5 (repeated at 37.12): *amata nobis quantum amabitur nulla* (cf. 87.1–2: *nulla potest mulier tantum se dicere amatam / vere, quantum a me Lesbia amata mea est*); 109.6: *aeternum hoc sanctae foedus amicitiae*.

[11] To be sure, joint burials of two or more individuals were sometimes commemorated by portrait sculptures, and some of the individuals portrayed may have called each other *amici* in life. But unless an accompanying inscription uses the label, such monuments cannot persuasively be read in connection with *amicitia*: joint burials came in a range of configurations, from brothers and sisters to freed slaves and former owners, from masters and slaves to husbands and wives. See Chapter 4 for further discussion.

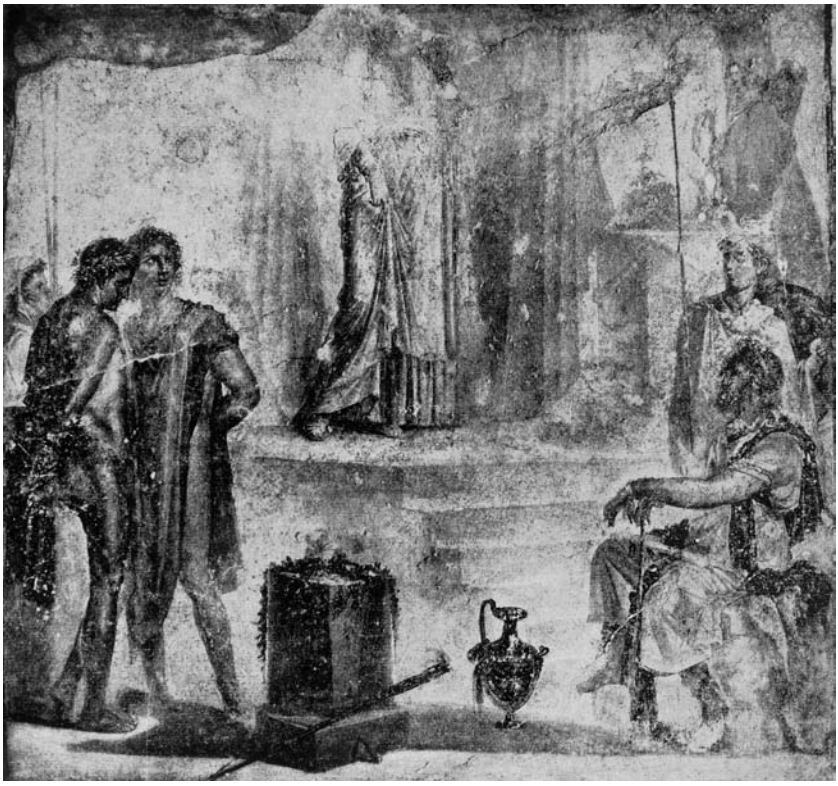

Figure 1 Fresco depicting Orestes and Pylades before King Thoas, with Iphigenia in the background.

Orestes and which Pylades, a visual distinction is clearly made. The man in front is in profile, most of his body bare for us to see, while his companion faces us frontally, most of his body covered by clothing.[12]

The land of the Taurians was the setting of a stirring scene which thematizes precisely the difficulty of distinguishing between the two, a scene frequently and lovingly evoked in stories about the pair. When Thoas demands to know which one is Orestes so that he may kill him, each of the two identifies himself as Orestes in order to spare the other. The

[12] The cover of this book shows a detail from Benjamin West's 1766 painting of the same scene. The so-called Orestes sarcophagus, datable to the early second century AD and now in the Museo Arquelógico Nacional in Madrid (inv. no. 2839; see Prado-Vilar 2011), likewise distinguishes between Orestes and Pylades in its visualization of this scene: one man appears in three-quarter profile from behind, the other head-on.

episode was dramatized by the second-century BC tragedian Pacuvius in a scene which proved to be memorable. Pacuvius' play has not survived, but Cicero's Laelius evokes both the scene and its reception, pointedly describing Pacuvius as his own *hospes et amicus*, one with whom he shares the intertwined bond of hospitality and friendship.

itaque si quando aliquod officium exstitit amici in periculis aut adeundis aut communicandis, quis est qui id non maximis efferat laudibus? qui clamores tota cavea nuper in hospitis et amici mei M. Pacuvi nova fabula, cum, ignorante rege uter Orestes esset, Pylades Orestem se esse diceret ut pro illo necaretur, Orestes autem, ita ut erat, Orestem se esse perseveraret! stantes plaudebant in re ficta. quid arbitramur in vera facturos fuisse? (Cic. *Amic.* 24)

And so whenever a friend performs some duty in the form of taking on or sharing danger, who will not extol the deed to the skies? How loudly the entire audience roared at the recent performance of a new play by my guest and friend Marcus Pacuvius, at the scene when the king did not know which of the two men was Orestes, and so Pylades said that he was Orestes in order that he might be killed in his place, but Orestes insisted that he was – as in fact he was – Orestes! The audience rose to its feet and applauded at this fictional scene. What do we think they would have done if it had been real?

The contrast between fictive and real (*res ficta* vs. *res vera*) is intertwined with another which Laelius does not draw out here but which we will see elsewhere – that between Greek and Roman – as we read how a staged scene of two friends vying to die each for the other might bring a Roman audience to its feet in wild applause.[13]

Valerius Maximus' early first-century AD *Facta et dicta memorabilia* ("Memorable Deeds and Sayings"), a thematically organized collection of narratives exemplifying various virtues, well illustrates the ideals and preoccupations of Roman culture and the Latin textual tradition. To the extent, too, that Valerius' was one of the most widely read of Latin prose

[13] There is some debate as to which of Pacuvius' tragedies on Orestes contained the scene; possibilities include not only his *Orestes* but his *Dulorestes*, *Chryses*, and *Hermiona*. Elsewhere Cicero refers to the warm reception of the scene by Roman audiences and he may or may not be referring to Pacuvius' play in particular (*Fin.* 5.63–64: *qui clamores vulgi atque imperitorum excitantur in theatris, cum illa dicuntur: "ego sum Orestes", contraque ab altero: "immo enimvero ego sum, inquam, Orestes!"*). For this story see also Cic. *Fin.* 2.79 (*aut, Pylades cum sis, dices te esse Orestem, ut moriare pro amico? aut, si esses Orestes, Pyladem refelleres?*), Ov. *Pont.* 2.6.19–30, 3.2, with Citroni Marchetti 2000, pp. 339–344, 355–364. Nearly two centuries after Cicero, both a polemical contrast between cultures and enthusiastic audience response to stage performances play a central role in Lucian's dialogue *Toxaris, or Friendship*. The title character points out that, whereas Greeks have written and said a great deal in praise of friendship and Greek audiences respond with applause and tears to tragic scenes on the theme (9), his fellow Scythians have preferred deeds to words, erecting an altar and a temple to Orestes and Pylades and worshiping them as gods under the title of *Korakoi*, which he translates into Greek as *philioi daimones* (7).

texts in medieval and Renaissance Europe, it played a key role in shaping later readings of Roman culture too.[14] A look at this text's not coincidentally juxtaposed chapters on conjugal love and friendship (4.6: *De amore coniugali*; 4.7: *De amicitia*) thus promises to be both rewarding and revealing.

The chapter on conjugal love introduces its topic concisely and reverently, if a bit dryly, as "legally sanctioned love" (*legitimus amor*) and proceeds to present eight narratives, divided according to Valerius' usual practice into Roman and foreign: five of the former, three of the latter. These are stirring tales, yet rather briefly told and with only a moderate degree of pathos. All of them illustrate the devotion of husband and wife in connection with motifs related to death which, as we will see, are characteristic of *amicitia* as well, and which I call *contest of death* and *unity in death*. One partner strives to die on behalf of the other and/or the two indeed join each other in death, sometimes physically united. In response to an omen, Tiberius Gracchus forfeits his life in order to spare his wife Cornelia's (4.6.1); Gaius Plautius Numida and Porcia kill themselves after their respective spouses' deaths (4.6.2, 5), as does Marcus Plautius, laying himself on his wife Orestilla's pyre when he does so (4.6.3); Artemisia built her husband's famous tomb and drank a potion containing his ashes (4.6.ext.1); the wives of the Minyae take the place of their husbands, awaiting execution in prison (4.6.ext.3); Julia experiences a miscarriage upon suspecting – falsely, as it turned out – that her husband Pompey had been killed (4.6.4). The only narrative in which death does not figure draws attention to gender: Hypsicratea accompanies her husband Mithridates in exile, giving up feminine luxuries and even her feminine appearance, leading the rough and manly life of a fellow-soldier (4.6.ext.2). Attentive readers may note that all of Valerius' narratives are unidirectional, outstanding cases of devotion by only *one* of the partners. In the Roman stories, the first three focus on a husband's devotion to his wife and the second two on a wife's to her husband; all three foreign narratives focus on wives' devotion.

[14] Studies of Valerius Maximus include Bloomer 1992, Skidmore 1996 (who begins by observing that "there are more surviving medieval and Renaissance manuscripts of Valerius Maximus than of any other prose author of the ancient world; a survey of extant monastery library catalogues shows that in the twelfth century virtually every monastery in Western Europe had a copy"), Mueller 2002 (pp. 131–139 on "the rhetorical rituals of friendship"), Lucarelli 2007 (pp. 214–285 on *amicitia*, *fides*, and *gratia*). Valerius Maximus' references to married couples and friends are not, of course, limited to chapters 4.6 and 4.7: consider also 4.2 (on enmities transforming into friendship) and 6.7 (on wives' loyalty to their husbands), and for friends see also 1.7.4, 2.1.9, 2.9.2, 2.10.8, 4.4.7, 5.3.4, 5.8.2, 5.8.5, 6.3.1d, 6.4.4, 7.4.2, 7.4.5, 7.5.4, 7.8.4, 8.8.1, 9.12.6.

Turning to Valerius' chapter on *amicitia*, we immediately see that it is longer – nine pairs of friends are named (seven Roman and two foreign) and most of their stories are told at greater length than those of conjugal love – and as we begin reading it, it quickly becomes perceptibly weightier than its predecessor, more distinctly marked with rhetorical fireworks and pathos. Here are the chapter's opening words.

contemplemur nunc amicitiae vinculum potens et praevalidum neque ulla ex parte sanguinis viribus inferius, hoc etiam certius et exploratius quod illud nascendi sors, fortuitum opus, hoc uniuscuiusque solido iudicio incohata voluntas contrahit. (Val. Max. 4.7.pr.)

Let us now contemplate the powerful, mighty bond of friendship: in no way lesser than the power of blood, in fact surer and more proven to the extent that while kinship derives from the chance of birth, a matter of luck, friendship derives from the free will, undertaken by each on the basis of solid judgment.

Valerius then expands on the thought with remarks that will be familiar to readers of Cicero's *De amicitia*: One lays oneself open to criticism much more for abandoning a friendship than a blood relationship; loyal friends are recognizable in adversity; prosperity is better when shared with a friend than when alone. This leads to the example of Orestes and Pylades, now explicitly marked as foreign:

nemo de Sardanapalli familiaribus loquitur; Orestes Pylade paene amico quam Agamemnone notior est patre – siquidem illorum amicitia in consortione delicarum et luxuriae contabuit, horum durae atque asperae condicionis sodalicium ipsarum miseriarum experimento enituit. sed quid externa attingo, cum domesticis prius liceat uti? (Val. Max. 4.7.pr.)

No one talks about Sardanapallus' comrades, whereas Orestes is almost better known for his friend Pylades than for his father Agamemnon. After all, friendship with Sardanapallus meant decay in shared decadence and luxury, whereas Orestes' and Pylades' companionship in a rough and difficult situation shone forth all the more because of their experience of misfortune. But why do I mention foreign exmaples, when I can start with Roman ones?

And so, citing – for the only time in his entire text – foreign examples in his introductory paragraph, he proceeds to present his examples in the usual order: first Roman, then foreign.

Focusing on male friendships as he does, and particularly those among men in the upper circles of Roman society, Valerius begins by exploring a theme touched upon in Cicero's *De amicitia*: the tension between the claims of friendship and the claims of politics or more generally the community. His first three narratives are of men who were so entirely devoted to their friends that they tolerated or even committed crimes against the

state (Blossius and Tiberius Gracchus, 4.7.1; Pomponius, Laetorius, and Gaius Gracchus, 4.7.2; Reginus and Caepio, 4.7.3). All of this is testimony to the power of friendship, provoking Valerius' grudging, double-edged praise, and the occasional remark revealing of an ethical stance on friends that may have been especially characteristic of the man, his times, or both. Blossius, interrogated as to whether he would have supported his friend Gracchus even in a plan to set fire to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline, retorts that Gracchus would never have asked him to do such a thing – thereby further alienating his interrogators. When the questioners persist, Blossius finally bursts out that, yes, if Gracchus had asked him to do such a thing, he would have heeded his friend's request. Valerius thereupon remarks that no one would have blamed Blossius if he had kept silent, and some might even have thought him wise if he had adjusted his remarks to "the necessity of the situation"; but to an "honorable silence" Blossius preferred the stance of a man loyal to the memory of his friend, no matter how deeply he had fallen into disgrace.[15]

As in his chapter on conjugal love, death is a central theme in Valerius' narratives of *amicitia*. Pomponius and Laetorius protect Gaius Gracchus from his assassins, the former literally over his own dead body (4.7.2: *multis confectus vulneribus transitum super cadaver suum eis, credo etiam post fata invitus, dedit*); Lucius Petronius accedes to his friend Publius Coelius' request and kills him, then immediately joins him in death (4.7.5); Servius Terentius attempts to play Pylades to Decimus Brutus' Orestes, claiming that he is Brutus when Furius, sent by Marc Antony, comes to finish him off – but, unlike Orestes, Brutus is killed anyway (4.7.6); and, in a powerful image to which we will return in Chapter 4, Volumnius holds his decapitated friend's head as he offers his own neck to the sword (4.7.4). Valerius uses this as an opportunity to return to the tension between Greek and Roman. The Greeks have the tale of Theseus and Pirithous, but we Romans have examples like this, taken from life – and death.[16]

[15] Val. Max. 4.7.1: *quis illum sceleratum putasset fuisse si tacuisset? quis non etiam sapientem si pro necessitate temporis locutus esset? at Blossius nec silentio honesto nec prudenti sermone salutem suam, ne qua ex parte infelicis amicitiae memoriam desereret, tueri voluit.* See Mueller 2002, pp. 80–83. Reading this chapter along with passages from Cicero's *De amicitia* and suggesting that this chapter can be seen to some extent as an "Anti-Laelius," Lucarelli 2007, pp. 245–257, emphasizes that Valerius' choice of exemplary *amici* is biased toward those from the turbulent years of the late Republic and argues that this goes a long way toward explaining the themes he emphasizes: tests of loyalty and risk of death.

[16] Bloomer 1992, pp. 219–221, suggests that these illustrations of *amicitia*, drawing attention to Republican-period heroes, "provide the pretext for much that otherwise would not appear in Valerius' work." This is the only reference to Volumnius and Lucullus in the surviving textual