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978-1-107-04888-1 - Youth in the Roman Empire: The Young and the Restless Years?

Christian Laes and Johan Strubbe

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YOUTH IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Modern society has a negative view of youth as a period of storm and stress, but at the same time cherishes the idea of eternal youth. How does this compare with ancient Roman society? Did a phase of youth exist there with its own characteristics? How was youth appreciated? This book studies the lives and the image of youngsters (around fifteen to twenty-five years of age) in the Latin West and the Greek East in the Roman period. Boys and girls of all social classes come to the fore; their lives, public and private, are sketched with the help of a range of textual and documentary sources, while the authors also employ the results of recent neuropsychological research. The result is a highly readable and wide-ranging account of how the crucial transition between childhood and adulthood operated in the Roman world.

CHRISTIAN LAES is Associate Professor of Latin and Ancient History at the Free University of Brussels and at the University of Antwerp. He has published five monographs and over fifty international contributions on social history, especially the human life course in Roman antiquity. Childhood, youth, old age, marriage, and sexuality – as well as disability – are the main focuses of his scholarly work. His book *Children in the Roman Empire* was published by Cambridge in 2011.

JOHAN STRUBBE was formerly Senior Lecturer in the Department of Ancient History at the University of Leiden. In his research he has focused on the Greek epigraphy of Asia Minor, and has published many articles on social and economic subjects; he has also published two corpora of Greek inscriptions. His second long-standing interest is in children and youth in ancient society on which he has published several articles, for example on consolation decrees for youngsters and on public offices held by young people.

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To Emiel Eyben (1942–2013)
Qui post tantum onus, multos crebrosque labores
Nunc silet et tacito contentus sede quiescit.
(CIL VIII 2401; CLE 573)

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The young and the restless years?

CHRISTIAN LAES

JOHAN STRUBBE



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Preface

In 2007 it was *The Young Roman's* thirtieth birthday. Back in 1977 the Leuven scholar Emiel Eyben published his monumental work *De jonge Romein volgens de literaire bronnen der periode c. 200 v. Chr. tot c. 500 n. Chr.* (The Young Roman according to the Literary Sources from the Period c. 200 BC–AD 500) with the Royal Academy of Belgium. This impressive volume of about 700 pages set the basis for a series of other books. In 1987, Eyben published a concise version for a larger Dutch reading public: *De onstuimigen. Jeugd en (on)deugd in het oude Rome* (The Restless. Youth and Virtue/Vice in Ancient Rome). In 1993 the English edition, *Restless Youth in Ancient Rome* (Routledge), brought him international fame. Eyben is also the author of an abundant stream of scholarly and more popular articles on 'his' subject, the Roman adolescent. His wide-ranging scholarship and his fine sense for every single Greek or Latin text which could offer even the tiniest clue enabled him to sketch a *Gesamtbild* of Roman youthful life. It is hard to think of any subject that is not discussed in Eyben's oeuvre: the Roman view of youth (life stages, juridical and medical or biological demarcations of puberty, explanations of the stormy crisis of adolescents' life), the daily whereabouts of the young Roman (his recreational life, youth as a military or a political force), his way of thinking (perception of study, rhetoric, philosophy, and even youthful poetry), his affective life (love, friendship, idols, parents, and religion). Basically, in Eyben's view the Romans perceived adolescence as a separate period of human life with its own characteristics, and Roman adolescents were much comparable to modern adolescents.

Eyben's work did not remain without criticism. It was generally objected that his picture of the Roman adolescent was overly biased by psychological approaches from the stormy sixties of the twentieth century. Eyben's young Romans look like hippies in toga: pacifists or impetuous rebels, pubescents with rosy cheeks and clammy hands, vexed by generational conflicts and *Sturm und Drang*. Eyben's picture of the Roman youth was also criticised

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from a methodological point of view, mainly by scholars from Leiden (The Netherlands). Marc Kleijwegt, who followed in the path of his supervisor Harry Pleket, submitted the concept of adolescence to a critical historical analysis in a comparative perspective. In his book bearing the telling title *Ancient Youth. The Ambiguity of Youth and the Absence of Adolescence*, published in 1991, he focused on epigraphic sources more than on literary texts. Kleijwegt argued that the concept of adolescence, which is basically psychologically coloured, was unknown to the Romans. Young Romans quite early in their lives took on political or occupational responsibilities; they were expected to act as adults and conformed to adult society from an early age. Since Kleijwegt's book, there has been a remarkable silence on the subject of youth as far as Roman antiquity is concerned.¹ The question as to whether these two apparently opposite views may be reconciled is still an open one. In this book we attempt to evaluate these views; by using a broad combination of all kinds of sources (literary, epigraphic and many others) we try to avoid the rather one-sided approaches of Eyben and Kleijwegt.

The book focuses on youth in the Roman Empire, boys as well as girls, roughly from their mid-teens to their mid-twenties. We study the Greek East from the Hellenistic period (approximately 300 BC) to late antiquity, and the Latin West, including the capital of Rome, from the late Republic (c. 200 BC) to the end of the Empire (approximately AD 500). In an earlier book on Roman children Laes has argued that it is indeed justified to treat such a long period of time over such a vast geographical area as a whole.² The basic questions we ask about youth in the Roman Empire are the following. Do juridical texts and social practice allow us to use the concept of youth for Roman antiquity? If this is indeed the case, which age groups are involved? Are there any differences between social classes, between boys and girls? We will also try to sketch the rich and very diverse lives of Roman youngsters, using specific cases. Did they undergo specific ceremonies or rites of passage? How did ancient doctors view them? What forms of higher education did they attend? Did there exist associations or groups of youths? Were youths involved in politics and did they take up their responsibility early by holding important offices? At what age did they start to work? Was there anything like a youthful recreational life? Did marriage bring about

¹ Exceptions are the volumes edited by Levi and Schmitt 1996 and the article by the Spanish scholar Bancalari Molina 1998, which does not offer much new. Contributions which explicitly discuss Eyben's approach include Christes 1998 and Vatai 2004.

² Laes 2006a: 264–7 and 2011: 2–6.

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the end of youth? Did Christianity cause changes in expectations about young people's behaviour?

This book can be read on two levels. For the general reader with a broad cultural and historical interest, the book offers an overall picture of the lives of Roman boys and girls. This picture is based on literary sources, inscriptions and papyri and takes into account new findings and scholarly literature up to 2009 (see below). Indeed, new papyri, new archaeological evidence and above all new inscriptions emerge every year and constantly broaden our knowledge of antiquity. Many subjects will be familiar to the Roman social historian, but the general topics from social history are here applied to the young in particular. For the ancient historian, the book not only offers a *status quaestionis* of the problem of youth, but also new approaches and new views on many subjects. New views are based on a thorough and scholarly study of the ancient sources, which is rather technical (e.g. Chapters 7 and 9), but is conveniently summarised for the general reader in the concluding remarks. New approaches are based on sociology, psychology, anthropology, and modern literary science, which generate new insights and induce the historian to ask new questions. The specialist historian will thus recognise the use of new tendencies in research: attention is paid to the formation of groups of peers, interaction, and conflicts with the elder, feasts, ceremonies, and other cultural practices which enabled young people to experience their own youth subculture, or even different styles of being young.³

This book is a slightly adapted version of the Dutch book, *Jeugd in het Romeinse Rijk. Jonge jaren, wilde haren?*, published in 2008 by the two authors with Davidsfonds, Leuven. The manuscript of the English version was completed in 2009. Only a few very important studies published after 2009 have been incorporated in the present book. All translations of the sources are our own, unless indicated. With respect to inscriptions and papyri, we do not give a complete bibliography but refer only to standard editions and recent or easily accessible re-editions. Square brackets are used in translations to indicate that text has been restored; round brackets indicate editorial additions.

We are grateful to our editor at Cambridge University Press, Dr Michael Sharp, not only for accepting our book but also for correcting the English of the first five chapters. For the other chapters, we gratefully acknowledge corrections by Stephen Windross. Both the University of Antwerp and the

³ On these tendencies, see Krausman Ben-Amos 2004.

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Universitaire Stichting generously funded costs involved in the revision of the English.

Thanks are also due to the anonymous readers, both from Cambridge University Press and Universitaire Stichting, for their valuable suggestions.

The original book was dedicated to Emiel Eyben on the occasion of his 65th birthday in 2007. Both authors wish to rededicate the present book to Eyben, in memory of his warm character and passionate scholarship. Sadly, Emiel Eyben did not live to see the publication of this book. He passed away on 11 September 2013.

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The abbreviations of editions of sources are in line with the standard publications named below, in which the reader will find bibliographical data for all the editions used.

Greek inscriptions: *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum. Consolidated Index for Volumes xxxvi–xlv (1986–1995) (SEG)* (ed. J. H. M. Strubbe; Amsterdam, 1999), pp. 677–88 and subsequent volumes of *SEG*.

Latin inscriptions: *L'Année Épigraphique (AnÉp)* (2004) (Paris, 2007) pp. 699–705 and the *Epigraphische Datenbank Frankfurt (EDCS)* (<http://www.manfredclaus.de>).

Papyri: *Checklist of Editions of Greek, Latin, Demotic and Coptic Papyri, Ostraca and Tablets* (eds. J. F. Oates *et al.*; Oakville, Conn., 2001) (<http://scriptorium.lib.duke.edu/papyrus/texts/clist.html>).

NON-LITERARY SOURCES

<i>AnÉp</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i>
<i>BGU</i>	<i>Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (later Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden</i>
<i>Boubon</i>	<i>Boubon. The Inscriptions and Archaeological Remains. A Survey 2004–2006</i> (C. Kokkinia)
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i>
<i>CIRB</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bosporani</i> (V. V. Struve <i>etc.</i>)
<i>CLE</i>	<i>Carmina Latina Epigraphica</i> (F. Bücheler)
<i>Cod. Iust.</i>	<i>Codex Iustinianus</i>
<i>Cod. Theod.</i>	<i>Codex Theodosianus</i>
<i>Dig.</i>	<i>Digesta</i>
<i>EAOR II–III</i>	<i>Epigrafia anfiteatrale dell'Occidente Romano II</i> (G. L. Gregori), <i>III</i> (M. Buonocore)
<i>EDCS</i>	<i>Epigraphische Datenbank Frankfurt</i>

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<i>ERRioja</i>	<i>Epigrafía Romana de la Rioja</i> (U. Espinoza)
<i>FD</i>	<i>Fouilles de Delphes</i>
<i>Gaius, Inst.</i>	<i>Gaius, Institutiones</i>
<i>GG</i>	<i>Griechische Grabgedichte</i> (W. Peek)
<i>GV</i>	<i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> (W. Peek)
<i>I. Beroia</i>	<i>Epigraphes Kato Makedonias</i> 1. <i>Epigraphes Beroias</i> (L. Gounaropoulou and M. Hatzopoulos)
<i>I. Bubon</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Bubon (Nordlykien)</i> (F. Schindler)
<i>I. Ephesos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> (H. Wankel, R. Merkelbach etc.)
<i>I. Hadrianoi</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Hadrianoi und Hadrianeia</i> (E. Schwertheim)
<i>I. Heraclea Pontica</i>	<i>The Inscriptions of Heraclea Pontica</i> (L. Jonnes)
<i>I. Iasos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Iasos</i> (W. Blümel)
<i>I. Kaunos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Kaunos</i> (Chr. Marek)
<i>I. Klaudiupolis</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Klaudiupolis</i> (F. Becker-Bertau)
<i>I. Metropolis I</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Metropolis I</i> (B. Dreyer and H. Engelmann)
<i>I. Pergamon</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Pergamon</i> (M. Fraenkel)
<i>I. Perge</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Perge</i> (S. Şahin)
<i>I. Priene</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Priene</i> (F. Hiller von Gaertringen)
<i>I. Prusa</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Prusa ad Olymum</i> (Th. Corsten)
<i>I. Sestos</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Sestos und der thrakischen Chersones</i> (J. Krauss)
<i>I. Smyrna</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Smyrna</i> (G. Petzl)
<i>I. Stratonikeia</i>	<i>Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia</i> (M. Şahin)
<i>IDRE</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae. Inscriptions de la Dacie Romaine. Inscriptions externes concernant l'histoire de la Dacie (1er s. – IIIe s.)</i> (C. Petolescu)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i>
<i>IGBulg</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae in Bulgaria repertae</i> (G. Mihailov)
<i>IGR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes</i>
<i>IGUR</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> (L. Moretti)
<i>ILJug</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Latinae quae in Iugoslavia inter annos MCMXL et MCMLX repertae et editae sunt</i> (A. and J. Šašel)
<i>ILN III</i>	<i>Inscriptions latines de Narbonnaise III. Aix-en-Provence</i> (J. Gascou)

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<i>ILTun</i>	<i>Inscriptions latines de la Tunisie</i> (A. Merlin)
<i>InscrIt</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Italiae</i>
<i>Inst. Iust.</i>	<i>Institutiones Iustinianae</i>
<i>IRC IV</i>	<i>Inscriptions romaines de Catalogne IV. Barcino</i> (G. Fabre etc.)
<i>IulCarnicum</i>	<i>Iulium Carnicum (Zuglio)</i> (P. M. Moro)
<i>LBW</i>	<i>Voyage archéologique . . .</i> (Ph. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington)
<i>MAMA</i>	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i>
<i>Michel</i>	<i>Recueil d'inscriptions grecques</i> (Ch. Michel)
<i>Nov.</i>	<i>Novellae</i>
<i>P. Alex. Giss.</i>	<i>Papyri variae Alexandrinae et Gissenses</i>
<i>P. Giss.</i>	<i>Griechische Papyri im Museum des oberhessischen Geschichtsvereins zu Giessen</i>
<i>P. Hamb.</i>	<i>Griechische Papyrusurkunden der Hamburger Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek</i>
<i>P. Laur.</i>	<i>Dai papyri della Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana</i>
<i>P. Lond.</i>	<i>Greek Papyri in the British Museum</i>
<i>P. Mich.</i>	<i>Michigan Papyri</i>
<i>P. Mil. Vogl.</i>	<i>Papiri della R. Università di Milano</i>
<i>P. Oxy.</i>	<i>The Oxyrhynchus Papyri</i>
<i>P. Tebt.</i>	<i>The Tebtunis Papyri</i>
<i>RHP 1</i>	<i>Die römischen Hilfstruppen in Pannonien während der Prinzipatszeit 1. Die Inschriften</i> (B. Lörincz)
<i>RIB 1</i>	<i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain 1. Inscriptions on Stone</i> (R. G. Collingwood and R. P. Wright)
<i>SB</i>	<i>Sammelbuch griechischer Urkunden aus Aegypten</i>
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i>
<i>SGO</i>	<i>Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten</i> (R. Merkelbach and J. Stauber)
<i>Syll.³</i>	<i>Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum (3rd edn)</i> (W. Dittenberger)
<i>TAM</i>	<i>Tituli Asiae Minoris</i>
<i>Tit. Ulp.</i>	<i>Tituli Ulpiani</i>
<i>ZaCarnuntum</i>	<i>Zivilinschriften aus Carnuntum</i> (E. Vorbeck)

LITERARY WORKS

<i>1 Corinthians</i>	1st Epistle to the Corinthians (Paul)
<i>1 Peter</i>	1st Epistle of Peter

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<i>1 Thessalonians</i>	1st Epistle to the Thessalonians (Paul)
<i>1 Timothy</i>	1st Epistle to Timothy (Paul)
Ps.-Acro, <i>Schol.</i> <i>in Hor. Serm.</i>	<i>Scholia in Horatium. Sermones</i>
Aetius, <i>Plac.</i>	<i>Placita</i>
Alexander of Aphrodisias, <i>Problem.</i>	<i>Problemata</i>
Ambrose, <i>De Abr.</i>	<i>De Abraham</i>
<i>Anth. Pal.</i>	<i>Anthologia Palatina</i>
Apuleius, <i>Apol.</i>	<i>Apologia</i>
<i>Met.</i>	<i>Metamorphoses</i>
Aristotle, <i>De gen. anim.</i>	<i>De generatione animalium</i>
<i>Hist. anim.</i>	<i>Historia animalium</i>
<i>Rhet.</i>	<i>Rhetorica</i>
Arnobius, <i>Adv. nat.</i>	<i>Adversus nationes</i>
Athanasius, <i>Vita Anton.</i>	<i>Vita Antonii</i>
Augustine, <i>Conf.</i>	<i>Confessiones</i>
<i>De civ. Dei</i>	<i>De civitate Dei</i>
<i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Ausonius, <i>Epitaph.</i>	<i>Epitaphia</i>
<i>B. Ber.</i>	Babylonian Talmud, <i>tract. Berachot</i>
Cassius Dio, <i>Hist. Rom.</i>	<i>Historia Romana</i>
Cassius Felix, <i>De med.</i>	<i>De medicina</i>
Celsus, <i>De med.</i>	<i>De medicina</i>
Censorinus, <i>De die nat.</i>	<i>De die natali</i>
Cicero, <i>Ad Att.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>
<i>Ad fam.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad familiares</i>
<i>Brut.</i>	<i>Brutus</i>
<i>De off.</i>	<i>De officiis</i>
<i>De orat.</i>	<i>De oratore</i>
<i>De senect.</i>	<i>De senectute</i>
<i>Phil.</i>	<i>Philippicae</i>
<i>Pro Cael.</i>	<i>Pro Caelio</i>
<i>Pro Sest.</i>	<i>Pro Sestio</i>
<i>Top.</i>	<i>Topica</i>
<i>Tusc. disp.</i>	<i>Tusculanae disputationes</i>
Clement of Rome, <i>Epist.</i> <i>ad Corinth.</i>	<i>Epistulae ad Corinthios</i>
Cyprian, <i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>

List of abbreviations

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Ps.-Cyprian, <i>De sing. cler.</i>	<i>De singularitate clericorum</i>
Demosthenes, <i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
Diogenes Laertius, <i>Vitae philos.</i>	<i>Vitae philosophorum</i>
Eumenius, <i>Pro inst. scholis</i>	<i>Pro instaurandis scholis oratio</i> (Panegyrici Latini IX)
Eunapius, <i>Vitae sophist.</i>	<i>Vitae sophistarum</i>
Euripides, <i>Ph.</i>	<i>Phoenissae</i>
Eusebius, <i>Hist. eccles.</i>	<i>Historia ecclesiastica</i>
Festus, <i>De signif. verb.</i>	<i>De significatione verborum</i> (ed. Lindsay)
Florus, <i>Epit.</i>	<i>Epitome</i>
Fronto, <i>Eloq.</i>	<i>Ad M. Antoninum de eloquentia liber</i> (ed. van den Hout)
<i>Galatians</i>	Epistle to the Galatians (Paul)
Galen (ed. Kühn), <i>Comm. in Hipp. Aph.</i>	<i>In Hippocratis Aphorismos commentarii</i>
<i>Comm. in Hipp. Epid.</i>	<i>In Hippocratis Epidemiarum librum</i> VI commentarii
<i>Comm. in Hipp. Hum.</i>	<i>In Hippocratis de Humoribus librum</i> commentarii
<i>De comp.</i>	<i>De compositione medicamentorum per</i> <i>genera</i>
<i>De diff.</i>	<i>De differentia pulsuum</i>
<i>De loc. aff.</i>	<i>De locis affectis</i>
<i>De meth. med.</i>	<i>De methodo medendi</i>
<i>De opt. med. cogn.</i>	<i>De optimo medico cognoscendo</i>
<i>De ord. libr.</i>	<i>De ordine librorum suorum</i>
<i>De praen.</i>	<i>De praenotione ad Epigenem</i>
<i>De prob.</i>	<i>De probis pravisque alimentorum sucis</i>
<i>De san. tuenda</i>	<i>De sanitate tuenda</i>
<i>De sem.</i>	<i>De semine</i>
<i>De temp.</i>	<i>De temperamentis</i>
<i>De usu part.</i>	<i>De usu partium</i>
Gellius, <i>Noctes Att.</i>	<i>Noctes Atticae</i>
Georgius of Eleusis, <i>Vita</i> <i>Theod. Sic.</i>	<i>Vita Theodori Siceotae</i>
Gregory of Nazianzus, <i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
Heraclitus (ed. Diels)	
Hippocrates (ed. Littré), <i>Aph.</i>	<i>Aphorismi</i>

<i>De affect. int.</i>	<i>De affectionibus interioribus</i>
<i>De morb.</i>	<i>De morbis</i>
<i>De virg. morb.</i>	<i>De virginum morbis</i>
Ps.-Hippocrates, <i>De hebd.</i>	<i>De hebdomadibus</i>
Homer, <i>Il.</i>	<i>Iliad</i>
Horace, <i>Ars poet.</i>	<i>Ars poetica</i>
Ignatius, <i>Epist. ad Magn.</i>	<i>Epistula ad Magnesios</i>
Isidore of Seville, <i>Diff.</i>	<i>Differentiae</i>
<i>Lib. num.</i>	<i>Liber numerorum</i>
<i>Orig.</i>	<i>Origines</i>
Jerome, <i>Adv. Rufinum</i>	<i>Apologia adversus Rufinum</i>
<i>Comm. in Isaiam</i>	<i>Commentarii in Isaiam libri XII</i>
John Chrysostom, <i>De sacerdot.</i>	<i>De sacerdotio</i>
Juvenal, <i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturae</i>
Libanius, <i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
<i>Or.</i>	<i>Orationes</i>
Livy, <i>Ab Urbe cond.</i>	<i>Ab Urbe condita</i>
Lucian, <i>Somn.</i>	<i>Somnium</i>
Lucretius, <i>De rer. nat.</i>	<i>De rerum natura</i>
Luke	Gospel according to Luke
Macrobius, <i>Saturn.</i>	<i>Saturnalia</i>
<i>Comm. Somn. Scip.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Somnium Scipionis</i>
Martial, <i>Epigr.</i>	<i>Epigrammata</i>
Nonius Marcellus,	<i>De compendiosa doctrina</i>
<i>De comp. doctr.</i>	
Olympiodorus of	(apud Photium, <i>Bibl.</i> p. 60 B)
Thebes, fr. 28	
Oribasius (ed. Raeder),	<i>Collectionum medicarum reliquiae</i>
<i>Coll. med. rel.</i>	
<i>Lib. inc.</i>	<i>Liber incertus</i>
Origen, <i>Contra Cels.</i>	<i>Contra Celsum</i>
Ovid, <i>Ars amat.</i>	<i>Ars amatoria</i>
<i>Fasti</i>	<i>Fasti</i>
<i>Tristia</i>	<i>Tristia</i>
Pauline of Nola, <i>Carm.</i>	<i>Carmina</i>
Paulus, <i>Sent.</i>	<i>Sententiae</i>
Pausanias, <i>Perieg.</i>	<i>Periegesis</i>
Persius Flaccus, <i>Sat.</i>	<i>Saturae</i>
<i>Schol. ad Pers.</i>	<i>Scholia ad Persium</i>

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Petronius, <i>Satyr.</i>	<i>Satyrica</i>
<i>Philippians</i>	Epistle to the Philippians (Paul)
Philo, <i>Cher.</i>	<i>Cherubim</i>
<i>De opif. mundi</i>	<i>De opificio mundi</i>
<i>In Gen.</i>	<i>In Genesim</i>
<i>Jos.</i>	<i>Joseph</i>
<i>Leg. alleg.</i>	<i>Legum allegoriae</i>
Philostratus, <i>Vita Apoll.</i>	<i>Vita Apollonii</i>
<i>Vitae sophist.</i>	<i>Vitae sophistarum</i>
Photius, <i>Bibl.</i>	<i>Bibliotheca</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
Plautus, <i>Curc.</i>	<i>Curculio</i>
<i>Pseud.</i>	<i>Pseudolus</i>
Pliny (the Younger), <i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i>
Pliny the Elder, <i>Nat. hist.</i>	<i>Naturalis historia</i>
Plutarch, <i>Cleom.</i>	<i>Cleomenes</i>
<i>De E apud Delph.</i>	<i>De E apud Delphos</i>
<i>De mul. virt.</i>	<i>De mulierum virtutibus</i>
<i>Mor.</i>	<i>Moralia</i>
<i>Numa</i>	<i>Numa</i>
<i>Praec. coniug.</i>	<i>Praecepta coniugalia</i>
<i>Quaest. conv.</i>	<i>Quaestiones convivales</i>
Ps.-Plutarch, <i>De lib. educ.</i>	<i>De liberis educandis</i>
Pollux, <i>Onom.</i>	<i>Onomasticon</i>
Polycarpus, <i>Epist. ad Philipp.</i>	<i>Epistula ad Philippenses</i>
Propertius, <i>Eleg.</i>	<i>Elegiae</i>
Ptolemy, <i>Tetr.</i>	<i>Tetrabiblos</i>
Quintilian, <i>Inst. or.</i>	<i>Institutio oratoria</i>
Ps.-Quintilian, <i>Decl.</i>	<i>Declamationes</i>
<i>R. Benedicti</i>	<i>Regula Benedicti</i>
Sallust, <i>Cat.</i>	<i>Catiline</i>
Seneca, <i>Ad Helv.</i>	<i>Ad Helviam</i>
<i>De ben.</i>	<i>De beneficiis</i>
<i>De clem.</i>	<i>De clementia</i>
<i>De const. sap.</i>	<i>De constantia sapientis</i>
<i>Epist. mor.</i>	<i>Epistulae morales</i>
Seneca the Elder (Rhetor),	<i>Controversiae</i>
<i>Contr.</i>	
<i>Suas.</i>	<i>Suasoriae</i>

Servius, <i>Comm. Aen.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Vergilii Aeneidos libros</i>
<i>Comm. Ecl.</i>	<i>Commentarii in Vergilii Bucolica</i>
<i>SHA</i>	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae</i>
Siricius, <i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i> (Migne, PL 13)
Solon (<i>Fragmenta</i> ed. Diehl)	
Sophocles, <i>Ter.</i>	<i>Tereus</i> (<i>Fragmenta</i> ed. Radt; ed. Nauck)
Soranus, <i>Gyn.</i>	<i>Gynaecia</i>
Statius, <i>Silv.</i>	<i>Silvae</i>
Strabo, <i>Geogr.</i>	<i>Geographica</i>
Suetonius, <i>Aug.</i>	<i>Augustus</i>
<i>Cal.</i>	<i>Caligula</i>
<i>De gramm.</i>	<i>De grammaticis</i>
<i>De rhet.</i>	<i>De rhetoribus</i>
<i>Jul.</i>	<i>Julius</i>
<i>Nero</i>	<i>Nero</i>
<i>Otho</i>	<i>Otho</i>
<i>Vesp.</i>	<i>Vespasianus</i>
Tacitus, <i>Ann.</i>	<i>Annales</i>
<i>Dial. de orat.</i>	<i>Dialogus de oratoribus</i>
Terence, <i>Andria</i>	<i>Andria</i>
Tertullian, <i>De an.</i>	<i>De anima</i>
<i>Test. Porcelli</i>	<i>Testamentum Porcelli</i>
Thucydides, <i>Hist.</i>	<i>Historiae</i>
<i>Titus</i>	Epistle to Titus (Paul)
Valerius Maximus, <i>Fact. et dict. mem.</i>	<i>Facta et dicta memorabilia</i>
Varro, <i>De ling. Lat.</i>	<i>De lingua Latina</i>
<i>Men.</i>	<i>Menippearum fragmenta</i> (ed. Bücheler; ed. Cèbe)
<i>Vita Marci Aur.</i>	<i>Vita Marci Aurelii Antonini</i> (<i>SHA</i> by Julius Capitolinus)
<i>Vita Melaniae</i>	
Zacharias Scholasticus, <i>Vita Sev.</i>	<i>Vita Severi</i> (ed. Kügener)
Zosimus, <i>Epist.</i>	<i>Epistulae</i> (Migne, PL 20)