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Focalised Universality: Contextualising the Genre*

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Historiography straddles the line between literary studies and historical enquiry. At its best, historiography struggles to bridge a gap: to apply literary theory and textual analysis in such away as to illuminate narratives which are foundational in the historical reconstruction of past societies and events (White 1989). For the historian, the value of historiography is two-fold; it can sensitise the (re)reading of standard texts, and it may pinpoint themes which are relevant to other source materials. More specifically, the utility of the study of universal history, and hence this volume, rests not just on its capacity to perpetuate and inform the continuing investigation of universal histories, but also in how these findings may be applied to diverse materials and modes of enquiry.

In order to ensure that such cross-pollination between literary theory and historical analysis is both feasible and beneficial, the onus is on historiographers to articulate where connections can most fruitfully be drawn. To this end, periodically the historiographical discourse must be broadened so as to reveal where the literary conceptualisation of the historical texts intersects with broader cultural expressions from the same historical context. Such analysis can be open-ended, inviting further historical investigation, or can serve as a means of testing the conceptual framework itself. Such analysis challenges us to ask how widely applicable are the theoretical models and what that suggests about their validity.

Thus, my objective in this chapter is to begin a conversation about such applied historiography, specifically applied universal history. I offer as a starting point for this discussion a chapter which looks at some of our conceptual models for universal history in the late republic and holds one of these models against the wider evidence for 'universality' in source materials other than historical texts.

I want to ask two questions: how do we think about universal history in the late republic? And do these conceptual models apply to other cultural products? These questions are clearly larger than the scope of a single chapter or even a single book. Thus my answers here shall be more exemplary of the types of answers which are possible, rather than definitive or exclusive of other possibilities. I will limit both the conceptual

models and the cultural products which I will consider. For the latter, I have selected numismatic iconography as a medium that is plentiful, relatively securely dated, and part of a very public political discourse (Morstein-Marx 2004: 82). Some balance will be achieved by also looking at contemporary rhetoric, particularly Ciceronian oratory.

The restriction of applicable conceptual models is a more knotty problem. What models are available? Scholars have always acknowledged variations, even subgenres, within the category of universal history. Think of Kenneth Sacks' work on Polybius in which he divides universal histories between those that are qualitative in character and those which are quantitative in approach (1980: 96-121). For Sacks qualitative universal historians are those who construct a narrative which does not necessarily claim to cover all time and all space, but find an intellectual framework by which they demonstrate the interconnectedness of the whole world at a particular moment or period. This he differentiates from quantitative universal history in which there need be no unifying theme, but for which the historian aims at a complete treatment of both time and space. Or, consider Katherine Clarke's work differentiating between spatial and temporal universality and how she demonstrates that both may be effective vehicles for communicating the particular ideologies of individual historians (1999: 249-79). Any of these concepts of universality – its qualitative or quantitative nature, its temporal and spatial completeness – would be appropriate conceptual models to test against other cultural products. Moreover, I should emphasise that few of these models are mutually exclusive (Yarrow 2006: 124-33).

Yet there are still other models available, ones which have not perhaps been so clearly articulated in modern scholarship on universal history. One which shows particular promise, we might call a 'focalised', or even 'synecdochic', model of universality. While the label may seem opaque at first, this model and variations pervade modern scholarship on Ancient Rome, both of the literary and historical variety.

So what do I mean by 'focalised' universality? And how might it manifest itself historiographically or otherwise? My usage of the language of focalisation is distinct from, but not wholly unrelated to its usage in narratological approaches (Genette 1979; e.g. de Jong 2001: xiv, *passim*). I use the term to refer to representations of 'everything' where the whole is given a specific centre, a focal point, or omphalos, as it were. In the most gentle of focalisations this may be nothing more than tying all events of a defined periphery back to a centre, a suggestion not just of interconnection but that all points on the periphery are connected to one another through the focal point. Radical focalisation may be a type of synecdoche: then the centre comes to represent or encompass the whole.

Collingwood's posthumously-published work, *The Idea of History*, begins with a narration of the development of the historical genre in antiquity as a foundation for his own philosophical interpretation of the

genre (1993: 37). He explains how 'the Hellenistic tradition of historical thought passes into the hands of Rome' and how thus 'the centre of gravity is changed'. As part of his theorisation, he writes:

The Romans, serenely confident in their own superiority to all other peoples and their monopoly of the only virtues deserving the name, thought their own history the only one worth narrating and hence the history of Rome as narrated by Livy was to the Roman mind not one out of a number of possible particular histories but universal history, the history of the only genuinely historical reality: oecumenical history, because Rome had now like Alexander's empire, become the world.

Collingwood is here labelling Livy's history as a universal history, not because it claims to record all time and space, but because Rome, *ab urbe condita*, had become *principis terrarum populi*, to use the language of Livy's own preface. If Rome's *imperium* extended to limits of the known world, then it followed that the known world was Rome. Thus, Livy's use of Rome can be considered synecdochical.

This interpretation of Livy, or other Latin authors for that matter, is by no means outmoded. To give a single example, I might point to the scholarship of Catherine Edwards (1996: esp. 82-5). She draws particular attention to the passages in first book of Livy in which prophecies foretell the city's status as head of the world. First, there are the words of the apotheosised Romulus to Proculus Julius (1.16.6) and then the omen of the head found during the ground breaking for the temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline (1.55.5; Bourgeaud 1987: 86-100). These passages serve not only to foreshadow Rome's greatness, but also to justify the narration of Rome's origins: even before Rome controlled the world, the city was still marked out as the *caput*, or capitol, of the world. This is a conical world view; Rome becomes the lens through which we perceive the rest of the world. Only as places become significant to Rome do they enter the narrative.

The conflation of *urbs* and *orbis* is a model for history-writing endorsed by Diodorus Siculus who claims the utmost value is to be gained from a narrative in which the accomplishments of the whole world (*tas ... tou sumpantos kosmou praxeis*) are treated as the affairs of a single city (1.3.5-6). He tells his readers shortly after this passage that it is because the city of Rome holds supremacy over the *oikoumene* that is possible to find the resources necessary for the writing of universal history in that city (1.4.3). The continuing modern historical interest in this conflation of *urbs* and *orbis* is well represented by the scholarship in the volume of essays, *Rome, the Cosmopolis* (Edwards and Woolf 2003).

Yet this is only the most radical type of focalised universality; more common in both history and historiography, is an implicit or explicit use of a single focal point to join together disparate parts. A single example will suffice to illustrate the idea. In the following passage from *The*

Philosophy of History, Hegel is describing in admiring terms the political success of Julius Caesar (2004 reprint: 312). For Hegel, Caesar's success is not a personal success, but the resolution of the problems of the republic:

Caesar effected two objects: he calmed the internal strife, and at the same time originated a new one outside the limits of the empire. For the conquest of the world had reached hitherto only to the circle of the Alps, but Caesar opened a new scene of achievement: he founded the theatre which was on the point of becoming the centre of History. He then achieved universal sovereignty by a struggle which was decided not in Rome itself, but by his conquest of the whole Roman world.

An initial reading of this passage might suggest Hegel is advocating a defocalised reading of Roman history. It is not Rome the city with its internal strife which determines the cause of events, but events on the periphery. Moreover, even the concept of 'the world' seems destabilised as Caesar opens up a new scene of achievement, testing at one and the same time the limits of empire and limits of the world.¹ Yet Hegel is drawing attention to a type of focalised universality as well. Most obviously in phrase 'on the point of becoming the centre of History' we see his foreshadowing and prioritisation of European history. Yet the very conflating of the expansion of the limits of empire with the conquest of the world also demonstrates a focalising tendency. There can be no periphery without a defined centre. Only in a focalised universality can one set up a dichotomy between internal strife and external achievements. I have chosen to use Hegel to illustrate this more gentle form of focalised universality in part because of how well this particular passage illustrates that within historical narratives, particularly universalising narratives, there can be shifts in foci, from city to emperor, from Rome to Central Europe.

Such a gentle focalising tendency is evident in multiple universal histories from antiquity. One thinks immediately of Polybius and his claim to be the first to be able to write universal history on account of the rise of Rome having caused world affairs to become interconnected (1.3.3-6, 3.59). And, the theme of successive world empires, so well discussed in Momigliano's 'The origins of universal history', often manifests itself as a universal history with shifting foci, such as one finds in Trogus (1982: 533-60 and Yarrow 2006: 145-52; cf. Swain 1940: 1-21).

Given that there is a well-documented focalising tendency in the universalising historiography of the Roman republic and early imperial period, can a parallel tendency toward focalised universality be found in other cultural products?

Unsurprisingly, these same types of representations are found regularly in Ciceronian oratory, both the idea of Rome as the capitol of the world and the word-play possible with *urbs* and *orbis* when discussing Roman dominion. In his first speech as consul to the Senate he describes the Capitoline as '*arcem omnium gentium*' (*De Leg. Agr.* 1.18; 63

BC). In the *pro Milone* he extols the senate-house as, among other things, '*caput urbis ... portum omnium gentium*' (90; 52 BC) and similarly when writing to Appius Pulcher during the handing over of the province of Cilicia, he assures him that delegations being sent to Rome to praise Appius are said to be coming before '*orbis terrae consilio*', that is to say the Senate (*Ad Fam.* 3.8.4; 8 Oct 51 BC). Note how Appius is promised world-renown by the journey of delegations from a single region to a central point.

Cicero has used the same description of the Senate in his *First Catilinarian* (1.9; 63 BC):

Hic, hic sunt in nostro numero, patres conscripti, in hoc orbis terrae sanctissimo gravissimoque consilio, qui de nostro omnium interitu, qui de huius urbis atque adeo de orbis terrarum exitio cogitent

Here, here, they are amongst our numbers, Conscript Fathers, in this most sanctified and most critical council of the whole world, these men who seek our total destruction, these men who plot the obliteration of this city and even of the whole world.

Here the threat against the city is interpreted as a threat against the world as a whole. The magnification allows Cicero to later claim that his resolution of a domestic problem in fact was an act of salvation for the world (*Pro Sulla* 33; 62 BC):

ego vitam omnium civium, statum orbis terrae, urbem hanc denique, sedem omnium nostrum, arcem regum ac nationum exterarum, lumen gentium, domicilium imperi, quinque hominum amentium ac perditorum poena redemi.

At the cost of punishing five insane and degenerate men, I have ransomed the life of all citizens, the state of the world – in short this city, the seat of us all, the citadel of kings and foreign lands, the light of all peoples, home of *imperium*.

Not only do we have the emphatic juxtaposition of *urbs* and *orbis*, but also observe how the rhetorical argument itself hinges on the role of the city as a universal focal point. Cicero's logic falls apart if his audience is unwilling to concede the equivalence of Rome and the world.

Would they have made such a concession? Cicero is perhaps a rather biased source to consult on the matter, but his letters to Atticus are known for their candid quality. In 60 he wrote to his friend that Pompey while addressing the Senate 'had ascribed to him the salvation of the empire and the world, not once, but often and with many such words' ('... *salutem imperii atque orbis terrarum* ...'; *Ad Att.* 1.19.7). Elsewhere I have extensively argued that historiography of the late republic emphasised the impact of internal conflict on the provinces (Yarrow 2006: 209-30); this is

perhaps more convincing evidence that Cicero's rhetoric was unlikely to fall on deaf ears.

The connection between history and rhetoric is not far-fetched; however, I suggest that the focalised universality evident in these genres is not limited to literary products, but equally nuanced and evident in visual representations.



Fig. 1. 76/5 BC, *RRC* 393/1 (2.5 x actual size).

Sometime in 76 or 75 BC a remarkable coin type was struck (Fig. 1 = *RRC* 393/1). This particular type displays on its obverse the bust of the Genius of the Roman People and on its reverse a globe flanked a wreathed sceptre to the left and a rudder to the right. While all the iconographic symbolism on this coin is familiar enough from later Roman art, this coin type represents our first known instance of a number of key symbols. This is the earliest representation of a globe on a Roman coin and arguably the first time the globe has been used to symbolise dominion in a political context. Moreover, although there may be one earlier unlabelled representation of the Genius of the Roman People on a coin of 100 BC (*RRC* 329/1), this is the first extant representation labelled as such, and thus the first such figure undisputed in its identification.²

The globe is a uniquely Roman political symbol. From the Julio-Claudians to the height of empire the globe was a regular symbolic augmentation of the imperial portrait, almost as ubiquitous and potent as the laurel wreath (Strong 1916). Call to mind the famous Capitoline bust of Commodus in the guise of Hercules holding the apple of the Hesperides; the whole bust rests on a shield flanked by two cornucopias atop a globe with kneeling Amazons on either side. On imperial bronze coinage a small globe is often placed below the imperial head on the obverse. The globe as an imperial attribute develops into the *globus cruciger*, that omnipresent symbol of autocratic authority from the Byzantine emperors through to modern European monarchies. This

later prevalence marks out how important this iconographic development of the 70s BC truly is, a development unprecedented in the political art of the Hellenistic world.

Of course, globes did appear in Hellenistic art; there are multiple images of the muse Urania with a globe as an attribute and there is at least one Hellenistic painting, known from Roman mosaic copies, which depicted philosophers gathered around the globe (Brendel 1977; Arnaud 1984). Yet these earlier images associate the globe with the sphere of heavens and intellectual achievement, not political power.

I know of only two certain instances when globes appear on Greek coins. A rare bronze coin of Clazomenae from early second or late first century BC displays an unidentified diademed head on the obverse and on the reverse, Anaxagoras the fifth-century philosopher sitting on a globe, an appropriate attribute given his writing on the nature of the cosmos (*SNG* VI, 891 Fitzwilliam). Only slightly less rare is the coinage of a very short-lived city, Uranopolis (Mørkholm 1991: 60). The city's drachms from the last quarter of the fourth century have an eight-pointed star on the obverse and on the reverse a female divinity seated on a globe, usually identified as Aphrodite Urania (*SNG* I, 130 Newnham Davis Coins). Uranopolis was the 'heavenly city' of Cassander's younger brother Alexandrus who called himself 'Helios' and who went so far as to create a new language for this utopian enterprise of his (Cohen 1995: 105-6). The city only lasted a handful of years and although the globe imagery of its coinage arguably reflects the pretensions of the city's founder, it does not provide a likely precedent or inspiration for the Roman use of the globe. In neither instance is Clazomenae or Uranopolis using the globe as a symbol of political dominion, but instead, much like the precedence of Hellenistic art, the globe is either an attribute of a philosopher or a sky deity.

This lack of precedence for the globe as a political symbol explains why the designer of the Roman denarius of 76/75 BC invested such effort in contextualising the symbolism of the globe. The existing Hellenistic imagery ensured the Roman audience would perceive this image of a sphere with markings as the orb of the heavens or the globe of earth.³

Contemporary vocabulary would most certainly have further influenced the viewers' interpretation of the imagery. Perhaps as early as Ennius' reformulation of Euhemerus' *Sacred Chronicle* in Latin, the phrase *orbis terrarum* had been used to evoke the shape of the earth (fr. 10 Vahlen). In the extant Latin corpus the phrase also appears in a fragment of P. Rutilius Rufus (cos. 105); DeWitt thought this to be the first usage and hypothesised that Cicero borrowed his extensive use of the phrase from Rutilius (1942: 362). Lintott, however, rightly observes that earliest surviving use of the phrase to describe Roman dominion is found in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (4.13; 1981: 53):

... imperium orbis terrae cui imperio omnes gentes, reges, nationes, partim vi, partim voluntate consenserunt ...

... *imperium* over the whole world to which all peoples, kings, and states have consented, some being forced, some voluntarily ...

The quotation comes from a fragment of a speech whose internal references suggest that its ostensible original context was the Social War, c. 90 BC. The author uses the speech fragment to illustrate the middle rhetorical style and it is of course possible that it is his own exemplary construction, but this still dates the usage no later than the mid to late 80s BC.⁴

Although, as we have already seen, the phrase is common in Cicero, his preferred usage seems to develop over time. It appears in *Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino* of 81 BC when he wishes to emphasise the accomplishments of Scipio Africanus in conquering a third of the world (103), but there is no suggestion that Rome controls the rest of that world. The phrase appears repeatedly in the *Verrines* (70 BC) and in *Pro M. Fonteio* (69 BC) but in both texts the usage only provides hyperbolic emphasis and does not specifically evoke the extent of Roman rule. His first undisputable use of the phrase to refer to the extent of Roman dominion doesn't come until 66 BC in the *Pro Lege Manilia* (53):

si plus apud populum Romanum auctoritas tua quam ipsius populi Romani salus et vera causa valuisset, hodie hanc gloriam atque hoc orbis terrae imperium teneremus?

If among the Roman people your authority had been valued more than the well-being and genuine interest of the Roman people themselves, would then today we possess this glory and this *imperium* over the whole world?

Through this type of rhetoric, the Roman audience of 75/6 BC was prepared to see a sphere as representing the orb of the world. However, given that at that date verbal claims of world conquest still appear to be relatively uncommon, they would not necessarily have imbued it with any particular political meaning, especially given the lack of Hellenistic visual precedence. In the iconography of the coin type in question (Fig. 1 = *RRC* 393/1), such meaning is communicated by the bracketing images. The rudder represents naval prowess; the sceptre indicates rulership, dominance, even *imperium* and being wreathed with laurels it evokes the idea of victorious *imperium*, that is to say, military accomplishment. Taken together the meaning is clear enough: this coin type is a visual claim to global dominion.

Emphasising the juxtaposition of the globe and rudder, Crawford connects the imagery with an even more common rhetorical phrase, '*terra marique*', 'by land and sea' (*RRC* 393). As Momigliano has so thoroughly demonstrated, this phrase, borrowed from the Greek panegyric, comes

overtime to be equivalent to *oikoumene* (1942; cf. Oliver 1969). As we will see below, Cicero on occasion links the phrases '*terra marique*' and '*orbis terrarum*' in oratory celebrating the accomplishments of singular commanders. For now it is sufficient to make two observations: that the connection of political rhetoric and numismatic imagery is not only possible, but plausible, and that both rhetorical connections make it most likely that the sphere represents the sphere of earth.

Before setting aside this first coin, one ought also to consider the obverse. Of course, not in all cases are we supposed to read the obverse and reverse of a coin type together; in fact a direct connect between obverse and reverse is the exception not the rule. Thus it is even more noteworthy that the designer of this type so explicitly invites us to make such a connection through the repeated design element of the sceptre. Whose sceptre is shown on the reverse? Who holds dominion over the globe? We are provided with an unambiguous answer: the Genius of the Roman People, who appears clearly labelled for the first time on a Roman coin type.



Fig. 2. 74 BC, *RRC* 397/1 (2.5 x actual size).

This iconographic linking of Rome and the globe quickly caught on. Just two years later a different moneyer again decided to illustrate the Genius of the Roman People on the denarius and this time the globe has been incorporated directly into the genius' attributes (Fig. 2 = *RRC* 397/1). Instead of a large prominent element in the design, the globe is now a diminutive attribute under the Genius' left foot. The wreath motif has been elaborated to include a flying personification of victory crowning the genius, and the sceptre is augmented by the inclusion of a curule chair, a traditional symbol of magisterial authority. The only new addition to the symbolic scheme is the cornucopia.

As the Roman iconographic tradition develops the globe and the cornucopia become closely linked. Three examples suffice to demonstrate the

pervasive connection. A denarius from under the dictatorship of Caesar (46 BC, *RRC* 464/3a) bears nearly an identical reverse to that shown in Figure 1 (*RRC* 393/1); the only change to the design is the inclusion of a cornucopia resting on the central globe. The direct echo affirms the lasting impression the earlier image had on the Roman audience; the modification reveals how the semantic range of the iconography has widened in the three intervening decades.

The potency of the juxtaposition is further shown by the large altar built by the freedman P. Perelius Hedulus at Carthage for the gens Augusta. Zanker describes the relief sculpture on this monument as 'virtually a textbook summary of Roman official iconography' (1988: 315-16, fig. 247). The relevant panel shows Roma sitting on a pile of arms holding Victory facing a square base supporting a globe, cornucopia and caduceus. In scale, the globe-cornucopia composition is almost as large as Roma; the curvature of the cornucopia mirrors the seated position of Roma, creating a sense of visual analogy.

Finally, we can briefly note the two cornucopias resting atop the globe and supporting the imperial bust in the famous Capitoline Commodus discussed above. The message in these latter images seems to be that from world dominion comes plenty. Rome is nourished through her conquests. Ciceronian rhetoric does not fail to acknowledge such consumptive tendencies (*De Leg. Agr.* 1.9; 63 BC):

quid putatis impendere hac lege omnibus gentibus terroris et mali, cum immittantur in orbem terrarum xviri summo cum imperio, summa cum avaritia infinitaque omnium rerum cupiditate?

What terror and evils do you think are impending for all nations on account of this law, when decemvirs set upon the world with supreme *imperium*, with supreme avarice and with boundless desire for all things?

The language suggests that the totality of the *imperium*, both in the degree of power and in its geographical extent, is naturally correlated with limitless nature of the consumption.

McClintock's theoretical work on modern empires offers some thought-provoking parallels. She emphasises how the concept of consumption is intimately linked with those of imperialism and globalisation, a link well-illustrated by the fashion for World Fairs and Columbian Expositions. Such spectacles are a means of expressing imperial dominion – of bringing home the world, of packaging it, of controlling it, of reformulating it and of displaying it. While the most immediate parallel might seem to be with the Roman triumph (see below; Beard 2007), the claim of a World Fair to have the totality of the world on display is not unlike the hyperbolic claim of a universal historian. When discussing a toy globe displayed at the Crystal Palace, World Exhibition, 1851, McClintock borrows the lan-



Fig. 3. 70 BC, *RRC* 403/1 (2.5 x actual size).

guage of Foucault, to speak of the 'panoptical desire to consume the whole world' as embodied in such objects and in the fairs themselves (1995: 59). Once we shrink the world, albeit metaphorically, we step outside of it. From the outsider perspective we presume to observe the totality and via observation to assert control.

The cornucopia appears again on the third coin type from the 70s BC which displays the globe (Fig. 3 = *RRC* 403/1). This particular type is much more sophisticated in its iconographic message and relies on legends in ligature to remove some of the possible confusion. On the obverse are the heads of Honos and Virtus. On the reverse are two more figures who bear an intentional resemblance to Honos and Virtus, but these are labelled as Italia and Roma. Italia holds a cornucopia and grasps Roma's hand in a gesture of *concordia*. The caduceus in the left field is the attribute of Mercury, the bringer of wealth; it re-enforces the felicitous nature of this union, perhaps even a divine sanction of the consumptive relationship. Roma, in military dress, wreathed in laurels, and holding both sceptre and sword, rests her foot on the globe. Note that like the coin of 74 BC (Fig. 2) the globe is once again a diminutive attribute of a personification of Rome. Rome had recently reasserted her dominion over Italy and now Italy through her bountiful resources supports the military endeavours of Rome as she asserts her dominion over the world. The message would have resonated with a Roman audience in the year of the first census to incorporate the new Italian citizens after the Social War, and shortly after the calming of hostilities in Spain, the suppression of Spartacus' rebellion, and Lucullus' seemingly decisive routing of Mithridates in the East.

Nevertheless the representation of Roma with her foot on a globe is wholly new and innovative. This is only the third representation of the globe, and previous representations of Roma, even those which stressed military successes, had had no such assertion of global dominion. Compare



Fig. 4. 75 BC, RRC 391/3 (2.5 x actual size).

a coin of five years earlier with a very similar composition of two standing figures, Roma and Venus (Fig. 4 = RRC 391/3). Roma, on the left, rests her foot on an attribute, but in this case the attribute is not a globe, but a wolf's head. Roma is still a military figure and the type emphasises naval prowess – the two figures are flanked by rudders and prows – but there is no claim to universal dominion. Roma is just Roma; she is not here on this early coin equated with the world.

The three coin types of the mid to late 70s displaying the globe one very distinctive feature in common. Each time the globe appears it is directly and explicitly equated with a personification of Rome. In the latter two cases, Rome is given prominence and the globe is reduced to a footnote.

So what does this have to do with focalised universality? Or for that matter universal history? I would argue that these coins demonstrate a shift in Roman perceptions of universality in the 70s BC. Previously, the sphere of the cosmos was an appropriate attribute for a muse or a point of contemplation for the intellectual. These types of image decorated a few private homes and evoked Hellenistic learning. The Roman elite had been interested in conceptualising the universality of the cosmos, much in the same way they were interested in other aspects of Greek philosophy. Here we see that the concept of universality brought into the wider public political discourse. We can read these coins as simply statements on the nature of Rome's military accomplishments, but they also tell us something of how the Romans were conceptualising the universal. Through these coins, we see a growing interest in the 70s BC in the ability not only to control the world, but to represent that world as a unified totality. The universal can be conceptualised through the focal point of Rome. The world in its entirety has one single definable relationship with Rome.

We can gain a better understanding of how this growing interest in universality is particularly focalised, by observing when the focal point shifts (Nicolet 1990: 29-56). Less than fifteen years after representations

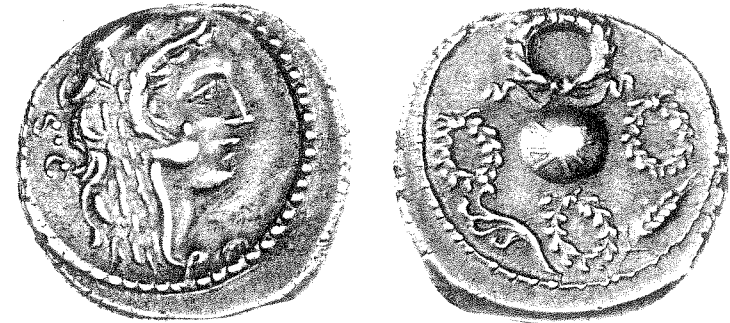


Fig. 5. 56 BC, RRC 426/4 (2.5 x actual size).

of the globe emerged in Roman iconography, the exclusive pairing with personifications of Rome was broken. Faustus, Sulla's son, engaged in an ambitious minting programme in 56 BC. In a series of four coin types he commemorated his father and Pompey; one of that series particularly commemorates Pompey's most unusual commands (Fig. 5 = 426/4). The large wreath may be the *corona aurea* awarded to Pompey in 63 before his return from the East (Vell. 2.40.4; Crawford 1974: 488 n. 1). The three small wreaths recall his three triumphs; the first for victories in Africa over the Marians, the second for suppressing Sertorius in Spain, and the third for his conquests in Asia after defeating Mithridates. Thus he could claim to have triumphed over all three continents of the *oikoumene*. The *aplustre* is a type of naval decoration associated with the stern of ships and may refer to the command against the pirates. The ear of corn can be associated with the command over the grain supply. The prominent large and centrally placed globe links together the rest of Pompey's accomplishments. In this universal representation, it is not Rome which serves as a unifying theme, but Pompey himself who provides the focal point. Six years earlier in his third triumph Pompey had even had a trophy representing the conquering of the *oikoumene* carried in his triumph (Diod. Sic. 40.4, Dio 37.21.2). The triumph is by far the most individualistic celebration of military achievement in the republic; an institution so powerful that it had to be restricted to the emperors under the empire (Beard 2007). By parading the world through the streets of Rome, Pompey was offering his deeds and actions as a means of contemplating the universal.

Cicero's use of universalising phrases – *omnes gentium, orbis terrarum*, among others – undergoes a similar shift in focus. As early as 66 BC in the *De Lege Manilia*, Cicero credits 'one law, one man, one year' as marking the moment when Rome's universal dominion was finally established (*omnibus gentibus ac nationibus terra marique imperare*: 56). However in this unusually early rhetoric the emphasis is still on Roman dominion, it is not until 50s BC that such claims become common place in the Ciceronian

corpus. The *Pro Sestio* has Pompey setting the boundaries of empire at the limits of the world (67; 56 BC). A year later the *In Pisonem* claims that Pompey 'had bound together all parts of all people in his three triumphs' (*omnis omnium gentium partis tribus triumphis devinxerat*; 29; cf. *Balb.* 16).

That long after his third triumph Pompey continued to offer himself as such a focal point is clearly seen from a famous statue of him, now in the Palazzo Spada, but believed originally to have been located in Pompey's theatre complex.⁵ If this is indeed the original context for the statue then it would have been designed at about the same time as the coin issued by Faustus, given that the theatre complex was opened in the following year.

On the coins of the 70s BC, as in Livy, we saw a synecdochical conflation of Rome and the world, *urbs* and *orbis*. Here with Pompey we see a consciously constructed attempt to shift the focalisation. The orb becomes an attribute of Pompey, not of Roma. He becomes the link between distant places and peoples, not the city itself.

It is Pompey's precedent that led to the more famous representations of the globe and *oikoumene* under Julius Caesar and Augustus: the Capitoline statue of Caesar atop the *oikoumene* (Dio 43.14.6), the globe with a winged victory which topped the pediment of the new Curia, and the representations of Augustus in heroic nudity resting his foot on the globe (Zanker 1988: fig. 62 and 42, cf. 64). When Octavius, our future Augustus, was only six years old, Pompey was already being called the '*princeps orbis terrae*' (Cic. *De Domo* 110; 57 BC).

The representational shift of focus from Rome to a single individual is a good lesson for the historiographer. The focalisation we find in the histories are not the 'natural' or 'inevitable' result of the cultural political environments in which the historian were writing, but instead conscious constructed statements about the worlds they occupied – statements that in turn helped to shape those worlds.

What other possibilities does this little foray into oratory and numismatics hold for the student of universal history? First, it offers us a fairly tight and consistent chronology. Cicero's speeches are accurately dated and well contextualised. We know from the coins when certain images were first widely disseminated; coins, with the possible exception of bricks, are the only truly mass produced objects in the ancient world. Why does the chronology matter? When we approach the development of ancient historiography too often we jump from Polybius, writing in the 140s and 130s BC to historians like Diodorus, Livy and Trogus, who wrote in the age of Caesar and Augustus. If we want a better understanding of how universal history developed in the early and mid first century BC, we need the comparative material to hold up against the fragmentary authors.

Second, the strong shift in focalisation from personifications of the city to an individual commander, particularly Pompey, invites us to revisit the extant universal histories and see if we can trace a similar shift in focalisation. Pompey's own influence on the historiographical tradition

deserves further inquiry. And it is also, worth enquiring, as to why after the strong iconographic shift away from the connection between Rome and world to a focalisation involving individual commanders, does the synecdoche return in such strength in the writings of Livy and other early imperial writers? I suspect the answer to this last question lies in Augustus' talent for blending together his personal identity and the identity of Rome (cf. Suet. *Aug.* 52).

Finally, the equation of universal dominion and consumption has emerged as a dominant theme and is equally worthy of further investigation in the extant universal histories. The rapacity of tax collectors is certainly a prevalent topic in a text such as Diodorus, but is there causal connection made between the totality of control and extent of the avarice? Is the very production of universal history a means of possessing the world through the power of observation?

Perhaps these precise questions will remain unanswered, but I hope I have provided in this chapter a methodological example of how historiography can borrow from a variety of disciplines to expand the range of its enquiry.

Notes

*During the preparation of this paper, I benefited deeply from stimulating conversations with R. Witchonke and access to his collection of Roman republican coinage; he generously supplied all the images for publication. I am also indebted to the AHRC whose generous funding allowed me to participate in the original conference and thus to further develop this work in light of the comments and suggestions of the organisers and my fellow participants. The suggestions and critique of my Brooklyn College colleagues were, as always, insightful and indispensable, particularly C. Williams, D. Schur and R. Viscusi.

1. Hegel's conception of Caesar as articulated here shows the influence of ancient authors; compare Cic. *Balb.* 64: *Sed quoniam C. Caesar abest longissime, atque in iis est nunc locis quae regione orbem terrarum, rebus illius gestis imperium populi Romani definiunt.*

2. The obverse legend directly over the figure's head reads, 'C • P • R', an abbreviation of *genius populi Romani*. Early scholarship on representations of the Genius of the Roman People on republican coinage focused on a connection with the gens Cornelia; see Borrelli (1943-45), Gagé (1957), and Michiels (1972). Most of this work has been fully integrated (and critiqued) in the notes of Crawford (1974). Of perhaps greater relevance to the themes of this chapter are the suggestions of Richardson (1978). On the iconographic development of images of the Genius of the Roman People and his attributes see Fears (1978), esp. 277-9 and Kunckel (1974).

3. Arnaud (1984) argues emphatically that the globe always represents the cosmos, not the sphere of earth. His argument is based on the structuralist principle that if one can deduce what an orb with particular markings means in one context, the same image means the same thing in all other contexts. This presumes that all viewers always saw the same thing and that there is no room for the dissemination of meaning.

4. Vogt (1929) is a short pamphlet, largely outdated, that offers a sweeping survey of the use of the term *orbis*; the laxity of usage is perhaps the most enduring conclusion to emerge from the work.

5. The identification is a contentious point; see Faccenna (1956); Coarelli (1971-2); Maderna (1988) 217-18; and Hallett (2005) appendix F. Early interest in the statue arose from the idea that it might have been the one beneath which Caesar was stabbed (Dio 44.52.1); a theory encapsulated in the famous 1798 painting by Vincenzo Camuccini. Given the interest in identification less emphasis has been placed on the globe; Hillard (1853) 282 states that traces of a figure were then evident on top of the globe and plausibly hypothesised that it was originally topped with a figure of victory. Kuttner (1999) offers a productive theoretical reading of the space Pompey created adjacent to the theatre.

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