

**Paul Ludwig**

**Two Exemplary exempla: Livy's Moralizing of Manlius Torquatus and Scipio Africanus**

Many scholars have pointed out that Livy gives cohesion to his annalistic sources by recasting them as illustrations of morality (*exempla*; praef. 10). Most previous scholarship has stopped at pointing out the virtues and vices ascribed to famous characters and to surrounding nations--e.g. Manlius Torquatus exemplifies *disciplina*, Scipio Africanus *clementia*, Lucretia and Verginia *pudicitia*, and the Campanians "*luxuria superbiaque*" (Ogilvie 1965, 18; Oakley 1997, 115; Walsh 1963, 109). This paper attempts to go deeper into Livy's moralizing purposes by focusing narrowly on one character prominent in discussions of Livy's creation and use of historical exempla: Titus Manlius Imperiosus Torquatus (see, e.g., Oakley, *CQ* 1985). I argue that, beyond illustrating the virtues that he believed had built and maintained Roman greatness, Livy shows an appreciation of the conditions necessary for the morality he illustrates. In particular, I argue that Livy sees Roman moral character as based on a balance between opposing forces of *pietas* and the rivalry for glory; Livy indicates that a moderate (non-nepotistic) strength of families and concomitant respect for elders are necessary conditions of Roman civic virtue.

Titus Manlius Torquatus is held up as an exemplar for two seemingly opposed acts committed at different stages of his life. As a youth, Titus Manlius assaults a tribune of the plebs, frightening him at knifepoint into dropping his prosecution of the youth's father, Lucius Manlius Imperiosus, on charges stemming from the fact that he had illegally hung on to his dictatorship. Livy calls his assault "*quamquam non civilis exempli, tamen pietate laudabile*" (7.5.2). Many years later, as consul and a father himself, Titus Manlius (now surnamed Torquatus) orders his own son to be put to death for a breach of military discipline prior to an engagement near the river Vesperis during the Latin revolt in 340 B.C. Livy makes him state publicly that he and his son will constitute a "*triste exemplum sed in posterum salubre iuventuti*" (8.7.17). Thus while Manlius the youth placed the family ahead of the public good, Manlius the man places the public good ahead of his family. Both acts are exemplary, and their apparent opposition is resolved by Torquatus' relative youth and age: sons are expected to put their fathers first; fathers are expected to put Rome first.

Livy sees the filial piety expected of youths as functioning to school their rivalry for glory, including their rivalry with elders. Livy uses a later event during the Second Punic War, when a century of junior men consult a century of senior men before an important vote, as an opportunity to compare favorably the Rome of that day with "the [ideal] city of the wise" and to contrast that bygone Rome with the Rome of his own day when (he alleges) even the authority of parent over child has been weakened (6.22). I argue that despite his patent admiration for Scipio Africanus, Livy uses the idea of younger men's open rivalry with their elders, initiated by Scipio Africanus in his debate against Fabius Maximus over Scipio's African ambitions (28.40-44) to presage what he sees as the beginning of the end of Roman virtue.