Fifty Years at the Sibyl's Heels

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Selected Papers on Virgil and Rome

NICHOLAS HORSFALL

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Preface

> 'Nicholas Horsfall (1946–2019) was considered one of the world's leading interpreters of Virgil. Described by a French scholar as "l'un des plus grands savants de notre temps", his reputation rested primarily, but by no means exclusively, on the five massive commentaries on Virgil's *Aeneid*. Each of these works is dauntingly erudite, highly idiosyncratic, irrepressibly judgmental and embellished with personal reminiscences . . . . Horsfall wrote on an extraordinarily wide variety of topics besides Virgil and had a knack of finding subjects which, while apparently tangential, frequently served as entrees to major scholarly concerns.'
>
> (A. J. Woodman, Obituary of Nicholas Horsfall, *Daily Telegraph*, 14 February 2019)

> 'Nicholas Horsfall's forte has been the ability to connect Roman poetry, especially Virgil, with history, antiquarianism, and Realien. This collection shows the importance of this project, which goes beyond the work of Virgil. . . . Horsfall was a Latinist and a Romanist at the same time, and the collection illuminates the astonishing degree of coherence in his approach—right from the first paper, Numanus Remulus, which was a game-changer in spite (or because) of its limited span and detailed execution.'
>
> (Alessandro Barchiesi, Sept. 2019)

This is a posthumous selection from the 145 papers which Nicholas Horsfall published over a span of almost half a century, as in the title, *Fifty Years at the Sibyl's Heels*, borrowed from that of his semi-autobiographical appendix to his commentary on *Aeneid* 6. The aim of this present volume was to include those papers regarded as 'classics', that are frequently cited, that broke new ground, or were 'game-changers', or became standard treatments of their subject, and also to make accessible several papers which are not easily found; for, in addition to his wide range of topics, Horsfall delighted in publishing in an almost equal range of journals, not all of them well known or with an online presence.

The main difficulty has been that of deciding, for a single-volume selection, which papers to leave out. Professor A. J. Woodman kindly canvassed and collated the opinions of a number of other scholars; this survey led to an initial, but still lengthy, shortlist. The final decision, and its shortcomings, are my own. Among

those shortlisted and omitted are firstly, with regret, the epigraphical papers, 'The Laudatio Turiae' (1983), 'Tabulae iliacae' (1979), 'Stesichorus at Bovillae?' (1979), heavy in plates and illustrations, and all available online, and secondly those papers where Horsfall is known to have changed his views, as with his position on Corythus. None of his reviews (of which he wrote over 130) were considered for inclusion in this volume, although they make for entertaining reading, the range is wide, and many of them state his own position on a problem.

The final selection is drawn from twenty-three different sources and almost half of the papers included are, if not entirely 'inaccessible', certainly less easily accessible, particularly in the English-speaking world. From this group of papers, at the request of Oxford University Press and with a view to reaching a wider readership, I have translated five from the Italian in which they were written: 'Camilla o i limiti dell invenzione' (1988), 'I pantaloni di Cloreo' (1989), '*Barbara tegmina crurum*' (1989), '*Externi duces*' (1991), and 'L'Eneide e le strutture sociali dell' Italia primitiva' (1991).

The majority of the papers selected are, not surprisingly, on Virgil. Consideration was given to grouping the non-Virgilian papers separately—although, given how wide-ranging and at the same time overlapping Horsfall's interests were, such a classification is not always clear—but this was rejected in favour of ordering the papers chronologically, which allows the reader to follow the path of the author's interests through related topics and lends a definite coherence.

The texts themselves are unchanged apart from a few corrections and some changes to bibliographical references, which have been checked and made consistent throughout, without, however, changing the editions cited: the abbreviations used are, for the most part, those of the Oxford Classical Dictionary. Square brackets have been used to provide cross-references to other chapters in the volume and to give the original footnote page and number reference where that differs from the system used here, of continuous footnote numbering within each chapter.

A number of people have given their support in different ways; I should like to thank Alessandro Barchiesi, who has allowed part of his comments on the collection to be quoted, James O'Hara, whose obituary of Nicholas Horsfall in *Vergilius* 65 (2019) should be read by all those interested in this 'brilliant, stubborn man', Tony Corbeill, who has been ready at all times to give advice and answer bibliographical queries, and A. J. Woodman, who in addition to his survey of others' opinions has been most generous in answering promptly a string of questions over a lengthy period.

With no personal contact at MacQuarie University, I picked a name at random from their Ancient History staff list in my search for a missing article from *Ancient Society*: *Resources for Teachers* (later *Ancient History*). Within twelve hours Paul McKechnie had sent me a copy of 'The Geography of the Georgics' (1997). He later put me in touch with the necessary authority for permission to reprint the four

MacQuarie articles and was in general both helpful and enthusiastic. This was heart-warming and I am pleased to be able to thank him properly here.

Acknowledgements of permission to reprint these papers is given separately, but I should like to express my appreciation of the courteous, friendly, and positive reactions of all those editors, whether or not they themselves held the copyright, whom I approached.

Karen Raith at OUP was unfailingly helpful and efficient and her support in the early stages of the book proposal and beyond are very much appreciated.

Robert Lister, to whom Nicholas Horsfall's final book was dedicated, was thanked there for having 'cheered me on through the composition of several books'. His steadfast support has been no less available to the present editor and he has my heartfelt thanks for many kindnesses.

Many of Horsfall's bibliographical references are famously arcane and obscure and my debt to Carlo Franco for their pursuit and capture is beyond words. The staunch friendship of many years valiantly withstood and responded to the daily, and often hourly, bombardment of bibliographical queries sent from *ultima Thule* to Venice. He also read through the entire text, corrected many typographical errors (introduced by the necessity of retyping all the texts), brought consistency and rigour to the bibliographical references, and checked my translations of the Italian articles included here, thereby proving his mastery of both languages and saving me from a number of pitfalls. His support in every way has been invaluable.

The chronological ordering of the papers does not apply to 'The poetics of toponymy' (2002), which for reasons neither scholarly nor editorial, nor indeed rational, is placed as the final paper of the volume. Perhaps because it exemplifies and gives some insight into Nicholas Horsfall's very recognizable voice and his own sense of intimacy with his reader, or perhaps simply because it illustrates how much fun and joy he had in being alive and in his life's work.

One minor and personal observation: among classicists, the *Opera minora* are usually edited by devoted pupils, or friendly colleagues. Here the case is different, for many reasons. As an *ancienne* classics graduate and non-scholar, I have found this long journey through Nicholas' papers an extraordinarily enriching experience: I hope the collection is of value to scholars, ancient historians, and working classicists, but I also hope that many other readers like myself will find these papers as inspiring, fascinating, and enjoyable as I have done.

Ailsa Crofts

Strathconon
January 2020

Acknowledgements

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AION—Annali del Dipartimento di Studi del Mondo Classico, Istituto Universitario Orientale Napoli: * '*L'Eneide e le strutture sociali dell' Italia primitiva*', *AION* 13 (1991) 17–25.

American Academy at Rome: 'The cultural horizons of the *Plebs Romana*', *MAAR* (1996), 101–18.

Athenaeum, Università di Pavia: * 'Camilla o i limiti dell' invenzione', *Athenaeum* 66 (1988), 31–51.

Cambridge University Press: 'Virgil's Roman chronography', *Classical Quarterly* 24 (1974), 111–15; 'Some problems in the Aeneas-legend', *Classical Quarterly* 29 (1979), 372–90; 'Virgil and the conquest of chaos', *Antichthon* 15 (1981), 141–50 (= ORVA 466–77); 'Illusion and reality in Latin topographical writing', *G&R* 32 (1985), 197–208; '*Non uiribus aequis*: some problems in Virgil's battle-scenes', *G&R* 34 (1987), 48–53; '*The uses of literacy* and the *Cena Trimalchionis*', *G&R* 36 (1989), 74–89, 194–209; 'Virgil and the poetry of explanations', *G&R* 38 (1991), 203–11; 'Empty shelves on the Palatine', *G&R* 40 (1993), 58–67; 'Rome without spectacles' *G&R* 42 (1995), 49–56.

Classical Journal: 'From history to legend: Manlius and the geese', *CJ* 76 (1981), 298–311 (= *BICS* Suppl. 52 (1987) 63–75).

Curtis Brown Ltd. for permission to quote from W. H. Auden's *Secondary Epic*.

Francis Cairns: 'Virgil and the illusory footnote', *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 6 (1990), 49–63; 'Cicero and poetry', *PLLS 7* (1993), 1–7.

Illinois Classical Studies: 'Fraud as scholarship: the Helen Episode and the *Appendix Vergiliana*', *ICS* 31/2 (2006/7), 1–27.

Institute of Classical Studies: 'The *collegium poetarum*', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 23 (1976), 79–95; 'Some problems of titulature in Roman literary history', *BICS* 28 (1981), 103–14; 'From history to legend: Manlius and the geese', *BICS* Suppl. 52 (1987) 63–75 = *CJ* 76 (1981) 298–311.

Latomus Publications: 'Numanus Remulus: ethnography and propaganda in *Aen.* 9.598ff.', *Latomus* 30 (1971), 1108–16 (= ORVA 305–15); '*Turnus ad portas*', *Latomus* 33(1974), 80–6.

Loescher Editore, Torino: * 'I pantaloni di Cloreo', *Rivista di Filologia* 117 (1989), 57–61; * '*Externi duces*', *Rivista di Filologia* 119 (1991), 188–92; 'The prehistory of Latin poetry', *Rivista di Filologia* 122 (1994), 50–75.

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MAIA, Rivista de Letterature Classiche: * '*Barbara tegmine crurum*', *MAIA* 41/3 (1989), 251–4.

Mouseion (previously *Echos Du Monde Classique/Classical News and Views*): '*Doctus sermones utriusque linguae?*' EMC/CNV 23 (1979), 79–95.

Museum Tusculanum Press: 'The Moretum decomposed', *Classica et Mediaevale* 5 (2001), 303–16.

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Vergilius: 'The Aeneas-legend and the *Aeneid*', *Vergilius* 32 (1986), 8–17; 'Aeneas the colonist', *Vergilius* 35 (1989), 9–27; '*Excudent alii*', *Vergilius* 57 (2011), 63–74; 'Virgil and the Jews', *Vergilius* 58 (2012), 67–80; 'Poets and poetry in Virgil's Underworld', *Vergilius* 59 (2013), 23–8.

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Abbreviations

Abh. sächs Ak.	*Abhandlungen der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*
AC	*Acta Classica*
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History*
AJPhil.	*American Journal of Philology*
ANRW	*Aufsteig und Niedergang der römischen Welt* (1972)
Ant. Class.	*L'Antiquité classique*
AP	*Palatine Anthology*
Arch. Class.	*Archaeologia Classica*
ASNP	*Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe di Lettere e filosofia*
BCAR	*Bolletino deslla Commissione Archeologica Communale di Roma*
BEFRA	*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*
Bernabé, PEG	A. Bernabé, *Poetae Epici Graeci* 1 (1988)
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*
Bibl. Éc. Franc.	*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athénes et de Rome* (1877)
Bull. Rylands Libr.	*Bulletin of John Rylands Library*
CAH	*Cambridge Ancient History*
C&M	*Classica et Mediaevalia*
CÉFR	*Collections de l'École française de Rome* (1976)
CGF	G. Kaibel, *Comicorum Graecorum Fragmenta* (1899)
CHCL	*Cambridge History of Classical Literature*
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* (1863)
Cl. Ant.	*Classical Antiquity*
CLE	F. Bücheler & E. Lommatzsch (eds.), *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* (1895 1926)
Companion	Horsfall (ed.) *A Companion to the Study of Virgil* (Leiden 1999)
CPhil.	*Classical Philology*
CR Acad. Inscr.	*Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Insciptions et Belles Lettres*
CSCA	*California Studies in Classical Antiquity*
CSEL	*Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*
CW	*Classical World*
Dar. Sag.	C. Daremberg & E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités grecques et romaines d'après les textes et les monuments* (1877 1919)
Dessau, ILS	H. Dessau, *Inscriptiones Latinae Selecta* (1892 1916)
Diss. Phil. Hal.	*Dissertationes Philologicae Halenses*
EAA	*Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*
Enc.Virg.	*Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, 5 vols (1984 90)
Entretiens Hardt	Fondation Hardt, *Essais sur l'antiquité classique*

EPRO	*Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'empire romain*
FGrH	F. Jacoby, *Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* (1923)
FHG	C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*
Funaiolo, *Gramm. Rom. Frag.*	H. Funaiolo, *Grammaticae Romanae fragmenta* (1907)
GIF	*Giornale Italiano di Filologia*
Gow Page, *HE*	A. S. F. Gow & D. L. Page, *The Greek Anthology: Hellenistic Epigraphs* 2 vols (1965)
GRBS	*Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies*
Harv. Stud.	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
Hesp.	*Hesperia: Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*
Hist.	*Historia: Zeitschrift für alte Geschichte*
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des (kaiserlich) deutschen archäologischen Instituts* (1886)
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
LCM	*Liverpool Classical Monthly*
LSJ	Liddell & Scott, *Greek English Lexicon*
MAAR	*Memoirs of the American Academy at Rome*
MD	*Materiali e Discussioni*
MÉFRA	*Mélanges de l'École française de Rome*
Mem. dei Lincei	*Memorie: Atti della Academia Nazionale dei Lincei, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filogiche*
MH	*Museum Helveticum*
Migne, *PL*	Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus, series Latina*
NJahrb.	(1) {Neue} *Jahrbücher für Philologie und Päsagogik* (1826 97) (2) *Neue Jahrbücher für d. klassische Altertum* 1989 25) (3) *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung*
Op. Arch.	*Opuscula Archaeologica* (1935 52)
ORVA	*Oxford Readings in Vergil's Aeneid* (1990)
Page, *PMG*	D. L. Page, *Poetae Melici Graeci*
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*
Peter, *HRRel.*	H. Peter, *Historicorum Romanorum Reliquiae*, vol 1^2 (1914), 2 (1906)
Philol.	*Philologus*
Platner Ashby	*Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1929)
PLLS	*Papers of the Liverpool/Leeds Latin Seminar*
PMLA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America*
POxy.	*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*
PP	*La parola del passato* (1946)
Preller Robert	L. Preller, *Griechische Mythologie*, 4th edn. rev. C. Robert
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum* Stuttgart (1941)
RCCM	*Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medievale*
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa, and W. Kroll, *Real Encyclopädie d. klassischen Altertumwissenschaft* (1893)

Rend. 1st Lomb.	*Rendiconti d. R. Instituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere*
Rend. Linc.	*Rendiconti della reale accademia dei Lincei*
Rev. Ét. Lat.	*Revue des études latines*
Rev. Phil.	*Revue de philologie* (1877)
RGDA	*Res Gestae Divi Augusti*
Rh. Mus.	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
Ribbeck, *CRF*	O. Ribbeck, *Comicorum Romanorum Fragmenta*
RMM	J. N. Bremmer and N. M. Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography*, BICS Suppl. 52 (1987)
RVV	*Religionsgeschichtliche Versuche und Vorarbeiten*
Schanz Hosius	*Geschichte d. römischen Literatur*
SHA	*Scriptores Historiae Augustae*
Sitz. Bay. Ak.	Sitzungsberichte Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Muenchen
Studii Clasice	Societatea de Studii Clasice di Romania
Symb. Osl.	*Symbolae Osloenses*
Wien. Stud.	*Wiener Studien*
YClS	*Yale Classical Studies*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

References to Horsfall's commentaries on *Aeneid* 2 (2008), 3 (2006), 6 (2013), 7 (2000), 11 (2003), are given without author or bibl. details.

1

Numanus Remulus

Ethnography and propaganda in *Aeneid* 9.598ff.

Scholarly neglect of Virgil's battle-scenes can be dangerously undiscriminating; thus, for any study of *Aen.* 9.598–620, a speech of outstanding programmatic importance, we have had to wait for Schweizer's 1967 dissertation.[1] This paper's concern will be with analogies and antecedents, and it aims to clarify a few sources of Augustan propaganda, and to see how much may be said of a Roman's probable response to twenty lines of the *Aeneid*.

During the Latins' attack on the Trojan camp, Numanus Remulus, Turnus' brother-in-law, shouts at the besieged boasts of Italian prowess, and taunts of Trojan weakness. This polarity of form is Homeric in origin; so Diomedes to Paris (*Il.* 11.385ff., 390f., 392): τοξότα, λωβητήρ, κέρᾳ ἀγλαέ, παρθενοπῖπα, ... κωφὸν γὰρ βέλος ἀνδρὸς ἀνάλκιδος οὐτιδανοῖο. ἦ τ' ἄλλως ὑπ' ἐμεῖο ... ὀξὺ βέλος πέλεται, 'archer, reviler, glorious only with the horn bow, girl ogler ... dull is the spear of a man who is a nobody and a coward ... very differently flies the sharpened spear from my hand'. Another correspondence of form is possible: here the Trojans are fighting Italians; *non hic Atrides, nec fandi fictor Ulixes* (602). Easy opposition is over for the Trojans, as it would have been for Alexander had he invaded Italy (*non cum Dareo rem esse dixisset*; Liv. 9.17.16) after his eastern conquests, with a softened and effeminate Macedonian army (*degenerantem iam in Persarum mores*; Liv. 18.3) Virgil's debt to this *locus* cannot be proved,[2] but the similarity of the threefold comparisons is tempting.[3] Numanus Remulus' boasts of the national virtues are of a type reaching back to Homer, where, ironically, Alcinoous takes pride in the luxurious habits of the Phaeacians (*Od.* 8.248). For such patriotic self-characterization, the Romans' capacity was boundless

[First published in *Latomus* 30 (1971) 1108 16.] I am grateful to Miss Gillian Metford [Professor Gillian Clark] for her help with this paper.

[1] [1108.1] H. Schweizer, *Vergil u. Italien* (diss. 1967) 14f.; as for intellectual antecedents, B. Rehm, *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis*, *Philol.* Suppl. 24.2 (Leipzig 1932) 67f. has made a useful start. I am indebted to Prof. G. N. Knauer for a reference to Fraccaro's note in *Boll. Fil. Class.* 17 (1910 11) 160f.

[2] [1108.2] Liv. 9.17f.; cf. too Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 326c; Callinicus (*Polemonis Declamationes*, ed. H. Hinck (Leipzig 1873)) 43, 10f.; Julian. *Ep. ad Alex.* 433 C; A. E. Wardman, *CQ* 5.1 (1955) 100.

[3] [1108.3] Liv. 9.19.10 reports Alexander of Epirus as saying of the Romans *cum feminis sibi bellum fuisse* (cf. Gell. 17.21.33; Plut. *Pyrrh.* 19, *Rhet. Her.* 4.31), so here *o uere Phrygiae neque enim Phryges*, but the insult is of too common a type for the coincidence to signify here.

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and old-established. Servius on 9.600 sees Cato and Varro behind Virgil at this point.[4] He is clearly right; Numanus Remulus' more laudable claims are arrogated
[1108/ by Cato in the *de suis uirtutibus*: *ego iam a principio in parsimonia atque in duritia*
1109] *atque in industria omnem adulescentiam meam abstinui agro colendo saxis Sabinis silicibus repastinandis atque conserendis*, and proclaimed in the *Res Rusticae*.[5] The Rutuli have clearly much in common with the stereotype picture of early Roman or honest countryman,[6] as also with ethnographical notices of barbarian peoples. In the latter, the element of idealization is minimal, for the ethnographers write in terms of conventionalized details, which accumulate in mass and fixity from Hecataeus and Herodotus to Ammianus and beyond.[7] So in this speech, only one item (*uersaque iuuencum* . . .) could possibly be regarded as an innovation. Virgil also has in mind ideal descriptions of the Cretan and Spartan states.[8] The latter is of particular importance for the description of primitive Italians, for similarities in *mores* had long since suggested a Laconian origin for the Sabines.[9] Finally, Virgil may have been influenced by speculations about the influence of environment on national character. *Rastris terram domat* perhaps implies the great effort involved in cultivating the rugged country of central Italy. Thus, as Cato suggests in the *De suis uirtutibus*, the native Italians are the hard offspring of the hard land.[10]

The *duritia* of the Italians is a dominating theme; they are a *durum genus* from birth, and they are hardened in icy rivers. The repetition is prominent and deliberate. It is also peculiarly Roman, for there is no Greek word to convey a condition of laudable physical toughness. *Duritia* was the virtue of Cato (*vide supra*), of the Scipios, of the Gauls and Germans, and of the Spartans and Macedonians.[11] Above all, it is the product of hard toil in farm or army.[12] *Durus* and its cognates become almost stock epithets for both farmer and soldier.[13]

[4] [1108.4] Cf. P. Fraccaro, *Studi Varroniani* (Padova 1907) 220; behind Varro there may also lie Posidonius, *Hist. ap. Athen.* 4.153 C fr. I Jacoby.

[5] [1109.1] 2 *praef.* 4 (fr. 128 Malcovati); cf. Nep. *Cato* 1 and Plin. *HN* 18.11.26.

[6] [1109.2] As, for instance, Sall. *Cat.* 10.1; Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.84.

[7] [1109.3] Cf. J. G. C. Anderson, *Tacitus: Germania* (Oxford 1938) 9f., 27f.

[8] [1109.4] Crete: Heraclid. Pont. *FGrH* 2.211. For Sparta see, e.g., Pl. *Leg.* 7.823c; W. den Boer, *Laconian Studies* (Amsterdam 1954) 233f.

[9] [1109.5] R. Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik* (repr. Stuttgart 1965) 223 n. 1; cf. A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte* (Tübingen 1853) i. 280; Fraccaro (n. 4) 226; J. Bérard, *La Colonisation Grecque de l'Italie méridionale* . . . ² (Paris 1957) 467; Posidonius (n. 4) 6, 273; Cato *ap.* Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 8.638; Varro *Ling.* 5.146.

[10] [1109.6] Cf. Lucr. 2.430 for this type of geographical speculation; cf. Hippocr. *Aer.* 12; Herod. 1.143.2, 9.122.3; Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.95; Tac. *Germ.* 4; Liv. 9.13.7; Strab. 3.3.7; J. O. Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge 1948) 106f.

[11] [1109.7] Worked into creation stories: Virg. *G.* 1.63; Lucr. 5.926; Ov. *Met.* 1.414; the Scipios: Virg. *G.* 2.167f.; Gauls and Germans: Caes. *BGall.* 6.21.3, 28; Spartans: Cic. *Tusc.* 1.102; Macedonians: Liv. 42.52.10. Used by Columella of the Sabines, 10.137.

[12] [1109.8] Farm: Lucr. 5.1360; Sen. *Ep.* 95.19; army: Tac. *Ann.* 1.20.2.

[13] [1109.9] Farmer: Virg. *G.* 1.160; Columella 7.6.4, 10.23; Virg. *Aen.* 7.504; Hor. *Sat.* 1.7.29; Columella 1.8.2.; Ov. *Fast.* 4.691f. etc.; soldier: Ov. *Ars am.* 3.110; Liv. 7.29.5, 27.48.10, 9.40.4 etc.

Anchises warns Aeneas that the people of Latium are a *gens dura atque aspera cultu* (*Aen.* 5.730). Yet in the poem, the Italians share this virtue with the much-maligned Trojans.[14]

There is a second heavily stressed motif: that of *ferrum*. *Omne aeuum ferro teritur* (609) stands at the middle of the speech, and the idea of *omne aeuum* is amplified through the sequence of *natos* (603)…*pueri* (605)…*iuuentus* (607)…*senectus* (610); the character of *ferrum* is clearly both agricultural and military: *uersaque iuuencum terga fatigamus hasta* follows directly. *Cedite ferro* (620) is not easy; *TLL* (3.725.13) takes *cedite* as *desistite*. That is possible; but in the context, 'yield to the knife' with an allusion to orgiastic emasculation must be the primary sense. Schweizer (n. 1, 16) suggests that the central reference to *ferrum* places Numanus Remulus and his ideals in the *ferrea saecula* (cf. *G.* 1.145f.) despite analogies with the ideal rustic life. But here, as in *G.* 2, the relationship of Golden and Iron Ages to the historical time-scale would be extremely confusing, and the allusion must remain uncertain.[15] There is a further philosophical concept whose relevance to the interpretation of this speech is doubtful. The *paruo…adsueta iuuentus* (607) might seem to recall Cynic or Stoic ideas of frugality. But the ethnographers attributed coarse diet and clothing to innumerable primitive peoples (*vide infra*) and Virgil simply makes a virtue out of the necessity of their hard lives. [1109/1110]

The details of the speech must now be considered in order:

durum a stirpe genus natos ad flumina primum deferimus saeuoque gelu duramus et undis. The process of hardening begins in earliest infancy; like Thracians, Germans, and Scyths,[16] but, as it happens, unlike the Spartans,[17] the Italians accustom their infants to cold, developing an endurance of climate admired and required in soldier and barbarian.[18] The habit of bathing in icy local rivers[19] will have impressed in a city of bathhouses, where only the soldier in training ventured into the Tiber.[20]

[14] [1109.10] Trojans: Virg. *Aen.* 3.94, 9.466, 12.288; Italians see too 11.48, 657.

[15] [1110.1] Cf. W. Richter, *Vergil Georgica* (München 1957) on *G.* 2.500.

[16] [1110.2] Gal. *De sanit. tuenda* 6.51 (Kühn); Sor. *Gyn.* 2.12 (81); Sid. Apoll. *Carm.* 2.35f.; Arist. *Pol.* 7.17.3 (with Newman's note). Cf. the Celtic practice of immersing babies in the Rhine, survival proved legitimacy; *AP* 9.125; Ps. Theoph. Simoc. *Ep.* 10 (R. Hercher, *Epistolographi Graeci* (Paris 1873) 766, 20); Julian. *Ep.* 191, *Or.* 2, 81 d; J. A. Cramer, *Anecdota Oxoniensia* (1835) 3.158, 20; Tzetz., in Hes. *Erga* Prol., 12, 4 (Gaisford); Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 2.4.142f. (*PG*, xxxvii, 1516); Nonnus *Dion.* 23.94f.; *Paroemiogr.* 2, 569; Claud. *In Ruf.* 2.112; *CAG*, 18.1.125.30f.; Georg. Pisid. *Ekstr. Herakl.* 1.41; Lib. *Or in Iul.* 2.26.10 (Lib.); *Narrat. de Rhen.* 8.56 F; Theodorus Hyrtacenus, *Epp.* 25, 37, 52. This note attempts a full statement of the evidence, *exempli gratia*.

[17] [1110.3] Plut. *Vit. Lyc.* 12.

[18] [1110.4] Strab. 3.3.7, 15.3.18; Caes. *BGall.* 6.22.3; Liv. 5.48.3; Veg. *RM* 1.10; Claud. 7.39.

[19] [1110.5] Scythians: Valerius Flaccus 6.335; Lusitani: Strab. 3.3.7; Spartans: Sen. *Suas.* 2.5; Germans: Caes. *BGall.* 6.21.5.

[20] [1110.6] Hor. *Carm.* 3.7.25f., 3.12.8f.; Tib. 1.4.11f.; Plut. *Vit. Cat. Mai.* 20.4f.

uenatu inuigilant pueri siluasque fatigant. Virgil makes both Trojans and
[1110/ Italians keen hunters.[21] This was far more than a characteristic of rural life[22] and
1111] a conventional activity of barbarian people.[23] To both Greeks and Romans, it had a definite moral value, requiring both hard work (*πόνος*; cf. *inuigilant*, *fatigant* here) and courage.[24] Hunting therefore strengthened the body and was a valuable propaedeutic for war.[25] Moreover, it was a fit pursuit for a gentleman, whether an Athenian nobleman, a squire of Xenophon's Laconian shires, or any Roman from the elder Cato to Horace's Lollius.[26] Sallust's sneer in *Cat*. 4.1 is the perplexing expression of a minority opinion.[27]

flectere ludus equos et spicula tendere cornu. *Ludus* might be thought slightly ambiguous; however, between *jeu* and *entraînement* it is easy to decide.[28] For the Italians, riding and archery are far more than boyish games; like hunting, they were traditional features of the military upbringing in Sparta, Crete, and Athens,[29] as also among the Germans and Spaniards.[30] The elder Cato prescribed riding for his son, and it remained one of the sports of the Campus Martius.[31] Neglect of these exercises was a sure sign of decay.[32]

at patiens operum. This line is first used at *G*. 2.472 in the context of the ideal rural world. There the *opera* need be no more than the continuous work of the farm. Here, they are the twofold labours of war and agriculture, to be borne in addition to the hardships of climate and poverty. The Italians' *patientia* is altogether admirable; it is, after all, a product of their *duritia*.[33] It is not a virtue to be applied lightly or often to peoples other than Romans.[34]

paruoque adsueta iuuentus. Frugality, a virtue imposed by circumstance,
[1111/ marks the life of the farmer and the soldier,[35] as well as of many barbarian
1112]

[21] [1110.7] *Aen*. 1.315, 336; 4.158; 9.771; 11.777; 7.651; 9.245, etc.
[22] [1110.8] *G*. 1.139, 307; 3.409, etc.
[23] [1111.1] Strab. 7.4.8; Amm. Marc. 23.6.50; Caes. *BGall*. 4.1.8; Herod. 4.22, 112, 116.
[24] [1111.2] J. Aymard, *Essai sur les chasses romaines* (Paris 1965) 89f., 469f.; W. W. Jaeger, *Paideia* (Eng. tr.) 3, 116f.
[25] [1111.3] Caes. *BGall*. 6.21.3, 28.3; Max. Tyr. *diss*. 18 (ed. Hobein, 322, 14); Varr. *Rust*. 2, *praef*. 15f.; Suet. *Aug*. 43.4. At Sparta: Plut. *Vit. Lyc*. 22; Pl. *Leg*. 1.633b, 7.823c.
[26] [1111.4] Athens: Xen. *Cyn*. 12 (particularly 13); Laconia: Xen. *An*. 5.3 etc.; Cato: Cic. *Sen*. 56; Lollius: Hor. *Epist*. 1.18, 49f. In general see Aymard (n. 24) 485f.
[27] [1111.5] Aymard (n. 24) 57f.; Plato's praise is much hedged (*Leg*. 7.824).
[28] [1111.6] H. I. Marrou, *Hist. de l'éducation dans l'Antiquité* (Paris 1948) 351.
[29] [1111.7] Sparta: Xen. *Lac*. 2.2f.; Plut. *Apoph. Lac*. 227 d; Crete: Pl. *Leg*. 1.625d; Athens: C. Pélékidis, *Histoire de l'éphébie Attique* (Paris 1962) 108.
[30] [1111.8] Strab. 3.3.7; Mela 3.26.
[31] [1111.9] Plut. *Cat. Mai*. 20.4f; Dio Cass. 52.26.1; Strab. 5.3.8; Ov. *Fast*. 3.522; Hor. *Carm*. 3.7.25f., 3.12.8f., 3.24.54; *Sat*. 2.2.9f.
[32] [1111.10] *Aen*. 4.86f.; Hor. *Carm*. 1.8.1f.
[33] [1111.11] Columella 7.6.9; Veg. *Mil*. 1.3; Sall. *Cat*. 10.2; to be praised in an enemy even: Cic. *Cat*. 1.26.
[34] [1111.12] Caes. *BGall*. 6.24.4; Cic. *Verr*. 2.7; Amm. Marc. 17.13.27; cf. Polyb. 3.79.5; the hardy Libyans and Iberians are contrasted with the Celts.
[35] [1111.13] Hor. *Carm*. 3.21.1; *Epist*. 2.1.39; Cato Cens. *Orig*. fr. 128.

peoples.[36] Once more, the coincidence of detail is repeated: Rutulian, barbarian, and idealized peasant-soldier.

aut rastris terram domat. With this reference to the hard labour of agriculture, Virgil's praise of the Italians comes to an end. Incessant internecine war is the goal of all their physical preparations: *aut quatit oppida bello*. From Aeneas' first sight of the *arx Minervae* (3.530f.), there is a strong warlike element in the country's character.[37] This character the Romans admired and fostered;[38] it was, equally, one applied to many of the barbarians.[39]

The deliberate idealization of the type of the Italian farmer-soldier begins apparently with Cicero, above all in his portrait of the elder Cato in the *de Senectute*.[40] Virgil's Rutuli resemble more closely still Horace's Sabines: *rusticorum mascula militum proles Sabellis docta ligonibus uersare glaebas* . . . (*Carm.* 3.6.37f.)[41] and the portrait he himself draws of the Aequi: *horrida* . . . *gens adsuetaque multo uenatu nemorum* . . . *armati terram exercent* . . . (7.746f.).[42] Obviously tough farmers, with an interest in the land, made the best soldiers, physically and spiritually.[43] Four of Rome's greatest soldiers, Cincinnatus, M' Curius Dentatus, C. Fabricius Luscinus, and M. Atilius Regulus were renowned as also being farmers.[44] From the elder Cato to Vegetius, the textbooks laid down that the army's ranks were best filled from the Italian peasantry;[45] Marsi and Sabines were particularly renowned.[46] Thus narratives of recruitment rarely mention Rome, and there is frequent abuse of the quality of urban troops.[47] To this complex of ideas we shall have to return.

omne aeuum ferro teritur. The Italians undertake willingly and with pride a life of endless toil and strife, though free men might complain that such burdens were imposed to keep them in subjection.[48]

uersaque iuuencum terga fatigamus hasta. This is apparently the only detail in the speech that is not conventional; de la Cerda provides a remote parallel from [1112/1113]

[36] [1112.1] Amm. Marc. 23.6.61; Curt. 6.5.11; Strab. 15.1.53, 3.3.7; Caes. *BGall.* 6.24.2, 8.4.1; Herod. 1.136; Hecat. fr. 9 Jacoby; Phyl. fr. 13 Jacoby.

[37] [1112.2] Similar foreshadowing: *Aen.* 1.21, 263, 531, 4.229.

[38] [1112.3] Liv. 9.9.11, 7.6.3; Virg. *G.* 3.346; Prop. 3.22.19.

[39] [1112.4] *Aen.* 1.14; Strab. 14.2.27, 4.4.2, 4.4.5; *TLL* 2 (1810) 27f.

[40] [1112.5] Cf. first, apparently, *Leg. agr.* 2.84.

[41] [1112.6] Cf. also *Sat.* 2.7.23; *Epod.* 2.1.139f.; *Carm.* 1.12.43f., 1.1.11f.; *Epod.* 2.3; *Carm.* 3.16.26f.; A. La Penna, *Orazio e l'ideologia del principato* (Torino 1963) 59f.

[42] [1112.7] *G.* 2.513f., *Aen.* 11.318f.

[43] [1112.8] The ideal had been criticized by Pl. *Rep.* 2.374c; Arist. *Pol.* 7.9.1f. Close to the Roman attitude is Men. fr. 63, 408. We may also compare General Dwight Eisenhower (quoted by Louis Heren, *Times* 1.4.69, 8): 'the pioneers had to learn to plough a straight furrow with a rifle on their backs. They were not discouraged by constant dangers. They were a happy people'.

[44] [1112.9] Columella 1 *praef.*, 13f., 4, 2; Cic. *Sen.* 56; Liv. 3.13.26; Dion. Hal. 19.15.

[45] [1112.10] Cat. *Agr. praef.* 4; Varr. *Rust.* 2, *praef.* 2; Columella 1 *praef.* 17; Veg. *Mil.* 1.3.

[46] [1112.11] Sabines: Hor. *Epod.* 2.41; Liv. 1.18.4; Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.37 etc.; Marsi: Virg. *G.* 2.167; Hor. *Carm.* 2.20.18, 3.5.9; Caes. *BGall.* 1.15.20 etc.

[47] [1112.12] Columella 1. *praef.* 17; P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 52 (1962) 73f., 85.

[48] [1112.13] Herod. 3.134.2; Liv. 6.27.7, etc.

Cassiodurus.[49] The reverse process—that is, the use of rustic instruments in war, is much better attested.[50]

nec tarda senectus debilitat uiris animi mutatque uigorem; canitiem galea premimus. It was precisely in formal discussion of *senectus* that the traditional partition of strength to the young and wisdom to the old[51] was recognized as fallacious. In the *de Sen.*, Cato, though no second Agesilaus, is full of the virtues of an active old age (32, cf. Plut. *An seni* 788 A). Again, the benefits of agriculture are prominent: he speaks of men in Sabinum—soldier-farmers in their prime, of course—as still active in the fields when old (24; cf. 51). There is also a long and noble line of old men actively and successfully engaged in war—from Nestor to Masinissa.[52] Above all, Camillus; Livy stresses the glorious paradox of his victories.[53]

semperque recentis comportare iuuat praedas et uiuere rapto. The old men may remain strong, but they are bandits. The obtaining of a livelihood from plunder,[54] like the combination of ability in war with a taste for rapine,[55] is a common attribute of barbarian peoples. In *omne aeuum ferro teritur*, there may have been a similar implication: as from Thucydides, the continuous bearing of arms was regarded as the mark of a way of life dependent on banditry.[56] That the Rutuli lived from rapine would strike the Augustans as peculiarly vicious; bandits and pirates constitute an unending threat to peace and order.[57]

At this Numanus Remulus turns upon the Trojans, to accuse them of luxurious degeneracy. *O uere Phrygiae neque enim Phryges* summarizes his insults: they are not even men. But round the basic form of Ἀχαιίδες, οὐκέτ' Ἀχαιοί (*Il.* 7.96f.)[58] Virgil has added various more complex ideas. To Romans obsessed by the concept of moral decay and its causes, Trojan *luxuria* represents an obviously later and
[1113/ worse cultural level than Rutulian *duritia*,[59] though the idea of decline could
1114] hardly be made explicit in the speech.[60] Nothing but contempt for the Trojans is uttered, and yet it is precisely such τρυφή as theirs that could lead to the decay and

[49] [1113.1] Varro 12.5. [50] [1113.2] *Aen.* 7.505 etc.

[51] [1113.3] Newman, *Aristotle: The Politics* (Oxford 1887 1902) 3.379; Hom. *Il.* 3.727f.; Eur. fr. 293, etc.

[52] [1113.4] In general, Cic. *Sen.* 55f.; *Il.* 14.86; Ap. Rhod. 1.44; Cyrus: Cic. *Sen.* 30; Xen. *Cyr.* 8.7.6; Agesilaus: Xen. *Ages.* 11.14f. (*uires animi*); Cic. *Sen.* 38; Antigonus, Phocion, Masinissa, Cato: Plut. *An seni* 791 E; Masinissa: Cic. *Sen.* 34; the Spartans: Plut. *Apoph. Lac.* 222 A; B. E. Richardson, *Old Age among the Greeks* (Baltimore 1933) 33f., 98f.

[53] [1113.5] 6.22.7, 23.4, 24.7. [54] [1113.6] Strab. 4.3.3, 7.5.12, 3.4.4, 3.4.8; Pher. 38 (*FHG*).

[55] [1113.7] Newman (n. 51) 3, 523; Mela 3.3.27f.; Strab. 3.3.5; Herod. 4.103.3.

[56] [1113.8] Thuc. 1.5f.; Polyb. 4.3.1f.; Tac. *Germ.* 13.1, 22.1.

[57] [1113.9] R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (Cambridge Mass. 1967) 192f., 255f.; H. A. Ormerod, *Piracy in the Ancient World* (Liverpool 1924) 190f.

[58] [1113.10] *Il.* 7.96f.; A. S. Pease, *P. Verg. Maro., Aen. 4* (Cambridge Mass. 1934, repr. Darmstadt 1967) on 4.215; Herod. 8.88, 1.155; Liv. 7.13.6, 9.2.14; Dion. Hal. 9.7.2; H. Herter, *RAC* s.v. 'effemi natus', 641.

[59] [1113.11] D. C. Earl, *The Political Thought of Sallust* (Cambridge 1951) 41f.; P. G. Walsh, *Livy* (Cambridge 1961) 65f.; R. Syme, *Sallust* (Berkeley 1964) 248f.; La Penna (n. 41) 59f.

[60] [1114.1] Sall. *Cat.* 7f.; Varr. *Rust.* 2 *praef.* 17; Columella 1 *praef.* 13f.

collapse of Italian virtue.[61] Such was the danger awaiting Aeneas from the Carthaginian *luxuria*. There the temptation was not resisted (4.215f., 262).

The disgust felt at the historical Phrygian custom of orgiastic emasculation is here, as often,[62] inflicted upon the Trojans.[63] No detail in 9.614–20 is foreign to the type of the *effeminatus*. After Herter's thorough article in *RAC*, s.v., a brief examination of V's details will suffice.

uobis picta croco et fulgenti murice uestis. At 4.262 Aeneas clad in purple at Carthage could be calculated to arouse Roman indignation: he had adopted an unbecoming foreign garb, which—quite apart from the suggestions of rule and wealth—implied luxury and effeminacy.[64] In the debate on the sumptuary Lex Oppia, Livy makes Cato the Censor associate gold and purple with the cult of the Magna Mater.[65] Here the addition of yellow makes the charge all the more pointed—it was the colour of the women[66] and the effeminates.[67]

desidiae cordi. This is the antithesis of the continuous activity of the Italians. The Trojans are charged not with an honourable *σχόλη* or *otium*, but with an indolence that was strongly deplored at Rome.[68] *Luxu atque desidia ciuitas corrupta est*, claimed Sallust; to Varro, it was the vice which *maiores nostri* attributed to town-dwellers, while Caesar records the German boast that they practised banditry *iuuentutis exercendae ac desidiae minuendae causa*.[69]

iuuat indulgere choreis. That the Trojans should dance is not, in itself, wholly worthy of censure, for not even in early Rome had dancing been altogether deplored,[70] while by the time of Augustus, there were signs of widespread interest and enthusiasm. However, attitudes to dancing had long depended on the type of [1114/ dance,[71] and the Trojans could be expected to perform the wholly deplorable 1115] orgiastic dances of Cybele, to which reference is made in the following lines.[72] A subordinate charge may be their *indulgentia*, an excessive partiality for what may sometimes be a decent activity.

et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae. Romans scorned the sleeve; after all, the toga made for a winter with bare arms. To do otherwise was a sure

[61] [1114.2] A. Passerini, *Stud. Ital.* 11 (1934) 35f.; J. L. Tondriau, *Rev. Ét. Anc.* 1 (1948) 49f.; F. Egermann, *Die Proömien z.d. Werken des Sallust* (Leipzig 1932) 34f.

[62] [1114.3] H. Graillot, *Le Culte de Cybèle* (Paris 1912) 21f.

[63] [1114.4] Pease (n. 58) on *Aen.* 4.215; Herter (n. 58) 630ff.

[64] [1114.5] Pers. 1.32; Lucian *Bis accus.* 17 etc.

[65] [1114.6] Liv. 34.3.9, 4.7.

[66] [1114.7] Ath. 4.155c, 12.519c; Plut. *An seni* 735E.

[67] [1114.8] Ov. *Ars am.* 3.179; Petron. 68; Juv. 6.365; Apul. *Met.* 6.8; Cic. *Har. resp.* 44.

[68] [1114.9] Herter (n. 58) 632; J. M. André, *Recherches sur l'otium dans la vie morale et intellectuelle romaine* (Paris 1966) 61f.; M. Rambaud, *Rev. Ét. Lat.* 24 (1946) 124f.; and especially V. Pöschl, *Grundwerte Römisches Staatsgesinnung* (Berlin 1940) 27f.; for the Greek attitude, V. Ehrenberg, *JHS* 67 (1947) 46f.; M. Bowra, *CQ* 35 (1941) 124; A. W. Gomme, *Hist. Comm. Thuc.* 1, 167f., 232.

[69] [1114.10] Sall. *Cat.* 53.5 (cf. Front. *Strat.* 4.1.13; Suet. *Tib.* 33; Varr. *Rust.* 2 *praef.* 1; Caes. *BGall.* 6.23.6.

[70] [1114.11] Macr. 3.14.4; Sall. *Cat.* 25; Hor. *Sat.* 1.9.23; Ov. *Ars am.* 1.595; Hor. *Carm.* 2.12.18.

[71] [1115.1] Pl. *Leg.* 2.656b; *Rep.* 3.398d ff.

[72] [1115.2] Herter (n. 58) 638.

mark of effeminacy, and a mode of dress which associated the wearer with Persians and barbarians at large.[73] The next insult is more thoroughly barbed. It is bad enough that the Trojans should wear any headgear at all, and particularly obnoxious that it should be secured by ribbons.[74] The *mitra* is most appropriate here; its home is in Asia Minor, as well as further east, and it is often attributed to the Trojans.[75] Furthermore, it was worn by Attis, by the votaries of Cybele, and by the archigallus himself.[76] So it was an integral part of the effeminate's attire from Aristophanes to Juvenal.[77]

ite per alta Dindyma . . . Numanus Remulus uses a formula of contemptuous dismissal.[78] The Trojans' place is in Dindyma and Berecynthus, home of the cult of Cybele.[79] There the rites were held to the wild music of drum and boxwood flute, an association which contributed largely to the moral censure against the flute.[80] In contrast, war is for true men only;[81] the Trojans are fit only for emasculation.

Numanus Remulus, after the briefest interval, is shot by Ascanius with Jupiter's approval and Apollo's congratulations (9.621–637). Confidence in a marriage-alliance with Turnus is shown to be baseless, Trojan youth is vindicated, and divine censure of Rutulian ideology displayed. In *digna atque indigna relatu* (595) Virgil had either proclaimed his own disapproval of what is reported in advance, or suggested that what is not reported was even more wild and deplorable. Aeneas and the Trojans are clearly living down the fall of Troy,[82] and their increasing success in battle is a standing condemnation of the old association of Trojan with effeminate and cowardly Phrygian. However, Virgil seems to retain a trace of hesitation and hostility towards the Trojans, for Jupiter promises (12.834) *sermonem Ausonii patriam moresque tenebunt*. In practice, the Trojans lack none of the Italians' virtues, but some trace of traditional Graeco-Roman contempt for the East seems ineradicable.

[1115/1116]

[73] [1115.3] Suet. *Cal.* 52; L. M. Wilson, *Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore 1938) 67; *EAA*, 976, s.v. *Barbari*.

[74] [1115.4] Cic. *Verr.* 5.76; Juv. 2.84; Calp. Sic. 6.38. It is the *tiara* that strictly has the ribbons, not the *mitra* (H. Brandenburg, *Studien zu Mitra* (Münster 1966) 64).

[75] [1115.5] Pease (n. 58) on *Aen.* 4.216; C. Roebuck, *Ionian Trade and Colonization* (New York 1959) 3.

[76] [1115.6] J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* (Leipzig 1881 5) 3, 369; Pease (n. 58) on *Aen.* 4.216; Prop. 4.7.61.

[77] [1115.7] Brandenburg (n. 74) 58f.; Ar. *Thesm.* 257, 941; Juv. 3.115.

[78] [1115.8] *TLL* 2.632.67f.

[79] [1115.9] Roscher, *Lexicon* s.v. Kybele 1643, 5f.; *TLL Onom.*, C. Don., 154, 65f.; O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (München 1906) 1250, n. 2; F. Bömer, *Ovid, die Fasten* (Heidelberg 1957) on 2, 221f.

[80] [1115.10] Herter (n. 58) 627; Ov. *Fast.* 4, 181 (with Bömer (n. 79)); Gruppe (n. 79) 1539; Graillot (n. 62) 124; Suet. *Aug.* 68; Newman, *Arist. Pol.* 3, 552; *TLL* s.v. *buxus*, 3 b.

[81] [1115.11] Hor., *Epod.* 15, 12 *et saep.*

[82] [1115.12] Cf. W. S. Anderson, in *TAPA* 88 (1957) 17f.

Schweizer ((n. 1) 18) has suggested that Aeneas (or Augustus) is to replace the world of Numanus Remulus by a new Golden Age. But the old world is also in part desirable, as analogies with *G.* 2.471–2, 531 strongly imply. But the lack of warmth and charm in the picture in this speech make it seem a most unattractive world, far from the happy and simple peasantry of *G.* 2. Indeed as propaganda for a united Italy of free peasant cultivators, this speech would be extraordinarily inept. There is in Augustan writing about the return to the soil a scarcely resolved inconsistency between the claims of peace and war.[83]

Within the *pax Augusta* some aptitude for war was necessary, but its application was somewhat limited (cf. 9.642). Anchises had warned Aeneas *gens dura atque aspera cultu debellanda tibi Latio est* (5.730); only the *duritia* is laudable. The taming of Latium falls precisely within the terms of *debellare superbos*, and of *paci . . . imponere morem*. The strength which had been developed by simple life, frequent exercise, and hard farm labour was properly employed in the defeat of foreign enemies—Carthage, Pyrrhus, and Antiochus. The Augustans required it for the defeat of Parthia, or for wars in Spain, Germany, North Africa, the Alps, and the Balkans.[84] However, if the farmer fights, who farms? The army might attract countrymen who had failed to make a living, but the effect of a levy was well known (and would of course be the same in the case of *euocati*); *squalent abductis arua colonis*.[85] The rehabilitation of the *duri agricolae* conflicts with wider economic tendencies in Italian agriculture and with romanticized policies of recruitment. The Rutuli, as over-trained warriors and part-time farmers, emphasize the inconsistency.

There is in this picture very little of the joys of country life, and nothing of rural piety (contrast *G.* 2.473; *Aen.* 12.835–9). Nor are there any elements in it distinctively Augustan or Italian. The developed type of the peasant-soldier, here seen in his most harsh and primitive aspects, derives ultimately from the Greek ethnographers. Of his most traditional material, Virgil has made a stark and original portrait of primitive Italy. There are too many complex and discordant strains for it to constitute adequate propaganda for the type of peasant-soldier that was to be revived.

Appendix: Postscript 1988 (ORVA)

The passage has been studied intensively of late: see E. Pianezzola in *Studi in onore Anthos Ardizzoni* (Roma 1978) 691 9; R. F. Thomas, *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry*, Cambr.

[83] [1116.1] Not really touched on in the main discussion: F. Klingner, *Hermes* 66.3 (1931) 159f.; R. Syme, *Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939, revised 1956) 253f., 450f.; E. de Saint Denis, *Virgile, Géorgiques* (Paris 1960, Budé edn.) viii f.

[84] [1116.2] Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.33f., 3.2.1f., 4.4.17f., 4.5.25f.

[85] [1116.3] *G.* 1.508; cf. *Aen.* 7.635f.; Ov. *Fast.* 1.697f.; Men. fr. 556; P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 52 (1962) 75, n. 64.

Phil. Soc., Suppl. 7 (Cambridge 1982) 98–100 (with Horsfall, *CR* 34 (1984) 134); M. Dickie, *PLLS* 5 (1985) 165–221 (with Horsfall, *CR* 38 (1988) 273–4); Horsfall, 'Numano Remulo', *Enc. Virg.* 3:778–9. Dickie has added numerous instances of the ethnographic topoi I adduced; the main lines of my 1971 interpretation seem still to stand. See now further Horsfall, *Riv. Fil.* 117 (1989) 57–61 [ch. 20].

2
Dido in the light of history

Inhumana crudelitas, perfidia plus quam Punica, nihil ueri, nihil sancti, nullus deum metus, nullum ius iurandum, nulla religio (Liv. 21.4.9). That, of course, is Livy on Hannibal, and though Romans *did* admire Hannibal for his generalship and achievements (K. H. E. de Jong, *Mnem.* 56.2 (1928) 186ff.), Livy's charges are repeated by his contemporaries both against Hannibal himself and against the Carthaginians in general.[1] Three wars had left an ineradicable legacy of fear and hate; Seneca writes of the *timor qui Hannibale post Cannas moenia circumsidente lectorum percurrit animos* (*Ira* 2.2.5), and Horace of Hannibal as *parentibus abominatus* (*Epod.* 16.8): his very name was a bogey to be averted by Roman parents (Horsfall, *Philol.* 117 (1973) 138). Twice, no, probably three times (*Carm.* 3.6.36, 4.4.42, and ? 2.12.2) Horace calls Hannibal *dirus*, and the adjective is noted by Quintilian as a peculiarly appropriate epithet (8.2.9). There are two main charges: Carthaginian cruelty—from the *barbarus tortor* awaiting Regulus (*Carm.* 3.5.49f.; cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.39, *Sen.* 75) to Hannibal himself, whom *propter crudelitatem semper haec ciuitas oderit* (Cic. *Amic.* 28; cf. *Off.* 1.38, *Sen.* 75; Val. Max. 9.2.2); and Carthaginian perfidy—the ironic and proverbial *fides Punica* (A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer* (Leipzig 1890, repr. Hildesheim 1965) 291), familiar from Plautus' *Poenulus* (113, 1125; cf. fr. 33W) on, exemplified again by Hannibal, whom Cicero calls *callidus* (*Off.* 1.108; cf. 1.38 *Poeni foedifragi*) and Horace *perfidus* (*Carm.* 4.4.49; cf. 3.5.33). The *incendia Karthaginis impiae* (*Carm.* 4.8.17) were her just deserts, and the behaviour of Regulus a *documentum fidei* developed in deliberate ideological contrast (Sen. *Dial.* 1.3.9.; Gell. 6.18.). And one might add Carthaginian wealth, luxury, and arrogance—Horace writes of the *superbas inuidiae Karthaginis arces* (*Epod.* 7.5f.; cf. *Carm.* 2.2.10f.) and the theme may be illustrated from the historians and Virgil alike. Time and again Horace returns to Carthage's threat to Rome—the climax of his list of Rome's perils in *Epod.* 16 (3ff.)—and to Rome's slow bloody elimination of that threat: her victories symbolized the martial victories of earlier generations: *non his iuuentus orta parentibus infecit aequor sanguine Punico* (*Carm.* 3.6.33ff.; cf. *Epod.* 7.5f.); they were a worthy theme for epic commemoration

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[1] Cf. E. Burck, in J. Vogt, *Rom und Karthago* (Berlin 1943) 336ff.; J. P. Brisson, *Hommages à Marcel Renard*, ed. Bibauw (Brussels 1969) 1.101 3.

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(*Carm.* 2.12.2f., 4.8.16f.); the Metaurus could still be claimed as a turning-point in the defeat of Hannibal, to the undying glory of the Claudii Nerones (*Carm.* 4.4.37ff.) and only Octavian's own victory at Actium could rival the younger Scipio's achievement in destroying Carthage in 146 (*Epod.* 9.25). Yet Horace's obsession with the Punic peril is surpassed by Virgil's.

It has been noticed (e.g. by Brisson (n. 1)) that neither in Jupiter's great prophecy, nor on Aeneas' shield is there any allusion to Rome's conflict with Carthage. But these are not significant silences: Jupiter predicts universal rule for Rome: *imperium sine fine dedi* (*Aen.* 1.279); that assumes the defeat of all Rome's enemies, and the selection of Greece—rather than Carthage—for mention is aimed at consoling Venus for the defeat of Troy by the Greeks; to describe the naval victories of the Aegates Islands or Ecnomus, Zama, or the burning of Carthage on the Shield would have been to duplicate the historical allusions of the Parade of Heroes—something which Virgil is at pains to avoid doing (cf. [1/2] J. G. Griffith, *PVS* (1967–8) 54ff.): Anchises points out to Aeneas Regulus—that is, Serranus (6.844), the *duo fulmina belli, Scipiadis, cladem Libyae* (842f.), Quintus Fabius Maximus *unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem* (846), and the victories (858) of M. Claudius Marcellus, five times consul during the second Punic War. Nor is that by any means all: for Virgil, Carthage is *studiisque asperrima belli* (1.14), and the omen of a horse's head discovered at her foundation portended that she would be *bello egregiam et uictu facilem per saecula gentem* (1.444f.; cf. V. Buchheit, *Gymnasium* (1964) 429ff.). To Dido's curse, invoking the vengeance of Hannibal upon Rome, I shall return (4.622ff.). In its solemn declaration of hostilities a Roman reader could well have seen prefigured Hannibal's famous vow, made at the age of nine, that *cum primum posset hostem fore populo Romano* (Liv. 21.1.4; cf. A. S. Pease (Cambridge Mass. 1934) on *Aen.* 4.425ff.). Jupiter predicts that there will come a proper time (*Aen.* 10.12ff.) for battle, hatred, strife, and rapine *cum fera Karthago Romanis arcibus olim exitium magnum atque Alpes immittet apertas*, to which Venus' response in ironic submission is that Jupiter may as well bid Carthage crush Ausonia *magna dicione*; from that quarter there will be no opposition to the Tyrian cities (10.53ff.): a wish which Virgil's readers knew came all too near fulfilment. There is also an elaborate typological anticipation of Hannibal's descent on Rome to be found in Virgil's narrative of Turnus' attack on the Trojan camp in *Aeneid* 9. Rather more clearly, Juno's acquiescence in the plan of destiny (12.816ff.) is meant to convey an allusion to the ritual of placating Juno practised in 207, during the second Punic War, as Servius on *Aen.* 12.841 observes. This was an occasion of great *literary* moment too: Livius Andronicus composed a *carmen* for it, and Ennius apparently commemorated the ritual in the *Annales*: *placata Iuno coepit fauere Romanis*.[2] Virgil, finally, looks

[2] Enn. *Ann.* 29ISk; cf. Liv. 27.37.7; V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Heidelberg 1963) 144f.; G. Lieberg, *Atene e Roma* 11 (1966) 162ff.

forward to the defeat of Carthage in 146: as Eduard Fraenkel pointed out (*Glotta* (1954) 157f.), Dido's offer to Ilioneus at *Aen.* 1.573 is ambiguous: *urbem quam statuo, uestra est* can mean not only the obvious 'is at your service' but also, quite legitimately, 'is yours'—i.e. in your hands or possession—the inevitable and familiar outcome of generations of hostility induced by Dido's curse. The effect of Dido's suicide brings Carthage's fall more sharply to our notice, for the lamentation throughout the city as Fama spreads the news is *non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes culmina perque hominum uoluantur perque deorum* (*Aen.* 4.669ff.)—a passage which we perhaps recall when Aeneas, bound for Sicily, looks back at Carthage and sees the walls aglow with flames (*Aen.* 5.3f.).

But the place in the *Aeneid* assigned to relations between Rome and Carthage is far more important than this rapid survey of historical allusions might suggest: when Virgil asks the Muse *quo numine laeso quidue dolens* Juno has driven Aeneas, for all his piety, to suffer so (1.8ff.), the answer is twofold; in historical terms and in mythological the link is ingeniously wrought at 1.23f. *id metuens*—summarizing the historical explanation which stands first and prominent—*ueterisque memor Saturnia belli, prima quod ad Troiam pro caris gesserat Argis*—but I shall be only incidentally concerned with Juno's mythological *grauamina*, however legitimate. Argive Hera's hostility to Troy was a truth handed down from Homer; Juno's connexions with Rome's great enemies, Veii, Falerii, and Carthage—where she was identified with Tanit (Pease on *Aen.* 4.91)—were matters of history. There was in ancient times a city—of Tyrian foundation, rich and warlike—explains Virgil, *Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe ostia* (1.13f.): the sharp juxtaposition of *Karthago* and *Italiam*, and the ambiguity of *contra*—geographically 'facing', and historically 'against'—underline the importance *for the epic* of Rome's *actual* hostility towards Carthage. This city Juno loved [2/3] even more than Argos, second only, indeed, to Samos: *hoc regnum dea gentibus esse, si qua fata sinant, iam tum tenditque fouetque* (1.17f.). But against this love expressed in expansionist political ambitions, and military success, for this was where (1.16f.) Juno kept her chariots and arms, and against Carthage's intended sway over the nations, Juno had heard that a race of Trojan descent was arising *Tyrias olim quae uerteret arces* (1.20): from this stock *populum late regem belloque superbum uenturum excidio Libyae; sic uoluere Parcas* (1.21f.). Unmistakably, in the *prooemium*, we are confronted with the Punic Wars: Romans *bello superbi* face Carthage *studiis asperrima belli*; a Roman empire *late regem* confronts Juno's ambitions for Carthage, *regnum . . . gentibus esse*. Her plans are qualified by *si qua fata sinant*; Rome's eventual destruction of Carthage is confirmed by *sic uoluere Parcas*. Juno's struggle to ensure that *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem* is from the very first characterized as a struggle against the fated order of things, against the destinies of Aeneas and Rome. She knows she cannot keep Aeneas from Italy—*quippe uetor fatis* (1.39), but her

attempts to do so, notwithstanding, are massively symbolic of Rome's historic struggles towards empire.

Juno's anger against Troy and fear for Carthage drive her to unleash Aeolus against Aeneas, revealing her as the enemy of all order—of the order through which Aeolus rules the madly raging winds (1.51ff.), and Neptune controls the mad, swirling Ocean (107, 127, 141f.), of the ordered calm with which Aeneas confronts his people and reminds them of their glorious future (205ff.), of the order which Jupiter imposes on the universe (255), and of the order which Augustus will impose upon a world long harried by *furor impius* (291ff.). The political implications of the storm which Juno raises are confirmed by the famous simile of 1.148ff., where Neptune's calming of the waves is compared to a riotous mob, inspired by *furor*, falling silent at the sight of a statesman *pietate grauem ac meritis*. Virgil has in mind both internal and external aspects of Rome's struggles towards greatness and stability: the simile and the conventional symbolic correspondence of the storm with internal strife point one way, the explanation of Juno's hostility in terms of the historic opposition of Rome and Carthage the other. But the essentially immoral and disorderly character of Juno's support for Carthage, fundamentally opposed to Troy, Aeneas, Jupiter, Italy, Rome, and Fate is left unambiguous and clearly drawn at the moment of Aeneas' arrival on Carthaginian territory: Venus reiterates to Jupiter that Juno's opposition is keeping the Trojans not merely from Italy (1.250f.) but also from their historical destiny, for Jupiter had already promised that the Trojans would have descendants *qui mare, qui terras omnis dicione tenerent* (236). Jupiter's response, anticipating the reconciliation scene in *Aeneid* 12 which I have already mentioned, is that *aspera Iuno . . . consilia in melius referet mecumque fouebit Romanos, rerum dominos gentemque togatam* (1.279ff.): national pride balances international dominion. This promise stands between the undertaking *imperium sine fine dedi* and the assurance that a time will come when Trojan stock will reconquer Greece: that is to say, as Servius on 1.281 suggests, that Juno's reconciliation in 207 BC is a necessary prelude to the defeat of Carthage, the first great obstacle to *imperium sine fine* encountered by Rome overseas and to the great wave of foreign conquests she undertook in the sixty years after the second Punic War—including, of course, *Pthiam clarasque Mycenas*.

[3/4] But that is all in the future. Here and now, the second great threat to his mission that Aeneas faces—Dido—closely recalls the first—the storm—in respect of Juno's intervention, of the role of *furor*, and of the anticipation of Rome's historical struggles. Upon the first two elements of parallelism I shall only touch: it is fear of what Juno may intend in the circumstances of Aeneas remaining at Carthage that drives Venus to fire Dido with love for Aeneas (1.661ff.; cf. 4.96f.); it is Juno, goddess of marriage, to whom, above all, the love-struck Dido prays (4.59); it is Juno who proposes to Venus a joint Trojan–Carthaginian people—which will have the effect of keeping the Trojans from Italy (102ff., 105f.); it is Juno who

pretends that she will get Jupiter to approve this proposal (115); it is Juno who watches over the scene in the cave (166). And under this patronage Dido is struck with *furor*, with an explicitly and violently irrational passion for Aeneas (4.65; cf. 101, 298ff., 465ff., etc.). This combination of Juno and madness recurs again in the burning of the ships in *Aeneid* 5, in the Allecto-scenes in *Aeneid* 7 and in the burning of the ships in *Aeneid* 9: each time it stands opposed to Aeneas and Rome. Thus in terms of theology and psychology, as well as historically, the reader is alerted to Dido's function as a dark and terrible threat to Rome's future greatness.

When we read at 1.298ff. that Jupiter sends Mercury to ensure *ut terrae utque nouae pateant Karthaginis arces hospitio Teucris, ne fati nescia Dido finibus arceret*, we cannot but recall Virgil's powerful initial development of the historical theme of hostility between Rome and Carthage. Is there not something badly wrong, unnatural, and out of character here? Is a relationship of *hospitium* between Rome's ancestors and the Carthaginians really credible or tolerable in the long run? And that scepticism and hesitation are the correct reaction is confirmed by the effect of Mercury's arrival: *ponuntque ferocia Poeni corda uolente deo; in primis regina quietum accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam* (302ff.)—that is to say, *ferocia* would be their natural reaction to the Trojans, and *benignitas* is what Mercury's presence secures. Ilioneus' experience is illuminating: he complains (525) that the natives have tried to fire his ships and as he gains in confidence bursts out: *quod genus hoc hominum, quaeue hunc tam barbara morem permittit patria? hospitio prohibemur harenae; bella cient primaque uetant consistere terra* (539ff.). That would appear typically brutish Punic behaviour;—but when Ilioneus protests that he has not come to plunder the penates of Libya or to carry off stolen booty to the shore (526f.) we know that his descendants in 204 and 146 BC will do just that. Dido protests that circumstances force her to a hostile reaction (563–4); she offers her help—or *uultis et his mecum pariter considere regnis? urbem quam statuo, uestra est; subducite nauis; Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur* (572ff.). Juno makes a similar proposal to Venus at the beginning of *Aeneid* 4 to which I shall come shortly. Dido's offer has political advantages for her in terms of protection against Tyre and the Nomades (4.320f., 535f.) and is normally described as kind and generous. But I wonder whether that would have been quite a Roman's reaction: it is, after all, in direct conflict with what has already been said in the proem of relations between Carthage and Rome and with the Roman historical experience. We should remember that only Mercury's intervention prevented the premature outbreak of the first Punic War. And looking ahead, we recognize that the final outcome of Dido's proffered *hospitium* is her curse: *litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas imprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotesque* (4.628f.). But there, in *nullus amor populis nec foedera sunto* (624) and in Jupiter's description of the Carthaginians as a *gens inimica* (4.235) we recognize a ring of historical truth, [4/5]

which is more than can be said of Dido's offer in *Aeneid* 1. The same goes for Aeneas' ingenuous response to Dido's offer to Ilioneus (which he had heard from within his cloud): *semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt, quae me cumque uocant terrae* (1.609f.): how could Roman feelings stay favourable towards the foundress of Carthage? In the Underworld, Aeneas' feelings of love for Dido remain unaltered (6.455), but she goes off to rejoin Sychaeus, her first husband, returning decisively to her Phoenician origins, and rejecting any link between Carthage and Rome. In passing, I would observe that in the Underworld we are strongly reminded once again of the national, political, if you prefer, character of the threat which Dido presented to Aeneas by the phrasing of Anchises' remarks to Aeneas: *quam metui ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent* (6.694). Not 'Dido' or 'the queen' or 'Libya' but the *Libyae regna*, the *regna* which Juno intended should hold sway over the nations (1.18).

To return to *Aeneid* 1: Venus at least is not deceived by Dido's friendliness and plans to send Cupid to fire Dido with love for Aeneas: *quippe domum timet ambiguam Tyriosque bilinguis; urit atrox Iuno, et sub noctem cura recursat* (661f.); she makes her fears even more explicit when addressing Cupid (670f.): *nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur uocibus; et uereor quo se Iunonia uertant hospitia; haud tanto cessabit cardine rerum*. In just what sense, we must ask, are Dido's *hospitia* to be described as *Iunonia* here? This hospitality rests, of course, upon Jupiter's instructions to Mercury but it is 'inspired by Juno' in as much as it is hospitality from Juno's city, hospitality which must be seen in terms of Juno's plans for Carthage against Rome, hospitality which must turn out to reflect its true origins and character. Venus must use tricks—*dolis* (673)—to ensure that Dido *ne quo se numine mutet* (674). *Ambiguam*, *bilinguis*, *mutet* all hint at the characteristic conception of *Punica fides*, and the importance of this conception becomes clearer if we look forward to *Aeneid* 4: there Juno says to Venus *nec me adeo fallit ueritam te moenia nostra suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae* (96f.): Juno is quite right: Venus' attitude of wary concern has not changed since 1.670ff. and her anticipation of Junonian or Punic treachery is immediately justified: for Juno suggests that since Dido is now in love with Aeneas thanks to Venus, they may as well—recalling Dido's offer to Ilioneus—bring about *pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos*—a joint people with a Trojan ruler. We recall Virgil's emphasis on the fundamental opposition of Rome and Carthage and share in Venus' tepid response: would Jupiter want there to be a joint people? *sensit enim simulata mente locutam, quo regnum Italiae Libycas auerteret oras* (4.105f.). Such an alliance would mean an end to conflict, but an end to Rome too. Contrast the alliance between Trojans and Italians agreed by Jupiter and Juno in *Aeneid* 12: that is in accordance with destiny, a true fusion of compatible peoples with a glorious future; just as we may also contrast the Trojans' dark and lowering anchorage on the African coast (1.162ff.) with their sunny, bright, and pleasant arrival at the Tiber mouth in *Aeneid* 7 (25ff.). No reader aware from the first of

Aeneas' Italian destiny and the opposition of Carthage to that destiny can anticipate anything but tragedy as the outcome of Dido's love and *hospitium*. A formal, though perhaps unnatural relationship of *hospitium* has—as we have seen—been established between Trojans and Carthaginians (cf. 1.299, 540, 731, 753; 4.10, 51, 323) and Dido's reaction against this solemn pledge, however justifiably outraged we may feel her to have been by Aeneas' actions, is no better than a Roman would expect of a *Punica* and her *fides*: Mercury warns Aeneas (4.560ff.) that Dido will set fire to his fleet if dawn finds him still at Carthage and [5/6] this warning is confirmed by Dido's waking reactions (4.592ff.): *non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur, diripientque rates alii naualibus? ite, ferte citi flammas*. Her charges of *dissimulatio* and *perfidia* against Aeneas (4.305f.) do not carry great weight. Her own *perfidia* intended against an *hospes* aside, she lapses from *fides* in deceiving old Barce to get her away from the pyre (632ff.) and in deceiving Anna when planning her suicide (476–7; cf. 500, 675, 679). But these are minor peccadilloes in comparison with *non seruata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo* (552), as she says herself. Her vows to remain *uniuira*, loyal to Sychaeus' memory, were unambiguous (1.720; 4.15ff.) and her breach of them shocking to herself and to a Roman, more familiar than us with the moral and religious status of the *uniuira*.[3] Virgil mixes sympathy for her moral lapse with censure; that a breach of *fides* is involved is ironically fitting for the first queen of Carthage.

It is a commonplace to say that Dido and Aeneas would have fallen in love anyway, even without divine intervention: they are portrayed as resembling each other, but the apparent similarities between them are rich in historical ambiguities and ironic undertones; Dido claims (1.630) that *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco* because *me quoque per multos similis fortuna labores iactatam hac demum uoluit consistere terra* (628ff.). But has their fortune been really and essentially *similis*? Granted that they are both leaders of involuntary exiles, trying to found a new city, that both have recently lost a well-loved spouse, that the death of Sychaeus *ante aras* (1.349) is reminiscent of that of Priam, and that the vision of Sychaeus warning Dido to leave Tyre is reminiscent of Hector warning Aeneas to leave Troy, the differences are every bit as striking as the similarities: Dido has to leave Tyre because of the characteristically Punic impiety and treachery of Pygmalion (1.350f.), whereas the Trojans are forced to leave by eventual military defeat. There is a tremendous emphasis on the role of *money* in Dido's story: Sychaeus was *ditissimus auri* if Huet's emendation for *agri* at 1.343 is right (I am not convinced), he was killed by the *auarus* Pygmalion *auri caecus amore*; Sychaeus tells Dido of an *ignotum argenti pondus et auri* for her travels, whereas Hector tells Aeneas of the Penates; the Tyrian exiles load their ships with gold, whereas the Trojans are *omnium egeni* (1.599); Dido's people buy land to settle, as

[3] G. Williams, *JRS* 48 (1958) 23; id., *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968) 378ff.; cf. E. Phinney, *CJ* 60.8 (1965) 355f.

much as an oxhide will cover—an oxhide which, as the story goes, they craftily cut into strips, whereas Latinus offers the Trojans land (7.260f.; 11.316ff.). Dido's story suits the origins of a great merchant people, with an unpleasant reputation for sharp dealing which goes back to the kidnapping of Eumaeus and the kidnapping of Io in Herodotus 1.1. By contrast with the Trojans' sufferings, the story told by the disguised Venus can hardly be intended to evoke unqualified sympathy.

There is effective dramatic irony in Aeneas' arrival at Carthage, aware of, but not disturbed by Carthage's murky origins, but quite unaware—for there is no word of it in the oracles and visions he had encountered—of Carthage's threat to the Aeneadae, which Virgil has impressed upon his readers from the very beginning of the proem. This irony is increased by Aeneas' first reactions to Carthage (1.421f.): *miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam, miratur portas strepitumque et strata uiarum*. This splendid, glowing description of the city's construction reaches its climax in *o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt* (437): but we should still be astonished at the ancestor of Rome casting blessings upon the foundation of Carthage. Aeneas is far from founding his own city and discouraged by repeated
[6/7] failures en route; his first sight of Dido is as a great beauty—and a great leader, legislator, and works supervisor: *iura dabat legesque uiris, operumque laborem partibus aequabat iustis aut sorte trahebat* (507f.). Aeneas is captivated by Punic luxury (1.637ff., 699ff.; 4.193, 215ff., 261ff.), and after a winter of idleness—*non coeptae adsurgunt turres* (4.86)—actually participates in the building of Carthage (4.260, 265f.), forgetful of his own *regnum* and that due to Ascanius (4.194, 275, 355), with its glorious future (1.267ff.). His actions threaten Rome's destinies and help Rome's enemies. However much we (and Aeneas) admire Dido's activity as foundress—and we are clearly expected to do so (cf. 4.347f., 591, and particularly 655ff.)—we must react differently to its historical outcome. History is prefigured by Dido's threats to pursue Aeneas *atris ignibus* (4.384) as Juno symbolically does in *Aeneid* 5, 7, and 9 (5.604ff., 641; 7.445ff., etc.; 9.1ff., 69ff.) and by her curse bringing down upon Aeneas suffering and delay in fulfilment of his destiny, again exactly in Juno's manner (1.12ff. etc.; 4.612ff.); history is brought vividly before the reader when her curse reaches its climax, invoking the horrors of war awaiting Rome at the hands of the city which Dido founded and built. Our view of Dido should therefore, as we read, be open to continuous adjustment and correction.

There remain two further passages towards which the possible reaction of a Roman reader must be evaluated with care: first Dido's exercise of magic: this does occupy a lot of space—4.478–519—more, really, than the magic's importance *for the plot* requires (R. Pichon, *Rev. Phil.* 1909, 247ff.) and enough to have suggested an element of poetic self-indulgence, following the lavish descriptions of Apollonius and Theocritus. The only actual *function* of Dido's magic—regardless of its pretended *intention* to bind Aeneas to Dido or to loose Dido from him—is to blind Anna to her sister's intended suicide while securing the provision of a pyre. Eitrem's detailed analysis of Dido's magic (in *Festskrift til Halvdan Koht* (Oslo

1933) 29–41, summarized by R. G. Austin, *Aeneid 4* (Oxford 1963) 149, shows convincingly that the ritual as described could not have worked within the terms of ancient magic, and his inference that it was not meant to work is legitimate. The importance of Dido's resort to magic for our reaction to her cannot rest simply upon (4.492f.) *testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque dulce caput, magicas inuitam accingier artis*. Granted that she is innocent of serious belief in magic—both Anna and the old nurse Barce are clearly more committed than she is—the fact remains that her appeals to orthodox divinities (4.56ff.) for their blessing on her liaison have failed, and that despite her protestation of non-involvement, she is prepared to make use of these murky rituals for her convenience. Her use of magic hardly 'estranges' the reader (cf. Pease p. 407), but though the description may rouse 'pity and terror' (Austin p. 150) at Dido's plight, may it not also be meant to lower her in our esteem? Servius sensibly comments *quia multa sacra Romani susciperent semper magica damnarunt; ideo excusat*—referring to 4.493—and it is unnecessary to reinforce his statement by reference to (for instance) Horace and Roman Law. Medea keeps a fine store of magic charms in a box in her bedroom (Ap. Rhod. 3.812, 844) whereas Dido is informed secretly by a priestess from the westernmost ends of the earth: the action in her case must be strange, abnormal, and therefore discreditable.

Secondly, the pictures in the temple in *Aeneid* 1: Aeneas sees in them sympathy for his plight and an earnest for the future: *hoc primum in luco noua res oblata timorem leniit, hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem ausus et adflictis melius confidere rebus* (1.450ff; cf. 463). But the reader will question whether any true *salus* can come from Carthage, whether the cruel and grasping Carthaginians are really the people to express lasting sympathy for the exile and vanquished, and whether, above all, in a temple dedicated to Juno (and Aeneas can hardly be aware of its dedication, or after his experiences of Junonian persecution he could hardly be so ready to seek consolation from such a quarter) there could be any valid testimony to pro-Trojan sympathy and humanity. The irony of Aeneas' warm reactions, when Carthage is to bring him and his people nothing but suffering and disaster, has often been recognized.[4] Dido of course knows all about the war from Salaminian Teucer (1.619ff.)—and, we may feel, Troy can have had few bitterer enemies, if we recall just who this Teucer was—a son of Priam's sister Hesione; Hesione was given to Teucer's father Telamon as a reward for Telamon's help to Heracles when Heracles captured Troy, having been cheated of *his* reward for saving Troy from a monster to whom Hesione was about to be sacrificed; this monster had been sent by Neptune who had himself been cheated of *his* reward for helping to build Troy: thus Telamon had not merely his ten years of siege, but a rich family experience of Trojan misconduct. This may help us to answer the [7/8]

[4] Brooks Otis, *Virgil: A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1964) 238; K. Stanley, *AJPhil.* 86.3 (1965) 273f., etc.

question of why these pictures occur in a temple dedicated to Juno, who had supported the Argives, and of why Dido should be interested in just these scenes. I doubt whether it will do to dismiss the problems of why Virgil selects the scenes he does for so prominent an ecphrasis by reference simply to variety, or pictorial quality, or the desire for balance and contrast. Rhesus is shown exhausted on arrival in his tent, betrayed by Dolon, and slaughtered by a bloodthirsty Diomedes: *primo quae prodita somno Tydides multa uastabat caede cruentus* (1.470f.). Troilus' death is described next: the brutality of this event is stressed—the boy is ambushed by Achilles when unarmed—*infelix puer atque impar congressus Achilli*; he is dragged dangling backwards by his chariot. The women of Troy are shown going in supplication *ad templum non aequae Palladis* (479); like Juno, Pallas fought steadily *against* the Trojans: *omnis spes Danaum et coepti fiducia belli Palladis auxiliis semper stetit* (2.162f.). Achillles is shown towing Hector's body not merely round the tomb of Patroclus, as in the *Iliad*, but three times right round the city, before the pathetic figure of Priam begs for its return, again not as in Homer, but against reward: *exanimumque auro corpus uendebat Achilles* (1.484). Only in Aeneas' sighting of himself, and in the finale of Memnon and Penthesilea, is there no explicit brutality, though we may recall that both these allies of Troy were, like Troilus and Hector, killed by Achilles. There is minimal evidence of Trojan victory and heroism; not one of their great feats of arms is specifically mentioned. Just as one would expect in a temple of Juno, the choice of pictures illustrates the success of her favourites; while Aeneas is delighted to see that Troy is not forgotten, he quite fails to observe, as we must do, that the attitude to Troy shown in these pictures is neither friendly nor sympathetic. They illustrate just those qualities which Carthaginians might admire in the victorious Greeks—greed and brutality, for which they themselves had such a fine reputation.

Now if it is indeed the case that in the creation of Virgil's Dido we can see at work a tradition which has nothing to do with the heroines of Greek literature, or with Catullus' Ariadne, but which has its roots in Roman history and Roman prejudice, then we may be able to advance a step further and see if this tradition can be identified. In investigating the legend of Dido before Virgil, there is one fundamental point of which we must never lose sight: that is, the ancient tradition about Virgil's originality, one so strong that it cannot be legitimately questioned.[5]

[8/9] Macrobius refers to the *fabula lasciuientis Didonis* (5.17.5), *quam falsam nouit uniuersitas*—but which through so many ages has acquired the *specimen veritatis* so as to become a favourite theme for painters and sculptors. What does Macrobius mean by *falsam*? An epigram of the Planudean appendix, of which there is a Latin translation attributed to Ausonius, explains further (*Anth. Plan.* 26.151: Aus. *Epigr*. 118; early Empire—P. Maas, *Hermes* (1914) 517 n. 1): 'Neither

[5] Cf. H. Dessau, *Hermes* (1914) 517; J. Perret, *Les Origines de la légende Troyenne de Rome* (Paris 1942) 91.

did I ever set eyes on Aeneas nor did I reach Libya at the time of the sack of Troy, but to escape a forced marriage with Iarbas I plunged the two-edged sword into my heart. Ye Muses, why did ye arm chaste Virgil against me to slander thus falsely my virtue?'

Christian writers—Tertullian, Minucius Felix, Jerome—come hotly to Dido's defence (Pease, 66 n. 498) as an exemplar of chastity and praise her courage in preferring death to a second marriage. Augustine's point is different (*Conf.* 1.13.21): on the question of *utrum uerum sit quod Aenean aliquando Karthaginem uenisse poeta dicit*, he differentiates *indoctiores nescire se respondebunt* while *doctiores autem etiam negabunt uerum esse*. Here the dispute must turn on chronology: we note the *aliquando* and recall that the Planudean epigram suggested this was a problem; Carthage was not yet founded at the time of the Trojan War, being assigned by most authorities to the ninth century.[6] But it is clear from Augustine too that it is Virgil's version of the story of Dido that is peculiar and open to criticism because it conflicts with the established tradition: in the case of Dido, the tradition—that in exile in Africa she committed suicide to avoid remarriage to a local prince—goes back clearly and firmly to Timaeus (Pease 16f. etc.). But the only point of view of which we can be *quite* certain is that no author before Virgil had Dido commit suicide for love of *Aeneas*: that in some earlier account they *met* cannot yet be ruled out. The argument from chronology is not decisive against such a meeting: Virgil may be casual in his synchronizing of minor legends, but the foundations of Rome and Carthage are *not* minor events, and the gap of three hundred years and more which he ignores would be a great deal less disquieting to the critic if we could suppose that he had some substantial literary precedent for ignoring the conventional chronology. Have we, therefore, any account which places the foundation of Carthage about the time of Troy's fall, or which places Aeneas' exile around the time of the conventional date of the foundation of Carthage? The answer to the former question is, simply, no; to the latter, yes: the earliest Greek historians to recount the foundation of Rome—with the exception of Antiochus of Syracuse—placed it at most three, and often two generations after the fall of Troy;[7] that implies either an early date for the foundation of Rome, or a late date for the fall of Troy, which would involve Aeneas' journey to the west taking place at the precise date of the foundation of Carthage. Both Ennius and Naevius make Romulus a grandson of Aeneas (Serv. Dan., *Aen.* 1.273), and the possibility that Naevius could have synchronized Dido and Aeneas is therefore a very real one. So we come face to face with the question of whether Naevius, in the *Bellum Punicum*, related an encounter between Dido

[6] A. S. Pease, *P. Verg. Maro., Aen. 4* (Cambridge Mass. 1934, repr. Darmstadt 1967) 58 n. 468; Th. B. de Graff, *Naevian Studies* (New York 1931) 23ff. etc.

[7] De Graff (n. 6) 26ff.; Pease (n. 6) 17; H. A. Sanders, *CP* 3.3 (1908) 317ff.; Jacoby Comm. *FGrH* 566 F 59 61.

and Aeneas. What we have established so far is first, that there is no chronological obstacle to his having done so, and secondly, that if he did so, the meeting cannot have been of the same character as Virgil's: to this second point we shall have shortly to return.

In the *Bellum Punicum*, Naevius referred to the fall of Troy and the departure of Aeneas, Anchises, and their wives (frr. 4, 5 Morel) in his first book, *Venus*
[9/10] *Troianis tempestate laborantibus cum Ioue queritur et secuntur uerba Iouis filiam consolantis spe futurorum* (fr. 13): the influence of these scenes on *Aeneid* 1 is stressed by Macrobius (6.2.31). We cannot be quite certain (cf. Buchheit (n. 2) 39) that the storm occurred in the same place—i.e. off north Africa—as it does in the *Aeneid*, but when Servius Danielis observes on 1.198 that *totus hic locus de Naeuio Belli Punici libro translatus est*, the case in favour of its having done so, despite the vagueness and conventionality of the scholiast's form of expression (cf. Serv. 4.1, Macr. 5.2.4, 17.4) becomes somewhat stronger. That Naevius mentioned Dido is certain: Servius Danielis on 4.19 comments *cuius filiae fuerint Anna et Dido Naeuius dicit*; it is also inevitable that sailing from Troy to the west coast of Italy Aeneas had to pass fairly near Carthage. But this is of course not proof that they met, and we shall not find watertight proof, for all that is left is a reference to *Bellum Punicum* 2: *blande et docte percontat* (asks) *Aenea quo pacto Troiam urbem liquisset* (fr. 23). Who was the subject of *percontat*? The bibliography on this subject is huge (most recently, Paratore (n. 8)), and scholars are divided (unevenly) between Dido and an *hospes Italicus*, probably Latinus, possibly Evander. In favour of Dido are the following: first, the question reminds us strikingly of the situation at the end of *Aeneid* 1, as shown in *nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur uocibus* (670f.) and also in *'immo age et a prima dic, hospes, origine nobis insidias' inquit 'Danaum casusque tuorum erroresque tuos* (753ff.). Secondly, the adjective *docte* would suit Dido's interrogation as presented in the *Aeneid* (1.750ff.) where she is repeatedly shown as knowing a great deal about Troy (1.459ff, 561ff., 613f.), and though it would not be true to claim that *blande* can only be used of a female questioner,[8] it is equally not easy—on the basis of our many accounts of Aeneas' landing in Italy—to conceive of a situation in which an Italian ruler could put questions 'in an ingratiating and well informed manner' (Paratore 236ff.). Thirdly, the attribution of this question is, in *Bellum Punicum* 2, more appropriate to Dido than to an *hospes Italicus*: the episode containing the question will not have taken up much space (Mariotti 38); the fragments (4, 5) actually recounting Aeneas' departure from Troy belong to *Aeneid* 1, and are in the third person, so we must infer either (intolerably) that Aeneas' adventures were related twice, or (inescapably) that in some way the

[8] Buchheit (n. 2) 34; K. Büchner, *Humanitas Romana* (Heidelberg 1957) 332f., nn. 18, 19; H. Haffter, *DLZ* (1937) 660; S. Mariotti, *Il Bellum Poenicum e l'arte di Naevio* (Roma 1955) 30f.; G. Serrao, *Helikon* (1965) 536ff.; E. Paratore, *Festschrift Karl Büchner* (Wiesbaden 1970) 2.224ff.

request went unanswered (W. Richter, *Das Epos des Gn. Naevius* (Göttingen 1960) 45; Paratore 233f.). But even a short dialogue between Aeneas and an *hospes Italicus* in *BP* would mean—so far as we can tell, for we have no other relevant information about *BP* 2—that at least part of *BP* 2, as well as part of *BP* 3—when Anchises is still alive on Italian soil (Strzelecki, *Riv. Fil.* 91 (1963) 451, fr. 3)—would be concerned with Aeneas' arrival in Italy, and that very great weight of emphasis would be extraordinarily hard to explain in a mythological excursus inserted into an epic about the first war between Rome and Carthage.[9] The only obstacle to the attribution of our question to Dido which actually rests on a numbered fragment of the *BP* is that Prochtya, an island in the Bay of Naples, named after a relative of Aeneas, was mentioned in *BP* 1 (fr. 17), from which the strong—though not conclusive—inference[10] is that Aeneas reached Italy at some point in *BP* 1. But there is no evidence that he reached *Latium*, and it is quite permissible to suppose—for instance—that he was blown back to Dido from Campania just as he was blown back from Sicily.[11]

If then the balance of the argument is somewhat in favour—and at least this much I hope to have shown—of Naevius having brought Aeneas and Dido together in *BP* 2, then some scraps of information probably all belonging to the period between Naevius and Virgil assume great significance (cf. F. Klingner, [10/11]
Virgil (Zürich 1967) 382; Perret (n. 5) 92ff.). We are informed that Ateius Philologus *librum suum sic edidit inscriptum an amauerit Didun Aeneas* (Charisius *Gramm.* 1.127.17f.); this Ateius was born in 100 BC at the latest (Perret *loc. cit.*) and would therefore have been a very old man by the time the *Aeneid* appeared; we cannot rule out the possibility that he wrote about the story of Dido as recounted by Virgil, but the issue in the *Aeneid* is utterly unrewarding—Aeneas explicitly did love Dido, 4.395—and undeserving of enquiry by an elderly and distinguished scholar. If, however, Ateius approached the topic before Virgil, then the problem of chronology, as presented by Naevius, and the role of Anna as portrayed by Varro—to which I shall now turn—could form the basis for a valid and interesting investigation. Varro is attested as saying that Aeneas was loved by Anna (Serv. *ad Aen.* 5.4), and that 'not Dido but Anna was driven by love of Aeneas to kill herself on the pyre' (Serv. Dan. 4.682). Does this mean that in Varro Anna was in love with Aeneas behind Dido's back, as Virgil's Dido once seems to imply (4.420ff.)? Or that Varro refused to link Dido and Aeneas either because of chronological difficulties or because such a story conflicted with the version in Timaeus, but nevertheless accepted Aeneas' sojourn

[9] H. T. Rowell, *AJPhil.* 87.2 (1966) 214; E. V. Marmorale, *Naevius Poeta* (Firenze 1950) 242ff.; W. Richter, *Das Epos des Gn. Naevius* (Göttingen 1960) 65; L. Strzelecki, *Riv. Fil.* 88 (1960), 441ff., etc.; Buchheit (n. 2) 34ff.

[10] Büchner (n. 8) 332 n. 15; Marmorale (n. 9) *ad loc.*; Serrao (n. 8) 517f.; Barchiesi, *Nevio Epico* (Padova 1962) 521.

[11] L. Ferrero, *Riv. Fil.* 76 (1948) 117; Naev. *Bell. Pun.* ed. L. Strzelecki (Wroclaw 1959) 67.

at Carthage with one Anna, his contemporary? Or even, hypercritically (Dessau, *Hermes* 49.4 (1914) 520f.), that Varro made Anna the foundress of Carthage and had her commit suicide on a pyre, but never connected her with Aeneas, whatever the scholiasts in their muddled way may have thought? Ovid (*Fast*. 3.543ff.) tells an aetiological story about the goddess Anna Perenna which has Anna flee from Iarbas after Dido's death and fall in love with Aeneas in Italy: this version seems to combine Virgil (love of Dido and Aeneas), Timaeus (lecherous Tunisian), and Varro (love of Aeneas and Anna).[12] But what matters is Varro: why should he have troubled to set up Anna as a paramour of Aeneas if there were not already a version in existence which linked him with Dido? There would have been no need to introduce Anna into the story if all he had before him was Timaeus' version of Dido and the African prince, with no Aeneas. Varro's Anna looks as if she may have been intended as a criticism of Naevius' Dido!

But are we in a position to say anything about the function and character of Dido in the *Bellum Punicum*? Or about the influence of Naevius' Dido on Virgil? Any reconstruction is a mere house of cards: fr. 20—'it came into his (or her) mind (that) the fortunes of men'—*ei uenit in mentem hominum fortunas*—has been compared to Dido's 'compassionate' remarks to the Trojans in *Aeneid* 1:[13] *non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco* (630; cf. 562f., 615ff.). Fr. 10—'clothing of gold clean and lovely and citrus-scented'—*puram pulchramque ex auro uestem citrosam*—could describe presents given by Aeneas to Dido, like those in 1.647ff.[14] Fr. 7—'they carry beautiful bowls and golden goblets'; *ferunt pulcras creterras aureas lepistas*—might refer to a banquet given by Dido for Aeneas, as in *Aeneid* 1.723ff.[15] There is only one fragment actually attributed to *Bellum Punicum* 2 that might help—no. 22: 'and by now fortune had rendered his (or her) mind quiet'—*iamque eius mentem Fortuna fecerat quietam*, which has recently—and perhaps with some plausibility—been compared with Aeneas' complacent behaviour when comfortably established at Carthage (4.232ff. Richter 50f.). Now of one thing we may be certain: since Naevius wrote the *Bellum Punicum* as an old man (Cic. *Sen.* 49) during the closing years of the second Punic War, about the first Punic War, in which he himself had served (Gell. 17.21.45), a favourable or sympathetic portrait of the foundress of Carthage will have been unthinkable (Paratore (n. 8) 228; cf. Pichon *Rev. Phil.* 1909, 252f.; Perret (n. 5) 97). What then was she? Evil, treach-
[11/12] erous, insidious, a magician, having the worst qualities of Circe and Calypso, who had recently been presented to Roman readers in Livius Andronicus' *Odissia*? That is not unlikely—and that characterization is not incompatible with her

[12] Cf. Paratore (n. 8) 225; Dessau, *Hermes* 52.3 (1917) 470ff.; L. Strzelecki, *Riv. Fil.* 91 (1963) 449f.; id., *de Naeviano BP carmine* (Krakow 1935) 21f.

[13] Büchner (n. 8) 27f.; Richter (n. 9) 46; Barchiesi (n. 10) 471.

[14] Strzelecki (n. 11) 69; Barchiesi (n. 10) 515.

[15] Richter (n. 9) 45ff.; E. Klussmann, *Cn. Naevii . . . Vitam . . .* (Hochhausen 1843) *ad loc.*; Barchiesi (n. 10) 365.

having welcomed Aeneas in the first place: after all, a welcome followed by a rupture—as we have in Virgil—is allegorical of the centuries of peace between Rome and Carthage which preceded the first Punic War (Strzelecki (n. 9) 442; Richter (n. 9) 46; Buchheit (n. 2) 49f., arguing from the strength of the *hospitium*-motif in Virgil). Given such a Dido, another Naevian problem may be removed (Paratore (n. 8) 228f.): it is, as I have said, pretty well certain that in the *Bellum Punicum* Anchises survived till the Trojans reached Italy (Strzelecki (n. 9) 450ff.); in Virgil, this elderly, pious, and austere figure dies before Aeneas reaches Carthage—*ne parum decoro amori intersit* (Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.711, Buchheit (n. 2) 37), and in the Virgilian morality it is necessary that he should do so. But in Naevius, with quite conceivably a very differently characterized Anchises—he had, after all been Venus' lover (cf. fr. 13a, Paratore (n. 8) 229)—the paternal presence may simply not have constituted an embarrassment, not least if Dido was portrayed either as asexual or not as attractive and romantic in her role as seductress but as vicious and untrustworthy. But we should also recall that in Naevius both Anchises and Aeneas left Troy with their wives (fr. 4; cf. Buchheit (n. 2) 38) and unless the wives both died en route for Carthage, *their* presence will certainly have affected the action, possibly involving Dido as a would-be adulteress. But I conclude that a full-scale romantic entanglement, portrayed with rich Hellenistic sensibility—as in *Aeneid* 4—cannot have occurred in Naevius. The function of Dido in the *Bellum Punicum* cannot, however, have been merely incidental: she did found the city opposed to Troy, she did, most probably, meet Aeneas, the grandfather of Rome's founder. The hypothesis, first made by Niebuhr,[16] that in some way the relations of Aeneas and Dido served as an *aition* for the first Punic War is highly persuasive. Whereas Herodotus used the myths at the beginning of Book 1 as an example of the trivializing of historical causation, Naevius introduced *his* myth to elevate the subject matter of his historical poem (Richter (n. 9) 48f.). Exactly how Naevius linked myth and history is not clear, but Dido's great curse upon Aeneas and his descendants in *Aeneid* 4 suggests a way (4.622ff.; cf. 384ff.; Brisson (n. 1) 162, Richter (n. 9) 53).[17] In the *Bellum Punicum* the *libros futura continentes* (fr. 13a) which Venus gives Anchises, and better, the *uerba Iouis filiam* (i.e. Venus) *consolantis spe futurorum* (fr. 13) during the storm in *Bellum Punicum* 1—which may have brought the Trojans to Carthage—could have pointed towards the ultimate Roman victory, reaching out from the mythical excursus into the main narrative, as Virgil's Dido, introducing Hannibal into her curse, reaches out from myth into history.

The violence, greed, duplicity, and hatred which Dido displays in the *Aeneid* are, I hope to have shown, characteristics linked by Virgil and his contemporaries

[16] *Hist. of Rome*, Eng. trans. vol. 4, 1844, 25; cf. H. Oppermann, *Rh. Mus.* 88 (1939) 2123f.; Strzelecki (n. 11) 70f.; id., 442.

[17] Cf. 384ff.; Brisson (n. 1) 162; Richter (n. 9) 53.

with the old hatreds of the Punic Wars: this unromantic historical element in the *Aeneid*, so alien to what Virgil derives from Apollonius in particular, is precisely appropriate to the Dido of the *Bellum Punicum*; the influence of Naevius' Dido on Virgil's in character and function was, I suspect, vastly greater than can now be plausibly guessed, let alone proved.

Appendix: Postscript 1988 (ORVA)

On the relationship of Virgil to Naevius I should have cited M. Wigodsky, *Virgil and Early Latin Poetry*, *Hermes* Einzelschr. 24 (1972) 29 34. A. La Penna's survey, *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* 2, s.v. *Didone*, is excellent. My exploration of the historical ironies in *Aen.* 1 and 4 seems not to have been received with much enthusiasm. See, however, F. Muecke, *AJPhil.* 104 (1983) 134 55, and D. Feeney, *CQ* 34 (1984) 179 84. The remarks of J. Moles in *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*, ed. L. M. Whitby, P. R. Hardie, and M. Whitby (Bristol 1987) 153 61 are notably well balanced.

3
Turnus ad portas

At the beginning of *Aeneid* 9 Juno sends Iris to tell Turnus that Aeneas has left his fleet and is away at Corythus collecting allies; now is the time to attack the Trojan camp. Turnus recognizes the messenger, and leads out his army; the Trojans see clouds of dust rising, and, as ordered by Aeneas, withdraw within their walls. With a flying squadron, Turnus approaches the camp, and flings a spear in the air; his companions shout and jeer at the Trojans' timidity. But the fortifications keep them at bay, and Turnus prowls about outside, raging. Finally, he turns to the Trojan fleet, moored by the camp, and the ships are fired (1–76). The Homeric antecedents of this passage have been analysed in detail by Professor Knauer:[1] Iris' mission recalls *Iliad* 18.165ff., where she visits Achilles at Hera's behest; Turnus' attempt on camp and ships contains verbal and structural echoes of Hector's two attempts against the Trojan ships.[2] But even a cursory examination will show how little Virgil owes to these passages. Virgil describes here an impregnable wall round the Trojans' camp, but in the Homeric passages cited there is no trace of the defensive wall projected by Nestor in *Iliad* 7.[3] In the *Iliad*, the battles by the ships are not treated as sieges, whereas in *Aeneid* 9–10, the Trojan camp is besieged and relieved. Indeed many of Virgil's details are reminiscent of Hellenistic siege-warfare.[4]

The purpose of this paper is to suggest that the opening of *Aeneid* 9 is consciously reminiscent of a particular attack on a particular city—Hannibal's assault on Rome in 221.[5] Such an interpretation is not properly allegorical, but belongs rather to 'the evocation of later events through analogy, sometimes

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[1] G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer*, in *Hypomnemata*, 7 (Göttingen 1964) 275f.

[2] Hom. *Il.* 8.173ff., 16.112ff.; Knauer, (n. 1) 270f.

[3] 323ff.; cf. 9.349f., 14.32; D. L. Page, 'History and the Homeric *Iliad*', *Sather Classical Lectures*, 31, (Berkeley 1959) 315ff.

[4] F. H. Sandbach, *PVS* 5 (1964 5) 32f.

[5] What might Virgil's source for these events have been? We may wonder whether the breathlessly compressed Enn. *Ann.* 8 could have told him enough (cf. J. Vahlen, *Ennius* (Lipsiae 1903) 190); *ob Romam noctu legiones ducere coepit* (297) is clearly relevant, and, despite the parallelism of Liv. 22.50.4 (cf. Vahlen, *loc. cit.*), 292f. might likewise refer to the Carthaginians before Rome, cf. *Aen.* 9.316f. But there is no reason why Virgil should not have read the *exornator rerum*, Caelium Antipater; indeed, it is implied by Serv. Dan. on *Aen.* 6.9 that he did do so.

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[80/81] pointed by a strikingly allusive phrase or detail'.[6] With the extended allusion proposed here, we may compare, for instance, the many details by which the idle winter spent by Aeneas at Dido's court recalls the relations of Cleopatra with both Julius Caesar and Anthony.[7] In *Aeneid* 5 Sergestus, ancestor of the *gens Sergia* (121), steers his ship too close to the turning-point, and, *furens animi*, runs her aground; we cannot mistake a foreshadowing of the descendant who *immoderata incredibilia nimis alta semper cupiebat*.[8] The outbreak of war in Latium (*Aen.* 7.286ff.) is described in language which often resembles that used by the Romans of the conflict between Pompey and Julius; the suggestions conveyed by *hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum* (317) or *tu potes unanimos armare in proelia fratres* (335–6) for instance, will have been unmistakable.[9] Finally, in *Aeneid* 7 there is a detailed typological connexion between Hercules and Augustus, both victors over the forces of evil and disorder, and both honoured in similar manner.[10]

To the modern historian, Hannibal's advance to the walls of Rome is not one of the major crises of the Punic Wars; in the Roman imagination, it always remained a moment of awful peril, and the poet Silius used the episode as the dramatic climax of his *Punica*.[11] In 211, Hannibal came from Bruttium to the relief of Capua, then besieged by a very strong Roman army, but he was unable to break through the besiegers, and failure placed his supplies in jeopardy (Liv. 26.7.2; Polyb. 9.3.3). Only five days after arriving before Capua, he was on the march again (Polyb. 9.5.7): he had decided on a move against Rome itself. This was an old plan: *cuius rei semper cupitae praetermissam occasionem post Cannensem pugnam et alii fremebant et ipse non simulabat.* Livy here (26.7.3) refers back to an episode of doubtful historicity in 216: we are told that directly after Cannae Maharbal urged Hannibal to let him advance on Rome with cavalry alone, and in four days, he would storm the Capitol.[12] His intentions in 211 were described as
[81/82] being twofold:[13] *necopinato pauore ac tumultu* he might perhaps hope to seize part of the city; at least *si Roma in discrimine esset Capuam extemplo omissuros aut*

[6] W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford 1969) 94. The narrowly allegorical exegeses of Dunlop and Drew have made many Virgilian scholars unnecessarily shy of historical interpretations: cf. C. A. Sainte Beuve, *Etude sur Virgile* (Paris 1870) 63; A. S. Pease, *P. Verg. Maro., Aen. 4* (Cambridge Mass. 1934, repr. Darmstadt 1967) 23; G. Binder, 'Aeneas und Augustus', *Beitr. zur kl. Phil.* 38. (Meisenheim 1971) 1ff. Camps' treatment of historical allusions in the *Aen.* is notably shrewd and tactful, *op. cit.* 97ff., 137ff.

[7] Pease (n. 6) 24ff.

[8] Sallust *Cat.* 5.5; E. Kraggerud, *Aeneisstudien, Symb. Osl.* Suppl. 22 (Oslo 1968) 176f.

[9] Cf. further, Camps (n. 6) 96f.; V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms, Gymn. Beiheft* 3 (Heidelberg 1963) 71ff.; P. Jal, *La Guerre Civile à Rome* (Paris 1963) 406 *et passim.*

[10] Camps (n. 6) 98ff. 140f.; Binder (n. 6) *passim*; Buchheit (n. 7) 116ff.

[11] M. von Albrecht, *Silius Italicus*, Amsterdam 1964, 24ff.; A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer* (Leipzig 1890, repr. Hildesheim 1965) s.v. 'Hannibal ad portas'.

[12] Cato *Orig.* fr. 86, 87 P; Caelian Antiquarian fr. 25 P; Liv. 22.51; Val. Max. 9.5. ext. 3; L. Halkin, *LEC* 3 (1934) 417ff.; L. Laurenzi, *Studi Annibalici* (Cortona 1964) 141; G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* (Firenze 1968) 3.2.202f.

[13] Liv. 26.7.4f.; cf. Polyb. 9.4.6ff.; App. *Hann.* 38; E. W. Davies, *Phoenix* 13 (1959) 115ff.

ambo imperatores Romani aut alterum ex iis, et si diuisissent copias, utrumque infirmiorem factum aut sibi Campanis bene gerendae rei fortunam daturos esse.

In Virgil, Aeneas himself is absent from the threatened city-camp (*urbe et sociis et classe relicta*, 9.8; cf. 10.68), engaged on visiting Evander and summoning aid from distant Corythus. In *Aeneid* 10, he hastens back (cf. notably 228ff.) and indeed divides his forces: Pallas had gone to Corythus with him (8.514ff.), but must bring his cavalry, Arcadians reinforced by Etruscans, back by land (10.238f., 362ff.).

Meanwhile (cf. 10.147) Turnus had been ordered by Iris: *quid dubitas? nunc tempus equos, nunc poscere currus: rumpe moras omnis et turbata arripe castra* (9.12f.) Both onslaughts are to be sudden and terrifying. Hannibal sets off by night, marching fast and with few supplies (App. *Hann.* 38; Polyb. 9.5.8; Liv. 26.7.10, 9.1ff.). The many problems posed by his route fortunately do not concern us here.[14] A clearly unhistorical account, possibly deriving from Caelius Antipater, and created through the confusion between the consul Cn. Fulvius Centumalus in Rome, and the proconsul Q. Fulvius Flaccus, camped before Capua,[15] makes the proconsul hear of Hannibal's plan and hurry back towards Rome with 15,000 infantry and 1000 cavalry (Liv. 26.8.9) *alacresque milites alius alium ut adderet gradum memor ad defendendam iri patriam hortabantur* (Liv. 26.9.5). Aeneas is told of Turnus' attempted *coup-de-main* by the nymph Cymodocea, who urges him to make haste.[16]

Turnus' arrival had been *improuisus* (*Aen.* 9.49), heralded only by the clouds of dust which Caicus spied from the ramparts (9.33ff.). The Trojans, *ingenti clamore* (9.38), rush within the walls and seize their arms. Aeneas had left strict orders that in an emergency *neu struere auderent aciem nec credere campo; castra modo et tutos seruarent aggere muros*.[17] Only after their ships are fired do they show signs of fear (9.169 *trepidi formidine*); the references to *inertia corda* (9.55) and *trepidantia castra* (147) are from the Latin viewpoint. Polybius has Hannibal cross the Anio unnoticed (9.5.9); in Livy, a letter from Fulvius Flaccus brings to Rome the [82/83] first news of Hannibal's approach, and a messenger from Fregellae swells the alarm (Liv. 26.8.1, 9.6); wild rumours fly about (Liv. 26.9.6; Polyb. 9.6.2), and typical scenes of panic are described.[18]

[14] F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 2 (Oxford 1967) 118f., with further bibliography.

[15] Liv. 26.8.9; App. *Hann.* 40; E. T. Salmon, *Phoenix* 11 (1958) 157ff.; Davies (n. 13) 117ff.

[16] 10.228ff. Aeneas' return takes place on the night after that of the Nisus Euryalus episode, more than twenty four hours after Turnus' first attack; R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* (Leipzig 1915) 342; R. Mandra, *The Time Element in the Aeneid of Vergil* (Williamsport 1934) 168ff.

[17] 9.40ff. We may perhaps compare the proposal of P. Cornelius Asina in 211: *omnes duces exercitusque ex tota Italia neque Capuae neque ullius alterius rei memor ad urbis praesidium reuocabat*, Liv. 26.8.2.

[18] Liv. 26.9.6, 13.13; Polyb. 9.6.1; App. *Hann.* 39; Oros. 9.17.3; Sil. 12.545ff.; cf. R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy Books 1 5* (Oxford 1965) on Livy 1.13.1; H. Dessau, in *Hermes* 51 (1916) 361ff.

Similar situations provoke similar reactions: the fortifications are manned, and at nightfall guards are mounted all round the Trojan ramparts (*Aen.* 9.45, 174f.); so too at Rome (Liv. 26.9.9; Sil. 12.555ff.; App. *Hann.* 39). Neither Trojans nor Romans have enough soldiers for an all-round defence (*Aen.* 9.508f.; Polyb. 9.6.3; App. *Hann.* 39; Sil. 12.555f.). The Trojans fling down *telorum . . . omne genus*, including mighty boulders (9.509ff.); at Rome, women and children brought up stones and missiles (App. *Hann.* 39; cf. Oros. 4.17.3). But such parallels are neither distinctive nor significant, and we must now turn to the actions of the two leaders.

In Livy's account, Hannibal, with 2000 cavalry, rode towards the Colline[19] gate, *atque unde proxime poterat moenia situmque urbis contemplabatur*, until he was driven away by the Romans.[20] Silius' version is very similar: *inde leuis frenis circum pauitantia fertur quadrupedante sono perculsae moenia Romae, nunc aditus lustrat . . .* (12.563ff.). Whatever the tactical intentions of the historical Hannibal,[21] his chief emotion in these accounts is curiosity: a τειχοσκοπία in reverse. Turnus' actions are closely parallel: apparently in the afternoon or early evening (cf. *Aen.* 9.156ff.) he speeds ahead of his columns *uiginti lectis equitum comitatus* (9.48), and, brightly arrayed, cheers on his followers. But, once up against the walls, his approach is rather different: *huc turbidus atque huc lustrat equo muros aditumque per auia quaerit* (9.57f.). He is scouting furiously before an attack which actually does take place the next morning (9.503ff.) The common use of *aditus* and *lustrat* does not quite prove that Silius had Virgil in mind here.

As Turnus rides up to the walls, *iaculum attorquens emittit in auras, principium pugnae* (9.52f.) This spear-throw is the clearest point of contact between history and epic; according to Valerius Maximus and Silius, Hannibal beats upon
[83/84] the Porta Capena with his spear;[22] but there is also a well-attested story, clearly of annalistic origin, that he actually threw a spear within the walls of Rome.[23] Servius' note on 9.52 suggests that Turnus' act is reminiscent of the fetial procedure for declaring war:[24] the *fetialis* proceeds to the enemy boundary, and in the

[19] Collina: Liv. 26.10.3; Plin. *HN* 15.76. Capena: Livy *Per.* 26; Val Max. 3.7.10; Festus 282 M; cf. A Koltz, *Appians Darstellung des zweiten punischen Krieges* (Paderborn 1936) 54 n. 1.

[20] 26.10.3f., cf. 26.13.11. In Sil. he sallies out before dawn in shining armour, with the *nomadum turmae* (12.558); *cum expedites equitibus* in Oros. 4.17.4; *portae Collinae adequitans*, in Plin. *HN* 15.76. However, Appian (*Hann.* 40) reports a story which makes him creep out at night with three followers. This is probably from Caelius, cf. Salmon (n. 16) 156. In Polyb., Hannibal spends the evening planning an assault on the city itself for the next day (9.6.5).

[21] His tactics on reaching Rome hardly suggest that a *coup de main* was seriously intended (Davies (n. 13) 115), pitching camp by the Anio (Walbank (n. 14) on Polyb. 9.5.9; Liv. 26.10.3, 13.11; App. *Hann.* 39) and riding forward with a small force of cavalry is no way to seize a fortified city or some part of it.

[22] Val. Max. 3.7.10; Sil. 12. 565f.: Hannibal *fruiturque timore pauentum* as he does so. We may compare the *mirantur* of the Latins (9.55) the jeers of Turnus at 128ff. and even Numanus Remulus' mockery of their cowardice (9.595ff.).

[23] Plin. *HN* 34.32; Cic. *Fin.* 4.22; F. Münzer, *Beitr. zur Quellenkrit. des Naturgesch. des Plin.* (Berlin 1897) 196, 230.

[24] Cf. Liv. 1.32.12ff. with Ogilvie's (n. 18) notes. It is perhaps also relevant to compare Varro's *Calenus* (ap. Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 9.52), *duces cum primum hostilem agrum introituri erant ominis causa*

presence of at least three adult witnesses, after making a formal verbal declaration of war, casts a spear, iron-tipped, or of fire-hardened cornel-wood.[25] The analogy with *Aeneid* 9 cannot be pressed very hard: there the war has already lasted for some time (7.519ff., 8.1ff.), and Turnus' character is far from sacral. But the fetial casting of a spear belongs within a wide circle of ritual acts, familiar from many cultures, whose purpose is to endow the attacker with magical force, and to stake claim to the territory attacked: thus Alexander, on reaching the Troad *πρῶτος τῶν Μακεδόνων ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς ἠκόντισε μὲν τὸ δόρυ, πήξας δ' εἰς τὴν γῆν καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς ἀφαλλόμενος παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀπεφαίνετο τὴν Ἀσίαν δέχεσθαι δορίκτητον*.[26] When Hannibal beats on the gates of Rome, his gesture is simply one of frustration: the evidence for this story is late, and the act has no ritual significance. His spear-cast, however, clearly constitutes a claim to possession of the city, and perhaps also an attempt to penetrate the sacred inviolable ring of the walls, and to destroy their magic effectiveness thereby.[27] Turnus' gesture is similar in character: it is a claim and a challenge against the one Trojan settlement in Italy, and it adds supernatural force to his attack; after all, he does break through the walls and wreaks great slaughter within. We cannot of course know whether Virgil was aware of the magical implications of the actions he was describing; Bayet's confidence that he was (n. 24) is rather overstated. But in character and intent Turnus' act and Hannibal's are quite similar; there seem to be few close analogues [84/85] to obscure the parallelism for an ancient reader, and an educated student of Virgil would, I believe, have been led on from the spear-cast to an awareness of the wider historical reminiscence in the episode as a whole.

In Appian's account, Hannibal's nocturnal inspection of Rome's weaknesses is distinct from a cavalry raid up to the walls: the cavalry were routed and returned to camp (*Hann.* 40); this cavalry skirmish is recounted more fully in Livy (26.10.3): Hannibal and his 2000 men survey the walls from close at hand: *id eum tam licenter atque otiose facere Flacco indignum uisum est; itaque immisit equites summouerique atque in castra redigi hostium equitatum iussit* . . . (26.10.9) *equestre proelium secundum fuit, summotique hostes sunt*.[28]

prius hastam in eum agrum mittebant, ut castris locum caperent, with J. Bayet, *MÉFRA* 52 (1935) 51ff. (*Croyances et Rites dans la Rome antique* (Paris 1971) 25ff.); G. Dumezil, *REL* 34 (1956) 105 n. 2.

[25] Bayet (n. 24) is hardly justified in claiming, on the basis of 9.697, that Turnus' spear in 9.52 is likewise of the *infelix* cornel wood. But cf. 12.267 for Tolumnius' use of a cornel spear in a roughly analogous situation.

[26] Diod. Sic. 17.17.2; cf. Just. *Epit.* 11.5.10. Compare too Paul. Fest., 90.20 L *nam et Carthaginienses cum bellum uellent, Romam hastam miserunt*; Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.42; *2 Kings* 13.15 17; *Josh.* 8.18.26; Bayet (n. 24); F. Schwenn, *ARW* 20 (1920 1) 303; F. de Waele, *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco Roman Antiquity* (Gent 1927) 175; Ad. Lods, *Israel* (Paris 1930) 242f.; K. Latte, *Röm, Religionsgeschichte* (München 1960) 122; H. D. Jocelyn, *PCPS* 197 (1971) 47.

[27] As in the stories of Remus and the Trojan Horse: cf. Ogilvie (n. 18) 54; W. F. Jackson Knight, *Vergil's Troy* (Oxford 1932) 117.

[28] Cf. Sil. 12.569ff. who places the skirmish before dawn; Salmon (n. 15) 154.

The Trojans make no attempt to sally out (9.41ff.) at least until well on in the next day's battle (9.672ff.); but when Numanus Remulus jeers at their remaining besieged and shut in a second time (9.598ff.), Ascanius shoots an arrow through his temples: *i uerbis uirtutem inlude superbis! bis capti Phryges haec Rutulis responsa remittunt* (9.634f.). There is thus a clear limit to the insolence which both Romans and Trojans will endure from an enemy.

In the course of the morning after Hannibal's reconnaissance, the Carthaginians advanced 'not without the hope that they would take Rome herself by storm'.[29] The Romans 'when he was about to attack the city and the camps alike . . . went out against him'.[30] Two untried, newly recruited legions were led out by the consuls.[31] Apparently, this was enough. Hannibal's grand advance might be thought to correspond to Turnus' on the morning after his first gallop up to the Trojan fortifications: 9.461ff. *Turnus in arma uiro, armis circumdatus ipse, suscitat* . . . .

When Turnus' first raid was checked by the Trojan fortifications, he turned to the fleet, moored beside the camp; he seized a pine-brand, and his followers set to to fire the ships (9.65ff.). But the Berecyntian mother intervenes to save them; a supernatural voice is heard, and they glide from their moorings (9.107ff.) *obstipuere animis Rutuli, conterritus ipse turbatis Messapus equis . . . at non audaci Turno fiducia cessit* (9.123ff.). Predictably, Rome's deliverance in 211 was also attributed to a stroke of divine intervention: in Livy's account, a violent storm breaks out (26.11.2); when the armies marched out again the next day, the same thing happened again, followed by *mira serenitas cum tranquillitate . . . in religionem ea res apud Poenos uersa est*.[32] In Polybius it is a 'surprising and fortunate occurrence for the salvation of the Romans' (9.6.5) that at this very moment two
[85/86] new legions are being recruited within the walls.[33] In the accounts of Livy and Orosius, the sequence of two storms has a profound effect on Hannibal and his men: in Dio καίτοι οὐκ ἀθεεὶ λογισάμενος παρὰ τὸν τῆς συνύδου καιρὸν συνενεχθήναι τὰ γεγονότα, ὅμως οὐκ ἀπέστη τῆς πολιορκίας but when the same thing happened on the following day, Hannibal was struck with fear.[34]

[29] Polyb. 9.6.8; cf. Davies (n. 13) 116; Liv. 26.11.1; Sil. 12.474ff.; Oros. 4.17.4, *ipse autem cum expeditis equitibus usque ad portam Collinam infestus accessit, deinde omnes copias in aciem direxit*, almost blurs the distinction between the first cavalry raid and the full advance.

[30] Dio Cass. 15 Zonar. 9.6.3; cf. Liv. 26.11.1. [31] Polyb. 9.6.6f.; cf. Sil. 12.587ff.

[32] Liv. 26.11.3f.; cf. Sil. 12.598ff. In Oros. (4.15.5f.) and Dio Cass. (Zonar. 9.6.3f.) the storm is followed by a miraculous clearing of the sky on both days.

[33] Perhaps from Silenus; cf. M. Gelzer, *Kleine Schriften*, iii (Wiesbaden 1964) 242 n. 64.

[34] Compare too Festus 282M *<Rediculi fanum extra portam> Capenam Cornifi<cius> . . . <p>ropterea appel<latum esse quia accedens ad u>rbem Hannibal <ex eo loco redierit quibus>dam uisis perterritus.* An etymological construction of no historical importance. Equally etymological in origin is Varr. *Sat. Men.* fr. 213 Astbury, *noctu Hannibalis cum fugaui exercitum Tutanus hic Tutanum Romae nuncupor*; cf. De Sanctis (n. 12) 328; Prop. 3.3.11 *Hannibalemque Lares Romana sede fugantem* is probably not evidence for Ennius (cf. O. Skutsch, *Studia Enniana* (London 1968) 141 n. 10 *JRS* 43 (1953) 78 n. 9) but does point to a version in which some kind of protecting role is assigned to the Lares.

Silius' narrative owes nothing to this tradition: after the first storm, his Hannibal *caecum e nubibus ignem murmuraque a uentis misceri uana docebat*; Jupiter had saved Rome for but a single day (13.628ff.). This rash confidence is perfectly in keeping with his role as a second Turnus, the *Gegenbild* of Aeneas (von Albrecht (n. 11) 177). For Turnus points out that, with their ships destroyed, the Trojans are now cut off and at his mercy; he is not afraid of their divine protection.[35] Thus the *Punica* here are much closer to the Virgilian Turnus than to the Hannibal of historical tradition; one might even suggest that Silius is aware of the relationship between the stories of Hannibal in 211 and Turnus in *Aeneid* 9, and that this awareness influences the characterization of Hannibal in *Punica* 12.

It may be thought incongruous that I am trying to draw a parallelism between the great city of Rome and Aeneas' first riverside camp. But the character and status of this camp in the *Aeneid* has already been recognized.[36] The camp is elaborately fortified, it contains houses (9.502), and a palace (11.36ff.); it is described as *urbs* (9.8, 48, 473, 639, 729; cf. 3.255ff.); it has *ciues* (9.36, 783), and its name is clearly *Troia*.[37] On 7.158 Servius comments *ideo primas quia imperium Lauinium translaturus est*.[38] This is quite in keeping with the picture which we have seen Virgil building up. This city is truly an ancestor of Rome (cf. 1.264ff.), and Turnus' attack on it may justly be compared with Hannibal's assault on the later city.

[35] 9.128ff.; cf. M. von Dunn, *Gymnasium* 44 (1957) 67f.

[36] See J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie* (Paris 1919) 408ff.

[37] *Aen.* 10.26f. *muris iterum imminet hostis nascentis Troiae*; 9.247f. 641; 10.74, 213, 378. Indeed the first Trojan settlement in Italy is already called *Troia* by Cato (*Orig.* fr. 4 P; cf. fr. 8 P *castra Troiana*) and the name T. survived in the area (Dion. Hal. 1.53.3).

[38] Compare Servius' note on 1.5 *dum conderet urbem, aut enim Troiam dicit, quam ut primum in Italiam uenit, fecit Aeneas . . . aut Laurolauinium . . . aut Romam*. Cf. further 3.255ff., 7.120ff. for the fatal character of the first Trojan settlement.

4

Virgil's Roman chronography

A reconsideration[1]

Jupiter, in his prophetic speech to Venus (*Aen.* 1.257ff.) foretells that Aeneas will rule for three years in Italy, that Ascanius will complete the thirty years of rule at Lavinium, and that he will then found Alba, under whose kings' rule 300 years will elapse until the birth of Romulus. The sequence 3–30–300 is unmistakable: *tertia* (265) and *ternaque* (266) . . . *triginta* (269) . . . *ter centum* (272); no effort is required to see that the total of these numbers is 333 and the total is clearly more significant than the antiquarian associations of the individual numbers (cf. R. E. A. Palmer, *Archaic Community of the Romans* (Cambridge 1970) 54). In the context of ancient attitudes to number, 333 is remarkable in two ways: 3 is 'the magic number *par excellence*' (Gow on Theocr. 2.17–63) and both powers (3^2: cf. *Buc.* 8.77; H. Diels, *Sibyllinische Blätter* (Berlin 1890) 41; 3^3: cf. Soph. *OC* 483; Diels, 42ff.) and repetitions of 3 (Liv. 22.10.7: 333,333 1/3; Theocr. 17.82ff.: 33,333) retained the same character; 333 is of course a threefold repetition! Secondly, 333, as half of 666, may well have enjoyed a little of that number's glory;[2] to the Pythagoreans 666 will have been remarkable as a doubly 'triangular' number: the sum of the numbers from 1 to 36, 36 being in turn the sum of the numbers from 1 to 8, the sacred ogdoad.[3] Such lore was not the exclusive preserve of mathematicians and philosophers: it is enough to refer to Donatus' *Vita* of Virgil (15) *maxime mathematicae operam dedit*, and to the fact that Euphorion actually composed a *Mopsopia* in which 'perfect numbers' (e.g. 6 as being the sum of its parts: 1 + 2 + 3) were discussed (L. G. Westerink, *Mnemosyne* 13.4 (1960) 329f.). But the explicit presence, in a classical poetic text, of a large number with such rich mathematical associations is without close parallel (cf. G. E. Duckworth,

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[1] [111.1] I am grateful to Miss E. Rawson and Dr T. J. Cornell for their help and advice.

[2] [111.2] *Apoc.* 13.18 has no place in this discussion: it is explicable within the tradition of *gematria*, the assigning of numerical values to the letters of the alphabet, cf. F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik u. Magie* (Leipzig 1925) 106ff. P. Maury claims (*Lettres d'Humanité* 3 (1944) 144) that in our passage 333 conceals *ΚΑΙΣΑΡΑ*: in terms of *gematria* this is quite correct; F. Boll, *Aus der Offenbarung Johannis* (repr. Amsterdam 1967) 26ff., and Dornseiff have demonstrated the wide diffusion of this lore in antiquity, but its application here is clearly inappropriate.

[3] [111.3] Cf. Plut. *Mor.* 382 A; Theon of Smyrna 19; G. A. van den Bergh, *Zeitschrift für neutesta mentliche Wissenschaft* 13 (1912) 295ff.

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Structural Patterns and Proportions in the Aeneid (Ann Arbor 1962) 75), and the unique character of Virgil's 333 becomes even more apparent when considered in its chronographic context.

The earliest Greek historians to recount the foundation of Rome (with the exception of Antiochus, *FGrH* 555 F 6) placed it at most three generations after the fall of Troy:[4] for example, Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 84) and Damastes of Sigeum (*FGrH* 5 F 3) make Rome a joint foundation by Aeneas and Odysseus, after a Trojan woman, Rhome, had burned their ships, while Alcimus (*FGrH* 560 F 4; mid-fourth century) relates that the city was founded by Rhomus, a grandson of Romulus, son of Aeneas. The same chronological outline was adopted by Naevius and Ennius, who made Romulus a grandson of Aeneas (Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 1.273; [111/112]
cf. Vahlen, *Ennius*[2], 153ff. and Eratosthenes, *FGrH* 241 F 45). However, the development of Greek chronography had long since rejected the dating implied by these genealogies. Timaeus' date for the fall of Troy is variously attested as lying between 1193/4 and 1346 BC.[5] It is probable that in his general history he followed the conventional account which placed the foundation of Rome some two generations after the Trojan War (Jacoby, Comm. on *FGrH* 566 F 59–61); but in his work on Pyrrhus, he linked the foundation of Rome with that of Carthage, placing both in 814/3 (*FGrH* 566 F 60). What attempt if any he made to fill the gap between Troy and Rome implied by this dating is not known, but clearly he had now supplied the chronological framework required by the Alban king-list.[6] Diocles of Peparethus (*FGrH* 820 F 2) may have referred to a line of Aeneas' descendants ruling at Alba, and there is no *prima facie* reason to doubt Plutarch's statement that Fabius Pictor, who placed the foundation of Rome in 748/7 (1.8.1; fr. 6 P) 'followed him in most points'.[7] Thereafter, the Alban kings, even though their names and reigns were not stabilized until later, formed an integral part of the Roman historical tradition, and we may now consider more closely how Virgil's chronology is related to this tradition. On the first three elements in the chronology of the Troy-to-Rome period, there is only room for minor disagreement:

(i) The voyage of Aeneas: *Aen.* 1.755f. *nam te iam septima portat . . . aestas*, and 5.626 *septima post Troiae excidium iam uertitur aestas*; cf. Dion. Hal. 1.63.1 Lavinium founded two years after the departure from Troy (though Dion. Hal. alludes to disagreement on the subject); 'Cephalon of Gergis' (*FGrH* 45 F I2 (b) =

[4] [111.4] Cf. H. A. Sanders, *CPhil.* 3 (1908) 317ff.; W. A. Schröder, *M. Porcius Cato: das erste Buch der origines* (Meisenheim 1971) 76ff.

[5] [112.1] Cf. F. Jacoby, *FGrH* 566 F 125 6; H. Fynes Clinton, *Fasti Hellenici* 3 (Oxford 1834) 490 n. 10.

[6] [112.2] Cf. Jacoby *FGrH* 565, 575; E. Gabba, *Entretiens Hardt* 13 (1966) 142.

[7] [112.3] *Rom.* 3.1; cf. Gabba (n. 6); A. Momigliano, *Terzo Contributo* (Rome 1969) 62f., *Quarto Contributo* (Rome 1966) 489.

Dion. Hal. 1.72.1): two years; Hemina fr. 7 P: two years of voyages; Diod. Sic. 7.5.2: three years between the capture of Troy and Aeneas becoming king of the Latins (contrast Jerome's version, Eus. *Chron.* (1179 BC) three years—*siue, ut quidam uolunt* eight from the capture of Troy to the beginning of Aeneas' reign in Italy); Cosconius fr. 4 Funaioli (a pre-Varronian grammarian): Lavinium built in the fourth year after the fall of Troy; Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.21.137: ten years from the fall of Troy to the arrival in Italy and foundation of Lavinium. Cf. A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte* 1 (Tübingen 1853), 284 n. 1.

(ii) Aeneas' rule in Italy. In the *Aeneid*, he apparently defeats Turnus, marries Lavinia, and founds Lavinium soon after landing; at Lavinium he reigns for three years (1.265f.); cf. App. *Reg.* fr. 1.2: joint rule with Faunus for three years, and three years sole rule; Dion. Hal. 1.64.1: the third year after Aeneas left Troy he ruled over the Trojans alone, but in the fourth year Latinus died and he succeeded to his kingdom, dying himself in the seventh year after leaving Troy (1.65.1); Diod. Sic. 7.5.2 and Eus.–Jerome: three years' rule; Eus.–*versio Armenia*: eight years' rule; Syncellus, p. 423: various lengths of rule.

(iii) Ascanius. Virgil tells us (1.269ff.) *triginta magnos uoluendis mensibus orbis imperio explebit, regnumque a sede Lauini transferet et Longam multa ui muniet Albam*. The sentence is more ambiguous than has been recognized. Does V. mean that Ascanius will rule for thirty years at Lavinium (the first explanation in Forbiger), or for thirty years partly at Lavinium and partly at Alba (Williams)
[112/113] or that Ascanius will complete the thirty years of rule assigned to the city of Lavinium and will then found Alba (implied by Conington and *secundo loco* by Servius)? The third meaning does no violence to the Latin ('will complete *the* thirty years') and is the only one in keeping with parallel accounts of the legend.

Fabius Pictor (fr. 4 P) perhaps devised the symbol of the thirty piglets born to the *sus alba* for the thirty years that would elapse before Alba Longa was founded (cf. A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor n. d.) 274, etc.); cf. Cato *Orig.* fr. 13 P; Varr. *Rust.* 2.4.18; Diod. Sic. 7.5.6; *Aen.* 8.47f.; Dion. Hal. 1.56.4f.; in none of these texts is a precise *terminus a quo* given, but elsewhere the thirty years run specifically from the foundation of Lavinium to the foundation of Alba: Varr. *Ling.* 5.144; Liv. 1.34; Dion. Hal. 1.66.1; Dio Cass. I. fr. 1.3; *OGR* 17. 1 (*completis in Lauinio triginta annis*). Ascanius continued to reign at Alba after its foundation for a total of thirty-eight years on the throne (cf. Dion. Hal. 1.66.1, with 1.70.1; App. *Reg.* fr. 1.3; Eus. *Chron.* II 1176 BC). Cf. Clinton (n. 5) 1.136f.; Schröder (n. 4) 140ff.; Schwegler (n. 12) 1.337 n. 1; W. Ehlers, *MH* 6 (1949), 169f.

(iv) Kings of Alba. Various adjustments must be made before we can obtain figures to compare with Virgil's 300 years. First, we should recall that his 300 years run down to the birth of Romulus, and not to the foundation of the city, which, by general agreement, took place eighteen years later (Dion. Hal. 2.56.7; Eusebius). Secondly, we must subtract from the figures below a sum to cover the interval between the fall of Troy and the foundation of Alba (thirty-six or forty years):

Author	From	To	Years
Cato *Orig.* fr. 17 P	Fall of Troy	Founding of Rome	432
(Varro)[8]	Aeneas' arrival in Italy	Founding of Rome	439
Dion. Hal. 1.71.5	Fall of Troy	Founding of Rome	432
Vell. Pat. 1.8.4	Fall of Troy	Founding of Rome	437
Diod. Sic. 7.5.2.	Fall of Troy	Founding of Rome	433
Solin. 1.27	Fall of Troy	Founding of Rome	432
Eus.–Jer.	Aeneas' accession in Italy	Founding of Rome	426
Strab. 5.3.2	Founding of Alba	Rivalry between Amulius and Numitor	400

For some other dates, cf. below, and Th. Mommsen, *Römische Chronologie* (Berlin 1859) 155 n. 294; L. Holzapfel, *Römische Chronologie* (Leipzig 1885) 270.

When all adjustments have been made, it will be seen that there is a basic divergence between Virgil's years from the foundation of the Alban monarchy to the birth of Romulus (300) and the 380-odd implied by other writers. But it would seem that the figure of 300 has some independent support: though Justin's reference (*Epit.* 43.1.13) to Alba as having been a *caput regni* for 300 years is probably no more than a Virgilian reminiscence (cf. O. Leuze, *Die römische Jahrzählung* (Tübingen 1909) 289 n. 356), Livy's mention of Alba (1.29.6; cf. Arnob. 7.28), captured by Tullus Hostilius about a century after the foundation of Rome, as *quadringentorum annorum opus* (rather than *quingentorum*) points [113/114] clearly to the same pattern of reckoning that Virgil used, as does Arnobius' 420 years (*quot apud Albam regnatum est annis*, 2.71).[9]

Yet we are no nearer answering the question of why Virgil gives us a date for the Alban kings which he must have known to have been at variance with the common historical tradition, in order to produce a symmetrical progression of numbers (3–30–300) and a magical total of years (333). O. A. W. Dilke (*CQ* 17 (1967) 322ff.) sets the passage in a disputable context of Virgilian obsession with such multiples.[10] The evidence of Livy and Arnobius must rule out an explanation purely in terms of the poet's arithmocratic Muse. Nor does the interpretation of Virgil's 333 years as the old Roman chronology, uninfluenced by Greek learning,

[8] [113.1] Lydus *Mag.* 1.2, alleging that the date given is that of Cato and Varro. Since the date given is wrong for Cato, there is no good reason why it should be right for Varro.

[9] [114.1] L. Holzapfel, *Röm. Chron.* (Leipzig 1885) 268f. ingeniously points out that when Eutropius gives 294 years as the average (*ut qui plurimum minimumque tradunt*, 1.1) for the lapse of time between the fall of Troy and the foundation of Rome, this figure is in fact the average of Virgil's 333 (though 358 would be more accurate!) and the 455 years implied by Cincius Alimentus fr. 4 P.

[10] [114.2] Cf. L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge 1969) 316ff. But one is grateful for Dilke's firm rejection (323f.) of M. Sordi's hypothesis (*Athenaeum* 42 (1964) 83) that V. has transferred his 333 from the lapse of years between the capture of Veii and the birth of Augustus.

carry any conviction; there is no evidence at all in its favour.[11] That some form of magical or mystical calculation lies behind Virgil's figure has long been recognized,[12] and the correctness of this view is demonstrated by the peculiar character of the number 333. Yet the antecedents of Virgil's arithmetic have almost completely escaped discussion: Mommsen (*loc. cit.*) suggests the influence of the 'Augustan' *saeculum* of 110 years, pointing acutely to *Aen.* 12.826 *sint Albani per saecula reges*.[13] Three 110-year *saecula*, however, make only 330 years, and though we cannot rule out the possibility of 'secular' theories having influenced Virgil's Alban dating, the difference between 330 and 333 is crucial; 330 has neither the symmetry nor the qualities of the larger number. In considering the influence of numerology on chronography, we must be careful to give blind Chance her due: M. Sordi's explanation of 333 (n. 10) shows her busily at work; better still is the example furnished by the *Regum series secundum interpretem Armenium* (Eus. *Chron.*, ed. Schöne, 1. app. 1 col. 12): under *Latinorum reges* we read that from the accession of Aeneas to the fall of Tarquinius Superbus there elapsed 666 years! Yet occasionally the ancients' awareness of the freakish conjunction of chronology and arithmetic can be demonstrated, as in the case of the 365th year of the city (Liv. 5.54–5, with Ogilvie's note). No statement so explicit illuminates the darkness around Virgil's 333 years, yet I would like to suggest—very tentatively—a context in which number-mysticism may well have been applied to Roman chronology: in 88 BC, among many other portents, a trumpet was heard in the heavens; the *haruspices* were consulted by the Senate, and (Plut. *Sull.* 7.7–8) μεταβολὴν ἑτέρου γένους ἀπεφήναντο καὶ μετακόσμησιν ἀποσημαίνειν
[114/115] τὸ τέρας. Two or three years earlier, most probably, the 'Prophecy of Vegoia' (*Gromatici Veteres* vol. 1, pp. 348ff.) was written 'on account of the greed of the eighth *saeculum* now almost at its end' (tr. W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford 1971) 34 n. 2). The lore about the ten ages assigned to the Etruscan people had not been clarified or formalized by the first century BC, and apparently never was (cf. Harris, 36f.; S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford 1971) 192), but this does not mean that it was particularly obscure or unfamiliar. Even though, according to the *Tuscae historiae* cited by Varro (ap. Cens. 17.6), this system was specifically concerned with the fate of the *nomen Etruscum*, it is worth observing that 88, a year of prophecy and portent, was, to the Romans, 666 AVC,

[11] [114.3] Cf. Holzapfel (n. 9) 277; Mommsen, *Röm. Chron.* (Berlin 1859) 158 n. 311; and particularly Leuze, *Die Röm. Jahrzählung* (Tübingen 1909) 289.

[12] [114.4] Cf. Heyne exc. 3 on Bk. 12 *uidetur etiam secutus esse arcanum quid*; Maury (n. 2) 144 f.; A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte* 1 (Tübingen 1853) 344; Mommsen (n. 11) 158.

[13] [114.5] This was known to Varro (*de gente* fr. 2 Fracc. Aug. *C.D.* 22.28). Cf. too Mommsen (n. 11) 135, who took Cincius Alimentus' foundation date of 729/8 as presupposing a duration of two 110 year *saecula* for the monarchy, and identified C. in consequence with the late republican antiquary (Funaiolo, *Gramm. Rom. Fr.*, 371f.); cf. however, Holzapfel (n. 9) 234; Peter, *HRRel.* 1.103f. Note too that Cic. *Rep.* 2, fr. 93 Heck (2.53 Z. Non. P. 526.10) gives as 220 years the period during which the *constitutio Romuli . . . firma mansisset*: the work of chance?

and it would not be surprising if by this date numerological theory had exercised some influence on Etruscan priestcraft (certainly one can see both Etruscan and Pythagorean elements in Nigidius Figulus, a generation later), and if a year fatal for the Etruscans was also in some way epochal for Rome. The full extent of 'secular' speculation around the year 666 AVC remains obscure to us, but if, as I suggest, play was made with the mystical aspects of this date, then an extension of number-mysticism in closely parallel terms, beyond the era AVC, to cover the era *a Troia capta* as well, is an attractive inference, and if it were correct would be a likely source for Virgil, whose 333 years cannot simply be dismissed as a poet's idiosyncratic disavowal of the 'facts' of history for the sake of an unspecified 'magical' effect.

5
The *collegium poetarum*

The *collegium poetarum* is an enigma. Between claims that it is the answer to almost every problem of Roman literary history[1] and virtual denials that it ever existed,[2] let alone exerted influence, *grammatici certant et adhuc sub iudice lis est*. More so now than at any time since the days of Riese and Otto Jahn: never has there been any more than one totally explicit reference to the *collegium* (Val. Max. 3.7.11), but the number of scraps of potentially relevant information has recently risen from five to six. In the interests of chronology, I shall begin with the earliest of those scraps.

In illustration of the statement that the *antiqui* applied the term *scribae* in its original sense[3] to poets *too*, that is, in addition to the sense of 'civil service clerks' that survived, Festus (p. 446.29ff. L) records:

> itaque cum Liuius Andronicus bello Punico secundo scribsisset carmen quid a uirginibus est cantatum, quia prosperius respublica geri coepta est, publice adtri buta est (et) in Aventino aedis Mineruae in qua liceret scribis histrionibusque consistere ac dona ponere; in honorem Liui, quia is et scribebat fabulas et agebat.

(*et*): sic MS; *ei* Ursinus; seclusit Fraenkel, 'Livius' *RE* Suppl. 5: 599–600

> So when Livius Andronicus in the second Punic War wrote a hymn which was sung by the virgins, because the state's affairs began to be conducted more successfully[4] the temple of Minerva on the Aventine was officially granted, where the *scribae* and *histriones* might assemble and make offerings; in honour of Livius because he used both to write plays and to act in them.

Livy (27.37.7ff.; 207 BC) describes the probable occasion of composition.[5] We are nowhere given a founding date for the *collegium*; all we are told is that in or after

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[1] E. G. Sihler, *AJPhil.* 26 (1905) 1ff.
[2] K. Kunihara, *Ann. Istit. Giappon. di Cultura* (Roma) 1 (1963) 85ff.
[3] *proprio nomine* κυρίως, cf. Gell. 6.6, 12.13, 2.20, 16.11.
[4] E. Fraenkel, 'Livius' *RE* Suppl. 5.599 (with further refs.) after H. Diels, *Sibyll. Blätter* (Berlin 1890) 90, n. 3.
[5] Cf. Fraenkel (n. 4) 599f.; Shanz Hosius 1.48f.; E. Badian, *Entretiens Hardt* 17 (1972) (Ennius) 159f.; E. J. Jory, *Hermes* 98.2 (1970) 226, n. 4.

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(probably) 207 the *scribae* and *histriones* were given certain rights which are characteristic of collegiality.[6] 200 BC will serve as a *terminus ante quem*; in that year a similar hymn was composed by P. Licinius Tegula (Liv. 31.12.10) and it is generally assumed that Livius was by now dead.

The terms of the *senatusconsultum* seem to have been preserved in a tolerably authentic form;[7] *consistere* and *dona ponere* are regularly used in the inscriptions relating to *collegia*.[8] The *scribae* and *histriones* are granted an official meeting-place in a temple—where *collegia* often did meet[9]—and the right to make offerings in that temple: the togetherness of the cult-act was fundamental to the existence of the *collegium* (Waltzing (n. 6) 1.195ff.).

There is a good deal about the grant *in honorem Liui* which suggests that the element of *honos* was very slender indeed, at least so far as the writers were concerned. The actors will be considered shortly. The wording of the *senatusconsultum* leaves one important point unclear: were the government scribes to be included in the *collegium*? At a later date, they had their own *collegia*, but in the late third century it is not inconceivable that they should have joined forces with writers and actors. After all, authors and government scribes shared a common name and a rare skill. The question does not admit of an answer, but the very fact of a common name should perhaps suggest to us that there was likewise a kind of parity of status or esteem.

The stories of Cn. Flavius, *libertino patre genitus, scriba*, curule aedile in 304 BC [79/80]
and target for the nobility's studied discourtesy (Val. Max. 2.5.2) and of M. Claudius Glicia, *ultimae sortis homo* (Liv. *Per.* 19) and *coactus abdicare* when *dictator sine magistro equitum* in 249 (*Fasti Capitolini*), suggest that this status will not have been high. Cicero's compliments on the *ordo scribarum* (*Verr.* 3.182; *Dom.* 74) were made for a forensic purpose; to the Senate, and particularly to the Senate of the third century it is clear enough that the *scriba*, at least in the sense of 'government scribe' was not a man to be respected.

I do not suggest that literacy was seen as a threat, but certainly the notion that money might be earned by writing, and not just by writing official records and accounts, was new and strange.[10] All those whose pens earned them money, whether governmentally or creatively, inevitably incurred the traditional Roman

[6] Cf. Jory (n. 5) 227; J. P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionelles chez les Romains* 1 (Louvain 1895) 82.

[7] O. Jahn, *Ber. Sächs. Gesell. Wiss., phil. hist. Kl.* 8 (1856) 294f.; Fraenkel (n. 4) 601; R. Till, *Neue Jahrbücher f. Antike u. deutsche Bildung* 3 (1940) 166; B. Tamm, *Opuscula Romana* 3 (1961) 166; Jory (n. 5) 226; W. Suerbaum, *Unters. z. Selbstdarstellung ält. röm. Dichter*,*Spudasmata* 19 (Hildesheim 1968) 260.

[8] *consistere*: *ILS* 7249; *CIL* 13.1954; cf. Varr. *Ling.* 6.17. *dona ponere*: cf. *CIL* 6.630, 2.4498. Cf. Waltzing (n. 6) 1.520, 2.178, 4.446f., 553.

[9] Waltzing (n. 6) 1.210ff.; cf. R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations* (New Haven 1974) 178, n. 83.

[10] Cf. Ter. *Eun.* 20 *postquam aediles emerunt*; Suet. *vit. Ter.* 29 Reiff.; Hieron. *Chron. ann. Abr.* 1863 (Pacuvius) *fabulas uenditauit*.

contempt for the *mercennarius*[11] and Nepos (*Eum.* 1.5) emphasizes that the profession of scribe remained far less honourable than in Greece precisely because of the receipt of *merces*. The word *scriba* is itself sufficiently suggestive, for nouns in *-a* are regularly *Bezeichnungen und Leuten in untergeordneter Stellung*;[12] we may compare *cacula*, *lixa*, *scurra*, *uerna*, *sculna*.

The poets' own attitude is clear: *scriba* was never, so far as we can see, used by a poet of a poet: Ennius, Plautus, Pacuvius, Terence, Luscius Lanuvinus, and even Naevius all either use *poeta* or are referred to by contemporaries as *poetae*.[13] But was *scriba* used in 207 because there existed as yet no *Sonderbezeichnung* in Latin for 'poet'?[14] This is scarcely credible as an explanation: whatever the authorship of *flerent diuae Camenae Naeuium poetam* (cf. Suerbaum (n. 7) 33f., etc.), even the Metelli did not deny Naevius the designation *poeta.* In Plautus, the earliest reference (?204) may be the *poeta barbarus* (i.e. Roman) of *Mil.* 211 and there are frequent instances over the next few years. Festus does not say that *scriba* was the only word that the *antiqui* used of poets, and even if he had, the one instance he adduces is clearly on the verge of archaism. I would suggest that the reference to the poets as *scribae* in the *senatusconsultum* may have been a designation imposed by an unsympathetic administration, quite possibly lumping authors and government clerks together in a single category.

The *ius conueniendi*, as the case of the *tibicines* (Liv. 9.30.5ff.) shows, had to be granted by a *senatusconsultum* if the meeting-place was in a temple (Waltzing (n. 6) 1.81), whether or not the members of the *collegium* were foreigners—as all known authors[15] and, presumably, most actors at this date were. The terms of the *senatusconsultum* need not have referred to the authors by a designation which they would themselves have chosen.

There is more to suggest that the element of *honos* was distinctly ambiguous. The meeting-place of the *collegium* of *scribae* and *histriones* was the temple of Minerva on the Aventine. This associates the *scribae* with the dishonoured *mercennarii* as clearly as does their name. The 19th March was the 'birthday of Minerva' and a great festival at the Aventine temple. According to Verrius Flaccus, the 19th was *artificum dies* (*Fasti Praenestini*).

Fullers, dyers, doctors, schoolmasters,[16] engravers, painters, and sculptors, according to Ovid's list (*Fast.* 3.821ff.), met on this day. The festival was named Quinquatrus; on the lesser Quinquatrus (13th June) the *tibicines* met, also under the patronage of Minerva (Ov. *Fast.* 6.651ff.). The authors found themselves,

[11] Till (n. 7) 164; F. M. De Robertis, *Lavoro e Lavoratori* (Bari 1963) 67.

[12] Leumann Hofmann Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik* (München 1963) 1.203; cf. Till (n. 7) 164; H. Bardon, *Studi Romani* 3 (1955) 514f.

[13] Till (n. 7) 162; Bardon (n. 12) 516; Suerbaum (n. 7) 33f., 260.

[14] Till (n. 7) 161; J. H. Waszink, *Acta Philologica Aenipontana* 1 (1962) 71.

[15] W. J. Watts, *G&R* 18 (1971) 91ff.

[16] I doubt whether the story that Livius was at one point schoolmaster (Suet. *Gramm.* 1; cf. Jahn (n. 7) 294; Suerbaum (n. 7) 11, etc.) is relevant here.

therefore, in humble, and arguably humiliating company. It would be quite wrong to suggest (with G. W. Williams, *OCD*², s.v. 'Livius Andronicus') that the temple of Minerva was in any way exclusively set aside for the poets' convenience.

There is, however, a rather disconcerting reference made by Ovid as the climax of his list of trades represented at the Quinquatrus; of Minerva he writes: [80/81]

> mille dea est operum: certe dea carminis illa est;
> si mereor, studiis adsit amica meis.
>
> (*Fast*. 3.833f.)

Minerva is not—nor is Athena—traditionally a goddess of poetry; certainly she cannot be called *certe dea carminis* on the basis of any widely attested patronage of literature in earlier sources. It is conceivable that Ovid might be alluding to the old status of poets as humble artisans under the patronage of Minerva.[17] However, in view of the professional arrogance of the poets of Ovid's generation, such an allusion would have to be interpreted as deliberately ironic and anachronistic and it is probably enough to see here a loose allusion to Minerva's general protection of the arts and wisdom.[18]

Neither this connexion with Aventine Minerva, nor the association of *scribae* with *histriones* is likely to have survived indefinitely. The presence of *histriones* is particularly suggestive. There is no fundamental distinction of status between actor and author in the world of the *τεχνῖται Διονύσου*.[19] Likewise Livy records of Livius Andronicus *idem scilicet, id quod omnes tum erant suorum carminum actor* (7.2.8). Festus (p. 448.3f. L.) infers that the *senatusconsultum* mentioned both writers and actors *quia is et scribebat fabulas et agebat*, though it is curious that it was not his expertise at the *ars ludicra* which prompted the grant and it is not immediately clear why actors—far less government clerks—should have benefited from Livius' talents as hymnographer.[20]

Actors—defined for the present argument as players comparable to those elsewhere in the Hellenistic world performing plays modelled on Greek antecedents—have a complex and ambiguous status at Rome in the late third century. They have gained the valuable privilege of exemption from military service (Liv. 7.2.12), which their Greek colleagues had often secured. Perhaps, as

[17] Cf. Jahn (n. 7) 297; Waltzing (n. 6) i.199f.; Till (n. 7) 166f.: the only genre of *carmina* which may have been associated with a *collegium* at the date of the *Fasti* was, anyway, tragedy; cf. O. Zwierlein, *Die Rezitationsdramen Senecas*, *Beitr. z. kl. Phil.* 10 (Meisenheim 1966) 158, for *carmina* in the sense of 'tragedy', quoting, e.g., *Buc.* 8.10.

[18] Domitian's Quinquatria at his Albanum, held in honour of Minerva, and including contests of oratory and poetry, are probably not relevant to this discussion; Jahn (n. 7) 299; Suet. *Dom.* 4.4; Dio Cass. 57.1.

[19] Jory (n. 5) 224; G. Sifakis, *Studies in the History of Hellenistic Drama* (London 1967) 24ff., 92ff.; T. B. L. Webster, *Hellenistic Poetry and Art* (London 1964) 274.

[20] Jory (n. 5) 226; Fraenkel (n. 4) 601; A. Riese, *Versamml. Deutscher Philol. u. Schulmänner* (1866) 166.

Jory ((n. 5) 230ff.) suggests, this was because their skills were exercised in honour of the gods, and if they were absent—or indeed maimed—then that honour would be reduced, or even rendered incapable of performances. The earliest actors, at least from the time that the Tarentine Livius Andronicus put on a play in 240, were likely to have been mostly Greeks, and—as Jory argues convincingly ((n. 5) 229)—may well have been organized informally at Rome under the patronage of Dionysus, as elsewhere in the Hellenistic world. The stage at Rome during the last decade of the third century was increasing rapidly in popularity and importance. Public observance of foreign cults had been prohibited since 213 and it was certainly desirable that actors—of whom a fair number will have been required by the seventeen or so days of drama *per annum*[21]—should be brought under the respectable patronage of Minerva.[22] The actors will hardly have regretted the benefits and comforts of formal collegiality; for them the recognition as *artifices* may well have constituted the attainment of parity of status with the τεχνῖται of Dionysus in Greek cities.

Moreover, the advantages of collegiality will have been the more welcome on account of the deeply felt Roman prejudice against the acting profession: *in scaenam uero prodire ac populo esse spectaculo . . . apud nos partim infamia partim humilia atque ab honestate remota ponuntur.*[23] It is therefore most unlikely that the authors would willingly have clung to their connexion with the widely despised *histriones*, not least since their output had never been limited to stage-plays. No author, moreover, since Livius, is attested as having willingly performed on stage and even that attestation has been questioned (e.g. by Leo (n. 5) 56). As the second century progressed, with increased aristocratic patronage of literature and more general respect for the poet's art, I would question whether the benefits of collegiality were any longer—even supposing they ever had been—particularly welcome or attractive to the poets. The togetherness of cult-acts and dinner-parties, the prestige and solidarity of the trade (MacMullen (n. 9) 74f.) are values more appropriate to artisans than to men of letters. The stigma of association with real *artifices* may well no longer have been tolerable, after their success, to the citizens Ennius and Accius, let alone to their patrons and less still to the haughty equestrian Lucilius.

I shall return shortly to the question of the survival of the Aventine *collegium*. We
[81/82] have now to consider the sole specific reference to the *collegium poetarum*:

> is (sc. Accius) Iulio Caesari amplissimo ac florentissimo uiro in collegium poetarum uenienti numquam adsurrexit, non maiestatis eius immemor, sed

[21] G. E. Duckworth, *The Nature of Roman Comedy* (Princeton 1971) 77f.
[22] Cf. the Senate's grants to *peregrini*: Liv. 28.39.18, 36.38.12; Jory (n. 5) 229.
[23] Nep. *praef.* 5; cf. Liv. 7.2.12; R. W. Reynolds, *CQ* 37 (1943) 38 n. 5; D. Van Berchem, *MH* 5 (1948) 144.

> quod in comparatione communium studiorum aliquanto se superiorem confi deret. quapropter insolentiae crimine caruit quia ibi uoluminum non imaginum certamine exercebantur. (Val. Max. 3.7.11)[24]

These encounters are probably to be dated to the 90s: C. Iulius Caesar Strabo was born *c.*130 and in 90 served as curule aedile;[25] unlike his elder brother Lucius, consul in 90, he was himself well known as a writer of tragedies.[26] The octogenarian poet was notoriously prickly and arrogant[27] and well capable, as Valerius' *numquam* implies,[28] of repeating the apparent discourtesy.[29]

'The incident' writes Badian 'shows that Caesar was not properly a member of the guild, on the same footing as Accius.[30] But both he and other dilettanti nobles and senators . . . will have been *patroni* of the college. All *collegia* had eminent *patroni* of this sort.'[31] Clearly Caesar Strabo could have been one of the institution's *patroni*; clearly too there was no basis for regular social intercourse on an equal footing between him and Accius. Nor could the patrician conceivably have joined a conventional *collegium* of ordinary artisans, as the *scribae* had once been. Accius himself, to judge his character from the anecdotes that survive, was no likelier than Caesar Strabo to have joined such a body. But a *collegium* of poets, particularly in an age of widespread esteem for literary achievement, can have been no ordinary *collegium*, and I hope to be able to define its unorthodoxy more closely. Caesar Strabo's membership and active participation are therefore not to be ruled out and it is by no means inconceivable that poet and patrician met on account of their *communia studia*, in the healthy rivalry of *uoluminum certamina*, even though the neatness of Valerius' epigram might have seemed at first sight a basis for scepticism (cf. Carney (n. 32) 293). He is notoriously unreliable[32] and one could wish better authority for asserting the existence of formal collegiality in the full legal sense among the poets of Rome. He was quite capable of saying *collegium*

[24] Cf. below, p. 46 and Jory (n. 5) 234, n. 3, for a further possible connexion between Accius and the *collegium poetarum*. We are in no position to say whether he was ever a magister of the *collegium* or not; Jahn (n. 7) 298; W. Krenkel, *Wiss. Ztschr. Univ. Rostock* 7 (1957 8) 252f.

[25] Diehl, 'Iulius (Caesar)' *RE* 10.1.428.(135); W. Drumann and P. Groebe, *Geschichte Roms* (Königsberg 1834 44) 3.114; Valerius' *maiestatis* might suggest that Caesar Strabo was in office.

[26] Cic. *Brut*. 177; Schanz Hosius 1.138; Leo (n. 5) 386; N. B. Crowther, *Latomus* 32 (1973) 576; Sihler (n. 1) 15f.; E. Bickel, *Rh. Mus.* 100 (1957) 34ff.

[27] *Auct. ad Her.* 1.24; Quint. 5.13.43; Schanz Hosius, 1.132.

[28] Badian (n. 5) 190, n. 1; G. Bernhardy, *Grundriss d. röm. Lit.*[5] (Braunschweig 1872) 78.

[29] Even if Caesar Strabo were aedile, was Accius under the necessity of rising if the occasion was not public and official? (Cf. Bernhardy (n. 28) *loc. cit.*; Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsr.* 1[3] 398; O'Brien Moore, 'Senatus (Regierung)', *RE* Suppl. 6.706). Accius had reached such years and eminence that many would rise to him out of simple courtesy.

[30] Cf. L. Müller, *Q. Ennius, Eine Einleitung* . . . (St. Petersburg 1884) 31; Sihler (n. 1) 16; J. H. More, *Grazer Beiträge* 3 (1975) 252, n. 34.

[31] Badian (n. 5) 190; cf. Sihler (n. 1) 16; Waltzing (n. 6) 1, 425f.

[32] Cf. R. Helm, 'Val. Max.' *RE* 15A.100ff.; T. F. Carney, *Rh. Mus.* 105 (1962) 292ff., a reference for which I am indebted to Mr Y. Maslakov.

when he meant merely, as it might be, *sodalicium*.[33] But there comes a point beyond which unsubstantiated scepticism should not be pressed.

There is nothing to suggest that Caesar Strabo and Accius met in the temple of Minerva on the Aventine:[34] the story that Accius *in Camenarum aede maxima forma statuam sibi posuisse, cum breuis admodum fuisset* (Plin. *NH* 34.19) suggests that for him the temple of Minerva no longer held any practical importance or hallowed associations and points, as we shall see shortly, to a credible alternative locale.

Between the names *collegium scribarum histrionumque* (*vel sim.*) and *collegium poetarum* there is clearly nothing in common, and in view of what has been said of the status both of *scribae* and of *histriones*, rather an essential discontinuity[35] between the two institutions.

The altered position of the writer and the rapidly increasing number of actors—with no corresponding improvement as yet in their status[36]—argue strongly against the perpetuation of the Aventine *collegium* with its union of incompatibles (cf. Kunihara (n. 2) 85f.; Badian (n. 5) 190, n. 2). We cannot say how long the actors clung to their *collegium* in the temple of Minerva, nor precisely when the authors are likely to have left it. The collegiate status of actors between 207 and the first century BC is a complete mystery (cf. Jory (n. 5) 237ff.; Webster (n. 19) 277). It is clearly not impossible that two *collegia*—one for actors on the Aventine and one elsewhere for the poets—coexisted for a while (cf. Tamm (n. 7) 166), but it is most unlikely that during such a period of coexistence the Aventine *collegium* catered for anybody but actors, and conceivably, I suppose, government scribes.

Indeed, the only point of similarity between the *collegia* of Livius and Accius seems to lie in the abiding association with tragic drama (cf. Tamm, ibid.)—an association which certainly does not require us to infer institutional continuity.

[82/83] No further evidence mentions the *collegium poetarum* by name; we are compelled to infer only that the Romans practised certain forms of collective poetic activity.

Cicero writes that Sp. Maecius Tarpa *probauisset* the plays for the opening of Pompey's theatre in 55 (*Fam.* 7.1.1). In fact it was revivals that were *probatae* on this occasion: Accius' *Clytemnestra* and Livius' *Equus Troianus* (*Fam.* 7.1.2). Tarpa apparently was concerned with some form of προαγών and the existence

[33] Cf. (?) Hor. *Sat.* 1.2.1; Apul. *Met.* 4.5; *TLL* 3.3, 1598, 25ff.

[34] Jory (n. 5) 234, 236; Kunihara (n. 2) 85; Crowther *loc. cit.* (n. 26); H. Cancik, *Röm. Mitt.* 76 (1969) 327.

[35] Cf. Jory (n. 5) 233, n. 4; it will not do to assume with Till (n. 7) 161, n. 2 that Valerius has casually altered the name from *scriba* to *poeta*; he is capable of that, but the difference between the *collegia* is clearly more than one of name.

[36] Cf. W. Beare, *The Roman Stage*[3] (London 1964) 166; C. Garton, *Personal Aspects of the Roman Theatre* (Toronto 1972) 140ff.; O. Ribbeck, *Die röm Tragödie* (Leipzig 1875) 670ff.

at Rome of such occasions is probably confirmed by the story of how Luscius Lanuvinus got a sight of Terence's *Eunuchus* (Ter. *Eun.* 19ff.).[37]

At *Ars P.* 387 Horace names Tarpa as an *iudex* and in *Sat.* 1.10.37ff. by contrast with the *turgidus* Alpinus refers to his own lighter works:

> haec ego ludo
> quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa
> nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris.

Neque . . . sonent . . . and *nec redeant . . .* are complementary parts of one process; cf. Porphyrio: *ait se id genus carminum scribere quod Meci Tarpae arbitrio non subiciatur. nam hi fere, qui scaenae scribebant, ad Tarpam hunc uelut emendatorem* (which is really not what *certantia* seems to me to presuppose) *ea adferebant*. The competition in question seems again to involve some form of *προαγών* (cf. *in aede* and *theatris* contrasted) for stage performances presided over by Tarpa (cf. Lafaye (n. 37) 36f.).

It is clearly not enough to dismiss the *certamen* to which Horace refers as being one simply for Tarpa's approbation; the context points too specifically towards a competition held prior to actual stage performance.[38] These competitions can hardly all have been of mimes, or indeed of revivals, for the idea of regular competitions between old plays is meaningless, and conflicts with the implication of *sonent* and *redeant*—that is, that Horace is contrasting himself with other—inescapably contemporary—writers whose work is, unlike his own, not mere *lusus*. Used as we are to talking of the death of Roman stage drama in the late second century, this evidence for plays and real competitions is at first sight disquieting. Yet Varius *post Actiacam uictoriam Augusto ludis eius in scaena edidit* his *Thyestes* (Didasc., *TRF* (Klotz) 309) and under Claudius the consular tragedian Pomponius Secundus *carmina sua scaenae dabat* (Tac. *Ann.* 11.13.1; Klotz 312; Zweirlein *loc. cit.*, n. 17); then too traditional comedy was still written and acted (Suet. *Claud.* 11). Further inferences may clearly be drawn regarding the *Ars Poetica*.

[37] Cf. too the story of Terence and the *Andria*: *cum aedilibus daret, iussus ante Caecilio recitare* (Suet. *Ter.* 2). Cf. Beare (n. 36) 93; Duckworth (n. 21) 58f.; A. Pickard Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals*[2] (Oxford 1968) 84. However, the story may, if authentic, suggest merely that Terence submitted his plays to the senior poet for improvement without any preliminary staging. Porph. *ad* Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.38 describes Tarpa as *emendator*. Cf. too G. Lafaye, *De poetarum et oratorum certaminibus apud veteres* (diss. Paris 1884) 36f.

[38] Against the *fable conuenue* that Hor. ridiculed the *magister* Tarpa and his *collegium* (cf. Sihler (n. 1) 18ff.; T. Frank, *AJPhil* 46 (1925) 74; and even N. Rudd, *Satires of Horace* (Cambridge (1966) 120); see Crowther (n. 26) 577ff. In Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.37f. there is no criticism voiced of Tarpa or of a *collegium*. No reason exists why Horace's opponents should form a coherent body, let alone belong to a single institution, which in some way determined Horace's attitude.

There is another passage of Horace that might at first sight seem relevant to this discussion: *Epist.* 2.2.91ff.:

> qui minus argutos uexat furor iste poetas?
> carmina compono, hic (? Propertius) elegos: mirabile uisu
> caelatumque nouem Musis opus. adspice primum
> quanto cum fastu, quanto molimine circum
> spectemus uacuam Romanis uatibus aedem;
> mox etiam, si forte uacas, sequere et procul audi,
> quid ferat et qua re sibi nectat uterque coronam:
> caedimur et totidem plagis consumimus hostem
> lento Samnites ad lumina prima duello;
> discedo Alcaeus puncto illius; ille meo quis?
> quis nisi Callimachus? . . .

What sort of scene is envisaged here? Does it constitute evidence for real competitions, as Tamm ((n. 7) 159f.) and Cancik ((n. 34) 326f.) suppose?

[83/84] The duel of Samnites is evidently ironical, a long-drawn-out rivalry in mutual flattery between writers in different genres. One might think that 96 *quid ferat et qua re sibi nectat uterque coronam* points to actual poetic rivalry on account of the reference to *corona*; however, *quid ferat* refers simply to the piece or pieces each poet brings to a *recitatio* and *qua re sibi nectat uterque coronam* alludes to the poetry by means of which both lyric and elegiac writers aspire to the achievement of fame—an achievement expressed in deliberately inflated traditional metaphor: the struggle is cunningly inverted—not one of literary merit, but of its deadly opponent, flattery.[39]

Scholars have tended to identity the *aedes* of *Sat.* 1.10 with the *uacuam Romanis uatibus aedem* of *Epist.* 2.2.[40] But since there seem to be no grounds for assuming comparable, or even compatible activities in the two passages, we are under no compulsion to identify the locales of both without independent arguments for doing so.

There is no internal evidence. On *Epist.* 2.2.91, Ps.-Acro comments sensibly *iam ponit uerba poetarum inuicem se laudantium*; there is therefore no reason to suppose with Bentley that *mirabile uisu caelatumque nouem Musis opus* need refer to the *aedes* itself and it is consequently irrelevant to introduce the nine statues of the Muses in the Aedes Herculis Musarum into the argument at this point (cf. below).

[39] Cf. D. Flach, *Das lit. Verhältnis von Horaz u. Properz* (diss. Marburg 1967) 94f.

[40] J. K. Newmann, *Augustus and the New Poetry* (Brussels 1967, *Coll. Latomus* 88) 39ff. distinguishes the two; however, Comm. Cruq. *ad Sat.* 1.10.38 *aedes Apollinis siue Musarum* provides an illusory foundation for further elaborate deductions; the Commentator preserves no independent ancient information: Nisbet Hubbard, Hor. *Odes.* 1.51.

On topography, the scholia are at variance: on 94 Ps.-Acro comments: *idest ut negemus in templo Apollinis ullos poetas habere carmina* and Porphyrio *significat autem aedem Musarum, in qua poetae recitabant* (cf. *ad Sat.* 1.10.38).

The wider context in Horace helps towards a solution. Mutual flattery is exchanged in terms of a recognition that the poet being flattered has attained parity with the Greek masters, Alcaeus, Callimachus, etc.; this could nowhere have such point as on the Palatine, with its new Greek and Latin libraries;[41] for Horace, the Latin library is envisaged as being empty as yet of (or 'for')[42] Roman *uates* to match the Greek classics. The author's haughty consequence is particularly appropriate if they are in exalted surroundings, laying claim to inclusion in a permanent hall of fame.[43] We may compare *Epist.* 2.1.216 *si munus Apolline dignum uis complere libris*. Indeed the issue of a book's admission to or rejection from the Palatine library was of wide and general importance;[44] notably, Ovid laments the absence of *his* works from that bastion of official recognition (*Tr.* 3.1.59ff.).

We have established that some form of *recitatio* was probably held in the temple of Palatine Apollo (cf. Juv., ed. Mayor 1^2, 179), but it should be stressed (*pace* Newman (n. 40) 36ff.) that there is no evidence whatsoever for connecting that temple with any form of *collegium* or for supposing that the *recitationes* held there were the object of special imperial favour or design.

More important, this discussion of Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.91ff. has, I hope, shown that there is no evidence for any association of elegy and lyric—as against drama—with the *collegium poetarum* or indeed with any place with which that *collegium* may have been connected. Neither, for that matter, is there a link attested between the writing of comic drama and the *collegium*.[45]

I return to the topographical problem of the *aedes* of Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.38: Porphyrio comments: *in aede Musarum, ubi poetae carmina sua recitabant* and

[41] Cf. Juv. 7.37 *Musarum et Apollinis aedes* which probably refers to the Palatine complex: temple of Apollo with its libraries under the Muses' patronage and (?) containing their statues (cf. Cic. *Fam.* 7.23.2; C. Callmer, *Opusc. Arch.* 3 (1944) 152). The conventional interpretation refers *Musarum* to a library dedicated to the Muses and attached to the temple of Divus Augustus also on the Palatine (cf. Platner Ashby, s.v. Augustus, Divus, Templum and Bibliotheca Templi Divi Augusti), but Mart. 12.3.7f. is insufficient evidence for the dedication (cf. Tamm (n. 7) 159; B. Olinder, 'Porticus Octavia in Circo Flaminio', *Acta Inst. Rom. Regn. Sueciae* 11 (Stockholm (1974) 63, n. 170).

[42] Cf. Flach (n. 39) 93 n. 1: 'of' and 'for' come to the same thing.

[43] There is no positive evidence that the new temple of Palatine Apollo and its libraries were used for *recitationes*. But note that at Pergamum, at Alexandria and in the Stoa of Hadrian at Athens there seem to have been small rooms ideally suited to the sort of exclusive literary gathering envisaged by Hor.: Callmer (n. 41) 152, 153, 172ff.; P. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1 (Oxford 1972) 325; Mayor on Juv. 3.9, *ad init.*

[44] Cf. Newman (n. 40) 39; Mayor on Juv. 8.38; Calp. Sic. 4.158f.

[45] The argument that the attacks upon Terence originated from within the *collegium* is an old one: Sihler (n. 1) 8ff.; Duckworth (n. 21) 65; E. L. Minar, *TAPA* 76 (1945) 36f.; Crowther (n. 26) 576. It rests upon a tissue of hypothesis and misinformation: cf. Ter. *Haut.* 16 with Beare (n. 36) 95. The alleged connexion of Luscius Lanuvinus with the *collegium* has found no favour with leading Terentian scholars: e.g. E. Fraenkel, *Sokrates* 72 (1918) 315; H. Haffter, *MH* 10 (1953) 7.

Ps.-Acro both *in aede Apollinis* (which is of course chronologically intolerable) and *in aede Musarum ubi poetae multis audientibus recitare*[46] *carmina sua solebant*.

Aedes Musarum can only be taken as referring to the Aedes Herculis Musarum.[47] The statues of the Muses which that temple contained were found by M. Fulvius Nobilior in Ambracia;[48] only Eumenius (cf. n. 48) claims that the whole temple was built by Fulvius and I am inclined to accept the arguments of Castagnoli (*Gnomon* 33 (1961) 608) and Olinder ((n. 41) 60 n. 157) that Fulvius
[84/85] did no more than add the statues of the Muses—and a portico—to an already existing temple of Hercules Magnus Custos. His role should be viewed with caution, for it is far from certain that he introduced the Muses into the temple of Hercules as part of a systematic policy of Hellenization (cf. Tamm (n. 7) 165; T. Frank, *CAH* 8.371). Fulvius had taken Ennius to Greece in furtherance of his own *Gloria*, not as a conscious *imitatio Alexandri*: the *Scipio* had shown Ennius' potential usefulness to a new patron (cf. Badian (n. 5) 188f.) and Fulvius was clearly seeking maximum publicity through the media available. His plunder of 785 bronze and 230 marble statues revealed an attitude towards foreign culture comparable to Napoleon's or Goering's. The Ambracian legates at Rome in 187 complained particularly of *templa tota urbe spoliata ornamentis*.[49] The introduction of the Muses into the temple of Hercules will have meant far more to poet than to conqueror and could easily have been regarded as a minor act of beautification undertaken at the poet's own prompting. Eumenius hints as much in one of his explanations: *non id modo secutus quod ipse litteris et summi poetae amicitia duceretur*. I find the picture of the rapacious *triumphator* seeking to establish a new Alexandria on the banks of the Tiber does not carry conviction.

But possible analogues with Greek institutions are clearly to be considered with great care for the light they may shed on the Roman temple and for their potential importance in tracing the Hellenization and indeed the very acceptance of literature at Rome (Badian (n. 5) 190; Sihler (n. 1) 20f.).

We cannot, first, automatically conclude (so Tamm (n. 7) 165, Badian (n. 5) 189) that the name Aedes Herculis Musarum renders 'Museion'. After all, the Roman temple's full name is substantially closer to an original Greek 'Temple of Heracles Musagetes'. Moreover, we shall observe fundamental dissimilarities

[46] Which alone fails to account for Tarpa's judicial function and Horace's *certantia*.

[47] Cf. Frazer, ed. Ov. *Fasti* 4.344ff., a popular topic of late: Badian (n. 5) 188ff.; Tamm (n. 7) 157ff.; Cancik (n. 34) 323ff.; and *Silvae, Festschr. E. Zinn* (Tübingen 1970) 7ff.; Jory (n. 5) 234; Olinder (n. 41) 58ff.; O. Skutsch, *Studia Enniana* (London 1968) 18ff.

[48] Nobilior triumphed in 187. Cf., however, Eum. (*Pan. Lat.* 5) 7 and Liv. 40.51.4f., *porticum ad fanum Herculis* (among the *opera censoria* of M.F.N.; cf. J. Suolahti, *Roman Censors* (Helsinki 1963) 65). Despite *ILS* 16, referring to Fulvius' capture of Ambracia and found near the site of the Aedes Herculis Musarum, I prefer the later date.

[49] Liv. 38.43.6; cf. Plin. *HN* 35.66; the cry was taken up by Fulvius' enemy, M. Aemilius Lepidus, cos. 187: Liv. 34.4.11f., contrast the argument of Liv. 38.43.9ff.

between the two institutions. The Alexandrian Museum contained a *συσσίτιον τῶν μετεχόντων τοῦ Μουσείου φιλολόγων ἀνδρῶν* and over the *σύνοδος* (a society for a religious purpose) there presided a priest (*ἱερεύς*) appointed by the kings (Strabo 17.793–4). Tamm ((n. 7) 166f.) claims that Strabo's reference to a *συσσίτιον* and the common feasts of Roman *collegia* are comparable. But even supposing that the *collegium poetarum* did meet in the Aedes Herculis Musarum and did indulge in the regular banqueting so dear to the artisan *collegia* (Waltzing (n. 6) 1, 322ff.; MacMullen (n. 9) 77ff.), the banquets were essentially occasional festivities, held only as often as the finances of *collegium* and members would permit, whereas the common room of the Alexandrian Museum (Fraser (n. 43) 1, 315f.) has rather the air of a permanent institution.

The religious element was clearly strong in the Alexandrian Museum and numerous parallels with literary and philosophical societies dedicated to the Muses have been collected (Fraser (n. 43) 1, 312ff.). But what details of the cult and priesthood of the Muses in Greece are legitimately transferable to a Roman context? Was Ennius himself, for all his often-expressed and profoundly innovatory respect for the Muses (Skutsch (n. 47) 3ff., 18ff.) necessarily their *sacerdos*? Even though he must have been involved closely with the establishment of the Muses in the Temple of Hercules (cf. *Ann.* 15 (?), Skutsch (n. 47) 19), Roman *sacerdotes Musarum* (Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.3, etc.) are poets, the product of inherited metaphor, and priests, properly speaking, not at all.[50] Indeed the title Aedes Herculis Musarum[51] suggests that the Muses did *not* have a separate priest; after all, what Fulvius had found in Greece was a cult of Hercules as Musagetes,[52] the *comitem ducemque* of the Muses, in Eumenius' words (cf. Tamm (n. 7) 165). The title—and the form of the title seems unique among Roman cults—subordinates the Muses to Hercules. If Rome was not yet ready for a full-scale temple and cult of the Greek Muses, then to introduce them in Hercules' train and to grant them a toe-hold in his temple was an ideal compromise. If Ennius' priesthood is improbable, so too are the existence of a festival of the Muses during the Republic,[53] and the presence in the temple of a statue of Ennius, though it is virtually certain that the temple contained one of Accius.[54]

[50] O. Falter, *Der Dichter u. sein Gott* (Würzburg 1934) 74ff., etc.

[51] Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.8 and Plut. *QR* 59 suggest erroneously a title 'Herculis et Musarum', see Planter Ashby s.v.

[52] A rare cult: against Klügmann, *Commentationes Mommsen* (Berlin 1877) 262ff., cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth.* 1.500; Olinder (n. 41) 59, n. 156; Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 6.800.

[53] The evidence for a festival of the Muses at Rome is as tenuous as that for a priesthood: an independent festival may well only date to e.g. Marcius Philippus' restoration of the temple in (?) 33 BC: cf. F. W. Shipley, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 9 (1931) 29f.; 48, Cancik (n. 34) 324, (n. 47) 10; Olinder (n. 41) 62f.

[54] Plin. *HN* 34.19 with Cancik (n. 47) 9f. The epigram *aspicite, o ciues, senis Enni imaginis formam* (*Varia* 15 V²) is certainly not evidence and may well have belonged to a first century book illustration (Suerbaum (n. 5) 335f.; cf. too E. Brandt, *Philol.* 83 (1928) 331ff.) (or even to a statue of Ennius at Rudiae (Hier. *Chron. ann. Abr.* 1849; O. Jahn, *Hermes* 2 (1867) 243); cf. further Suerbaum (n. 7) 208ff.,

There is nothing to suggest that the lavish facilities of the Alexandrian Museum were reproduced in the Aedes Herculis Musarum, or that the vast range of scientific and literary studies that the Museum probably embraced[55] was imitated at Rome. For one thing, the scale of the temple was ludicrously inappropriate. A single apparent parallel of scholarly activity between the temple and Museum
[85/86] exists. The Aedes Herculis Musarum contained a set of *Fasti*, with some scholarly annotation, apparently Fulvius' own work.[56] But the similarity to Eratosthenes' *Chronographiae* is illusory: one work provided a system of universal chronology (Fraser (n. 43) 1, 456f.), the other was antiquarian, and its publication at Rome very probably no novelty.[57]

It is not certain, though it is highly likely, that the Aedes Herculis Musarum was the seat, for a while at least, of the *collegium poetarum*. The known connexion of Accius with both is not proof enough; the parallelism of Valerius' phrase *uoluminum certamina* with Horace's localized *certantia iudice Tarpa* seems to me far more persuasive.[58] The questions of when the *collegium* began to meet there and of who secured this privilege for the poet remain uncertain. We cannot even assume 179 for the date and M. Fulvius Nobilior as the patron (*pace* Badian (n. 5) 189). Substantial parts of the temple survive on the Severan marble plan and Tamm's interpretation ((n. 7) 162ff.; cf. Badian (n. 5) 188f.) of the enclosed courtyard as eminently suited to poetic recitation is attractive; we cannot, however, infer that the courtyard was designed for this purpose, since the extent of Fulvius' work on the building remains so very uncertain.

The most interesting parallel between the Alexandrian Museum and the Aedes Herculis Musarum is provided precisely by those literary *certamina* which Horace hints took place there. In the Museum, as for instance in the temple of the Muses at Thespiae,[59] literary competitions were held:[60] *itaque Musis et Apollini ludos dedicauit* (sc. *Ptolomaeus*) *et, quemadmodum athletarum, sic communium scriptorum uictoribus praemia et honores constituit* (Vitr. 7. *praef.* 4). Yet even here the parallel is not as close as it might seem, for the only form of *certamen* which we may legitimately associate with the temple is apparently not one to gain a laurel crown, but purely to establish which plays shall be performed on the public stage.

333ff.; T. Dohrn, *Röm. Mitt.* 69 (1962) 78f.; H. Dahlmann, *Studien z. Varro de Poetis*, *Abh. Akad. Mainz* 10 (1962) 68f.

[55] Fraser (n. 43) 1.317; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 96ff.

[56] Cf. Macr. 1.12.6; Schanz Hosius 1.235; *Inscr.Ital.* 13.2 20f.; A. K. L. Michels, *Calendar of the Roman Republic* (Princeton 1967) 124f.

[57] Klügmann (n. 52) 264. Cf. the *fasti* of Cn. Flavius (*supra*, 000), their large scale and evident political purpose suggest a modicum of explanation, even if not of a particularly scholarly kind (Liv. 9.46.5; Val. Max. 2.5.2; Michels (n. 56) 108, n. 49); Badian (n. 5) 189, n. 2.

[58] Jory (n. 5) 234; Sihler (n. 1) 19; Badian (n. 5) 189; Crowther (n. 26) 577f., etc.

[59] Fraser (n. 43) 1, 313; G. Roux, *BCH* 78 (1954) 42ff.

[60] Vitr. 7. *praef.* 4; cf. Fraser (n. 43) 1, 316, and *Eranos* 68 (1970) 119ff.

There is no real evidence to enable us to set these scraps of information within a coherent tradition of literary competitions at Rome in the first century BC. In the second century, there is no satisfactory basis for concluding that prizes were awarded to comedies and tragedies; lines such as *Casina* 17 *haec, quom primum acta est, uicit omnis fabulas*[61] do not require that we infer the existence of a formal competition.[62] The mime is a thing quite apart and Publilius Syrus' famous challenge to all his rivals (Macr. 2.7.7) is irrelevant to this discussion.[63]

There will, however, have been an element of real *certamen* in the form of *προαγών* which it seems likely that the *collegium poetarum* did at some time undertake—presumably to help the aediles decide which plays to put on (Lafaye (n. 37) 38f.). These *προαγῶνες* can hardly have been less intensely fought than other ancient—and modern—literary competitions of which we know; the honour of performance and the financial rewards—if not always as great as those accorded to Varius' *Thyestes*—will have seen to that. This is a far cry from the vinous amity of the artisans' *collegia* where all are *fratres* or *sodales* and under orders *ut sine bile refrigeretis*.[64]

We are left with an attested role for the *collegium poetarum* that is exceedingly limited. What its original purpose was remains entirely obscure. That this original purpose, devised conceivably by Fulvius Nobilior, or, slightly more probably by Ennius, and put into effect by his patron, was substantially wider is not unlikely. Before the Muses' arrival in the Aedes Herculis when poets were as yet active primarily as dramatic poets, it is scarcely credible that there was any *collegium poetarum* active under that name; the *collegium scribarum histrionumque* (?) on the Aventine will have just about sufficed. The concept of non-dramatic poets in a third-century *collegium poetarum*, clinging perhaps to the *aedicula Camenarum*, as suggested by Jory ((n. 5) 234, 236; cf. Riese (n. 20) 163) does not carry conviction. Equally, we have found no evidence for associating non-dramatic poets with the *collegium poetarum* at any later date either.

It is generally recognized[65] that the only evidence to suggest that the *collegium poetarum* might have survived into the Empire is furnished by two passages of Martial: [86/87]

> (i) an otiosus in schola poetarum
> lepore tinctos Attico sales narrat?

[61] Cf. Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.180f., *ualeat res ludicra si me palma negata macrum, donata reducit opimum*. It would clearly be unwise to infer an exact reference to current Roman practice from such a passage.

[62] Ribbeck (n. 36) 669f.; F. Ritschl, *Parerga Plautina* (Leipzig 1845) 229; Lafaye (n. 37) 35ff.; Mommsen, *Röm. Geschichte*[9] 1.885, 2.442; Marquardt, *Stattsverw.* 1.542.

[63] But cf. the competition of *greges* and individual actors implied by *Poen.* 36; *Amph.* 69ff.; Cic. *Att.* 4.15.6; which accords with Hellenistic practice elsewhere: Lafaye (n. 37) 34; Sifakis (n. 19) 14.

[64] *CIL* 14.3323; cf. Waltzing (n. 6) 1, 332ff.; MacMullen (n. 9) 78.

[65] Sihler (n. 1) 16f.; Kunihara (n. 2) 90f.; Crowther (n. 26) 577; Olinder (n. 41) 98ff.; Tamm (n. 7) 167; Jory (n. 5) 234, n. 2.

> hinc si recessit, porticum terit† templi†
> an spatia carpit lentus Argonautarum.
>
> (3.20.8ff.)
>
> (ii) in schola poetarum dum fabulamur.
>
> (4.61.3f.)

It is not certain (*pace* Jory (n. 5) 234, n. 2) either that Martial refers to the *collegium poetarum* or to the Aedes Herculis Musarum. The lapse of time and change of word between the *aedes* of Hor. *Sat.* 1.10 and Martial's *schola* indicate a need for caution. There are three areas of possible doubt:

(i) The first epigram gives us no real topographical clue. *Templi* is hopelessly vague and altogether unidentifiable; Friedlaender's ingenious *Magni*[66] hardly advances our argument, for *hinc sic recessit* does not necessarily indicate the proximity of *schola* and *porticus*, though it might be inferred from Martial's overall picture of the genial ease of Canius Rufus' life. His alternative stroll in the *porticus Argonautarum* is no help either; it cannot be used to help relocate what precedes precisely because it is an alternative.

Tamm's explanation ((n. 7) 167, n. 3; cf. Hug, 'schola', *RE* 3A:619) that Martial's *schola* is that in the *porticus Octauiae*[67] and his *templum* the Aedes Herculis Musarum, which the *porticus Octauiae* enclosed, will not stand, given the unacceptability of *templi*. Reading *Magni*, the credibility of Tamm's explanation is further reduced on account of the distance between Pompey's theatre with its porticoes and the *porticus Octauiae* with its *schola*.

(ii) Martial's phrase *schola poetarum* could very well denote a particular meeting-place of a *collegium* of poets,[68] though *schola* alone was apparently not used of the *collegium* itself until the fourth century (Crowther, (n. 26) 577 n. 10). The agreeable facilities of the *scholae* can hardly have been closed to members except on formal occasions of banquet and sacrifice (*pace* Kunihara (n. 2) 90), particularly if the *schola* was situated, as it often was, close to its members' work-places (More (n. 30) 252; Waltzing (n. 6) 1, 218; MacMullen (n. 9) 70ff.). There seems therefore to be no *prima facie* reason why poets should not have been able to use the *schola* of their *collegium* as a place for enjoying conversation and witty composition. The choice of the word *schola* is not in itself significant; it can refer to meeting-places in temples and secular edifices alike (Waltzing (n. 6) 1, 224f.; MacMullen (n. 9) 178, n. 73). Yet given the wide range of meanings of the word *schola* (Kunihara (n. 2) 90f.) the survival of formal collegiality cannot legitimately be inferred simply from Martial's two expressions.

[66] Cf. 2.14.6, 11.1.10; H. Jordan, *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum* (Berlin 1878) 1.3.574.
[67] Plin. *HN* 35.114, 36.22; Kunihara (n. 2) 92.
[68] Cf., e.g., More (n. 30) 251f.; Waltzing (n. 6) 4.437ff.; *schola fontanorum* (*Bull. Com. Arch.* 1876, 139) *schola medicorum* (*CIL* 6.29805) *schola uiatorum* (*CIL* 6.1936).

(iii) The third difficulty is that of genre. No evidence has appeared to connect the *collegium poetarum* with anything but tragedy and it is negatively significant that the references to elegy and lyric in Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.91ff. proved not to be connected with the *collegium*. Here *lepore tinctos Attico sales* suggest clearly some form of neo-Catullan *versiculi*.[69] Of course the form and purpose of the *collegium* may have changed to admit of other genres of literature, but that is more than we can say. From Martial, therefore, no more can be inferred than that somewhere in Rome in his day there was some kind of clubroom frequented by epigrammatic poets.[70]

In view of the miserable quantity of hard information surviving, it is not surprising that determined attempts have been made[71] to run the *collegium* to ground in the corpus of Augustan poetry. The pursuit has proved unedifying and unsuccessful.[72] If the sole surviving concern of the *collegium* was with stage drama, then the silence of the elegists should never have caused surprise (cf. Riese (n. 20) 165).

Only Ov. *Tr.* 3.1.69f. need detain us even briefly: [87/88]

> altera templa peto, uicino iuncta theatro:
> haec quoque errant pedibus non adeunda meis.

These lines follow the exclusion of Ovid's book from the Palatine library and Cancik ((n. 34) 327) argues that the *altera templa* refer in fact to the Aedes Herculis Musarum, seat of the *collegium*: 'Ovid ist—das besagt diese ebenso kunstreich wie vorsichtig und andeutende Klage—von der kaiserliche Bibliothek und seinen Dichterkollegen verstossen.' This argument is only superficially ingenious: 3.1.59–68 refer to the Palatine library and 71–2 to Pollio's in the Atrium Libertatis. It is therefore overwhelmingly probable that Ovid's reference is to the library of the *porticus Octauiae*. The *porticus Octauiae* of course lay as close as the Aedes Herculis Musarum to the theatres (*uicino iuncta theatro*) of Marcellus and Balbus (cf. Olinder (n. 41) 63, n. 170).

There remains, however, one piece of potential evidence from the very centre of the Augustan period. This inscription was discovered in 1956 in the Palazzale Labicano:

[69] Cf. Cat. 16.7; Plin. *Ep.* 1.16.5, 5.3.5; Schanz Hosius 2.546; D. O. Ross, *Style and Tradition in Catullus* (Harvard 1969) 31f.

[70] MacMullen (n. 9) 179, n. 78, is clearly right to compare the FILOSOFI LOCULUS in the baths of Cuicul in Numidia (*CIL* 10.10890).

[71] Notably by P. Boyancé, *Entretiens Hardt* 2 (1953) 153ff., cf. Newman (n. 40) 38f.

[72] Cf. Riese (n. 20) 163; Kunihara (n. 2) 90; for firm expressions of scepticism. The correct interpretation of (e.g.) Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.41f. and *Pont.* 3.4.67f. in terms of inherited Greek metaphor was seen clearly by Otto Jahn (n. 7) 299f. Full consideration of the literary antecedents should likewise have precluded Boyancé's discovery of a poetic 'thiasos' in Augustan invocations of Bacchus (n. 71); cf. Newman (n. 40) 38.

[P. Cor]nelius P(ublii) l(ibertus) Surus
[nome]nclator, mag(ister)
[[ ] linus u(ixit) a(nnis) VIIII]]
[ ] utorum, praeco
[ab aer]ario ex tribus
[decuri] eis, mag(ister) scr(ibarum) poetar(um)
] fecit in theatro lapidio
[ac] cens(us) co(n)s(ulis) et cens(oris).[73]

The chronology and topography of the inscription present interwoven difficulties: J. H. More has recently advanced ingenious and convincing arguments for a *terminus post quem* of 22 BC ((n. 30) 256f.). A *terminus ante quem* is perhaps to be extracted from 1.7 *fecit in theatro lapidio* sc., as it might be *scholam* (More (n. 30) 251f.). Jory and More both assume ((n. 73) 125; (n. 30) 249) that the theatre in question must be Pompey's. From its dedication in 55 till the completion of the theatre of Marcellus, the theatre of Pompey was the only stone theatre in Rome; it was called 'the theatre' or 'Pompey's theatre' (Platner–Ashby s.v.), but never, so far as we know 'the stone theatre', which may have been thought gratuitous or obvious. Augustus restored it and thereafter we find the description *marmoreum* (*Fast.Amit.*, Aug. 12; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 31) used. Only after this restoration would there have been adequate grounds for calling some other permanent theatre not faced, or not yet faced, with marble, *lapidium*.

Clearly Surus' stonecutter could have used *theatrum lapidium* of the theatre of Marcellus at any time after its opening in time for the *ludi saeculares* of 17 BC (*Acta* 1.156). But *lapidium* could only have been used of the theatre of Marcellus for a very short period (cf. More (n. 30) 249)—up till 13 BC, the probable year of its dedication. Until then it did not have a proper name; it may have lacked the marble and stucco facings on the inside and perhaps also on part of the outside that it later acquired and it did not as yet risk being confused with the Theatrum Balbi, begun some time after Balbus' triumph in 19. The theatre of Balbus was much the smallest and least renowned of Rome's three permanent theatres, and I find it rather hard to credit that the stonecutter could—even after 13 BC—have called it simply 'the stone theatre'.

Surus' career is very suggestive—negatively. We cannot infer that he was a Syrian by birth, and I fear that not even More's suggestion[74] that the inscription gives the offices in order of tenure will stand (see below).

The *nomenclator* was the private servant of his master or patron, reminding the magistrate of names.

[73] Photo, squeeze, and transcript: More (n. 30) 242ff.; see also Jory (n. 5) 234f. and *BICS* 15 (1968) 125f.; More 241, n. 2 for earlier bibliography.

[74] More (n. 30) 253. More's discussion of Surus' career is invaluable.

We must excise 1.3; More ((n. 30) 250f.) argues convincingly that this line has strayed in from a funerary inscription for a boy of nine. [88/89]

Magister . . . utorum: Surus was on the board[75] of a guild, presumably of *adiutores*—possibly preceded by a limiting abbreviation of some three letters. It is hard to see what supplement other than *adiutorum* could stand, but no *collegium* of *adiutores*—assistants to the emperor or to a magistrate or to many administrative boards—is ever attested and, as More points out ((n. 30) 246), the date is rather early for a large organized body of *adiutores*. Unfortunately, none of the lists of civil service grades contain *adiutores* (Mommsen, *Staatsrecht* 1^3, 355, n. 2). But it is fairly safe to infer that Surus had risen to senior status with his grade; he clearly had good organizing ability and presumably a reputation as a 'good guild man'. The post of *magister* of a guild involved control of religious acts, banquets, finance; it was onerous, honourable, and financially demanding (Waltzing (n. 6) 1, 390ff.; MacMullen (n. 9) 78f.).

Praeco ab aerario ex tribus decurieis: that is, treasury herald on the three panels—a maker of public announcements on behalf of the quaestors. *Praeco* is a very lowly grade indeed: it is bottom of the list in Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.27 and Orelli 4109; in the great Urso inscription (*ILS* 6087) only *librarius* and *tibicen* are lower.

I should like to postpone discussion of *mag. scr. poetar.*

accensus of consul and censor regularly stands next to *scriba*. The *accensus* was a confidential orderly, personally appointed by the magistrate, usually from among his own freedmen. Badian argues ((n. 5) 190, n. 2) that *accensus* may be placed at the end of the list as a personal and not an official appointment; *nomenclator*, however, stands first.

We have finally to consider Surus' second post as *magister* (cf. Jory (n. 5) 235). If, as I shall argue, this *collegium* involved *scribae* as well as poets, or even to the exclusion of poets, then we should probably infer that Surus himself served as *scriba*, the peak of the clerical grades. If it does emerge that the *collegium* contained two component groups, then the only alternative to this conclusion is to argue that Surus became *magister* because a *poeta*, though all the other evidence for his career suggests that he was a civil servant, and perfectly likely to have reached the rank of *scriba*.[76] I do not think it is a serious objection to regarding Surus as a *scriba* that *scribae* were more often *ingenui* than *liberti*, frequently indeed ending up as *equites*.[77] Enough freedmen *scribae* are attested to show that for Surus to have served as *scriba* is perfectly credible, and a tribute either to his patron's standing or to his own outstanding abilities.

[75] *Magister* meant 'member of the board' rather than 'president'; there could be up to ten at a time in a single *collegium*: Waltzing (n. 6) 1, 388.

[76] In view of *CIL* 6.103 (early third century AD) which refers to a *collegium* of *scribae librarii* and *praecones aedilium curulium*, Surus could conceivably have been *magister* of a *collegium* of *scribae* though only a *praeco*, but the idea is clearly unattractive.

[77] Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.185; S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen during the Late Republic* (Oxford 1969) 154.

There seems, unfortunately, to be general agreement to regard *scribarum poetarum* as denoting not two classes of members within a single *collegium* (cf. Waltzing (n. 6) 1.344f.), but one only—that is, with *poetarum* used adjectivally and exactly comparable to *librarius* in the familiar term *scriba librarius* (cf. Badian (n. 5) 190, n. 2). In support of this view, Jory and More ((n. 5) 235f.; (n. 30) 247f.) invoke Festus p. 446.26ff. L.:

> scribas proprio nomine antiqui poetas uocabant. at nunc dicuntur scribae equi dem librarii qui rationes publicas dicunt in tabulis.
>
> *equidem*: MSS; *et quidem* Mommsen (*St.R.*i[3] 347, n. 5); *i quidem* (= *ii q.*) Havet; *ei quidem* Jory, More

Jory ((n. 5) 236) translates the paradosis 'nowadays the term *scriba* is applied, jointly with *librarius*, to official recorders'. I do not see the justification for 'jointly with' and shall shortly suggest another interpretation.

As for Mommsen's 'are called *scribae* and indeed *librarii*', I do not see any
[89/90] advantage in separating the two terms so often linked, or in emphasizing *librarii* (cf. Jory (n. 5) 236).

More ((n. 30) 247, n. 20) translates the text as emended by Havet, Jory, and himself, 'but nowadays are called *scribae* those *librarii* indeed who write down the public accounts in record books'. This is not in keeping with Latin usage (cf. R. F. Rossi, *Diz. Epigr.* s.v. *Librarius*, 4.2.956): *scriba librarius* is a senior secretary, often called *scriba* for convenience. *Librarius* denotes a mere clerk, and *scribae librarii* are—predictably—called *librarii* very seldom. The full formal term *scriba librarius*—and by extension, *s.l. quaestorius*, *s.l. aedilium curulium*, *s.l. aedilium plebis*, *s.l. tribunicius*—must come from the official terminology of a period when all who wrote were called *scribae* and there was an absolute necessity of sharper definition.

I see no objection to translating the paradosis: 'But now we actually call *scribae librarii* those who write down the public accounts in the records.' *Equidem*[78] points to the retention of the term *scriba* in a sense paradoxical by comparison with its old use as 'poet', which is what Festus goes on to discuss.

I very much doubt whether *scriba poeta* is credible as an exact parallel to *scriba librarius*, as a formal designation of poets, redolent of archaism.[79] In the terminology of *collegia*, for which there is surabundant evidence, modifiers in titles are adjectives proper and usually in the *-arius* form—e.g. *exoneratores calciarii*, *fabri soliarii baxiarii*, *mensores et mercatores frumentarii*. Nor are the parallels cited by More[80] for modification by means of a noun in apposition all that pertinent.

[78] Cf. F. Hand, *Tursellinus* 2 (Leipzig 1832) 432.
[79] Cf. 'The Associated Society of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen' and More (n. 30) 248, n. 23.
[80] (n. 30) 248, n. 22; Cic. *Phil.* 11.39; Plaut. *Poen.* 1094.

It becomes still clearer that *poetarum* should not be taken as a noun identifier when we consider that asyndeton in the titles of *collegia* is very common: cf. *CIL* 5. 5128 *coll. fabrorum centonariorum dendrophororum*; Orelli 4106 *coll. liticinum cornicinum*; *CIL* 6. 95 *brattiarii* (gold-beaters) *inauratores* (gilders); *Bull. Comm.*1888, 83 *saccarii salarii*. Stylistically, *scribarum poetarum* is *asyndeton bimembre* and literary parallels such as *reges tetrarchae* (Sall. *Cat.* 20.7), or *nautae milites* (Liv. 21.28.2) are easily come by.[81]

If, therefore, the collegium was intended for both *scribae* and *poetae*, there is, so far as I can see, no need to suppose that Surus was a poet, or indeed anything other than what the rest of the evidence suggests, that is, a senior government clerk.[82]

But what of the *poetae* of the Surus inscription?

The association with government *scribae* and the fact that the one attested member seems to be a *scriba* not evidently inspired by the Muses makes me most reluctant to identify Surus' *collegium* with Accius', that is, with the *collegium poetarum* proper (cf. More (n. 30) 248). On the other hand, Surus' *collegium* is no likelier to have been Livius Andronicus'.

Badian ((n. 5) 190, n. 2; cf. More (n. 30) 248; Jory (n. 5) 236) asserts that Surus' title as *magister scribarum poetarum* gives us 'the fact that the guild preserved its ancient name'. But I can see no identity between a *collegium* of *scribae* and poets and one of *scribae* and actors. In the old Aventine *collegium scribae* signified primarily 'authors', though government scribes may have been included; in the Surus inscription there are no actors—who by now had their own organizations—and it is overwhelmingly probable that the *scribae* are now government clerks. No evidence has been produced to show that the Aventine *collegium* was likely to have survived into Surus' days; even if it did, its membership would by now have been most probably limited to actors.

Topographical arguments are no more helpful. If the *theatrum lapidium* had been that of Pompey[83] the identification might have served as an indication of the low status of the *collegium*: we know of a guild of ladies' bootmakers—*fabri soliarii baxiarii*—with a *schola* under (*sub*) the theatre of Pompey (*ILS* 7249). But that identification of *theatrum lapidium* has been shown to be unlikely. It has also been suggested (More (n. 30) 252) that the *schola* (?) of the inscription must have been some kind of subordinate accommodation for the *collegium* whose chief centre [90/91] was the Aedes Herculis Musarum: I can find no evidence for the existence of such

[81] Leumann Hoffman Szantyr 828f.; A. Draeger, *Hist. Syntax* (Leipzig 1881) 2, 193f.

[82] *Pace* More (n. 30) 242, 253, etc., and, by implication, Jory (n. 73) 125.

[83] It would have been tempting to link the inscription with Mart. 3.20.8ff., reading *Magni* in 10 as Friedlaender suggested; then we could have supposed that Canius Rufus had passed simply from the *schola* in the theatre of Pompey (i.e. the *schola* of the inscription, thereby hinting at institutional continuity) to the adjoining portico. But since the theatre is *not* likely to be Pompey's the connexion should probably be rejected.

subordinate *scholae* (cf. Waltzing (n. 6) 1, 211ff.) and the essential dissimilarity between Accius' *collegium* and Surus' has already been discussed.

If this analysis is not excessively sceptical, we are faced with the problem of who the *poetae* of the Surus inscription actually are and why they should be linked with government *scribae*. It is conceivable that the answer does lie within the sphere of Festus' notice of *scribae*: a private *collegium* of government *scribae*, aware that their name had once denoted 'poet' could well have added the by-now highly respectable 'and poets' to the title of their *collegium*, not least if one of the purposes of their collegiality was a little mild versifying. This explanation would clearly be more appropriate to a private *collegium*, as Surus' apparently was (Jory (n. 5) 235) rather than to one of the official *decuriae*.

Or were there other poets who might find themselves associated with government *scribae*? It is clear enough (*pace* More (n. 30) 260) by now that Surus is not likely to have been a crony of Propertius, Ovid, Tibullus, and Maecenas. But there were other poets. The writing of formal verse *elogia*[84] or epitaphs may not have been a full-time activity, but the *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* provides ample evidence for a mass of more or less incompetent versifiers at Rome.[85] Again, perhaps, on account of an ancient parity between government scribes and authors, these 'poets' may have sought and attained a share in the collegiality of government *scribae*.

The mystery remains complete, but it should by now have become clear that neither the precise wording of the Surus inscription, nor the little that we know of the *collegium poetarum* with which Accius and Tarpa were associated justify us in opening a new chapter in the history of *la littérature Latine inconnue* headed, as it might be '*Sure et son cercle*'. If we eschew speculation, it will emerge that the overall history of the *collegium poetarum* simply cannot, in the present state of our knowledge, be traced. That is not to deny that the *collegium* existed.[86]

[84] Cf. H. Roth, *Unters. über die Lat. Weihgedichte auf Stein* (diss. Giessen 1935) 13ff.

[85] Cf. F. F. Abbott, *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome* (London 1912) 182ff., id., *The Common People of Ancient Rome* (London 1912) 95ff.

[86] I am particularly grateful to Adrian Gratwick for much stimulating discussion, notably of the Aedes Herculis Musarum; dissent will not be confused with ingratitude. I wish also to thank Professors E. W. Handley, R. G. M. Nisbet, E. Wistrand, O. Skutsch, and G. P. Goold for illuminating individual problems.

6
Virgil, history, and the Roman tradition

The impact of Virgil's historical outlook

Already in the preface of the *De civitate Dei*, St Augustine siezes upon the *Aeneid* to illustrate false conceptions of the *ciuitas terrena*:

> [In the Scriptures] Dictum est: *Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam* (Prov. 3:34). hoc uero quod Dei est, superbae quoque animae spiritus inflatus adfectat amatque sibi in laudibus dici: *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos* (*Aen*. 6.853). For this reason I cannot pass over in silence the earthly city which, thirsting for dominion, is itself dominated by lust for dominion.[1]

Parcere subiectis is lost in denunciation of the *artes regnandi atque imperandi et subiugandi ac debellandi populos*.[2] Augustine's break with the traditional theology of the providential timing of the Roman Empire is very marked;[3] *pax* is not *Augusta* but *caelestis*, the ultimate stage in the struggle for righteousness. Equally, it is the *Deus unus et uerus* who *nec metas rerum nec tempera ponit, imperium sine fine dabit* (cf. *Aen.* 1.278f.) in that heavenly *patria* where *ueraciter semperque regnabis*.[4] For St Augustine, Jupiter's prophecy stands as a classic illustration of Rome's *lubido dominandi*.[5] His condemnation of these lines is still more starkly expressed in *Sermon* 105, delivered not long after the fall of Rome. Those who promised eternity in terms such as Jupiter used in *Aeneid* 1.278:

> his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono.

adulatione mentiti sunt . . . non plane ita respondet ueritas. Augustine asks: *regnum hoc, quod sine fine dedisti, o qui nihil dedisti, in terra est an in coelo?* Earthly, of

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[1] Tr. R. H. Barrow, *Introduction to St Augustine, The City of God* (London 1950) 28; cf. H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics* (Göteborg 1967) 409, 412.

[2] 5.12, cf. Hagendahl (n. 1) 412.

[3] R. A. Markus, *Saeculum* (Cambridge 1970) 47ff., but see 5.13 '*ad domanda gravia mala multarum gentium*'.

[4] *pax caelestis*: 19.12; cf. Barrow (n. 1) 146, 220ff.; heavenly *patria*: 2.29; cf. B. Otis, *Phoenix* 20 (1966) 74f.; Markus (n. 3) 84.

[5] 3.14, cf. 5.12 *ut ostenderem dominationem post libertatem sic habuisse Romanos ut in eorum magnis laudibus poneretur*; P. R. L. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (London 1967) 309.

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course, but since even the heavens will pass away (Luke 21:35) *quanto citius quae condidit Romulus*. Virgil is given a speech portraying him as having told those false, adulatory, and essentially impious words to the Romans, not *propria uoce*, but through Jupiter as mouthpiece: *sicut deus falsus erat, ita mendax uates erat*. He admits having spoken the truth at *G.* 2.498:

non res Romanae perituraque regna.[5a]

[73/74] Those gods whom Virgil had exalted into *pignora* of Rome's uninterrupted ancestry and destined greatness were a bitter sham: in the extended comparison of the fall of Troy and that of Rome in 410, Augustine quotes Virgil back at the pagans: for all her divine protectors, as related in the *Aeneid*, Troy had fallen; *ecce qualibus diis urbem Romani seruandam se commisisse gaudebant*'(1.3). The *Aeneid*, as a symbol of Latin culture, is thus exploited for hostile polemic.[6] And yet it is still Virgil that St Augustine will quote when explaining why God suffered the Roman Empire to grow[7]—to show that Romans once placed *libertas* before *dominatio*[8] and to illustrate[9] that Romans exercised their national *artes*, however imperialistic, *tanto peritius . . . quanto minus se uoluptatibus dabant et eneruationi animi et corporis in concupiscendi et augendis diuitiis . . .* . Condemnation struggles with admiration[10]—even of those who by their national virtues *imperii sui leges imposuerunt multis gentibus*,[11] as it might be, Octavian himself, who *uictorque uolentis per populos dat iura uiamque adfectat Olympo* (*G.* 4.561f.). It is not quite enough to conclude with Hagendahl ((n. 1) 418) that Virgil 'was to Augustine the principal interpreter of the Roman national spirit and, consequently, the principal object of his criticism of Rome both past and present'. Augustine will rather, I believe, have recognized in Virgil an historical philosophy, a teleology of the *ciuitas terrena*, so unusual, so important, indeed in some respects so close to his own, that it clamoured for specific rebuttal. For it is not always recognized with sufficient clarity that in the *Aeneid* we find a coherent interpretation of the whole course of Roman history, an interpretation that constitutes, in large measure, the poem's very meaning and purpose. To find such an interpretation in a poetic epic is in itself remarkable enough. The absence of any truly comparable account of a nation's past—one, that is to say, equally governed by a coherent philosophy of history, and more particularly by a teleological pattern of

[5a] Sermon 105 §10; Migne *PL* 38, 622f.; Hagendahl (n. 1) 416f.; Markus (n. 3) 39; F. G. Maier, *Augustin u. das antike Röm*, *Tübinger Beiträge* 39 (1955) 62; F. Paschoud, *Roma Aeterna* (Rome 1967) 241.

[6] Hagendahl (n. 1) 389ff.

[7] Barrow (n. 1) 162ff.; Hagendahl (n. 1) 412f.; Brown (n. 5) 309f., etc.

[8] *Aen.* 8.648, *Aeneadae in ferrum pro libertate ruebant*.

[9] *De civ. D.* 5.12, with *Aen.* 6.847ff.

[10] Brown, 309; Hagendahl, 413.

[11] *De civ. D.* 5.12; Markus (n. 3) 57f.

historical explanation—in earlier literature, whether Greek or Roman, serves sharply to increase our respect for and interest in Virgil's achievement.[12]

History in the *Aeneid* [74/75]

What was this Virgilian philosophy of history? And—this is the real purpose of this paper—what was its relationship to contemporary currents of thought?

The definition of the *Aeneid* as a poem *in quo, quod maxime studebat, Romanae simul urbis et Augusti origo contineretur* (Donat. *Vit.Verg.* 2) still serves: those origins are willed by Jupiter and fate; Aeneas leaves Troy *data fata secutus*;[13] Jupiter has already decreed that he shall found Lavinium[14] and the Penates act as further guarantors of his destiny.[15] The character of Aeneas' settlement in Italy is defined with equally massive authority: its foundations are to be religion,[16] urban civilization, symbolized by *moenia*,[17] and the rule of law; its mission the establishment of peace and the suppression, by violent means, if needs be, of disorder.[18] The descendants of Trojans and Latins shall merit special favour on account of their *pietas*;[19] their destiny shall be to rule—they are a *populum late regem belloque superbum*[20] and a rule imposed by might is to be sustained by law.[21] This destiny is to be pursued by Lavinium[22] and Alba[23] as well as by Rome. Rome's future is characterized by uninterrupted continuity. That continuity[24] is symbolized first by the ancient traditions of ritual, made particularly explicit in the cases of the *lusus Troiae* (*Aen.* 5.596ff.) and the opening of the Gates of War (7.601ff.) but also more generally by the way in which the religious observances of Aeneas' time are so often made to correspond to contemporary practice[25] and secondly by the physical bonds of genealogy. For Aeneas both his companions and his enemies include the ancestors of Roman families;[26] the Romans to him are *sui*;[27] the scenes he

[12] K. Nawratil, *Wien. Stud.* 57 (1939) 113ff, 127f.; M. Ruch, in *Vergiliana*, ed. H. Bardon and R. Verdière (Leiden 1971) 319; W. Iwanow, *Wege zu Vergil*, *Wege der Forschung* 19 (Darmstadt 1966) 227f. (*Corona* 1 (1931) 769); C. N. Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture* (Oxford 1940) 71; Otis (n. 4) 71, 73ff.; G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis u. Homer*, *Hypomnemata* 7 (Göttingen 1964) 353ff.; I. Kajanto, *God and Fate in Livy* (Turku 1957) 20ff.; A. Wlosock, *Die Göttin Venus* (Heidelberg 1967) 62ff.; H. Hommel, *Wege zu Vergil* (*supra* Darmstadt 1966) 392f.; R. Häussler, *Tacitus u. das historische Bewusstsein* (Heidelberg 1965) 181f.; J. Kroymann, *Eranion, Festschrift H. Hommel* (Tübingen 1961) 87ff.; V. Buchheit, *Grazer Beiträge* 1 (1973) 25f. and *Der Anspruch des Dichters in Vergils Georgika*, *Impulse der Forschung* 8 (Darmstadt 1972). Buchheit's contributions to our understanding of the topics under discussion are of outstanding value.

[13] *Aen.* 1.382; cf. 4.225, 1.205f., 7.120, 239f., 4.355, 5.656, 6.66, 10.67.

[14] 1.234ff, 258; 8.381; 10.31ff. [15] 3.159; cf. 1.6; 2.294. [16] 12.836; cf. 1.6; 12.192.

[17] 1.258, 264; 2.294; 4.225. [18] 1.263f.; 4.229ff.; 5.730f. [19] 12.838ff.

[20] 1.21; cf. 1.234ff., 250, 253ff., 278ff., 282; 3.97ff., 158f.; 6.781f., 851ff.; 7.98ff.

[21] 1.264; 4.231; 6.852f. [22] 1.264ff.; 4.275.

[23] 1.269f., with Horsfall *CQ* 24 (1974) 112f. [ch. 4, 36]; 6.771ff. [24] Cf. 1.6f.; 5.122f.; 12.826f.

[25] H. J. Rose, *Aeneas Pontifex* (London 1948) etc.

[26] 5.117ff., 568; 7.706ff.; cf. T. P. Wiseman, *G&R* 21 (1974) 153ff.

[27] 6.789, cf. 12.166; 8.731; 6.868, 717, 756ff.

bears on his shield are the *famamque et fata* of his *nepotes* (8.731)—the *res Italas*
[75/76] *Romanorumque triumphos* (8.626)—and when about to confront a Roman future that already exists, he is alerted by the words (6.759) *et te tua fata docebo*.

We are assured of Rome's future greatness before ever Aeneas' *labores* begin (1.7) and her *fata* remains *immota*, untroubled by the catastrophes of the mythical world (1.257ff.). Since her rise is already ordained by gods and fate, it may be checked but will never be reversed.[28] However close the kinship of historical argument between *Georgics* and *Aeneid*, the note of historical pessimism struck in *peritura regna* is absent from the *Aeneid*. Whatever else Virgil questions, Rome's historical rise, current prosperity, and glorious future remain untouched.[29]

The course of Rome's history and the force of her destiny both tend towards a single end—the Augustan present: for Virgil, Aeneas' wanderings and Augustus' empire are linked indissolubly—as cause and effect, as mythical prototype and historical goal[30]—in a unified sequence of events.[31]

What of the present—and indeed the future? An empire boundless in space and time: *his ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono; imperium sine fine dedi* (1.278); it shall be comparable to Alexander's realm and shall reach to the ends of the earth.[32] Victory means peace and peace the rule of law. These are the *artes* of the Roman; *regere imperio* is a means not an end.[33] Fides and Vesta, Romulus and Remus now reconciled *iura dabunt*;[34] the Gates of War will be closed and the *furor impius* of civil war fettered and imprisoned.[35] Augustus, peculiarly a man of destiny—*hic uir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis* (6.791) will conquer a great empire and (or should it be 'but'?) in Latium, once Saturn's realm, *aurea condet saecula qui rursus* (6.792ff.); the word *condet* is used particularly of founding destined cities.[36]

The future is left deliberately vague: it is implied as being a timeless extension of the present or imminent Golden Age. In the *Aeneid*, history is not cyclic: the civil wars are not presented as a symbol of decline nor the new Golden Age as a

[28] 4.622ff.; 6.826ff., 846; 8.646ff., 652ff., 685ff.; 10.11ff., etc.
[29] cf. Häussler (n. 12) 181; C. Koch, *Religio* (Nürnberg 1960) 167ff.; Tib. 2.5.23f.; Liv. 4.4.4; 28.28.11.
[30] Buchheit (n. 12) 23ff.
[31] *Ordo*: cf. *Aen.* 7.44, 3.375f.; *Buc.* 4.5; Cic. *Div.* 1.125. It is not quite certain that *pugnataque in ordine bella* (*Aen.* 8.629) refers to a temporal sequence; cf. Ruch (n. 12) 321; Brisson, in *Vergiliana* ed. H. Bardon and R. Verdière (Leiden 1971), 66; also Pohlenz, *Die Stoa* 2.141.
[32] 6.794ff.; E. Norden, *Kl. Schriften* (Berlin 1966) 422ff.; V. Buchheit, *Der Anspruch der Dichters in Vergils Georgika* (Darmstadt 1972) 118ff.
[33] Buchheit, *Anspruch* (n. 32) 111.
[34] cf. G. Binder, *Aeneas u. Augustus*, *Beitr. z. kl. Phil.* 38 (Meisenheim 1971) 92f.
[35] 1.291ff.; cf. F Klingner, *Röm. Geisteswelt* (München 1961) 618f.
[36] Lavinium: 1.5; cf. 7.145; Alba: 8.48; Rome: 1.276; cf. P. McGushin, *Latomus* 24 (1965) 411ff.

reversion to Saturn's; rather, it is a new beginning, the establishment of fresh *aurea saecula* where they had once (8.324ff.) been instituted by Saturn.[37]

But this essentially linear history does not fall into an entirely uncomplicated [76/77] pattern. Rather it is enriched by constant forward and back references. Leaving aside the effect of typology for the present, I take only a few examples: Juno opposes the Trojans because she knows the Trojans will destroy Carthage (1.19ff.); Aeneas promises Helenus *unam faciemus utramque Troiam animis; maneat nostros ea cura nepotes* (3.504f.) and Augustus founds Nicopolis, forging new links between Italy and Epirus. Anchises tells Aeneas of the Roman *ars paci imponere morem*; Augustus' mission is described as being above all just that (*supra*). Alternatively, looking backwards, Aemilius Paullus overthrows a descendant of Achilles, *ultus auos Troiae templa et temerata Mineruae* (6.840); the Romans only become *rerum domini* after Juno abandons her legendary hostility (1.279ff.); Augustus' armies *cum prima mouent in proelia Martem* (7.603) open the Gates of War in deference to the *mos* of Latinus' people.

So Virgil's representation of the linear advance of a nation's destiny comes to be rescued from crude determinism and merely jingioistic teleology. The conception already outlined has sufficient depth, coherence, and influence to merit discussion not merely as a poet's dream,[38] but, potentially at least, as a major contribution to Roman historical thought.

W. H. Auden's entertaining reaction,

> 'No, Virgil, no:
> Not even the first of the Romans can learn
> His Roman history in the future tense,
> Not even to serve your political turn;
> Hindsight as foresight makes no sense'
>
> ('Secondary Epic')

is misleading and widely shared, defying, as an expression of prejudice, rational reply. But in answer to the question of how Virgil came to these ideas, a number of suggestions may be made.

Sources—the Stoics

First, a strong suspicion, an informed impression about Virgil's reading in general: as for poetry, both Greek and Latin, his range was clearly immense and his

[37] Buchheit (n. 12) 25, 31; id. (n. 32) 185, *Wie aber die aetas aurea Augusti als Erfüllung u. Steigerung der aetas Saturnia gesehen ist*; Ruch (n. 12) 320; Klingner (n. 36) 308ff.; I. S. Ryberg, *TAPA* 89 (1958) 128ff.; Häussler (n. 12) 180.

[38] A. D. Momigliano, *History and Theory*, Beiheft 6, 1966, 14.

memory superbly retentive. That is commonplace. But prose, and particularly Greek prose, is quite another matter. We may wonder, for instance, whether Virgil ever used a prose source in the *Georgics* when there was a metaphrasis available: even Nicander was surely preferable to Apollodorus Iologus, as Aratus certainly was to Eudoxus. Again, Nicander's *Georgica* and *Melissurgica*, along with the *Erga*
[77/78] and *Melissurgica* of Menecrates of Ephesus must have mediated much Greek agricultural lore from prose sources to Virgil.[39] Thus Paul Jahn was clearly right to question whether Virgil 'gang gelesen habe' the *Historia Plantarum* of Theophrastus,[40] though he clearly did use it widely for *Georgics* 2.[41] And when the *res rusticae* were available I would question whether there was much direct consultation of Aristotle, as Wilkinson supposes[42] for *Georgics* 3. So with the *Aeneid*: we should not be surprised to discover the influence of Cato, Varro, or Cicero behind Virgil's conception of history,[43] but when the name of Posidonius is, inevitably, brought forward,[44] we ought to question whether Virgil did in general draw much on Greek philosophical prose—particularly on texts of Posidonian date and character, above all when the theme was so uniquely concerned with Rome herself. I strongly suspect that he did not, not least since it will become apparent that many of the ideas involved belong not so much to Stoicism as to native traditions of patriotic ideology.

The concept of *prouidentia* is particularly suggestive, not least because, of the *ignes fatui* of Augustan ideology, few can be so elusive. Stoics held that divine benevolence extended to states in general and individually,[45] granting them precedence over single mortals but without partiality for any one nation. However Stoic Virgil's repeated equation of *fata* with the will of Jupiter,[46] his conception of the *fata* of Troy and Rome[47] is evidently not that they are impartial in their influence! Nor does the pantheistic *prouidentia* have much in common with the transcendence of gods and fate in the *Aeneid*.[48] Stoic ideas may perhaps have influenced views held in the Greek East of Rome and Augustus as sent by providence,[49] but at Rome deterministic accounts of the city's rise appear to have been avoided. Certainly Cicero knows no elaborated doctrine of the benevolence

[39] Cf. A. S. Gow and A. F. Scholfield (eds.), *Nicander, The Poems and Poetical Fragments* (Cambridge 1953) 18.

[40] Paul Jahn, *Hermes*, 38.2 (1903) 244. [41] Cf. W. Mitsdörffer, *Philol.* 93 (1938) 449ff.

[42] *Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge 1969) 224. [43] Cochrane (n. 12) 68; Nawratil (n. 12) 125f.

[44] Nawratil, ibid.; cf. D. C. Earl, *ANRW* 1.2 (Berlin 1972) 854 for some sobering remarks on Cicero's narrow range of philosophical reading.

[45] On Balbus: Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.165.

[46] Cf. C. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil* (Oxford 1935) 231ff.; Iwanow (n. 12) 227f., etc.

[47] 1.238; 2.34; 3.182, etc.; cf. P. Boyancé, *La Religion de Virgile* (Paris 1963) 53ff. Doctrines of *fortuna* are not really relevant to this enquiry: 6.62; 11.344; Bailey (n. 46) 214.

[48] cf. Iwanow (n. 12) 228f.

[49] *OGI* 458; cf. A. D. Nock, *Essays* 1 (Oxford 1972) 79, 263; M. P. Charlesworth, *PBA* 29 (1936) 108f.

of destiny as contributing to Rome's growth.[50] Likewise Horace: a kindly fate gave Rome Augustus, but that is all.[51] Only in Livy is there a doctrine of *fatum* [78/79] comparable to Virgil's intermittently to be found, and Livy, like Virgil, has departed from Stoic principles in the national partiality attributed to his *fata*. His Stoicism, in Robert Ogilvie's phrase, 'was polite and unrigorous'.[52] Aeneas came to Italy *ad maiora rerum initia ducentibus fatis* (Liv. 1.1.4); as for the birth of Romulus, *debebatur, ut opinor, fatis tantae origo urbis maximique secundum deorum opes imperii principium* (1.4.1). But Aeneas was led not only by a directing providence, but, as was generally known, by the specific *fata* of oracles and portents,[53] while Livy also attributes the foundation of Rome to *dii* and *caelestes*, as well as to *uirtus* and *res militaris*.[54] For Livy there is no single and dominant doctrine of *fatum*, and the marked grouping of instances, notably around the fall of Veii and the sack of Rome, suggests that the influence of literary and dramatic considerations was at least as great as that of philosophy. Neither Livy nor Virgil encourages us to deduce an Augustan doctrine of Roman destiny begotten of Stoic determinism.

But where Stoicism is likelier to have influenced Virgil is in his attitude to the obstacles faced by Rome in her rise: already in the second century, Rome was regarded as *non unius . . . ingenio sed multorum, nec una hominis uita sed aliquot constituta saeculis*;[55] her citizens arrived at a successful constitution *οὐ μὴν διὰ λόγου, διὰ δὲ πολλῶν ἀγώνων καὶ πραγμάτων, ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀεὶ τῆς ἐν ταῖς περιπετείαις ἐπιγνώσεως αἱρούμενοι τὸ βέλτιον*.[56] Therapy by ordeal remained a popular concept: in Sallust, Roman *uirtus* was symbolized by survival against the odds, *uti diuitias paupertas, multitudinem paucitas superaret*.[57] In Livy—and far more explicitly in Florus[58]—the Romans are confronted by enemies, discord, and disease for a purpose: *Volscos uelut sorte quadam prope in aeternum exercendo Romano militi datos*.[59] Yet Livy is reluctant to identify the power responsible, and does not develop that power's operations into a regular pattern of explanation for

[50] *Pace* U. Knoche, *Staatsdenken der Römer, Wege der Forschung*, 46 (Darmstadt 1966) 422f.: nor, of course, did Polybius: F. W. Walbank, *Polybius* (Berkeley 1972, *Sather Classical Lectures* 42) 63.

[51] *Carm.* 4.2.37ff., cf. 1.12.49f.

[52] On 1.4.1; for E. Burck, *Wege zu Livius, Wege der Forschung* 132 (Darmstadt 1967) 112, and P. G. Walsh, *AJP* 79 (1958) 359, Livy's doctrine of *fatum* is distinctively Stoic; for necessary modifications, see I. Kajanto (n. 12) 15ff., and W. Liebeschuetz, *JRS* 57 (1967) 51ff.

[53] Liebeschutz (n. 52) 53. [54] 1.9.3f., 16.7, 9.4, 16.7; Kajanto (n. 12) 42, 54.

[55] Cato *ap.* Cic. *Rep.* 2.2; cf. D. Kienast, *Cato der Zensor* (Heidelberg 1954) 109f.

[56] Polyb. 6.10.14; cf. 1.63.9; Cic. *Rep.* 2.30 *non fortuito populum Romanum, sed consilio et disciplina confirmatum esse nec tamen aduersante fortuna*; Enn. *Ann.* 370, 373.

[57] *Cat.* 53.4; D. C. Earl, *Political Thought of Sallust* (Cambridge 1961) 98. To this approach it is clearly relevant to compare the concept of *metus externus* as a guarantor of morality: Earl, ibid., 42ff. F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 1 (Oxford 1970) on Polyb. 4.18.5ff. and *JRS* 55 (1965) 6f.; A. E. Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus* (Oxford 1967) 276ff.; U. Knoche, *Von Selbstverständnis der Römer* (Heidelberg 1962) 111ff.

[58] 1.7.1ff.; M. Hadas, *AJP* 61 (1940) 445. [59] 6.21.2; P. G. Walsh, *AJP* 79 (1958) 359ff.

the crises of Roman history. Roman eternity had not been granted unconditionally:
[79/80] Cicero and Livy insist repeatedly that it is not merely dependent upon right action but upon unremitting effort and vigilance at times of trial.[60] The moral and historical functions of *labor* are represented most clearly by Virgil: the *pater ipse* who *colendi haud facilem esse uiam uoluit* (*G.* 1.121f.) imposed the same law upon Aeneas and his descendants; the hero's *labores* correspond closely to the farmer's.[61] That the effects of toil and suffering can be beneficial and may therefore be the work of providence is well attested as Stoic doctrine.[62] When Aeneas is described as *exercitus* by the fates of Troy (*Aen.* 3.182, 5.725), Virgil is most probably using the technical language of Stoicism.[63] Aeneas and his precursor Hercules serve as exemplars, however imperfect, of Stoic endurance.[64] Virgil's representation of Roman history perpetuates the familiar values of toil and endurance: *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem*. Rome's whole future, represented on Vulcan's shield, is shouldered by Aeneas as a burden: *attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum* (8.731). Likewise the Parade of Heroes serves as a protreptic to fire Aeneas with zeal (6.806, 889) before Anchises tells him *quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem* (892). Aeneas himself will serve as an *exemplum* to Ascanius: *disce puer uirtutem ex me uerumque laborem* (12.439, 435). Roman history is consequently presented as in part a series of perils and trials overcome: the fall of the monarchy (6.817ff.), the Gallic invasions (6.825, 858), the wars against Carthage,[65] Catiline's conspiracy (5.121, 201ff., 8.666ff.). Above all, a *Leitmotif* of the episodes on the shield is the perils which Rome will have to endure and survive, from the endless war with the Sabines to Antony and Cleopatra with their Uzbek hordes.[66]

For Virgil, as for Cicero, there is an eternal reward for those who shoulder the state's burdens;[67] that inducement is of course not inherited from Stoicism. But that Virgil conceived of these historical burdens as forming part of a Stoic *askesis* or *exercitatio* providentially imposed upon the Aeneadae seems likely.

Satis scire origini Romanae et deos adfuisse et non defuturam uirtutem (Liv. 1.9.4) Livy's Romulus told his people. The balance of factors is traditional

[60] Liv. 2.1f.; Cic. *Rab. Perd.* 33, *Cat.* 3.26, *Sest.* 50, *Phil.* 2.51; J. Vogt, *Ciceros Glaub an Rom* (Stuttgart 1935) 92; Häussler (n. 12) 172; M. Ruch, *Aufstieg u. Niedergang* 1.2 (Berlin 1972) 837 (for Livy).

[61] Cf. Horsfall, *Latomus* 30 (1971) 1111ff. [ch. 1, 4]; A. Wlosok (n. 12) 68f.

[62] Sen. *Dial.* 1.2.6; L. P. Wilkinson, *CQ* 13 (1963) 77f.

[63] Sen. *Dial.* 1.4.7; C. M. Bowra, *G&R* 3 (1933) 15.

[64] Binder (n. 34) 60ff.; P. McGushin, *AJP* 85 (1964) 225ff.; R. Lamacchia, *RM* 107 (1964) 272ff.; G. K. Galinsky, *The Herakles Theme* (Oxford 1972) 146f.; M. W. Edwards, *Phoenix* 14 (1960) 161ff.; Wlosock (n. 12) 67, n. 55.

[65] 4.622ff., etc.; Horsfall, *PVS* 13 (1973 4) 1ff. [ch. 2, 11 26].

[66] W. Warde Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (Oxford 1918) 103ff.

[67] 6.789f.; cf. 660ff., 9.641f., 12.794f.; Cic. *Somn.* 13, etc.; McGushin (n. 64) 241ff.; Lamacchia (n. 64) 261ff.

and widespread—in Livy himself,[68] in Cicero,[69] Horace,[70] and Plutarch,[71] for example. [80/81]

So in the *Aeneid*, Rome's rise is dependent on the favour of fate and the gods, but that favour is earned, by Aeneas' piety and by his characteristically Stoic obedience to destiny.[72] Moreover, it is the Romans' virtues that fit them uniquely to fulfil their historical role. So Horace of Augustus (*Carm.* 4.15.12ff.):

> ueteres reuocauit artis,
> per quas Latinum nomen et Italae
> creuere uires, famaque et imperi
> porrecta maiestas ad ortus
> solis ab Hesperio cubili.

Virgil's doctrine is already clear in the *Georgics*: he concludes his *laudes uitae rusticae*, with their emphasis on work, on duty to family and country—*hinc anni labor, hinc patriam paruosque nepotes sustinet* (2.514f.)—on *continentia*, *parsimonia*, *fides*, and *pudicitia*[73] with the words:

> Hanc olim ueteres uitam coluere Sabini,
> Hanc Remus et frater; sic fortis Etruria creuit
> Scilicet et rerum facta est pulcherrima Roma
> septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces. (G. 2.532ff.)

The familiar doctrine of historical continuity is already there, and the climax, anticipating as it does *Aeneid* 6 (783), is symbolic of the first step towards expansion and greatness. When the theme is fully developed in *Aeneid* 6, Rome will be further described as *felix prole uirum* just as the *Berecyntia mater* is *laeta deum partu* (784, 786).[74] The climax of *Georgic* 2 recalls in turn the closing line of the *laudes Italiae*:

> Haec genus acre uirum, Marsos pubemque Sabellam ...
> extulit, haec Decios Marios magnosque Camillos,
> Scipiadas duros bello, et te, maxime Caesar
>
> (G. 2.167ff.)

[68] Liv. 5.54; with M. Ruch (n. 60) 838; Kajanto (n. 12) 34ff.; *Praefatio* 7ff.; with Kajanto 23.

[69] *Nat. D.* 2.8, with Pease's note; *Har. resp.* 14; *Sest.* 143; *Phil.* 4.13. H. Roloff, *Maiores bei Cicero* (diss. Leipzig 1937) 22ff.; Koch (n. 29) 152ff.; Vogt (n. 60) 79ff., 91ff.; id. *Vom Reichsgedanken der Römer* (Leipzig 1942) 139ff.

[70] Virtues: 4.15.12ff., 3.6.33ff.; gods: 3.6.5, 1.12.57, etc.

[71] *De fortuna Romanorum*, *passim*; K. Thraede, *RAC* 8, 148f.; cf. the contrasting roles of *tyche* and *uirtus* in Polybius: Walbank (n. 50) 63f. and *commentary* 1.21f.; Thraede, *RAC* 8, 148f.

[72] 1.151, 6.769, 12.839, 4.340f., 5.9, and above all 4.227ff.; G. Carlsson, *Eranos* 43 (1945) 111ff.

[73] Buchheit (n. 32) 56ff.

[74] R. D. Williams, in *Cicero and Virgil, Studies in Honour of Harold Hunt* (Amsterdam 1972) 211; H. T. Plüss, *Vergil u. die epische Kunst* (Leipzig 1884) 205.

—Octavian now victorious over the hordes of Antony's oriental allies. The tradition of Italian military virtue has not died out—indeed its latest achievement has elevated Caesar Maximus to at least parity with Alexander Magnus.[75] The
[81/82] Decii, Camillus, and the Scipiadae—of one of whom Laelius wrote *necesse enim fuisse ibi esse terrarum imperium ubi ille esset* (*ORF*² fr. 23)—will recur in *Aeneid* 6 (824, 825, 843)—as of course will Octavian-Augustus, presented again as the summation of Roman history and virtues,[76] between Romulus the conqueror and Numa the lawgiver.[77] The virtues are predictably those of *Georgic* 2: Silvius Aeneas is *pariter pietate uel armis egregius* (*Aen.* 6.769), Roman heroes are variously characterized in *Heldenschau* and shield—by love of *libertas* (6.821, 8.648) and *patria* (6.823), by *patientia* and *fides* (6.846, 878), by adherence to the rule of law (6.810, cf. 852) and the simple life (6.811, 843, 844)—just the virtues of the *Georgics*' idealized Italy.[78] Virgil does not even view, as do (say) Cicero and Livy at times,[79] the growth of Rome as merely a natural process: it is always the product of effort, whether superhuman or Roman.

Sources—national

It is above all Virgil's attitudes to imperial expansion that deserve closer study: they are in detail more deeply Roman and traditional than has generally been recognized.

The long-established justification of the *imperium*[80] as a *patrocinium orbis terrae* is reflected in the *Aeneid* by means of Virgil's insistence on Rome's function of imposing peace and law and of ruling through them,[81] while the repeated expressions of divine approval for Rome's mission of conquest that we find in the *Aeneid*[82] may in part reflect the religious sanctions which the Romans maintained against precipitous, greedy, and irresponsible declarations of war.[83] I refer to the particularly Augustan ceremony of opening and closing the gates of the temple of Janus *religione sacrae at saeui formidine Martis* (7.608) and to the fetial ritual which is likewise anticipated in the *Aeneid* both by Romulus in his settlement with Titus Tatius[84] and by Aeneas himself in his truce with Latinus,[85]

[75] Cf. Buchheit (n. 32) 77ff., 122.

[76] Binder (n. 34) 278ff.; the virtues *uirtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, *pietas* on the shield of Augustus are all of course displayed by Aeneas.

[77] M. Grant, *Roman Myths* (London 1971) 156f. [78] Buchheit (n. 32) 77ff., *et passim*.

[79] M. Ruch (n. 60) 872ff.; id. *Studii Clasice* 10 (1968) 123ff.; H. Dörrie, *RAC* 5. 494ff.; cf. Buchheit (n. 32) 114f.

[80] Cic. *Off.* 2.26, *Rep.* 3.36; H. Volkmann, *Hermes* 82.4 (1954) 474ff.; H. Strasburger, *JRS* 55 (1965) 45; F. Klingner (n. 35) 614ff.; Häussler (n. 12) 172; Knoche (n. 50); Vogt (n. 60) 89ff.; Buchheit (n. 32) 177f.

[81] Klingner (n. 35) 600ff., 614ff. [82] 1.245ff., 279ff., 4.229ff., 6.777ff., 792ff., 8.699ff.

[83] Knoche (n. 50) 450ff.; Vogt (n. 69) 129ff. [84] 8.639ff.; Binder (n. 34) 172ff.

[85] 12.166ff., 200ff., 212ff.; Binder (n. 34) 174f.

when the paradigmatic importance of the occasion is underlined by the descriptions of Aeneas as *Romanae stirpis origo* (12.166) and of Ascanius, here as rarely elsewhere his companion as *magnae spes altera Romae* (168). [82/83]

In republican Rome, the expansion of the *imperium* enjoyed a prestige that remained quite independent of the vicissitudes of foreign policy. It was expressed, first, in religious terms—as in the censorial prayer, *quo di immortales ut populi Romani res meliores amplioresque facerent rogabantur*[86] or in the haruspices' interpretation of the destruction of a *columna rostrata* on the Capitol in 172 as portending *prolationemque finium et interitum perduellium*,[87] or, as will be seen shortly, in Sibylline oracles and secular prayers.[88]

Secondly, those who expanded the *imperium* were commemorated publicly in ritual and statuary, and Virgil's picture of Roman history, especially in the *Heldenschau*, clearly reflects the influence of these practices and traditions.

illa laus in summorum imperatorum incisa monumentis was *finis imperii propagauerunt*;[89] similarly the Forum of Augustus was filled with statues of those *qui imperium populi Romani ex minimo maximum reddisissent* with the protreptic intention *ut ad illorem uitam uelut ad exemplar et ipse, dum uiueret*—that is, Augustus—*et insequentium aetatium principes exigerentur a ciuibus; triumphatores* were portrayed in their ceremonial dress, perpetuating the glory of their individual heroic achievements.[90] Cicero promised a place in the sky for *omnibus qui patriam conseruauerint, adiuuerint*—and, climactically, *auxerint*, again, with protreptic force—*quo sis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam rem publicam* (*Rep.* 6.13). His praise for the *maiores* who created and enlarged the *imperium* is all-pervasive.[91]

A dominant theme of the *Heldenschau* is likewise the growth of *imperium*[92]—from Alba (*Aen.* 6.771ff.) to Augustus (794ff.); under the *auspicia* of Romulus *illa incluta Roma imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo* (781f.), and martial prowess is the characteristic which most of Virgil's republican heroes hold in common.[93] Chronology precludes the establishment of any secure connexion between Forum and poem, but though there are few enough actual heroes in common, the ideological links are clear enough.[94]

The Alban kings *umbrata gerunt ciuili tempora quercu* (772); on Romulus, *uiden, ut geminae stant uertice cristae* (779); on Numa *nosco crinis incanaque menta* (809); Camillus is portrayed *referentem signa* (825), and Marcellus the elder [83/84]

[86] Val. Max. 4.1.10; Astin (n. 57) 325ff. [87] Liv. 42.20.4. [88] *Infra*, 73 75.
[89] Cic. *Rep.* 3.24. [90] Suet. *Aug.* 31.5; Häussler, 156f.
[91] Roloff (n. 69) 114ff.; Cic. *Phil.* 4.13, *Sest.* 143, *Nat. D.* 1.196, etc.
[92] Plüss (n. 74) 254; F. Loretto, *Festgabe H. Gerstinger* (Graz 1967) 48; H. Belling, *Stüdien über die Compositionskunst Vergils* (Leipzig 1899) 20; M. von Albrecht, *Wien. Stud.* Neue Folge 1 (1967) 170ff.
[93] 6.824f., 836ff., 842ff., 845f., 851ff., 855ff., etc.
[94] A. Degrassi, *Epigraphica* 7 (1945) 88ff.; T. Frank, *AJPhil.* 59 (1938) 91ff.; H. T. Rowell, *AJPhil.* 62 (1941) 261ff., 272f.

insignis spoliis . . . opimis (855); all these figures are strongly suggestive of representations in commemorative statuary.[95] Statues and inscriptions abounded in the streets and open spaces of Rome; we can show that virtually all the figures in the parade were represented somewhere.[96] References to ancestral achievements and offices on coinage,[97] *imagines maiorum* in the *atria* of noble *gentes*, in addition to the orations and processions at great funerals, served further to perpetuate a Roman's achievement within the context of his family's *gloria*. The comparison of Virgil's *Heldenschau*, full as it is of emphasis on the strength and importance of the great *gentes* of Rome,[98] is familiar and suggestive.[99] The underlying ideological kinship is particularly striking: *cum maiorem imagines intuerentur uehementissume sibi animum ad uirtutem accendi*.[100]

In a rapidly expanding *respublica* simply to imitate the *mos maiorum* was not necessarily enough; the successful might boast of having improved upon the *facta* and *uirtute* of their ancestors.[101] For Virgil, genealogical protreptic[102]—the reading matter, we recall, of the *puer* in *Bucolic* 4 (26f.)—is the formal purpose of the *Heldenschau*: not only does Anchises mean to inspire Aeneas by the display of their descendants' achievements—and incidentally, too, to ensure *quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta* (6.718), but he appeals to Julius Caesar on the basis of kingship: *tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo, proice tela manu, sanguis meus* (834f.). Above all, the parade is a proptreptic addressed to Rome: Anchises as the *Urvater* exhorts: *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento* (851); his listeners are his descendants, and he supports his plea by citing *exempla*[103] from
[84/85] the ranks of *Romani sui*.[104] A descendant of Aeneas will establish a new Golden Age in Latium and *super et Garamantas et Indos proferet imperium* (792ff.); those are the greatest actions which any Roman could be inspired to perform by adherence to the maxim *pacique imponere morem, parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*. Augustus will push the achievements of the Julian *gens* and their cousins

[95] L. Delaruelle, *Rev. Arch.* T.21 (Jan. June 1913) 153ff.

[96] O. Vessberg, *Stud. z. Kunstgeschichten* (Lund 1941) 10ff.; supplemented by Degrassi (n. 95) 98f.

[97] A. Alföldi, *Essays Presented to H. Mattingly* (London 1956) 72ff., 85ff.; note too the existence of books of *imagines* in the late Republic by Varro and Atticus A. D. Momigliano, *Development of Greek Biography* (Harvard 1971) 96ff.

[98] 6.824, 842f., 845, 855ff.; Belling (n. 92) 21f.; Loretto, 46; von Albrecht, 174ff.

[99] Loretto (n. 92) 42; Buchheit (n. 12) 38f.; Rowell (n. 94) 264ff.; G. Highet, *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton 1972) 242; E. Skard, *Symb. Osl.* 40 (1965) 53ff.

[100] Sall. *Iug.* 4.5; cf. Polyb. 6.53f., esp. 53.10.

[101] *ILS* 4 *facile facteis superasses gloriam maiorum*; *ILS* 6 *uirtutes generis meis moribus accumulaui*; Rhet. Her. 3.13,*si bono genere, parem aut excelsiorem* (sc. *maioribus*) *fuisse*; cf. Cic. *Off.* 2.65, *Planc.* 89, *Leg. Man.* 27; Roloff (n. 69) 22ff.

[102] Von Albrecht (n. 92) 176; Roloff (n. 69) 44ff.; cf. on Brutus, Cassius, and Cato: W. Kroll, *Kultur der Ciceronischen Zeit* 1 (Darmstadt 1963) 33f.; R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (Harvard 1967) 8ff.

[103] Cf. 756f., 789f.; H. W. Litchfield, *Harv. Stud.* 25 (1914) 1ff.

[104] Williams (n. 74) 212; von Albrecht (n. 92) 170; Belling (n. 92) 20.

the Roman race[105] to their logical extreme; to borrow the language of the Scipionic epitaphs *facile factis superabit gloriam maiorum.*[106]

The development of Virgil's attitude

As so often in Virgilian studies, the decisive factors are to be sought in the poet's own development; the doctrines of the *Aeneid* will be found strikingly anticipated in the *Bucolics* and *Georgics*, and what may, therefore, be Virgil's most influential sources are to be pursued in the circumstances of composition of the earlier poems.[107]

After the destruction of the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in 83, *quaesita Samo, Ilio, Erythris, per Africam etiam ac Siciliam et Italicas colonias carmina Sibyllae*;[108] a thousand verses were brought from Erythrae alone.[109] Not all the oracles collected were found acceptable,[110] yet we are not told that the rejects were destroyed. Access to Sibyllina was anyway only in part restricted: the custodial role of the *quindecimuiri* was limited to authentic 'Cumaean' material.[111] Granted in addition the existence of prophecies deriving from the *disciplina Etrusca*,[112] it is no wonder that *multa uana sub nomine celebri uagabantur*,[113] or that Augustus some time before 19 BC[114] *quidquid fatidicorum librorum Graeci Latinique generis nullis uel parum idoneis auctoribus uulgo ferebantur supra duo milia contracta undique cremauit*.[115] Yet it is clear that for most of his period of composition Virgil could and did have access to much varied oracular material.[116] Oracles contained much that was suggestive and relevant—topics preserved fragmentarily or reflected hazily in the extant *Sibyllina*; the theme of empire and world-mastery was particularly popular.[117] At Caesar's birth, it was declared *per totum orbem* [85/86] *nasci inuictum imperatorem*, at Augustus' *dominum terrarum orbi natum*.[118] *Regnum huius urbis atque imperium* was promised to the conspirator Cornelius Lentulus.[119] The *quindecimuir* Cotta supposedly intended to inform the Senate on the Ides of March that according to the Sibylline books *Parthos nisi a rege non*

[105] Grant (n. 77) 94ff.; S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford 1971) 130, 183, etc.
[106] Cf. Buchheit (n. 32) 38f., for a similar conclusion; the tradition of '*exempla maiorum*' fore shadows Virgilian typology.
[107] Cf. Klingner (n. 35) 274ff.; Buchheit (n. 32) 82ff., 183ff.
[108] Tac. *Ann.* 6.12.3; cf. G. Radke, *Gymnasium* 66 (1959) 225f.
[109] Fenestella *ap.* Lact. *Inst.* 1.6.14. [110] Tac. *Ann.* 6.12.3; Marquardt, *Staatsverw.* 3.382.
[111] Lact. *Inst.* 1.6.13; Marquardt (n. 110); G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus*², 538.
[112] Wissowa (n. 111) 536, n. 6; Marquardt (n. 110) 354f. [113] Tac. (n. 110) *Ann.* 6.12.3.
[114] Despite Suet. *Aug.* 31.1 (Augustus as *pont.max.*); cf. Tib. 2.5.17f.; Dio Cass. 54.17.
[115] Suet. *Aug.* 31.1; Wissowa (n. 111) 537f.; cf. Liv. 25.1.12, 39.16.8; Wissowa 538, n. 1 for earlier awareness of bogus oracles.
[116] I. Trencsényi Waldapfel, *Studii Clasice* 3 (1961) 281ff.
[117] Wissowa (n. 111) 537, n. 4; Weinstock (n. 105) 340f.
[118] Suet. *Vita Caesaris ap.* Serv. *ad Aen.* 6.798; Suet. *Aug.* 94.5; Weinstock (n. 105) 21.
[119] Cic. *Cat.* 3.9f.; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 47.2; A. Alföldi, *Hermes* 65.4 (1930) 383.

posse uinci.[120] Defeating the Parthians was for any Roman general the first step towards parity with Alexander's imperial achievement.[121] Closer analogues with the *Aeneid* exist and have long been recognized.

Norden most plausibly argued[122] for a common Sibylline source to account for the similarities between Deiphobe's prophecy of Aeneas' arrival in Latium (*Aen.* 6.83ff.), the Sibylline passage in Tibullus 2.5 (39ff.), and the account of how ἐμός τις σύγγονος (1232) would come to Italy in Lycophron (1236ff.) and

> τὴν πλεῖστον ὑμνηθεῖσαν ἐν χάρμαις πάτραν
> ἐν ὀψιτέκνοις ὀλβίαν δωμήσεται (1271 2)

It should be stressed that Virgil clearly knew Lycophron very well.[123] Notably, behind Venus' reminder to Jupiter:

> hinc fore ductores reuocato a sanguine Teucri,
> qui mare, qui terras omnis dicione tenerent,
> pollicitus (Aen. 1.235ff.)

there must surely lie the famous:

> γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης σκῆπτρα καὶ μοναρχίαν
> λαβόντες. (Lycophron 1229f.)

The closest oracular parallels are to be drawn with the *Cumaeum carmen* of *Bucolic* 4 and with *Aeneid* 6.788ff.:[124] the founding of a Golden Age (3.788ff., 7.144ff.), the extension, by a heaven-sent ruler (3.652f.) of Roman rule to distant lands (11.159; cf. *Buc.* 4.34ff.), the fear the inhabitants of those lands feel towards the Romans (5.16ff.), and the descent of the *gens Iulia* from the royal house of Troy (11.144ff.) are all attested in the extant *oracula Sibyllina* and it is therefore at least credible that these themes were accessible in some oracular form to Virgil. The assertion of the fated character of Rome's rise is a fundamental common factor between Lycophron, the *oracula*, and the *Aeneid*.

[86/87] Sibylline oracles served also to legitimate the celebration of *ludi saeculares*: thus in *Aeneid* 6 both *instituam festosque dies de nomine Phoebi* (70) and *aurea condet saecula* (792f.) may be taken as hinting at Augustus' intention of celebrating *ludi*

[120] Suet. *Caes.* 79.3; Weinstock (n. 105) 340f.; *contra*. e.g., J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Hist.* 7 (1958) 85.
[121] Cf., e.g., Buchheit (n. 32) 124f.
[122] *Aen.* 6[4], 148; cf. R. Merkelbach, *MH* 18 (1961) 85.
[123] Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973) 76; S. Josifovič, *Jhb. philos. Fak. in Novi Sad* 5 (1960) 297ff.; Trencsényi Waldapfel (n. 116) 286ff.
[124] Cf. Norden, *Aen.* 6[4], 322f.; id., *Kl. Schr.* (n. 32) 431ff.; id., *Die Geburt des Kindes* (Leipzig 1924) 154ff.; Weinstock (n. 105) 195; B. Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit.* (Hildesheim 1967) 91.

saeculares in 23 BC, the year *Aeneid* 6 was completed.[125] Roman 'secular' doctrine exerted an important influence on Virgil.[126] The prayer in the *acta* of 17 BC (CIL 6.93) *imperium maiestatemque populi Romani Quiritium . . . auxis*, with which we may compare Horace's words (*Carm. saec.* 66ff.) *remque Romanam Latiumque felix alterum in lustrum meliusque semper prorogat aeuum* is probably a traditional republican formulation.[127] It is well known that the *Aeneid* exerted a strong influence on the phrasing and ideas of the *Carmen Saeculare*: the ideologies are indistinguishable. I refer especially to the links between the encomium in *Aen.* 6.792ff., already examined for its Sibylline analogies, and *Carmen Saeculare* 53ff.:

> iam mari terraeue manus potentis
> Medus Albanasque timet securis,
> iam Scythae responsa petunt, superbi
> nuper et Indi.
> iam Fides et Pax et Honos Pudorque
> priscus et neglecta redire Virtus
> audet apparetque beata pleno
> Copia cornu.[128]

Those lines are, I believe, the nearest an Augustan writer ever gets to saying that the Golden Age[129] is not merely imminent but present and realized upon earth—just as it could hardly be more distant than in *Epode* 16.

The *aurea saecula* of *Aeneid* 6.792ff. are the product of Jupiter's promise (1.291): *aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis* and the *aspera saecula* recall in turn the prayer (*G.* 1.500) that the young Octavian may be allowed *euerso . . . succurrere saeclo*.[130] It is clearly implied in the *Georgics* that elements of the *aurea saecula* still exist upon earth, in the life of the Italian farmer (notably 2.173ff., 513ff.), not as a theoretical ideal but as part of an unbroken [87/88] tradition of Italian virtue, and that it will be Octavian's function to secure a universal restoration of these values in a new Golden Age.[131]

[125] Binder (n. 34) 91f.; Norden on *Aen.* 6.70; H. Mattingly, *CR* 48 (1934) 161; Merkelbach (n. 122) 91ff.; Weinstock (n. 105) 196, Binder 281, n. 609 for further bibliography.

[126] For parallels of ritual between the *ludi saeculares* and *Aen.* 6 see above all Merkelbach (n. 122) 94ff.

[127] E. Diehl, *Rh. Mus.* 83 (1934) 268f.

[128] Merkelbach compares with the Sibylline oracle preserved by Zosimus (2.6, lines 36ff.): *ταῦτά τοι ἐν φρεσὶν ἧσιν ἀεὶ μεμνημένος εἶναι καί σοι πᾶσα χθὼν Ἰταλὴ καὶ πᾶσα Λατίνων αἰὲν ὑπὸ σκήπτροισιν ἐπαυχένιον ζυγὸν ἕξει*; 6.851ff. (*tu regere . . .*), 1.263ff., 4.229ff. (e.g.) would seem to me more appropriate.

[129] For other Augustan evidence for belief in the current age as golden, cf. Binder (n. 34) 282; Nock (n. 49) 79, 263.

[130] Cf. *G.* 1.468 *impia . . . saecula*; Buchheit (n. 32) 38.

[131] 2.170ff., 3.13ff., 4.561f.; Buchheit (n. 32) 38f., 77ff., 183f. *et passim*.

It was widely held in the 40s that a *saeculum* was coming to an end and *ludi* were indeed due in 49 or 46.[132] *Bucolic* 4 begins therefore with familiar doctrine: the Sibylline *ultima aetas*[133] will consist of a *magnus saeclorum ordo* (4f.):[134] the opening of a new era, the gradual but total achievement of a break with *ferrea aetas* and *prisca fraus* marks a clear anticipation of the way in which the realization of the Augustan Golden Age is presented in *Aeneid* 1 and 6.[135]

Interpreters of *Bucolic* 4 read numerous references to Octavian-Augustus into the poem at a very early stage[136]—for example Servius on line 6: *et permiscet laudes tam pueri quam Pollionis quam Augusti; nam felicitas temporum ad imperatoris pertinet laudem*. This was a natural reaction of readers who had seen the *Bucolic*'s hopes fulfilled: Virgil himself, by his re-use of motifs from *Bucolic* 4 in the *Aeneid* shows that he is sharply aware that his own youthful expressions of optimism have taken on a wider significance through their realization on earth by Augustus. The fulfilment of the *Cumaeum carmen* provides his vision of history with a *telos* rich in religious and personal associations.

The person of Octavian-Augustus is presented in the *Aeneid* as that of an awaited saviour, specially favoured by the gods,[137] as Romulus had been,[138] and by fate[139]—*tibi quem promitti saepius audis* (6.791). He will be personally responsible for victory over disorder (8.678ff.) and the establishment of a new age (6.792f.). History is crowned with miracle.[140] From an early stage in his career, Octavian is
[88/89] presented as a *soter* in the Hellenistic tradition,[141] with which Sulla,[142] Cicero,[143] and Pompey[144] had all been associated. Virgil's doctrine of the saviour-figure advances rapidly from the bucolic to the political in the course of the *Bucolics*.[145] In the *Georgics* it is Octavian's role to secure peace (2.170ff., 4.561f.) and as a descendant of the royal house of Troy (3.34ff.) to triumph as a second Romulus

[132] Weinstock (n. 105) 191ff.; W. Krogmann, *C&M* 12 (1951) 67; Alföldi (n. 97) 88f. and *Gnomon* 47 (1975) 165f. (for further bibliography).

[133] Cf. Gatz (n. 124) 82 on *Or.Sib.* 1.283ff. the sixth generation and a golden age, but in 1.307ff. there is a second decline.

[134] Cf. G. W. Williams, in *Quality and Pleasure in Latin Poetry*, ed. D. West and A. J. Woodman (Cambridge 1974) 33.

[135] E. Römisch, *Vergils vierte Ekloge im Unterricht* (Heidleberg 1970) *passim*. Norden (n. 33) 431f.; Buchheit (n. 32) 81; Binder (n. 34) 282; G. Jachmann, *ASNP* 21 (1952) 57f.

[136] Norden (n. 32) 432; J. Carcopino, *Virgile et le mystère de la IV^e Eclogue* (Paris 1930) 200f.

[137] 8.698ff., cf. *G.* 1.500. [138] 6.780. [139] 8.731; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.49f.

[140] Cf. Knoche (n. 50) 422f.

[141] Weinstock (n. 105) 164; for Octavian: cf. Cic. *Phil.* 5.43; Plin. *HN* 2.94; Suet. *Aug.* 94; Weinstock 370f. *et passim*; Römisch (n. 135) 39ff.; W. Deonna, *Rev. Hist. Rel.* 83 (1921) 32ff., 163ff.; ibid., 84 (1921) 77ff.

[142] Plut. *Sull.* 6.6. [143] *Cat.* 3.18ff.; Buchheit (n. 32) 44, n. 195, 87f.; Weinstock (n. 105) 165.

[144] Cic. *Leg. Man.* 41f.; Römisch (n. 136) 39.

[145] 7.55f., 59f. (Daphnis); 5.64, *deus, deus ille Menalca* (cf. 29ff.); 9.47ff.: the star of the deified Julius Caesar *quo segetes gauderent frugibus*; 1.6f. *deus nobis haec otia fecit: namque erit ille mihi semper deus*, Buchheit (n. 32) 108f., Jachmann (n. 135).

over the seething disorder of war,[146] to be commemorated by Virgil in a setting of pastoral calm by the Mincius.[147]

The techniques of typological reference enable Virgil to present Augustus—as do many artists and architects of the period[148]—as embodying all that is best in Italy's history, recalling in his person, as I have rather unsystematically suggested,[149] Saturn, Latinus, Hercules, Aeneas, Romulus—which is what Cicero claimed to do[150]—and Numa,[151] and by his establishment of a new and durable Golden Age surpassing their achievements, in a form of *imitatio maiorum* uniquely appropriate to the ruler who is presented as the climax of Roman history.

Augustus' typological recapitulation of the past lends weight to the impact of Virgil's teleology: he is not merely the *telos* of Roman history, but embodies its greatest heroes and virtues. At the same time typology modifies the stark outline of a purely teleological presentation of Roman history; the stages in Rome's undeviating advance are linked by association between the leading figures in that advance.

For all its coherence and its importance in the history of ideas, Virgil's conception of history has mixed, scattered, and often humble origins, in religious attitudes, in the traditions of patriotic oratory, in public representations of Roman family pride. As an interpreter of Roman history he was for his time uniquely intelligent and sophisticated, yet his vision has little if anything in common with orthodox historiography.

[146] 3.26ff.; cf. 2.533f.; *Aen.* 1.292f.; Buchheit (n. 32) 82f.
[147] Buchheit (n. 32) 104ff., 177ff., *et passim*.
[148] Buchheit (n. 12) 34 n. 55 for bibliography.
[149] Buchheit, 30ff. for a more regular survey, with some further bibliography.
[150] Cic. *Cat*. 3.18ff.; Buchheit, *Gymnasium* 76 (1969) 234ff.
[151] Buchheit's brief discussion of the antecedents of Virgilian historical typology is most suggestive; he rightly emphasizes the role of Cicero, who, apart from his pose as a second Romulus, claimed parity of achievement with Scipio Africanus Maior, Aemilius Paullus, Marius, and Pompey (Cic. *Cat*. 4.24).

7

Some problems in the Aeneas-legend

Introduction: Aeneas in Homer[1]

If the Iliadic Aeneas has a fault, it is that he fails to die: 20.302 *μόριμον δέ οἱ ἐστ' ἀλέασθαι*. In Homer, he is not memorable, but closer inspection reveals a warrior of authentic distinction. As Helenus says to Aeneas and Hector: 'seeing that on you lieth the task of war in chief of Trojans and Lycians' *οὕνεκ' ἄριστοι πᾶσαν ἐπ' ἰθύν ἐστε μάχεσθαί τε φρονέειν τε* (6.77ff.; tr. Lang, Leaf, and Myers). Such testimonials are repeated by friends and enemies alike; Aeneas strikes fear into Idomeneus in *Iliad* 13, helps rescue Hector from Telamonian Ajax in Book 14, and, alongside Hector, routs the Greeks in Books 15 and 17. But the record does have its less impressive moments: Achilles, on his 'great foray', drives the solitary Aeneas in panic from his watch over the Trojan flocks on Ida to Lyrnessus, which he sacks, forcing Aeneas to flee back to Troy.[2] In *Iliad* 5, Aeneas strikes not a blow at Diomedes before he is felled by a stone and saved by Apollo in a cloud. Though Aeneas and Achilles are described jointly as *ἔξοχ' ἄριστοι* at 20.158 and though Aeneas stands up bravely to fight, Poseidon must come to his rescue.[3] But this is Homer's problem: among his leading heroes—on either side—only a limited number serve traditionally as spear-fodder. The survivors have to be rescued supernaturally or by force of numbers from combats which could all too easily prove fatal. Aeneas and Diomedes are both survivors; neither can be allowed to win the combat in Book 5 conclusively. It is certainly not a mark of cowardice that Aeneas has to be rescued from Diomedes.

In the *Iliad*, Aeneas' virtues extend far beyond the military: he is called *βουληφόρε* more than any other hero[4] and he *θεὸς ὣς τίετο δήμῳ* (11.58). Twice he is saved by divine intervention: Poseidon tells him that Achilles is *φίλτερος* to the gods than himself, but even Achilles admits that Aeneas must be *φίλος* to them to have got away as he did (20.334, 347). To the gods, Poseidon observes

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[1] On Homer's Aeneas, see (e.g.) E. Wörner, in Roscher, *Lex.* 1. 157ff.; G. Karl Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton 1969) 11ff.

[2] 20.187ff.; cf. W. Leaf, *Troy* (London 1912) 245f.

[3] Cf. Sir John Hackett's light hearted but perceptive comments, *Presidential Address to the Classical Association* 68 (1971) 15.

[4] 5.180 etc.; Galinsky (n. 1) 36. But I am not here concerned with the survival and development of his reputation for sagacity.

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(20.297ff.) that Aeneas does not deserve to suffer ἄλγεα, for κεχαρισμένα δ' αἰεὶ δῶρα θεοῖσι δίδωσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν. Aeneas is not εὐσεβέστατος of the Homeric heroes—that distinction must, as it happens, go to Odysseus (*Od.* 1.66f.; Galinsky, 43)—but his *pietas erga deos* has foundation enough in the *Iliad*.[5] We cannot expect detailed characterization of an essentially secondary character. The Homeric Aeneas knows he is secondary and resents it: before his attack on Idomeneus, Deiphobus has to encourage him to go to the help of his brother Alcathous; previously he has been standing 'the last in the press, for Aineias was ever wroth against goodly Priam, for that Priam gave him no honour, despite his valour among men' οὕνεκ' ἄρ' ἐσθλὸν ἐόντα μετ' ἀνδράσιν οὔ τι τίεσκεν (13.461). Was there more to it, as Achilles suggested there might be? He asks Aeneas [372/373]
(20.178ff.): 'doth thy heart bid thee fight with me in hope of holding Priam's honour and lordship among the horse-taming Trojans?' But even if Aeneas kills him, Priam will not make him king, for he has sons of his own and is ἔμπεδος οὐδ' ἀεσίφρων. The suspicion of discontent, the allegation of treasonous ambitions, and the fact of survival are a potent combination, not least because, if there is one common factor in all explanations of Troy's fall, it is that she did not fall in a fair fight: 'nous sommes trahis'—by the δόλος or *furtum* of the horse, by the theft of the Palladium, by Sinon, Antenor, Antenor's wife Theano, by Helen—for a start.[6] Troy did not fall to the horse alone—at least after Demodocus' summary narrative; there have to be one or more accomplices. Clearly accusations of betrayal could be made to fit those who were fortunate enough—or cunning enough—to survive. This clearly remains true, even though Poseidon's rescue of Aeneas is a reward for his *pietas* and has, moreover, a purpose: Zeus has come to hate the race of Priam, so Hector and his father will die: νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείαο βίῃ Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει καὶ παίδων παῖδες, τοί κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται (20.307f.). That some admirer of Rome introduces the reading πάντεσσιν for Τρώεσσιν—a reading noted by Strabo (13, p. 608) and imitated by Virgil (*Aen.* 3.97f.)—may serve as an indication of how closely the Homeric Aeneas came to be studied.

The epic cycle

In the Epic Cycle, we have fewer references to Aeneas than might at first sight appear. There is no mention of him in Proclus' summary of the *Little Iliad* and it has been clear enough—or should have been so—since Cobet's publication of a

[5] A. Drummond, *JRS* 62 (1972) 219, against Galinsky (n. 1) 41f. *et passim*.

[6] Cf. R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*[3] (Leipzig 1928) 10, who compares, *inter alia*, the explanation for the Roman defeat at Cannae in Val. Max. 7.4. ext. 2, *decepti magis quam uicti sumus*. See too Liv. 21.54.1ff. and 22.48.2ff. with H. Bruckmann, *Die röm. Niederlagen im Geschichtswerk des T. Livius* (diss. Münster 1936) 61, 85, *et passim*.

scholium on Eur. *Andr.* 14[7] that the lines 'he (Neoptolemus) put Aeneas on board his sea-faring ships, a prize surpassing those of all the Danaans' are in fact probably by Simias of Rhodes, *c.*300 BC.[8]

The *Iliou Persis* is substantially more helpful: 'the serpents appeared and destroyed Laocoon and one of his two sons; being vexed[9] at the portent, Aeneas and his followers withdrew to Ida.'[10] In Arctinus, there is no hint, implicit or explicit, of treason or of cowardice, nor any suggestion that Aeneas sailed westwards. He provides though, the first clear attestation of the Trojans' continued occupation of the Troad. That occupation is not precluded by Homer's *Τρώεσσιν*
[373/374] *ἀνάξει*, but Strabo (13, p. 608) is clearly wrong to claim that Homer says that the house of Aeneas will reign not merely in the Troad, but *ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ*. The *Homeric Hymn* to Aphrodite,[11] whose date and precise relationship to *Il.* 20 are not important for this paper, varies Homer's phrasing slightly: Aphrodite tells Anchises that their son *ἐν Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει* (*Hom. Hymn* 5.196), but even that expression does not serve firmly to localize the prophecy. The Iliadic phrasing was both vague enough and specific enough to perform a political function. Strabo[12] relates that Scepsis was founded by a son of Hector and by Ascanius and that their families remained kings for a long time and retained certain regal privileges even under the democracy. He quotes the local historian, Demetrius of Scepsis, as asserting that Scepsis was the capital of Aeneas 'lying as it does midway between the district subject to Aeneas and Lyrnessus to which he is said to have escaped when pursued by Achilles'.[13] The legendary connexion of the Aeneadae with this region is well attested: Dardania on Ida is older than Troy herself in Homer (20.216); on Ida, Venus and Anchises made love (Hes. *Theog.* 1010); Aeneas was born and brought up there (*Hom. Hymn* 5.256ff.) and there was saved from Achilles. The survival of the Aeneadae in the Troad is widely attested in early texts: Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 31 = Dion. Hal. 1.47.5) has Aeneas sail away, while Ascanius, in company with the Hectoridae, resettles Troy. Agathocles of Cyzicus,[14]

[7] Appendix to Eur. *Phoen.*, ed. Geel (Leiden 1846) 281; Powell, *Coll. Alex.*, 112; M. Schmidt, *Troika* (diss. Göttingen 1917) 45ff.; Gow Page, *HE* 2, 511; E. Bethe, *Homer*, *Dichtung und Sage* (Leipzig Berlin 1914) 2.2, 177; J. Perret, *Les Origines de la Legende troyenne de Rome* (Paris 1942) 370; J. Griffin, *JHS* 97 (1977) 51, n. 62; G. L. Huxley, *Greek Epic Poetry* (London 1969) 199 (n. on 156) remains unconvinced.

[8] For further discussion of this fragment, cf. *supra* 85.

[9] Proclus' use of *δυσφορήσαντες* I find hard to explain; neither Huxley's 'in their dismay' (n. 7, 146) nor Evelyn White's 'alarmed' (*Hesiod etc.*, Loeb edn., p. 521) render the word accurately.

[10] Galinsky (n. 1) renders (p. 47) 'cowardly escapes', this is not in the Greek.

[11] Possibly seventh century: N. J. Richardson, *The Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (Oxford 1974) 11; A. Lesky, 'Homeros Die Hymnen', *RE* Suppl. 11:829f.

[12] 13.607f.; cf. Huxley (n. 5) 131; K. Reinhardt, *Die Ilias und ihr Dichter* (Göttingen 1961) 509 n. 2; A. Hoekstra, *The Sub Epic Stage of the Formulaic Tradition* (Amsterdam 1969) 40.

[13] Tr. W. Leaf, *Strabo on the Troad* (Cambridge 1923) 275.

[14] Thus nearly a native of the Troad, as Hellanicus' follower, Damastes of Sigeum actually was. Curiously Cephalon of Gergis (Hegesianax of Alexandreia in the Troad) has no time for local claims and has Aeneas found Pallene in Thrace (*FGrH* 45 F 7).

perhaps writing in the third century BC[15] and himself citing *complures auctores*, refers to Aeneas' grave at Berecyntia and to a descendant who sails west. This localization in the Troad was evidently irreconcilable with Aeneas as the founder of Lavinium or Rome; Dion. Hal. 1.53.4f. bears witness to the pedantic contortions aimed at resolving the dilemma: there were those who maintained that Aeneas led his followers to Italy and settled; then returned to Troy, ruled there, and was indeed succeeded by Ascanius.[16]

It is highly questionable whether we should attempt further to explore Arctinus' account (cf. Huxley (n. 7) 154, 157) on the basis of Dion. Hal. 1.69.3 (anticipated at 1.68.2): 'according to Arctinus, one Palladium was given to Dardanus by Zeus and this was in Ilium until the city was taken. It was hidden in a secret place and a copy was made ... This copy the Achaeans took.'[17] This story does not square easily with Proclus' summary: he records that in Arctinus 'Aias the son of Ileus (*sic*), while trying to drag Cassandra away by force, tears away with her the image of Athena' (Evelyn-White (n. 17) 521). There is no suggestion that the Palladium in question is anything but authentic. Nor is it clear from the disputed narrative in Dionysius why Troy fell, if her great talisman, the Palladium, remained within the walls. Dionysius' Arctinus tells a story suspiciously similar to the [374/375]
anonymous narrative given by Dionysius himself at 2.66.5 in his survey of the *penates*' origin: Aeneas, on account of his ἐμπειρία, common sense, took the *penates* with him and the Achaeans stole a mere copy. It is clear from Roland Austin's masterly survey of stories about the Palladium (*Ad Aen.* 2.163) that it only becomes necessary to devise pseudo-Palladia when the Romans claim the authentic Trojan Palladium as one of their own *pignora imperii*, in the face of a very widespread story that it had been spirited away by the Greeks to accelerate Troy's fall. I share, therefore, a widely held reluctance[18] to acknowledge Dion. Hal. 1.69.3 as authentic Arctinus. Had it been, then we might have expected the epically attested survival of the Palladium in the Troad to have been advanced in legitimation of the claims of the royal house of Scepsis in Strabo's detailed account.

Stesichorus, *Iliou Persis*

There would seem at first sight to be a natural chronological progression from the fragments of the Epic Cycle to Stesichorus (Page, *PMG* fr. 205), on the basis of an

[15] *FGrH* 47 2 F5; Festus s.v. *Romam* 269M; for the date, see T. J. Cornell, *PCPS* 1975, 19 n. 3.

[16] For the anti Roman political implication of Aeneas' continued sojourn in the Troad, I refer to Cornell (n. 16) 26f.

[17] Tr. Evelyn White, *Hesiod etc.*, Loeb edn., 523.

[18] R. G. Austin, *Aeneid 2* (Oxford 1964) *loc. cit.*; Bethe, (n. 7) 2. 2, 254f.; E. Wörner, Roscher *Lex.* 3. 1302; K. Gross, *Die Unterpfander der röm. Herrschaft* (Berlin 1935) 69f.

inscription (*IG* 14.1284, p. 330, 7) *ΙΛΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΣΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΣΤΗΣΙΧΟΡΟΝ* on the central panel of the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* (*c.*15 BC). Many have supposed that the flight of Aeneas with father, wife (?), son, *sacra*, Misenus the trumpeter, and Hermes as guide, by sea, *εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν* was narrated by Stesichorus.[19] But scepticism about the authenticity of this fragment is old-established[20] and widespread.[21] I discuss the problem at length elsewhere (*JHS* 1979) and do not propose to repeat my arguments in full; here, the briefest summary will suffice.

Stesichorus (fr. 201 = Schol. Eur. *Or.* 1287) related that at the sight of Helen, stones fell from the hands of the Achaeans; on the *Tabula*, we find Menelaus, as in Ibycus and Euripides, pursuing her with a sword. The conflict is irremediable.[22]

The emphasis given to Aeneas' departure from the main gate of Troy as the central scene of the central panel[23] must reflect the importance of the Aeneas-legend as dynastic propaganda at the time the *Tabula* was produced.

The scene within the walls of Troy, low on the left, in which Aeneas takes a large cylindrical box from the hands of a kneeling Trojan, who turns towards a warrior who is running up,[24] only makes sense as an illustration of the story of Panthus in *Aen.* 2.318ff. (cf. Austin *ad loc.*).

[375/376] In the bottom right-hand corner of the central panel, Aeneas is shown *ἀπαίρων εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν*. It is unlikely that Stesichorus would or could have used the word *Ἑσπερία*, which appears to have been an invention (first as an adjective) of the Hellenistic dactylic poets.[25] Aeneas is accompanied by Misenus, his trumpeter.[26] This is the Misenus of the Roman antiquarian tradition, as reflected by Virgil (*Aen.* 6.164f.) and by the *Pontificalia* of L. Julius Caesar (*OGR* 9.6; cf. Dion. Hal. 1.53.3); Timaeus knew him as a follower of Odysseus (p. 145.19 Geffcken).

In two important details of the scene in the gateway, the *Tabula* departs from the Greek traditions of representation.

Anchises is carrying, as he does in the scene of embarkation, a *cista*, evidently containing the *penates*. Such a *cista* is never connected with Aeneas in Greek art[27] and before the Roman coinage of the late Republic is illustrated only by an Etruscan scarab of *c.*490 BC.[28]

[19] Cf. Galinsky (n. 1) 106ff., for a recent account of the problems and implications for the Aeneas legend if the evidence of the *Tabula* be accepted as authentic.

[20] Attested at least as far back as F. G. Welcker, *Ann. Inst.* 1 (1829) 234, n. 10.

[21] M. Paulcke, *de Tabula Iliaca quaestiones Stesichoreae* (diss. Königsberg 1897) 89 n. 200.

[22] Cf. C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry*[2] (Oxford 1961) 105f.

[23] U. Mancuso, *Mem. Acc. Linc.* 14.8 (1909) 669.

[24] For reproductions, cf. (e.g.) A. Sadurska, *Les Tables iliaques* (Warsaw 1964) pl. 1; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* 3 (Rome 1974) pl. 161a; F. Bömer, *Rom und Troia* (Baden Baden 1951) pl. 2.

[25] Ap. Rhod. 3.311; Agathyllus *ap.* Dion. Hal. 1.49.2; Enn. *Ann.* 23; cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.530 3.163.

[26] Cf. J. Hubaux, *AC* 2 (1933) 161.

[27] Cf. B. B. Shefton, *Wiss. Ztschr. Rostock* 16 (1967) 534 n. 25.

[28] Cf. P. Zazoff, *Etr. Skarabäen* (Mainz 1968) 41.

Aeneas carries Anchises on his left shoulder: this is the schema familiar in Greek archaic art, known to the Etruscans and universal in Roman monumental art; classical Greek artists represented Anchises riding piggyback.[29]

In the gate scene, there is an indistinct form behind Ascanius, which does not reappear in the embarkation. If this is Creusa, then the artist may be suggesting that she disappears between the two scenes, as she does in the *Aeneid*, in conflict with the widely attested account which has Aeneas' wife follow him into exile (cf. Austin on *Aen.* 2.795).

Texts of Stesichorus' *Iliou Persis* had not disappeared by the Augustan age; Dionysius of Halicarnassus knew his Stesichorus well, as the rhetorical works bear witness, and freely cited poetic sources in his learned survey of the evidence for Aeneas' wanderings in *Ant. Rom.* 1. He does not mention Stesichorus.[30]

The fact that an inscription does give Stesichorus' name should not disconcert us. The learning of the *Tabulae* depends substantially upon mythological handbooks and that is precisely where we should expect to find confusion in the *Quellenangaben* and sources cited falsely without scruple or hesitation.[31] Since therefore there is much on the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina* that cannot be Stesichorus' and much indeed that is positively Roman, it is impossible to isolate elements in the story of Aeneas that can with certainty be referred back to Stesichorus' poem. I do not therefore believe that any profitable discussion of its role in the development of the Aeneas-legend is possible.

Hellanicus

If then I am right in supposing that neither in Arctinus nor in Stesichorus did Aeneas rescue any *sacra* from Troy, then our earliest literary attestation is presumably that in Hellanicus' *Troica*: Dionysius introduces *Ant. Rom.* 1.46ff. [376/377]
with the words (1.45.4) *βούλομαι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς Αἰνείου παρουσίας εἰς Ἰταλίαν, . . . μὴ παρέργως διελθεῖν*. There follow two chapters of narrative which emphasize Aeneas' heroic resistance at the fall of Troy and refer three times in two pages (1.46.1, 2.4; 47.6) to his concern for the *ἱερὰ πατρῷα* (or similar expressions) which he carries off to Pallene, the westernmost prong of Chalcidice, lying immediately to the south of Aineia.[32] The narrative concludes (48.1) *ὁ μὲν οὖν πιστότατος τῶν λόγων, ᾧ κέχρηται τῶν παλαιῶν συγγραφέων Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τοῖς Τρωικοῖς* (*FGrH* 4 F 31) *περὶ τῆς Αἰνείου φυγῆς τοιόσδε ἐστίν*. We do not therefore

[29] Cf. W. Fuchs, *ANRW* 1.4. 616ff.; Zazoff (n. 28) *loc. cit.*

[30] Cf. K. Seeliger, *Die Uberlieferung der gr. Heldensage bei Stesichoros* (progr. Meissen 1886) 33.

[31] Wilamowitz, *Kl. Schr.* 5.1.498; W. Speyer, *Die Lit. Falschung im Altertum* (München 1971) 75ff.

[32] Aineia: whence a coin of *c.*490 480, showing Anchises sitting on Aeneas' left shoulder: M. Price and N. Waggoner, *Archaic Greek Coinage, The Asyut Hoard* (London 1975) 43f., pl. B, 194.

have a verbal citation of Hellanicus, but there seems no reason to question that Dionysius has reproduced the substance of Hellanicus' narrative. On the strength of his introductory words, Jacoby (*FGrH* 1.444) infers that in the *Troica* Hellanicus had Aeneas continue to Italy. Yet Dionysius in practice refers to the *Troica* only to illustrate the *Αἰνείου φυγή*; when he passes to *τὰ δὲ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον* (1.49.1), the *Troica* are not mentioned again, perhaps because they contained nothing relevant to the foundation of Rome and were limited in scope to events in or near the Troad.[33]

Lionel Pearson argues implausibly[34] that all of Dionysius 1.47.6–1.72.2 derives primarily from Hellanicus: thus (189) he would have us believe that in Hellanicus Aeneas stopped at Zacynthus,[35] since he does so in Dionysius 1.50.3, where Zacynthus is described as the son of Dardanus and Bateia which 'as a name for the wife of Dardanus is peculiar to him (Hellanicus)'. This is not so: the fragment of Hellanicus which mentions Bateia has no reference to Zacynthus (24a), and Bateia is in fact named elsewhere (Dion. Hal. 1.62.1; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.12.1); she is not a distinctive mark of Hellanicus' genealogy, nor is Dionysius obedient to Nissen's Law in following with fidelity Hellanicus or any other dominant source for long stretches.[36]

'Few are now prepared to assert on oath that the *Tabula Iliaca* represents Stesichorus or that Dionysius' quotation . . . (1.72.2) is a genuine fragment of Hellanicus.'[37] Yet Momigliano comes near enough to taking such an oath and the unwisdom of such a source has already been shown sufficiently in the case of Stesichorus. The passage in question (*FGrH* 4 F 84) is introduced with the words *ὁ δὲ τὰς ἱερείας τὰς ἐν Ἄργει καὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα πραχθέντα συναγαγών*. Stephanus of Byzantium cites the *Priestesses* ten times, giving name, author's name, and book number. It is highly probable too that Dionysius quotes from it in *Ant. Rom.* 1.22, where he names the author (*FGrH* 4 F 79b). But he does not there name the work and is not therefore here referring back to a work already named (*pace* Perret (n. 7) 378, n. 3) and the periphrastic form of citation is apparently unique for him.[38]
[377/378] But no other work with the same title is known and it may be that Hellanicus' *Priestesses* was so well known that Dionysius on neither occasion felt obliged to give both author and title.[39] So the very fact that Dionysius paraphrases the

[33] Cf. Jacoby, 'Hellanikos' *RE* 8.1:115ff.; W. Schur, *Klio* 17 (1921) 149; compare Dion. Hal. 49.1 (*FGrH* 391 F 4 and 45 F 7) 50.1, and Conon, *FGrH* 26 F 1 (46.3f.).

[34] *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford 1939) 188ff. [35] Cf. E. J. Bickerman, *CW* 37 (1943 4) 94.

[36] Cf. (e.g.) F. Cauer, *Diem röm. Aeneassage, Jhb kl Phil Supplbd.* 15 (1886) 162ff.

[37] A. Momigliano, *JRS* 35 (1945) 100 *Terzo contributo*, 680.

[38] 1.8.3, *οἱ τὰς Ἀτθίδας πραγματευόμενοι* is intrinsically different because in the plural. See E. Pais, *Storia critica di Roma* 1 (Rome 1918) 233 n. 1 and H. Kullmer, *Die Historiai des Hellanikos, Jhb kl Phil Supplbd.* 27 (1902) 645.

[39] Cf. Jacoby, 'Hellanikos' *RE* 8.1:144; Kullmer (n. 38); G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei romani* 1 (Turin 1907) 198 n. 7.

author's name is hardly[40] to be treated as cogent argument against the fragment's authenticity.[41]

The author of the *Priestesses*, according to Dionysius *Αἰνείαν φησὶν ἐκ Μολοττῶν εἰς Ἰταλιὰν ἐλθόντα μετ' Ὀδυσσέως* (*reliqui*; *Ὀδυσσέα*, Urbinas 105) *οἰκίστην γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως, ὀνομάσαι δ' αὐτὴν ἀπὸ μιᾶς τῶν Ἰλιάδων Ῥώμης. ταύτην δὲ λέγει ταῖς ἄλλαις Τρωάσι παρακελευσαμένην κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῶν ἐμπρῆσαι τὰ σκάφη βαρυνομένην τῇ πλάνῃ*. Aeneas' presence in up-country Epirus is seldom attested: it could have been motivated either by a visit to the oracle at Dodona, which is not, however, suggested before Varro[42] or possibly by his captivity in Neoptolemus' hands. This captivity, sharply at variance with Aeneas' departure as a free man in the *Troica* (cf. Perret (n. 7), 370) is only mentioned explicitly twice:

(i) In the fragment probably of Simias (fr. 6 P) already discussed, Neoptolemus

> *Αἰνείαν ἐν νηυσίν ἐβήσατο ποντοπόροισιν*
> *ἐκ πάντων Δαναῶν ἀγέμεν γέρας ἔξοχον ἄλλων.*[43]

Simias does not locate the captivity and Neoptolemus has after all two realms, in Epirus[44] and in Phthia: it is not clear which Simias envisaged as Aeneas' destination, though Schol. Lyc. 1268 might suggest Phthia.[45] If Simias did in fact refer to an Epirote captivity, then one might even be tempted to see a contemporary motive behind this version, which would then portray the humiliation of the Romans' founder-hero in Epirus at the time of Pyrrhus' rise (cf. Perret (n. 7) 377f.).

(ii) Schol. Lycoph. 1232 refers to the story in (?)Simias as though it belonged to the *Little Iliad* (thus suggesting that the misattribution of the passage quoted above is of considerable antiquity) and adds that after Neoptolemus' death Aeneas settled in the Chalcidice. This move is no more than a crude attempt to reconcile (?)Simias' narrative with Lycophron's own and has no independent value.[46]

It is, *pace* Perret (nn. 7, 43), neither chronologically nor geographically inconceivable that Hellanicus should have mentioned Aeneas' presence as a prisoner *ἐν Μολόσσοις*. But difficulties abound.

In the *Priestesses*, Aeneas is apparently no longer free but captive; he cannot therefore have withdrawn gallantly as in the *Troica* but has in some way been

[40] *Pace* F. Cauer, *De fabulis Graecis* (diss. Berlin 1884) 12 n. 19.
[41] As even Perret (n. 7, 378 n. 3) admits!
[42] Ap. Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.256; Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 3.349; cf. Dion. Hal. 1.51.1; *Aen.* 3.466, note that at *Aen.* 3.294ff., Aeneas does not go inland.
[43] Cf. W. Christ, *Sitz. Bay. Ak.* 1905.1.111; Perret (n. 7) 370; P. Boyancé, *REA* 45 (1943) 285ff.
[44] Against Perret, *loc. cit.*, cf. Boyancé, *loc. cit.* (n. 43); Pind. *Nem.* 7.37ff., 4.50ff., *Pae.* 6.110ff., etc.
[45] Cf. Perret (n. 7); E. Wörner, Roscher *Lex.* 1. 167.53ff.
[46] *Pace* N. G. L. Hammond, *Epirus* (Oxford 1967) 385; O. Gruppe, *Griech. Mythologie u. Religiongeschichte* (München 1906) 1.218 n. 4.

[378/379] made prisoner. His settlement at Pallene has had, moreover, to be abandoned for some unspecified reason (cf. Perret (n. 7) 375f.). We are left to wonder how he passes out of Neoptolemus' thrall, how and why Odysseus reached the land of the Molossi, if indeed he did, and how and why, moreover, Aeneas departed thence in the company of his old enemy. N. G. L. Hammond[47] attempts to reconcile the *Troica* and *Priestesses* fragments by supposing that Aeneas travelled overland from Pallene to the land of the Molossians, along Neoptolemus' old route through south-west Macedon[48]—apparently as a free man. This hypothesis solves only one solitary difficulty of those mentioned and is supported by no literary or archaeological evidence. Aeneas' presence is attested on the coasts of Macedon and Epirus, but, save at Dodona, not inland.[49] Lycophron 1239 is no help: Aeneas there passes through 'Almopia'. Historically, this was an area in the Axius valley, some distance north of the Thermaic Gulf and, even by Lycophron's standards, hardly on the route from Rhaecelus in the Chalcidice to Tyrrhenia, between which it lies in the narrative. But at Lycoph. 1237 all manuscripts of the poem and two of the scholia contain the reading *Ἀλμωνία*, which is called a town *πλησίον Κίσσου ὄρους* (schol. *ad.* Lycoph. 1232), that is to say, in the Chalcidice, inland from Aineia. This was an area, of course, rich in associations with Aeneas.[50] The reading *Ἀλμωπία* derives from Steph. Byz. s.v. and was introduced into the text of Lycophron by Canter. It should, I suspect, be ejected, *qua facilior*, in favour of the MS *Ἀλμωνία*. Even if we leave *Ἀλμωπία* undisturbed in the text of Lycophron, it cannot really be used to support an overland march by Aeneas from Saloniki to Igoumenitsa![51]

The Priestesses fragment continues: *εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἐλθόντα μετ' Ὀδυσσέως* (*alii*, *Ὀδυσσέα*) *οἰκίστην γενέσθαι τῆς πόλεως*. The genitive should be read, and not only because it is confirmed by the parallel versions of Syncellus and Eusebius. The words *μετ' Ὀδυσσέως* usually have been taken with what follows, even though no other ancient text attests a meeting of Aeneas and Odysseus in Latium, or, more important, Odysseus' direct participation in the foundation of Rome.[52] The alternative proposed by Perret and Galinsky[53] is hardly any more attractive: 'coming to Italy with Odysseus, he became founder of the city.' This version leaves unsolved the questions posed by *ἐν Μολόσσοις* which were mentioned above and clearly poses new ones too: are we, for example, to suppose that Aeneas and

[47] Hammond (n. 46); cf. A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor, n. d.) 279, who supposes that in Lycophron Aeneas travelled from Thrace to Etruria by land.

[48] Proclus *Nostoi* 108.28f.; Allen, Pindar *Paean* 6.110; Hammond (n. 46) 383.

[49] Strab. 13.608: a settlement near Macedonian Olympus is no exception.

[50] Cf. above, 83; Lycoph. 1236f., with scholia and *Aen.* 5.537.

[51] Cf. Jacoby *ad loc.*; Perret (n. 7) 371ff.; Pearson (n. 34) 191 n. 1; Cornell (n. 16) 18 n. 7, with further bibliography.

[52] Perret (n. 7) 373; H. A. Sanders, *CPhil.* 3 (1908) 318f.; F. Caucer (n. 40) 7; but cf. Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 1.273 *FGrH* 819: Clinias (??) made Aeneas' wife Rhome the daughter of Telemachus, a chronological horror: cf. Cornell, 18.

[53] Perret (n. 7) 373, and Galinsky, *Lat.* 28 (1969) 7 respectively.

Odysseus parted before Aeneas founded Rome and that Odysseus went off to some unspecified destination? One could go on: on any interpretation, the *Priestesses* narrative up to this point is excessively complex, implausible, and, above all, incompatible with that in the *Troica*.

If the narrative in the *Priestesses* shares any difficulties, it is with Lycoph. 1242ff.[54]

In Lycophron, it is foretold that Aeneas, ancestor of Romulus and Remus (1232), whose role as founders of Rome we are left to infer from the phrase *ἔξοχον ῥωμῇ γένος*, shall come to Etruria, 'with him an enemy shall join a friendly force, convincing him by oaths and prayers and supplication' (1242-3)—viz. Odysseus. The locale of this alliance is not specified, nor is its purpose and outcome. At least the pre-eminence of Aeneas and his descendants remained unimpaired: Odysseus neither comes to Latium nor shares in the foundation of Rome (*pace* Phillips (n. 54) 61). Aeneas shall further be joined (1245ff.) by Tarchon and Tyrsenus.[55] Their role, relationships, and destiny are left equally obscure. At least in Lycophron, as in the *Priestesses* fragment, Odysseus and Aeneas meet on Italian soil. The coincidence is the more striking since such a meeting is not attested elsewhere (cf. Phillips, 67). Josifovic ('Lycophron', *RE* Suppl. 1:902) is surely right to see in the complex and diverse elements of *Alex.* 1232ff. an intention to allude to the cosmopolitan character of Rome, *πόλις Ἑλληνίς* and *πόλις Τυρρηνίς*. If the coincidence of Odysseus and Aeneas on Italian soil in the *Priestesses* is authentically Hellanican, it is no more than a hasty conjecture: 'Rome, a place in the far West, known from mere hearsay reports, has no distinct meaning for him (sc. Hellanicus).'[56] If, on the other hand, the *Priestesses* fragment belongs to an age in which the theory of Rome as a *πόλις Ἑλληνίς* was current, an age in which both Greek and Trojan founders of Rome were common currency in the speculations of historians and mythographers, then it acquires a certain interest as an attempt comparable with Lycophron's to reconcile disparate versions.[57] [379/380]

My suggestion[58] that Plut. *Rom.* 2.1 and Alcimus *FGrH* 560 F 4 = Fest., p. 326.35L 'would appear to point to the . . . conclusion that a Greek writer of the fifth century—possibly Hellanicus—may have linked Aeneas with the Etruscans in his account of the Trojan settlement of Central Italy' was probably optimistic, for Dr Cornell (18ff.) has shown conclusively how ill advised it is to try and seek out order, sense, and reason in such fragmentary accounts, shorn of their original contexts.

[54] Cf. E. D. Phillips, *JHS* 73 (1953) 60f., 67.
[55] Cf. Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973) 73.
[56] E. J. Bickerman, *CPhil.* 47 (1952) 66.
[57] Cf. Galinsky (n. 53) 1ff.; Phillips (n. 54) 67; Cornell (n. 16) 16ff.
[58] *JRS* 63 (1973) 78 [but vd. 'Over the years, I changed my mind altogether about the story of Corythus and Dardanus' alleged Etruscan origins', *The Epic Distilled* (Oxford 2015) 125.]

The possibility that Hellanicus F4 (*Phoronis*—Dion. Hal. 1.28.3) lends support to the Hellanican authorship of the *Priestesses* fragment must also be considered.

In the reign of Nanas the Pelasgians were driven out of their country by the Greeks; they left their ships at the mouth of the Po and *Κρότωνα πόλιν ἐν μεσογείῳ*[59] *εἷλον καὶ ἐντεῦθεν ὁρμώμενοι τὴν νῦν καλεομένην Τυρσηνίην ἔκτισαν.*[60] Lycophron (1244) moreover describes Aeneas' ally from Etruria, Odysseus, as *νᾶνος*, the dwarf 'who in his roaming searched out every recess of sea and earth'. The allusions are rendered unnecessarily complex, even for Lycophron, by idle scholastic speculation: *νᾶνος* should be compared with Lat. *nanus*, a dwarf, and the Homeric Odysseus was a little man (e.g. *Il.* 3.193); there is
[380/381] an agreeable piquancy in the description of the mighty Greek, the heroic wanderer who submits to the Trojan-Roman Aeneas, as 'tiny'.[61] At *Alex.* 805ff. Lycophron records of Odysseus that *Πέργη δέ μιν θανόντα, Τυρσηνῶν ὄρος ἐν Γορτυναίᾳ δέξεται πεφλεγμένον*. *Πέργη* probably refers to Mt Pergo near Cortona, not to Perugia,[62] and *Γορτυναίᾳ* may possibly allude to the foundation of Cortona by Pelasgians (= Etruscans),[63] recalling as it does the name of *Γυρτώνη* in Thessalian Pelasgiotis.[64] The death of Odysseus at Cortona was also recounted by Theopompus.[65]

Whether Lycophron's Nanos and Hellanicus' Nanas can be reconciled is a much-vexed question.[66] Even if we do suppose—as many do—that one of the names has been corrupted in transmission by a single letter, the near-identity of spelling is highly suggestive. Conclusive proof could only come with the help of *Alex.* 805ff., whereby we are provided with the same localization for Odysseus in both Hellanicus and Lycophron. But even if we do accept that the two Lycophron passages supplement each other,[67] we are left wondering whether the equation Nanos = Nanas really makes sense. Granted that Hellanicus considered that Etruscans are Pelasgian and knows that Cortona is an Etruscan city, he can hardly be thought to have supposed that Odysseus was the leader of an Etruscan migration, any more than Lycophron may be presumed to say that Odysseus/Nanos was himself an Etruscan. Only if we suppose extensive garbling in Lycophron between the stories (i) of the Pelasgian/Etruscan foundation of Cortona and (ii) of the death there of Odysseus under the name of Nanos/Nanas, are Hellanicus and Lycophron to be reconciled. And that in turn requires

[59] At least therefore he must mean Cortona not Croton.
[60] On Hdt. 1.57.1, cf. K. von Fritz, *Die gr. Geschichtsschreibung* i Anm. (Berlin 1967) 226f. n. 35.
[61] Cf. A. Brelich, *Gli eroi greci* (Rome 1958) 235f.; for a sane and sceptical discussion of the problems, see A. Hartmann, *Unters. über die Sagen vom Tod des Od.* (Munich 1917) 154ff.
[62] A. Neppi Modona, *Cortona etrusca e romana* (Florence 1925) 11ff.
[63] J. Geffcken, *Timaios' Geogr. d. Westens, Phil. Unters.* 13 (1892) 44f.; M. Pallottino, *L'origine degli etruschi* (Rome 1947) 17ff. etc.
[64] Cf. Hieronymus of Cardia, *FGrH* 154 F 17.
[65] *FGrH* 115 F 354; cf. Horsfall, *CQ* 26 (1976) 297.
[66] See St. Josifovic, 'Lycophron' *RE* Suppl. 11.896.
[67] Hartmann (n. 61) 156f. does not.

us to suppose that Nanos/Nanas was a genuine alternative name for Odysseus. We are indeed told that Nanos was an ancient[68] name for Odysseus. This is most improbable (cf. Hartmann, *loc. cit.*), not least because the Etruscans are known to have named him Utuse. It is irrelevant that Nanus is attested as an Etruscan proper name on an inscription from S. Quirico d'Orcia.[69] Could we be sure that Hellanicus F4 in fact recounted the association of Odysseus with Cortona, then the authenticity of the *Priestesses* fragment would receive substantial support, if not actual proof. But we clearly cannot be.

In the *Priestesses* fragment, there remains for discussion only the story of Rome's eponym Rhome: *μιᾶς μία τῶν Ἰλιάδων, Ῥώμης. ταύτην δὲ λέγει ταῖς ἄλλαις Τρωάσι παρακελευσαμένην κοινῇ μετ' αὐτῆς ἐμπρῆσαι τὰ σκάφη βαρυνομένην τῇ πλάνῃ*. This version, which connects the foundation of Rome with the burning of Trojan ships by a Trojan woman and is accordingly described as 'senseless' by Bickermann,[70] is not common: Cf. Plut. *De mul. vir.* 1, *Vit. Rom.* 1.2, and Polyaenus 8.25.2, all accounts where the possibility of influence from Latin historiographical traditions cannot be ruled out. Trojan incendiaries are attested as burning their own ships elsewhere: Sicily (*Aen.* 5.613, 'some writers' *ap.* Dion. Hal. 1.52.4) and Caieta (Caesar and Semphronius *ap. OGR* 10.4). Again the [381/382]
authorities are Roman or under Roman influence.[71] The story, complains Strabo (6.264), is widely localized. In other versions, the incendiaries are still Trojan women, but they are captives and the ships are Greek. This explanation is applied to the foundation of Rome only[72] by Aristotle's pupil Heraclides Lembos.[73] It is attested widely elsewhere, localized both in Chalcidice[74] and in the West. It is clear enough that it was a favourite with Timaeus and that he offered it as applicable to Setaeum,[75] to the river Naeathus[76] near Croton, and even[77] to Pisa. The story's origin is unclear:[78] from this survey, it does, however, emerge that the version in our fragment is completely out of keeping with that in the Greek historians, in whom we might expect authentic Hellanicus to find some faint

[68] i.e. Etruscan, so, e.g. Geffcken (n. 63) 44.

[69] *TestLingEtr*², ed. M. Pallottino, 441.

[70] *CPhil.* 47 (1952) 66.

[71] Cf. A. Kiessling, *de Dion. Hal. Antiquitatum auctoribus Latinis* (diss. Bonn 1858) 40.

[72] Cf. Bickerman (n. 70) 78 n. 14; Cornell (n. 16) 18.

[73] *FGrH* 830 F 136, *ap.* Festus s.v. *Romam* 269M; cf. Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 1. 273; Solin. 1.2; compare, however, Aristotle, fr. 609 R (Dion. Hal. 1.72.4, cf. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 6) who localizes the episode in 'a place in the land of the Opicans which is called Latinion, lying near the Tyrrhenian Sea'. Cf. further n. 122.

[74] Strabo 7, fr. 25; Conon, *FGrH* 26 F 1.13; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Scione*; Polyaenus *Strat.* 7.47.

[75] Strabo 7.264; Steph. Byz. s.v.; cf. Tzetz. *ad* Lycoph. 1075; Geffcken (n. 63) 22.

[76] Lycoph. 921, 1074ff.; *Mythogr. Gr.*, ed. Wagner i. 220 (Apld. Fr. *ap.* Schol. *ad.* Lyc. 921); Strab. 6, p. 262, etc.; cf. Geffcken (n. 63) 22 n. 1.

[77] Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 10.179; cf. Justin 20.1.11; Geffcken (n. 63) 148; R. Ritter, *de Timaei fabulis* . . (diss. Halle 1901) 21.

[78] Cf. Cornell (n. 16) 18f. We should be wary of eliciting any special or historical significance from the nationality of the ships burned; cf. Schur (n. 33) 146ff.; Perret (n. 7) 396ff.; W. Hoffmann, *Rom und die gr. Welt*, *Phil. Supplbd.* 27 (1934) 112 n. 254; A. Alföldi, *Troj. Urahnen* (Basel 1957) 10; A. Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.* i (Tübingen 1867) 404 n. 29.

echo, and resembles rather that current at Rome.[79] We are reminded of the argument against the authenticity of 'Misenus' on the *Tabula Iliaca Capitolina*.[80]

If then there is much in *FGrH* that cannot be Hellanicus, if indeed there is little in it that clearly could be, then we are left with the problem of what was said by Hellanicus' pupil, Damastes of Sigeum (*FGrH* 5 F 3):

Dionysius, after the story of the burning of the ships, concludes ὁμολογεῖ δ' αὐτῷ (sc. the author of the *Priestesses*) καὶ δαμάστης ὁ Σιγεὺς καὶ ἄλλοι τινές. 'Some others' is clearly beyond hope. It is, however, exasperating that the degree of *homologia* is not specified. Did Damastes simply allude to the burning of ships, in some place unknown, by female incendiaries, whether free or captive?[81] It is perfectly possible that some story of this type had appeared in the Nostoi (with, presumably, the women as captives in Greek hands) and was a commonplace to both Hellanicus and Damastes. Pearson[82] regards the reference to Damastes as 'final proof' of the authenticity of the *Priestesses* fragment. That Hellanicus referred to Aeneas in the *Priestesses* in terms similar to those of part of *FGrH* 4 F 84 is perfectly possible; that Damastes followed his master Hellanicus (*FGrH* 5 T 1) is equally possible. It remains unlikely that either mentioned the foundation of Rome.[83]

[382/383] A striking inference, though not one crucial to my argument, is that since the dates of Dionysius of Chalcis,[84] of Alcimus the Sicilian,[85] of Agathocles of Cyzicus,[86] and of Xenagoras[87] are all doubtful, the earliest unquestionable[88] references to the legendary foundation—as against the history and institutions—of the city of Rome are not to be discovered before the third-century Sicilian historians Callias (*FGrH* 564 F 5 = 840 F 14) and Timaeus.[89] Momigliano's recent confident assertion (*op. cit.* (n. 89) 55) of the 'early' date for Lycophron acquires an added significance in this context, as perhaps does the Roman ἀρχαιολογία of Hieronymus of Cardia (*FGrH* 154 F 13).

But for us the important conclusion of this discussion of *FGrH* 4 F 84 is that between the departure of the Trojan *sacra* from Troy in Hellanicus' *Troica* and their presence at Lavinium in Timaeus, all is silence. Only archaeology can provide the figure of Aeneas *penatiger* in the West with any sort of early history.

[79] Cf. F. Cauer (n. 40) 15f. [80] Cf. *JHS* 99 (1979).
[81] Cf. E. Ciaceri, *Studi storici* 4 (1895) 508; Schwegler (n. 78) 304 n. 10; *contra*, De Sanctis (n. 39) i. 198 n. 7.
[82] (n. 34) 191, cf. Bickerman, *CW* 37 (1943 4) 94.
[83] Too many of the difficulties are ignored in Horsfall, *CQ* 24 (1974) 111 [ch. 4, 35].
[84] *FGrH* 840 F 10; cf. Cornell (n. 16) 19 n. 3.
[85] *FGrH* 560 F 4 840 F 12; cf. Cornell, id., 7 n. 11.
[86] *FGrH* 472 F 5 840 F 18 19, cf. Cornell, id., 19 n. 3.
[87] *FGrH* 240 F 9 840 F 17, cf. Cornell, id., 20 n. 4.
[88] Aristotle (n. 73 *FGrH* 840 F 13) does not after all mention Rome by name in this passage.
[89] Jacoby on *FGrH* 566 F 59 61; Geffcken (n. 63) 39ff.; Horsfall (n. 83) 112; Momigliano, *Essays in Ancient and Modern Historiography* (Oxford 1977) 53ff.

ἐπ᾽ ὤμων πατέρ᾽ ἔχων (S. Fr. 373.2P)

The extreme rarity of Aeneas' rescue of the Trojan *sacra* as a motif of pre-Roman art (simply the de Luynes scarab) stands in the sharpest contast to the popularity of his rescue of his father. The literary tradition reflects a similar contrast: Aeneas' rescue of the *sacra* from Troy is first attested in Hellanicus' *Troica*; the date of the earliest known explicit reference in the West is wholly uncertain—possibly mid-third century, conceivably a hundred years earlier—and the first mention of Trojan *sacra* in the West is, as has just been observed, in Timaeus.

Aeneas' rescue of his father is first described in the surviving literature in a messenger's speech in Sophocles' *Laocoon* (fr. 373P = Dion. Hal. 1.48.2): Aeneas has been bidden to leave by Anchises himself, who had recalled Aphrodite's behests and observed what the fate of the Laocoontidae portended (Dion. Hal. ibid.). Sophocles' description: *ἐπ᾽ ὤμων πατέρ᾽ ἔχων κεραυνίου νώτου καταστάζοντα βύσσινον φάρος* by its vivid juxtaposition of rescuer son and crippled father, emphasizes that Anchises was unable to leave unaided and that Aeneas was, therefore, though surrounded by *οἰκετῶν παμπληθία*, primarily his father's saviour.

But the existence of a sixth-century (at the latest) artistic representation of the rescue[90] leads us to infer that there is likely to have been a rescue-scene in early narrative lyric or indeed in the Epic Cycle, though the summary of the *Iliou Persis* does not really suggest the urgent and perilous withdrawal which might have compelled Aeneas to carry his father.

The two rescues, of father and of *sacra*, are first linked by Hellanicus, *Troica* [383/384]
(*FGrH* 4 F 31 = Dion. Hal. 1.46.4): *ἀγόμενος ἐπὶ ταῖς κρατίσταις συνωρίσι τόν τε πατέρα καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς πατρῴους*. But behind this simple statement there lies a real problem and a need for explanation: between Aeneas as prince of Troy at the time of the sack and Aeneas as the independent ruler of Trojan survivors, whether in the Troad or elsewhere, there was, if not an inconsistency, then at least a tension. It seems that in the *Iliou Persis* Aeneas left Troy before the sack proper; in Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 31), he effected an orderly tactical withdrawal and left the Troad under the terms of a treaty with the Achaeans; how Anchises was evacuated is not specified, but the gods and property were saved (Dion. Hal. 1.46.4); in Menecrates of Xanthus (fourth century; ap. Dion. Hal. 1.48.3) he himself betrayed Troy.[91] Menecrates' wording recalls expressions of hostility towards Aeneas in the *Iliad* (13.461, 20.178ff.) and he develops these hints into lurid 'fact'. The reward for treachery was that he was allowed to save his household.

In this whole discussion, our most important text is our most elusive: *Αἰνείας δὲ σώσας μὲν τοὺς πατρῴους καὶ μητρῴους θεούς, σώσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα*

[90] Cf. W. Fuchs, *ANRW* 1.4. 616ff.; Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979).
[91] Cf. Acusilaus, *FGrH* 2 F 39, a crudely rationalist interpretation of *Il.* 20.300ff.

δόξαν εὐσεβείας ἐξηνέγκατο, ὥστε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μόνῳ ἐκείνῳ ὧν ἐκράτησαν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἔδοσαν μὴ συληθῆναι (Xen. *Cyn.* 1.15). The date of composition of these lines is far from clear. The first chapter of the *Cynegetica* is perhaps the hardest to accept as Xenophontic,[92] though it is probably by the same hand as the remainder;[93] even it has its champions of authenticity.[94] If the chapter is not by Xenophon, then its date is altogether uncertain: it may still be as early as the first half of the fourth century BC[95] and we cannot assume, with Galinsky (n. 1) 43f., that it has undergone the influence of Roman versions of the Aeneas-legend. The same motif that we find in the *Cynegetica*, that Aeneas' survival was a reward for his *eusebeia*, recurs in all probability in Timaeus:[96] given the chance to carry off what he could by the Greeks, Aeneas chose his father; then allowed to choose τῶν οἴκοθεν, he chose the household gods; he was then allowed to take what he wished and to depart unmolested. Though the story in Timaeus could be one that he learned in central Italy (and one that the author of *Cynegetica* 1 picked up later still) it looks, rather, like a natural development, more piquant and more circumstantial, from that in Hellanicus' *Troica*. In Hellanicus, the *sacra* do not go beyond Pallene; in the *Cynegetica*, no destination is specified; Timaeus knew they were to be found at Lavinium. Equally, though the form of the narrative in the *Cynegetica* is rather different, and though the order of father and gods is reversed, I suspect
[384/385] that the author and Timaeus are in fact telling the same story.[97] Supposing (as I am reluctant to do) that *Cynegetica* 1.15 is authentic Xenophon, it provides an explicit statement *c.*391–390 that the rescue of father and gods demonstrated Aeneas' *eusebeia*. This would be an easy and credible development from his characterization in Homer. However, if *Cynegetica* 1 is substantially later (even the Second Sophistic has been suggested), our first definition of Aeneas' *eusebeia* in terms of specific acts should probably be attributed to Timaeus (cf. Lycoph. 1270): it may well therefore be subject to Roman influence, but need not of course for that very reason be out of keeping with Greek poetical and historical traditions.

Galinsky's attempt to dismiss the literary tradition concerning Aeneas' *eusebeia*[98] fails therefore to convince me, as it failed to convince Drummond (n. 94).

[92] Breitenbach, 'Ps. Xenophon A. Kynegetikos', *RE* 18A:1913.61ff.

[93] Ibid., 1917.61ff.; W. Jaeger, *Paideia* (tr. Highet) iii (Oxford 1945) 329 n. 130.

[94] A. Drummond, *JRS* 62 (1972) 219, cites Jaeger, *loc. cit.*, and Di Benedetto, *Maia* 19 (1967) 22ff., 230ff. Cf. too, with great caution, *Xénophon, L'art de la chasse*, ed. E. Delebecque (edn. Budé) 42.

[95] L. Radermacher, *Rh. Mus.* 52 (1897) 25.

[96] Geffcken (n. 63) 147 ll. 10ff. (Diod. Sic. 7.4 and Lycophron 1263ff.); Lycoph. *Alex.* 1263ff. and Diod. Sic. 7.4; cf. Varr. *Res. hum. ap.* Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 2.636 and *Historiae* 2 *ap.* Schol. Ver. *ad Aen.* 2.717; also Apollod. *Epit.* 5.21 and Quint. Smyrn. 13.345ff.

[97] *Cyn.*: ἔδοσαν μὴ συληθῆναι: Lycoph. 1268f. τούτῳ μόνῳ πόρωσιν αἵρεσιν δόμων λαβεῖν ὃ χρήιζει.

[98] Galinsky (n. 1) 42ff., particularly 54: I fail to see how Galinsky reaches the conclusion that Aeneas' carrying of his father was not represented as an act of *pietas* before Sen. *Ben.* 3.37. If what is required is formal testimony, then *Auct. ad Herenn.* 4.46 will serve: (as an example of paradox) 'ut si quem

I am equally sceptical of his denial[99] 'that the representation of Aeneas carrying Anchises inherently serves to convey, above all, the Trojan's *pietas*'. It is true that we do not have an explicit reference to Aeneas' action as a demonstration of *eusebeia* until a century, or perhaps two, after the vases which represent it. Yet Aeneas' characterization in Homer and the early fame of his rescue of his father make me suspect that the moral force of his action as a symbol of *eusebeia* was far too obvious to require explicit comment and the silence of fifth-century Greek authors on the subject does not persuade me that Aeneas was not then regarded, as he came later to be, as εὐσεβέστατος (similarly, Drummond, *loc. cit.*).

It does not militate against this reputation for *eusebeia* that there do exist scenes in which Aeneas is less directly involved in assisting his father's departure: Aeneas *leads* Anchises on a Parthenon metope (Galinsky (n. 1), p1.41 a–b etc.) and on a white-ground lekythos from Gela;[100] on an Apulian krater (BM F 160), the Ilioupersis painter shows Anchises, leaning on his staff, leading Ascanius to safety without any help from his son.[101] But these rare variants do not detract significantly from the likelihood that Aeneas did enjoy a reputation for *eusebeia* in the fifth century, any more than does his occasional role as assistant to Paris in the rape of Helen;[102] that was indeed an act of *asebeia*, but such an act is no more incompatible with his famed piety than are the δόλοι of Odysseus with the unmatched sacrifices he offers to the gods (*Od.*1.66f.).[103]

That Aeneas was represented as having been assisted in his flight by the notorious traitor Antenor is a strange aberration in certain recent books;[104] [385/386]

impium, qui patrem verberaverit, Aenean vocemus', the remark is pointless unless Aeneas' *pietas erga patrem*, symbolized, what is more, by a concrete act, is already so familiar as to be proverbial.

[99] Galinsky (n. 1) 53ff., accepted without question by Cornell (n. 16) 13.

[100] *ARV* 385, no. 223, for varying traditions about Anchises' age and physical condition; cf. Austin on *Aen.* 2.649. Certainly, if Aeneas is leading, not carrying his father, he is better ready to resist pursuers.

[101] E. Gerhard, *Arch Ztg* 5 6 (1847 8) 226f., with pl. 15; A. D. Trendall, *South Italian Vase painting* (London 1966) 20 with pl. 7; Galinsky (n. 1) 57 with pl. 42. The identifications are highly likely, rather than certain.

[102] Galinsky (n. 1) 40f.; Cypria 103.1 Allen; L. Ghali Kahil, *Les Enlévements et le retour d'Heléne* (Paris 1955) 29, 53, *et passim*.

[103] Dr Christiane Sourvinou Inwood kindly drew my attention to Brelich (n. 61) for a full survey of ambiguity in conduct as an essential characteristic of the Greek mythological hero.

[104] Alföldi (n. 47) 283f., followed unhesitatingly by Galinsky (n. 1) 154f. The BF amphora described by Galinsky (n. 1) 55, n. 104, as in a private collection in Hamburg and as published by Alföldi is in fact in the Museum für Kunst u. Gewerbe (1906.380) and has been published widely: *ABV* 397, K. Schauenburg, *Gymnasium* 67 (1960) 176ff.: no. 7, with pl. viii.1. The figure behind Aeneas was identified by Alföldi (*loc. cit.*) as Antenor without any justification: cf. R. Ballheimer, *Griech. Vasen aus dem Hamburg. Mus., 48 Versamml. Deutscher Philologen* (Hamburg, 1905) 14 with pl. 3, E. von Mercklin, *Führer durch das Hamburg. Mus.* (1930) 30, no. 82. Neither Ballheimer nor von Mercklin were prepared to identify the figure. The same applies to the Ilioupersis calyx crater by the Altamura painter in Boston: see C. C. Vermule, *Ill. London News*, 10 Oct. 1959, 398f.; J. D. Beazley, *Attic Vase Paintings in . . . Boston* (Boston 1963) 62, *ARV*² 590, no. 11. There is again nothing whatever to suggest that the figure marching ahead of Aeneas is Antenor. For further arguments against the interpretations of Alföldi and Galinsky, cf. now M. I. Davies, *Lex. Icon. Myth. Class.* i (1974) 17.

neither of the two vases in question portrays Antenor. The treason of Antenor is not attested before Lycoph. 340ff. and it is a detail which Lycophron will not have invented; that of Aeneas appears first in Menecrates of Xanthus. With the illusory exception of Lycophron, their acts of treason are attested only in prose and belong not to the world of poetry but to that of history.[105]

Representations of Aeneas' rescue of Anchises on artefacts have been studied so fully[106] that no new survey is required, except perhaps in respect of vase-paintings, where Galinsky's data ((n. 1) 122ff.) must be updated and modified, particularly in the light of Brommer, *Vasenlisten*³.[107] To the twenty[108] BF and RF vases depicting Aeneas' escape which have a known Etruscan provenance—Nola, in the Etruscan sphere of influence, is included—we should add:

(i) Brommer, no. 35; Villa Giulia 94; *CVA* III He. 13.1 (It. 50): BF amphora found at Civita Castellana.

For the following, we can only speculate about likely provenances:

(ii) J. D. Beazley, *Campana Fragments in Florence* (Oxford, 1933), p. 19 with p1. 12.2.[109]

(iii) RF neck-amphora from a Campanian collection now in Boston: Brommer, 389 *ARV*² 654.13.[110]

[386/387] (iv) Brommer, no. 41 = Beazley, *Paralipomena*, 61.

(v) Brommer, no. 45 = K. Schauenburg, *Röm. Mitt.* 71 (1964), 60.

For the following:

Brommer, no. 36 (Gymn. 76 (1969), p1. 2 = *Bull.Metr.Mus.* 1969, 433, p1. 9),
Brommer, no. 55 (*Hesp. Art Bull.* 33 (1965) A.5),
and Brommer, no. 56 (*Gymn.* 76 (1969) p1. 1),
let alone Brommer, no. 60 (fr., 'Deutung nicht sicher'),

there exists unfortunately not even a basis for speculation. It emerges therefore that the statistical spread has not altered significantly between Brommer² and Schauenburg (on whom Galinsky is based) and Brommer³.

[105] Galinsky (n. 1) 48f.; Momigliano, *JRS* 48 (1958) 70; A. Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus* (Heidelberg 1967) 47; E. Gabba, in *I canali della propaganda nel mondo antico*, ed. M. Sordi (Milan 1976) 91ff., and R. Scuderi, ibid., 39ff.

[106] K. Schauenburg, *loc. cit.* (n. 104); Galinsky (n. 1) 103ff.; W. Fuchs (n. 90) 615ff., etc. To the list in Brommer³, three additions, for which I am indebted to Miss M. Loudon, may be made: (i) Münster Inv. 738 *Boreas* 1 (1978) 189f. (no provenance), (ii) Sotheby, Catal. 10, Apr. 1978, no. 216, 56. (no provenance), (iii) Beazley Archive, Ashmolean Museum: Amphora type B. Box 2 (Delos).

[107] Note that Brommer nos. 12 and 13 are one and the same vase, München 1546; see Beazley, *Paralipomena*, 172. Despite Beazley, *ABV* 483.1 (cf. *Catal. Ravenstein* i (1871) 190f.) I share Brommer's unease about the identification of the figures on Brussels R312 (p. 388, *sub fin.*). The head and shoulders of the figure carried are suspiciously far forward: a corpse?

[108] Schauenburg (n. 104) 186. Galinsky (n. 1) 123, 130.

[109] A reference for which I am indebted to Mr Dyfri Williams.

[110] On the identification, see Brommer, *Satyrspiele*² no. 149; Caskey Beazley, ii. 39.

We have, therefore, at very least twenty-one vases from Etruria showing Aeneas' escape from Troy with Anchises out of a total of about seventy from all provenances, whether known or unknown, showing this scene. On the other hand, Etruria, including Nola and Suessula, provides a total of fifteen[111] representations of other episodes from Aeneas' life.

Aeneas' departure from Troy is clearly, then, a theme in some demand among the Etruscan clients of Attic potters; it is indeed by some distance the most popular single episode involving Aeneas (cf. Galinsky (n. 1) 127f.); next most popular is the combat of Aeneas and Diomedes, on a mere four vases of Etruscan provenance, out of a total of (?) nine representations of this scene (Brommer, *Vasenlisten*³, 396). This is not surprising: as we have seen, the Homeric Aeneas is of secondary interest. Only the bloody elimination of his betters has elevated the Aeneas of post-Homeric narrative to eminence.

Antenor alone stands comparison: already in Sophocles' *Antenoridae* (Strab. 13.608) he departed in freedom for the Adriatic along with his sons;[112] his departure was carried out with the Greeks' consent and he was not burdened with an aged and crippled father. This scene did not attract the painters. Though he and Aeneas alone among the Trojan survivors of Troy carried their families (or at least a creditable proportion of them) to safety, Aeneas' achievement, in its fame and popularity, clearly outstripped Antenor's. They differed in that Aeneas rescued both *sacra* and a crippled father; Antenor, with no such burden, departed, moreover, by kind permission of the conquerors.[113] There is no comparison to be drawn with Aeneas' negotiated departure from the Troad in Hellanicus' *Troica* or from Troy in the *Cynegetica* and Lycophron, etc. In these passages, Aeneas earns the right to depart unharmed as a reward for the virtues he displays during the sack, not for the services he has rendered in betraying the city.

The vase painters apparently knew nothing of any negotiations. For them Aeneas shows at one and the same time his warlike bravery (Galinsky (n. 1) 56, 124) and the filial devotion unambiguously proclaimed by his evident readiness to jeopardize his own escape by attempting to secure that of his father and his son at the same time. Escape and rescue cannot (*pace* Galinsky (n. 1) 54ff.) be differentiated.

If then these scenes are not merely exciting episodes of escapes but go some way towards proclaiming Aeneas' *pietas erga patrem* (*pace* Galinsky (n. 1) 56f.) we may observe that for such a virtue to be symbolized in the vase-paintings of the period 525–470 is certainly not out of keeping with our conclusions from the literary evidence. [387/388]

[111] Galinsky (n. 1) 125ff.; to this number, I have not been able to add.
[112] Apparently, it is only in Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 1.242 that his wife Theano travels with him.
[113] Cf. Pearson, Soph. *Frag.* i. 86ff.

Neither Attic exporters nor Etruscan customers can have been wholly unaware of the uniqueness of Aeneas' achievements.[114] If exporters sent twenty-one 'departures' to Etruria and only four 'combats with Diomedes', then this is a clear and marked preference. Perhaps neither potters nor customers were interested in the scene's evident moral implications and saw it merely as an exciting episode full of poignant human interest. If, however, the Etruscans did find in Aeneas a virtue they admired, which they may have done, it should not be labelled as *pietas*;[115] neither the word nor the concept has any place among the securely established findings of modern Etruscology.

Conclusions

The general conclusions to be drawn from my discussion are limited and negative. That is fully in keeping with recent tendencies in the interpretation of the supposed archaeological evidence for the establishment of the Aeneas-legend in Italy. I refer in particular to Torelli's destructive criticism of the conventional dating of the Veii statuettes,[116] to the acknowledgement that the Lar Aeneas of the Tor Tignosa statuettes no longer watches benignly over these studies,[117] and to the growth of scepticism at the expense of the 'Tomba di Enea' which was unveiled with an enthusiasm reminiscent of Schliemann gazing on the face of Agamemnon in the *Messagero* of 31 Jan. 1972.[118]

I hope to have shown the need to distinguish sharply between Aeneas' rescue of his father and his rescue of the penates. The former is securely established in Greek art[119] and literature. It was, I must insist, a scene popular with the Etruscans and endowed with a distinct moral symbolism for those who cared to see it. That is not of course to say that the vases showing the rescue of Anchises in themselves constitute evidence for any sort of hero-cult of Aeneas in Etruria. The rescue of the
[388/389] penates is quite another matter: the existence of a cult of the penates in Latium is

[114] Unique certainly at the fall of Troy: for the Catanian story of Amphinomus and Anapias, cf. Val. Max. 5.4.4; Galinsky (n. 1) 56; Fuchs (n. 90) 624.

[115] As was done notably by F. Bömer (n. 24) 47ff., he has had many followers e.g. U. Knoche, *Festschr. Snell* (München 1956) 90; P. Boyancé, *Religion de Virgile* (Paris 1963) 61f.; Schauenburg (n. 104) 189f.; Galinsky (n. 1) 57ff. and 130f.; and Cornell (n. 16) rightly insist that this argument is gravely fallacious. The vases are distinctively Etruscan (not Roman) in provenance, the virtue is not.

[116] *Roma medio republicana* (1973) 335f. etc.; for a summary, J. Perret, *REL* 49 (1971) 41ff. and T. J. Cornell, *LCM* 2 (1977) 78.

[117] Cornell (n. 16) 14 n. 5, with further references.

[118] Cf. (*pro*) P. Sommella, *RendPontAcad* 44 (1971 2) 47ff. and *Gymnasium* 81 (1974) 273ff.; G. K. Galinsky, *Vergilius* 20 (1974) 2ff.; (*contra*): T. J. Cornell (n. 116) 77ff.; cf. R. E. A. Palmer, *Roman Religion and Roman Empire* (Philadelphia 1974) 121; T. N. Gantz, *PP* 29 (1974) 358 n. 32. I am most grateful to Dr Cornell for an advance view of his *LCM* paper; I disagree with much in it and in his *PCPS* contribution, but have benefited immensely from his articles and from extended discussions with him.

[119] Cf. Fuchs (n. 90) 620 on the Parthenon metopes.

clearly ancient and predates any connexion with the Trojan legend.[120] We find that in Hellanicus' *Troica* Aeneas saves his gods and presumably they travel with him as far as Pallene. That will not have been an unfamiliar form of story: compare the ἀγάλματα τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἱρῶν καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀναθήματα which the Phocaeans took to Alalia (Hdt. 1.164, 166) or the τῶν θεῶν . . . τὰ ἀγάλματα brought from Myus to Miletus.[121] I do not wish to assign any special significance to the de Luynes scarab, for all that it is Etruscan, datable to *c.*490, and unique in pre-Roman art as a representation of Aeneas' rescue of his gods. In isolation, it is certainly not proof of any cult of the Trojan *penates* in the West in the sixth or fifth centuries; assuredly the artist thought that the box he represented Anchises as carrying contained sacred objects of Trojan origin. That, as we have just seen, is the sort of thing that colonists did in the Greek world; it is by no means the same thing as proclaiming with sacral solemnity '*feror exul in altum cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis*'. If Aeneas was famous for saving his father, then it may have occurred to an isolated artist that he could have saved a box of sacred objects at the same time (cf. Perret (n. 7) 40f.).

In all the above, no word of Rome or of Lavinium. Even if my conclusions regarding Hellanicus and Damastes are wrong and those historians did mention Aeneas' founding of Rome, there is nothing to suggest that they believed him to have brought the sacred objects of Troy with him. As far as Pallene, yes; but the very lowest price to be paid for acknowledging the Hellanican authorship of *FGrH* 4 F 84 is an admission that the *Troica* and the *Priestesses* are utterly irreconcilable on the subject of Aeneas. Silence, therefore, reigns upon the theme of the Trojan penates and their cult until Timaeus. There is nothing at all in the literary evidence,[122] nothing secure in the archaeological, which might serve to show that when the Romans took over the cults of Lavinium in 338 they found any trace of the presence of Aeneas there. Yet Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 36, 59) records an awareness of the Trojan origins of religious ritual at both Rome and Lavinium. It was when the story that Rome's gods were in part of Trojan origin 'poteva assumere un valore politico'[123] that the Romans might reasonably begin to put about such a story.[124]

We may wonder indeed by how long any connexion of Troy with Rome or with any centre in Latium predated the development of such a connexion as a matter of

[120] Galinsky (n. 1) 147ff.; Alföldi (n. 47) 258f.; F. Castagnoli, *Atti 8 Convegno . . . Studi Magna Grecia* (1968/9) 97, etc.

[121] Paus. 7.2.11; cf. Plut. Them. 10.4; S. Weinstock, 'Penates (Lavinium)', *RE* 19:435.4ff.; A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City* (Manchester 1964) 14.

[122] Kiessling's emendation of *Λατίνιον* to *Λαουίνιον* at Dion. Hal. 1.72.3 is inadmissible normalizing, nor need the whole passage, strictly speaking, be relevant to this discussion; cf. n. 73.

[123] [A political advantage could be discerned], F. Castagnoli, *Lavinium* 1 (Rome 1972) 99; his whole discussion is admirable in its caution and scepticism.

[124] There is apparently no difficulty in suggesting that the Veii statuettes might belong to a period as late as the late fourth century or even later, cf. n. 116. Torelli's proposal (*loc. cit.*) that they symbolized the *pietas* of the new Roman colonists at Veii is clearly ingenious rather than mandatory.

religious and political propaganda. If my scepticism regarding the authenticity of the Hellanicus and Damastes fragments is in fact misplaced, then the Greeks of the fifth century were vaguely aware of a city named Rome in the West with which [389/390] they assigned almost as a matter of routine an eminent survivor of the Trojan War, with at least some reputation as a traveller, as founder. In this case, it would have been likely that Roman statesmen of the late fourth or early third centuries improved upon such bald statements in their accounts of the penates, not least if it was known at Rome that in some Greek authors Aeneas had actually rescued certain sacred objects from Troy. Even if he was not thought to have carried them very far, he may have been known to have earned at least a part of his reputation for *pietas* by having rescued them at all in the chaos of the sack of Troy.

But if my scepticism is justified, then there may have been no connexion whatever in legendary terms between Troy and Rome/Lavinium/Alba before the late fourth century, at which point the polemical advantage or disadvantages of such a connexion may have suggested themselves more or less simultaneously to Greek historians and Roman statesmen.

8

Doctus sermones utriusque linguae?[1]

The statements, 'a knowledge of Greek was universal in the Roman society of Cicero's day' and 'le Romain cultivé a toujours eu deux âmes et su deux langues, le grecque et la sienne'[2] may be taken as reflecting a generally held view, in which there is much less truth than one could wish. It is unproductive to consider bilingualism as a phenomenon single, whole and unitary; to read, to write, to comprehend, and to speak a second language are four distinct, though related talents. In the case of Romans trying to cope with Greek, there is a further complication: the fundamental changes which the Greek language had undergone. As Munro puts it in his Lucretius commentary:[3] 'the educated Romans of Lucretius' time had an exquisite knowledge of their own tongue, its syntax, its grammar, its prosody, all its refinements and capabilities; they were also well acquainted with Greek, such as Greek then was; but the Attic of Thucydides and Sophocles, of Plato and Demosthenes had been dead for centuries; and Greek had become the lingua franca of the civilized world.' We need to consider the Romans' capacity to understand classical Greek literary texts, let alone reproduce them, not as part of some 'universal knowledge' but on the basis of the evidence, such as it is. I hope to be able to show that we cannot assume in educated Romans, not even in authors, a fluent comprehension of all Greek literary texts and to draw out some of the implications which this sceptical outlook may have for the *Quellenforschung* and for the readership of some Latin poets.

Roman authors and Greek texts

When one of Macrobius' interlocutors, Eusebius, suggests that Virgil has combined stylistic excellences of the ten orators of Athens, he is gently twitted by Evangelus, who takes leave to doubt whether Virgil has read them at all: 'for how

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[1] Versions of this paper were delivered in the spring of 1976 at Ann Arbor, Columbia, Duke, Ottawa, University of Vermont (Burlington), Harvard, Pittsburg, Bryn Mawr, and Stanford. To my hosts and to my splendid audiences on all those occasions I am deeply indebted. Some further discussion of this topic will be found in my review of A. Wardman, *Rome's Debt to Greece*, *JRS* 67 (1977) 179f.

[2] A. Gwynn, *Roman Education* (repr. New York 1964) 93f.; P. Boyancé, *REL* 34 (1956) 111.

[3] On 6.1239. Cf. H. I. Marrou, *St Augustin et la fin de la culture antique* (Paris 1959) 29f.

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could a man of the Veneto, a son of country parents, brought up among woods and orchards, have come to even a slight knowledge of Greek literature?' Eusathius replies with understandable warmth: 'Careful! Don't you believe that any Greek, even one of the *summi auctores*, has taken in such an abundance of *Graeca doctrina* as Maro so skilfully acquired or displayed in his work' (*Sat.* 5.2.1. f.). Macrobius makes many foolish claims on Virgil's behalf, which have intermittently bedevilled later Virgilian studies,[4] but it would be hard to over-estimate Virgil's knowledge of Greek literary texts.

In a renowned article in 1964, Clausen suggested that 'Virgil was the only poet who read the *Aetia* all the way through' (*GRBS* 5 (1964) 187). Clausen's case for the role of Parthenius as the man who mediated Callimachus to Roman literary circles is conclusively argued, but there is one piece of evidence he mentions in passing which can still, I think, be squeezed to extract a little more juice: (*Parthenio*)*grammatico in Graecis Vergilius usus est* (Macr. 5.17.18). Clearly *grammatico* should not be taken as suggesting that Virgil studied under Parthenius at his secondary school in Milan; where he worked with Parthenius is not discoverable, though that it was prior to the composition of *Bucolics* emerges from Clausen's arguments.[5] It does not appear that the Epicurean
[79/80] Siro, under whom Virgil also studied, shared the literary leanings of his fellow-Epicurean Philodemus; Cicero stressed that those leanings were not orthodox (*Pis.* 70) and it is in a philosophical context that he brackets the two as *cum optimos uiros, tum homines doctissimos* (*Fin.* 2.119). That is to say, Virgil is likely to have learned from Siro little more than the technical jargon of the Epicurean school. From his sojourn in Naples, then, as from his later connexions with Tarentum and Nola, he can only have derived an improved knowledge of the *koine* and, not improbably, an undesirable accent.[6] For a man who could later read Lycophron and Aratus this was insufficient tuition: the *grammatici* of Milan and the rhetor Epidius at Rome will no doubt have laid some foundations—but I shall return to the unsatisfactory character of secondary education in Greek in Italy. Clearly Virgil's demonstrable mastery of Greek literature, including the most demanding and obscure authors, requires that he shall at some point have received teaching at the highest level, and Parthenius is the necessary master, as Clausen's ingenious arguments independently suggest (*loc. cit.*, 192).

The dedication of the *Erotika Pathemata* to Cornelius Gallus goes further in hinting that Parthenius' function was not merely to tell Roman men of letters what to read, but to help them in their difficulties with reading it.[7] Parthenius' preface

[4] Cf. *JRS* 63 (1973) 76, n. 66.

[5] With the picture of Virgil and Parthenius working on hard texts together, cf. Longin. 1; Cic. *Att.* 4.11.2.

[6] Cic. *Div. Caec.* 39 suggests that Greek was best not learned in Sicily.

[7] Cf. Clausen 188: 'I doubt that even a Cinna or a Catullus could have understood Callimachus without tutoring.'

calls for closer study:[8] 'I thought, my dear Cornelius Gallus, that to you above all men there would be something particularly agreeable in this collection of romances of love, and I put them together and set them out in the shortest possible form' (Loeb ed., tr. Gaselee): ἀναλεξάμενος ὡς ὅτι μάλιστα ἐν βραχυτάτοις ἀπέσταλκα. The convenience of premastication will only have been appreciated by a Gallus who either could not or would not turn readily to the Greek mythological texts from which Parthenius culled his obscure romances.[9] Parthenius goes on: 'as for those of the stories that are found in some of the poets, not being related in a complete and self-sufficient way (αὐτοτελῶς), you will gather the substance from what follows' (my translation; cf. Zimmerman, 179f.). In presenting Gallus with a mere aide-memoire, a hypomnema, lacking the *peritton* (literary elaboration) of which the dedicatee is such a master, he appears to hint—not in an unpleasant way—that the allusive presentation of some of these stories in Callimachus or elsewhere was too demanding to have served as a quarry for Gallus' own epic or elegiac verse. Against such a background, one may be forgiven for preferring Parthenius to Nicander and Aemilius Macer to Boios as sources for Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.[10]

In Greek Virgil was altogether at home. The limited and venial range of his errors in Greek serves only to prove this point.[11] I am sure that the snakes round the middle of Scylla, daughter of Nisus at *Buc.* 6.74, are a *lapsus memoriae*,[12] and it could be shown, though the arguments are long and complex, that *arguto tenuis percurrens pectine telas*,[13] 'working over the slender threads of the warp with a shrill comb', is not an adaptation, but an actual misunderstanding of the Homeric ἱστὸν ἐποιχομένη χρυσείῃ κερκίδ' ὕφαινεν, 'working over the warp, she wove with a golden pin-beater', yet the misunderstanding is as much technological as linguistic.

The errors of a Cicero or a Livy, or a Lucretius, on the other hand, have a far greater interest for the light that they shed on how Greek was taught and read.

The inferences differ in each case. I take Livy first. P. G. Walsh has drawn up the black list in convenient form.[14] Two of the most diverting instances are: (i) 38.7.10 [80/81] where Livy takes the θύρους (= *scuta*, oblong shields) of Polybius 21.28.11 as θύρας (= doors!); he translates *foribus* and creates a moment of high comedy as the reader tries to envisage how doors could have been used in subterranean siege-warfare. (ii) 33.8.13. The Macedonian phalanx puts down its spears before charging (*hastis positis*); Livy has misunderstood Polybius' καταβαλοῦσι

[8] Cf. F. Zimmerman, *Hermes* 69 (1934) 179ff.
[9] Cf. J. P. Boucher, *Études sur Properce* (Paris 1965) 261.
[10] Cf. *Prudentia* 8 (1976) 77f. [ch. 6, 66].
[11] H. R. Fairclough, *CPhil.* 25.1 (1930) 37ff.
[12] Cf. M. E. Hubbard, *Propertius* (London 1974) 119.
[13] Virg. *Aen.* 7.14; cf. *G.* 1.294; Hom. *Od.* 5.62; Horsfall, rev. of Williams, *The Aen. of V.*, *JRS* 64 (1974) 276.
[14] *G&R* 5 (1958) 83ff.

18.24.9 = 'lowering', and is driven to the unconvincing explanation *quorum longitude impedimento erat.* The Homer he will have read at school at Patavium, the orators studied as part of his rhetorical training, were not much use when he turned to Polybius; the acquaintance with Hellenistic *koine* that so many of his contemporaries had acquired in Greek-speaking lands might have helped, but Livy was clearly no traveller. Neither was he scholar; nor, for that matter, soldier. Here we reach the serious issues: Livy's Greek sources are often concerned with matters military and diplomatic; both spheres have a developed jargon of their own. How then was Livy to master the Greek terminology? He could, one might suppose, have consulted earlier Roman historians who were familiar with the technicalities of warfare and diplomacy in Greek lands and who had themselves used Greek authorities. But prolonged study of Sisenna or Antipater is clearly not to be compared with looking up a word in a dictionary, particularly when the point at issue is as uncongenial as tactical minutiae clearly were to Livy.

We must remember too that the creation of Latin specialist vocabularies with reference to the Greek equivalents of each term was a slow and haphazard process. It was obviously far easier to write about philosophy in Latin after Cicero had, in effect, created the vocabulary in which to do it. Thus, when Virgil writes *est . . . uolitans, cui nomen asilo Romanum est, oestrum Grai uertere uocantes* (*G.* 3.346f.), the linguistic equivalence was probably, if not first invented, then first formally recorded by Nigidius Figulus in his *Liber de Animalibus* (Funaioli, *Gramm. Rom. Frag.* 176), who gives a definition of the Latin *asilus*, an etymology of *oestrum* and adds that in Greek *myops* referred to the same pest. Clearly, after such a publication, writing about entomology or zoology in Latin became far easier. Equally, when considering Lucretius' struggles with Thucydides' Hippocratic terminology, it should perhaps be borne in mind that Pompey had ordered his freedman Lenaeus to *transferre sermone nostro* the medical library of Mithridates; Pliny recognizes Lenaeus' work as pioneering (*NH* 25.5). It is not hard to point to other creators or improvers of technical vocabulary: on snakes and perhaps also on herbal remedies, Virgil's friend Aemilius Macer, on astronomy Sulpicius Galus (second century BC), on gastronomy Ennius, and on astrology, Nigidius Figulus again. The point need not be laboured: to a considerable extent, the great poets depend on the specialists for the creation of bilingual specialist vocabularies.

In Lucretius' version of Thucydides' plague, there are mistakes in no small number; examples can easily be found in the standard commentaries. But they are not mistakes of terminology. One terminological error was alleged: that the *cor* of 6.1152 misrepresented the καρδία (normally = 'heart') of Thuc 11.49.3, which denoted rather τὸ στόμα τοῦ στομάχου (= 'the cardiac orifice of the stomach'). But Page's survey of the terminology of the Thucydidean plague has re-established the probability that καρδία was indeed used in the sense of *cor* (*CQ* 3 (1952) 100).

How then may it have come about that on so technical and unphilosophical a topic Lucretius copes so well? It might not be fanciful to suggest the cooperation of a Greek doctor; they had long dominated the profession at Rome. There is a [81/82] yet more intriguing possibility: could Lucretius possibly have used a technical lexicon? Bacchius of Tanagra had produced just such a handbook of Hippocratic vocabulary, drawing poetic examples from Aristophanes of Byzantium,[15] and other Hippocratic lexica existed. Proof is impossible and the relevance of Lenaeus' translations (*supra*) cannot be established, but I rather incline to suppose that Lucretius used a lexicon, for it is precisely the technical terminology that is rendered so correctly.

It will be as well to consider briefly the existence of dictionaries which might have been available to Roman authors. Existence and availability are of course two very different matters, as is made clear by Cicero's dependence upon Atticus' library; and Cicero was a rich man, a lover of Greece, and a voracious reader.[16] The overwhelming majority of author-dictionaries were concerned, as was to be expected, with the poets. Predictably, Homer was most fully covered. The poet Philitas collected Homeric glosses, and, more importantly, Zenodotus' collection was alphabetically arranged, though we should remember that in ancient dictionaries and the like alphabetization tends to be limited to the initial letter, which of course hinders consultation. Callimachus collected the names of months, Philemon Attic usage, Aristophanes of Byzantium the terminology of kinship, the ages of man and civic affairs *inter alia*. How useful these collections will have been to a baffled Roman may be questioned. The great age of author-lexica came later than the Augustan poets, when Didymus produced his dictionaries of comic and tragic diction, Apion and Apollonius Sophista their *Homeric glosses*, and Pamphilus of Alexandria his huge *Lexicon of Lexica*. So far as I know, there was no simple Greek–Latin dictionary till the third century AD (the *Hemeneumata Pseudo-Dositheana*).

For the most part, therefore, the republican and Augustan poets were dependent either upon the excellence of their education or upon the availability of learned Greek friends at their elbows, or upon the use of texts equipped with glosses and/or scholia. Far too little work has been done on the Latin poets' use of annotated Greek texts; Robin Schlunk's book, *The Homeric Scholia and the Aeneid* (Ann Arbor, 1974) is pioneering and most stimulating.[17] He argues, and in my view convincingly, that a writer as deeply and thoughtfully committed to Hellenistic literary principles as Virgil was must have read Homer under the strong and constant influence of the whole vast apparatus of glosses, literary interpretations, and allegorical criticism inherited from the Alexandrian and

[15] F. Susemihl, *Gesch. gr. Lit. in der Alexandrinerzeit* (Leipzig 1891) 1.462, 820.
[16] Cf. A. J. Marshall, *Phoenix* 30.3 (1976) 253ff.
[17] Horsfall review, *JRS* 66 (1976) 277; less favourably, E. C. Kopff, *CJ* 71 (1976) 279ff.

Pergamene schools. Our extant scholia, or scholia analogous in character to them, can be shown time and again to have determined the way in which Virgil employs the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Only when Schlunk asks his readers to believe that Virgil expected his audience to recognize that his departure from Homer in a certain passage was the result of a criticism made in a scholium that they themselves could also be expected to know would I venture to part company with his approach.

The use of annotated texts at Rome can be pursued a good deal further—and there is, incidentally, a scrap of evidence to suggest that the Sosii might have published scholarly works on Homer at Rome.[18] We should perhaps look as far back as Livius Andronicus: Hermann Fränkel suggested that his *Odissia* renders at times not the words of Homer, but the alternative renderings given by the glosses.[19] Ennius certainly knew scholarly work on the tragedies of Euripides.[20]
[82/83] To the early and abundant Aratus-scholia I shall turn shortly. The work of Theon *may* have made a good deal of difference to the comprehensibility of the harder Hellenistic poets at Rome; he produced commentaries on Lycophron, Theocritus, Callimachus' *Aetia*, Apollonius Rhodius, and Nicander. Unfortunately, his date is by no means certain: 'Augustan or late first century BC' is the best that the experts can do (cf. Wendel, 'Theon' *RE* 10A:2054(9)). However, he did have predecessors: in the case of Nicander, Demetrius Chlorus; in that of Apollonius, after learned work by his own pupil Charis, Asclepiades of Myrlea, who wrote early enough to have been cited by Strabo (3.157); perhaps in the case of Theocritus, Asclepiades again; in that of Callimachus, Artemidorus, Theon's own father. In the light of Schlunk's findings with regard to the Homer-scholia, it is inherently likely that Virgil also used scholia to such poets as Theocritus and Apollonius, and the difficulty about the date of Theon is not a valid argument against his having done so.[21]

But the range of commentaries upon Hellenistic poets did not necessarily open up all their dark places to the authors of Augustan or republican Rome. In the first place, scholia had to be available;[22] perhaps even more important, the translator or adaptor had to be prepared to use them. There is an amusing case of neglect—if that is the right word—in Cicero's version of a passage of *Iliad* 2 (299–330) in *Div.* 2.63.[23]

Homer concludes his description of the snake that has eaten the fledglings: τὸν μὲν ἀΐζηλον θῆκεν θεός ('the god made it invisible', 318); ἀΐζηλον is probably an

[18] E. G. Turner, *Akten 8 Int. Congr. Papyrologie* (Wien 1955) 279ff.
[19] But see N. G. Wilson, *Gnomon* 48 (1976) 717.
[20] H. D. Jocelyn, *Trag. of Ennius* (Cambridge 1967) 45f.
[21] Cf. M. Goetz, *De scholiastis Graecis* (diss. Jena 1918); Wendel's scepticism (*Abh. Göttingen* 1920, 68ff.) does not convince me. There is clearly much more work to be done.
[22] Virgil's own library must have been highly influential. It was evidently of the finest quality and *non minus aliis doctis patuit quam sibi* (Suet. *Vita* 66R).
[23] R. Schlunk, *The Homeric Scholia and the Aeneid* (Ann Arbor 1974) 5; cf. H. D. Jocelyn, *YClS* 23 (1973) 81ff.

Aristarchean reading, 'invisible', as against Zenodotus' ἀρίζηλον 'clearly visible'. Cicero translates *genitor Saturnius idem abdidit*, clearly following the (?) Aristarchean 'invisible'. But the following line in Homer (319) λᾶαν γάρ μιν ἔθηκε Κρόνου πάις ἀγκυλομήτεω ('for the son of Cronus of crooked counsel turned it to stone') was athetized by Aristarchus to preserve the sense. Cicero, however, translated it (*et duro formauit tegmina saxi*); that he achieves a sort of coherence is a tribute to his ingenuity, not to his scholarship! Virgil, in his adaptions of Homer, appears quite untroubled by athetized lines, which he treats like any others.

Aratus' *Phaenomena* attracted a very great bulk of scholarly attention, from the surviving commentary by Hipparchus (mid-late second century) and the slightly earlier scholia by the mathematician Attalus of Rhodes onwards; the Pergamenes Crates and Zenodotus, Aristarchus' pupil Parmeniscus, and Asclepiades of Myrlea all tried their hand. Abundant scholia survive. Though it seems clear that Cicero knew some scholia (Soubiran, ed. Budé, 93) he did not consistently profit by them. It is well known that Cicero's version is full of inaccuracies; the contrast with Germanicus' is very striking: Germanicus likewise used one or more commentaries, but had also an evident interest in astronomy; he does not hesitate to correct Aratus for errors which had crept into his paraphrase of Eudoxus of Cnidus.[24] Cicero translated the *Phaenomena* when *admodum adulescentulus* (*Nat. D.* 2.104); it is clearly a sort of test-piece on account of its difficulty; in such a case errors and failures will not have been altogether dishonourable, and Varro of Atax's courage in attempting the translation when he had only learned Greek in his mid-30s is remarkable (Hier. *Chron.* A.A. 1935). The motives for youthful activity as a translator—as is likewise attested for Cicero's brother, for Julius Caesar, and apparently for Julius Caesar Strabo, for example (Richter, 73)—are familiar and have been discussed; Cicero also translated Xenophon's *Oeconomicus* as a young man, and later the *Protagoras* and *Timaeus*; Quintilian (10.5.2) adduces this activity as proof that *nostri oratores* judged that translation was *optimum*, and [83/84] Cicero recommends it as part of the training of an orator.[25] Intent is crucial; the budding orator will be concerned not with minutiae, but with effect. Cicero's translations often succeed, but that success should not lead us automatically to suppose that his contemporaries, or that he himself, could cope with all the finer points of the harder Hellenistic poets.

There were other translations not so obviously undertaken for the purpose of technical self-improvement and their existence is highly significant: Varro of Atax rendered the *Argonautica*; Matius, Ninnius Crassus, and Polybius the *Iliad*; and one Naevius, conceivably, the *Cypria*. We may also recall that Trimalchio followed the Homeristae with the help of a Latin translation (Petron. 59.3). Such works do

[24] Jocelyn (n. 23) 98ff.; H. E. Richter, *Übersetzen u. Übersetzungen* (diss. Erlangen 1938) 16ff.; D. M. Jones *BICS* 6 (1959) 29ff.; Soubiran ed. Cic. *Aratea, etc.* (edn. Budé) 88 for errors.

[25] Cf. Cic. *Brut.* 310, *De or.* 1.155, *De opt. gen. or.* 13.23.

of course represent a technical challenge attractive even to an ambitious and independent author, but when the Romans had for so long been committed to adaption and emulation, the continuance of straight translation might suggest a readership interested to know what those Greeks had written but unable to make the discovery unaided. That readership is not necessarily wholly Greekless, just incapable of mastering hard literary Greek—even at a level of superficial comprehension.

There is further inference to be drawn: we have seen the poet's own bilingualism taxed at times to the limits in absorbing *exemplaria Graeca*. That process of painful absorption and the ensuing learned and elegant re-birth is essential and integral to what a Virgil or a Horace is trying to achieve; we may wonder, therefore, whether more than a very small proportion of their contemporary readership really knew what they were trying to do for much of the time. Would many, for example, have appreciated that Virgil's description of the stag in *Aen.* 7.483ff. is in fact a delicate re-working of an epigram by Meleager on a pet hare, which died of overeating (*Anth. Pal.* 7.207)? Would the calque, that most elegant and mannered manifestation of a bilingual literary culture (see Nisbet and Hubbard, Horace *Odes* 1, 2, index, s.v.), ever have been appreciated except by a very few choice intellects? We might also do well to question whether the doctrine of the genres was widely studied as such; if it was not—and we may doubt that it ever formed a central and memorable part of the poet's education—then we should perhaps feel a certain unease at Cairns' theory of 'generic composition'; if only a handful of readers were going to recognize poems as *anathematika*, *diegetika*, *kataskeuai*, *syntaktika*, and all the rest, then what were the poets themselves hoping to achieve by deliberate adherence to or departures from the norms of each genre, if those norms were not generally going to be recognized as such?

Fluency, accuracy, and pride: the bilingualism of the rulers

We need to be particularly careful in defining Cicero's expertise in Greek: *praetor ceteros φιλέλληνες et sumus et habemur* (*Att.* 1.l5.l): his head was cut off while he was being carried in a litter reading Euripides' *Medea* (Ptol. Chennus ap. Phot. p. l5la Bekker). Cicero's love of Greek is beyond question; the Greek in his letters shows him a master of elegant contemporary conversational idiom.[26] Before the age of 20, he started declaiming in Greek at Rome because Greek supplied *plura ornamenta* and because he could only be taught and corrected by the best Greek masters if he himself declaimed in Greek (*Brut.* 310); he kept up the practice till he

[26] R. B. Steele, *AJPhil.* 21 (1900) 387ff.; H. J. Rose, *JHS* 41 (1921) 114ff.

became praetor in 67 (Suet. *Gramm.* 25.3). His rhetorical fluency will no doubt have stood him in good stead when he addressed the senate of Syracuse in [84/85] Greek[27]—which was an achievement that was held against him. I need hardly labour the point that what we have not found attested is an equal mastery of the traditional, inherited, elaborated, encrusted literary language of the highest *belles-lettres*. The evidence for Cicero's one substantial and original literary work in Greek (on his consulate) is alarming: it has used up the whole perfume-box of Isocrates, all the work-boxes of his disciples, and, as if that were not enough, the *pigmenta* of Aristotle as well (*Att.* 2.l.l); he allows—while hoping that Atticus will distribute the work in Greek-speaking lands—that bits may seem, to an *homo Atticus, minus Graecum eruditumque*, but even in that case, he acknowleges that the fault is entirely his own; Lucullus goes even further, saying of his own History in Greek that the mistakes in the Greek are deliberate, to remind readers that the work was by a Roman after all (*Att.* l.19.10). Unfortunately, Cicero never understood the lethal irony of Posidonius' comment when asked to write up the topic *ornatius:* he was *non modo non excitatum . . . ad scribendum sed etiam plane deterritum* (*Att.* 11.l.2).

I am not sure quite what ought to be inferred from the remarks of Apollonius Molon on Cicero's Greek, which will have lost nothing in the telling after Cicero rose to fame (Plut. *Cic.* 4; Penguin tr.): 'it is said that Apollonius, who did not understand Latin, asked Cicero to declaim in Greek. Cicero was very glad to do so, thinking that in this way it would be easier to have his faults corrected. So he made his declamation and, when it was over the other listeners were amazed at the performance and vied with each other in the warmth of their congratulations; but Apollonius had shown no particular excitement while he was listening, and now that Cicero had stopped speaking, he sat for a long time lost in thought. Cicero was distressed at this, but finally, Apollonius said: "Certainly, Cicero, I congratulate you and I am amazed at you. It is Greece and her fate that I am sorry for. The only glories that were left to us were our culture and our eloquence. Now I see that these too are going to be taken over in your person by Rome"'. We have already seen that Cicero had long practice in Greek rhetorical exercises; it is perfectly possible that he was really rather good at them. We do not have to detect irony in Apollonius' comments as we must do in Posidonius' though I have been tempted to do so.

Comments by Greeks on the Romans' knowledge of their language have not, as far as I know, been systematically gathered together. The few I know are highly suggestive, and clearly carry more weight than the Romans' own estimates[28]—for instance Cicero's remark that Crassus the orator spoke Greek in such a way that

[27] *Verr.* 2.4.147; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 79: T. Sempronius Gracchus to the Rhodians (in Greek).
[28] But see Suet. *Aug.* 89.1 for a balanced and detailed estimate.

you would think he spoke no other language.[29] The claim that Licinius Crassus, cos. 131 and proconsul of Asia, could administer justice not merely in *koine* but in four dialects—presumably, Attic, Doric, Ionic, and Aeolic (Val. Max. 8.7.6; Quint. 11.2.50)—is clearly more circumstantial and argues an excellent ear and memory, though one wonders where the dialects were still in general use. Similar stories of British administrators in India are recorded. Of Catulus, cos. 102, Cicero notes that *etiam Graeci ipsi solent suae linguae subtilitatem elegantiamque concedere* (*De or.* 2.28); to compliment a Roman nobleman on his linguistic talents will not have cost much—and anyway, Catulus may genuinely have spoken a pretty Greek. T. Pomponius Atticus is a special case: Nepos (4.1) compliments his Greek in familiar terms—you would think him a native. But in his case, prolonged residence and deep understanding make the claim highly plausible. His history of
[85/86] Cicero's consulship in Greek (Nep. *Att.* 18.6) will not have reeked of borrowed boudoirs or blazed with plundered paint-pots.

Aside from the possibility of flattery laid on by the *adulandi gens prudentissima*, we are further hindered from reaching a realistic assessment of these men's Greek by the consideration that they will often have had an interpreter or interpreters on their staff who might draft or correct their public utterances.[30] Thus it emerges from the flawed Greek[31] of Flamininus' letter to the citizens of Chyretiae that either he wrote it himself or he used a non-Greek secretary. At the opposite extreme, Augustus' secretariat showed admirable mastery of Greek[32] and may well have been staffed largely by native Greeks. In all the other instances surveyed by Sherk (n. 31), it is, however, virtually certain that the documents were the work of Romans, not of Greeks.[33] This is particularly clear in the case of translated *senatusconsulta*; clearly the *patres* were not prepared to entrust this work to foreigners (Sherk, l3ff.). Error and inelegance cannot therefore have been held to matter all that much. Nowhere is a Roman's flawless mastery of Greek demonstrably in evidence, and only in Augustus' own secretariat does it seem probable that Greek secretaries undertook the task of comprehensive and irreproachable correction or creation, on the basis of a Latin draft, of perfect versions.

If Flamininus' letter permits no one clear inference, then the fact that Scipio Africanus Major sent a Greek letter to the king of Macedon permits none at all (Polyb. 10.9.3). Nor is the story of a conversation between Perseus and Aemilius Paullus, in Greek, as significant as has been supposed (Polyb. 29.20; Liv. 65.8.5;

[29] *De or.* 2.2; cf. *Brut.* 247 on C. Memmius, *perfectus litteris sed Graecis, fastidiosus sane Latinarum.*

[30] Cf. Cic. *Balb.* 28, *libertino homine quem apud maiores legati nostri in Graeciam profiscentes secum habere uoluerunt*, *Fam.* 13.54.

[31] 'Carelessly composed, contains several mistakes, and on the whole gives the impression that its author is using an acquired language, that he is not a native Greek': R. K. Sherk, *Roman Documents from the Greek East* (Baltimore 1969) 199; cf. Boyancé (n. 2) 115.

[32] Suet. *Aug.* 89.1; Sherk (n. 31) 204f.

[33] Note the dative absolute in Sherk (n. 31) 70 1.2 Ehrenberg Jones 317, common enough in dates. What would the Greeks have said?

Val. Max. 5.1.8). Paullus does switch languages, but need not have spoken with fluency or indeed have come to the encounter unprepared: thus Pompey, though he bade farewell to his wife in Sophoclean trimeters, had taken the precaution of preparing his speech to Ptolemy and carried a *βίβλιον μικρόν* in his hand.[34]

Valerius Maximus asserts that *magistratus prisci* addressed Greeks on public occasions only in Latin, *suam populique Romani maiestatem retinentes* (2.2.2). This statement cannot be accepted without qualifications.[35] Admittedly the Hellenophone Aemilius Paullus used Latin and a Roman interpreter in public,[36] but we have seen Flamininus, the father of the Gracchi (cf. n. 27) and Cicero use Greek; notably, Octavian himself did so in Egypt (Dio Cass. 51.l6.4). What may have misled Valerius are the facts that some Roman magistrates will simply have used Latin because they knew no Greek or not enough,[37] and that certain eminent Romans had trenchantly trumpeted their linguistic ignorance and prejudice: 'the more Greek a man knows, the worse he is' (Cicero's grandfather; *De or*. 2.265); 'I'd rather not be seen to know Greek' (C. Antonius, the orator, ibid., 4); 'ridiculous to study the language taught by a subject people' (Marius; Plut. *Mar.* 2.2).

Certainly the tolerant attitude of the Roman Senate argues against any serious and consistent policy of linguistic nationalism. In 155 C. Acilius translated only *τοὺς πρώτους λόγους* of the philosophers in the Senate (Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 2). Two centuries later, Herod was using Greek at Claudius' invitation (Dio Cass. 60.8.3). Tiberius' objections to the practice were not consistently maintained (Suet. *Tib.* 71; Dio Cass. 67.15.3).

Plutarch is not generous in his Roman biographies with comments upon his subjects' linguistic talents. To Cicero and Marius I have already referred; of [86/87]
Flamininus he does say that he was *φώνην τε καὶ διάλεκτον Ἑλλην* (5.6; but why is the letter so flawed?). Marcellus (1.2) admired those who excelled in Greek, but was too busy to be as good at it himself as he would have wished. The elder Cato (2.4) is said to have learned it late in life, but Plutarch clearly considers he could at least read it with ease. Lucullus had been trained to speak 'sufficiently well' in Greek (1.2). Brutus knew and understood all the sects of Greek philosophy and in Greek (2.3) 'pursued an epigrammatic and laconic brevity' which resulted in some striking phrases in his letters. That would appear to be all, explicitly.

We should be careful, moreover, not to draw any sweeping general inferences from the numerous anecdotes in Plutarch and elsewhere[38] which reveal that many

[34] Plut. *Pomp.* 79.2; it was Professor Harry Avery who kindly drew my attention to this most suggestive passage.

[35] Cf. J. Kaimio, in P. Bruun, *Studies in the Romanization of Etruria* (Rome 1975) 99f.; H. Homeyer, *Word* 13 (1957) 431ff.

[36] Liv. 45.29.3; Homeyer (n. 35).

[37] Philostr. *V.A.* 5.36 a passage of clear and disturbing implications; Verres' use of interpreters is well attested: *Verr.* 2.2.54 etc.

[38] *Pomp.* 79.2 *supra*; *Caes.* 46.2, 66.8; W. Kroll, *Kultur der cic. Zeit*[2] (Darmstadt 1963) 2.118ff.; Jocelyn (n. 23) 64, 76.

Roman statesmen had a Greek quotation ready for any occasion. The multitudinous quotations in Cicero's letters reveal error and misunderstanding; his reading was indeed wide but his plumes were often borrowed.[39] If that is true of Cicero, then we should not infer from (e.g.) the timely quotation of Soph. fr. 789N$_2$ that Pompey's reading in the Greek tragedians was intimate and extensive.

Dispraise is first explicitly attested by the unhygienic reaction of a Tarentine audience in 282 BC to the dress, pronunciation, and use of Greek of the Roman envoy Postumius; it does appear that the Tarentines were drunk at the time (App. *Samn.* 7, Dion. Hal. 19.5).[40] Polybius refers coldly to the prooemium of a later Postumius' history composed in Greek (39.1.1–2); the author deprecated anger at the errors in his Greek *nam sum . . . homo Romanus natus in Latio. Graeca oratio a nobis alienissima est* (*ap.* Gell. 11.8.7–8). Cicero describes this Postumius as *et litteratus et disertus* (*Brut.* 81) and it is easy to see why Polybius might have preferred that he stick to a language he could write competently.[41] We may compare the sneer in Justin's preface, deriving very probably from Timagenes: 'since many Romans, even men of consular dignity had put their nation's affairs into history in Greek, a foreign language, *Graeco peregrinoque sermone*'. Whatever the readers' reactions or the writers' motives we must see these feats in perspective; the writing skill which a Pictor or a Rutilius Rufus required for composing a history was not necessarily of a very advanced order; even now it is not hard to out-write a Polybius or a Dionysius.

When Suetonius tells us (*Gramm.* 10) that the Athenian Ateius Capito supplied Pollio with *praeceptis de ratione scribendi*, I am not, *pace* Boyancé,[42] persuaded that Pollio himself wrote any version of his history in Greek; Ateius, who himself claimed to have *processum . . . et in Latinus nonnullum* appears to me to have made some suggestions about Pollio's Latin style, and that is something that no Roman, so far as I know, ever did for a Greek author's Greek.

Poetry and philosophy: Roman authors and Greek compositions

I have sought long and hard for Romans writing in Greek who were accepted as peers by the Greeks themselves, with very little success. I rather doubt whether Q. Sextius Niger, a Stoic much admired by Seneca, really belongs to this category;[43] he taught philosophy in Greek (Sen. *Ep.* 59.7), and that, for a Roman Stoic, was no surprise; he was a *sapientiae adsectator* at Athens (Plin. *HN* 18.274)

[39] Jocelyn (n. 23) 61ff.; E. Malcovati, *Cicerone e la poesia* (Pavia 1943) 49f.

[40] How earlier diplomatic missions (H. D. Jocelyn, *Bull. Rylands Libr.* 54 (1977) 330; A. D. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom* (Cambridge 1975) 14) coped is best left to the imagination.

[41] Cf. further Cato *ap.* Plut. *Cat. mai.* 12.5.

[42] *Pace* Boyancé (n. 2) 121f.

[43] G. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford 1965) 79f.

and appears to have made money thereby, but there is nothing to suggest that he taught Greeks. His audience is not far to seek: such a man, who turned down Caesar's invitation to a public life (Sen *Ep.* 98.13), was surely an obvious focal [87/88] point for the intellectual republicans who gathered round Brutus in 43 BC—the young Horace, for example. We should, moreover, recall that the Stoics wrote in a disagreeable jargon of their own.

Authors with Roman names in the *Garland of Philip* are rather more promising, though the greatest care is required (Gow–Page *GP* 1.22 for a full list): Erucius of Cyzicus and Gallus (not seriously to be identified with Cornelius!) are Romans only by courtesy of Cichorius' beguiling hypotheses (*Röm. Stud.* 304ff.); equally, they could, I suppose, at least in theory, have been the freedmen of Romans, or citizens newly made by governors or commanders, as Tullius Laurea appears to have been. Lollius Bassus may have belonged to the court of Tiberius, A. Mucius Scaevola may have been the *trib. pleb.* of 54 BC, and Tullius Geminus the consul of 46 AD: Pompeius may be identical with Ovid's friend Macer, who wrote on Trojan themes (Ov. *Am.* 2.18), or with his son—two epigrams are his. That is all: of Argentarius, Aemilianus, Etruscus, Honestus, Secundus, and Quintus, we can say nothing. Of course Romans wrote epigrams in Greek; so did their ladies, or rather, in Lucian's cutting phrase (*De mercede conductis* 36), 'songs not much inferior to Sappho'. Once the complex rules for elegiacs are mastered, they are in fact extremely easy to write. But just how many poems written by real Romans, who made their first steps in Greek in Italy, were admitted into the anthologies we do not know; a few, certainly.

In a famous passage near the beginning of the *Acad. post.* (1.4), Cicero puts the dilemma: 'when I saw that philosophy was most thoroughly explained in Greek, I thought that a Roman who was filled with enthusiasm for it, would, if he was instructed in Greek learning, read Greek texts rather than mine; but if he shrank from Greek *artes* and *disciplinae* he would certainly not bother with texts which cannot be followed without *eruditio Graeca*' (cf. ibid., 1.10, *Nat. D.* 1.8). For all Cicero's own efforts Greek remained the primary language for the study of philosophy at Rome. That was enough, we are told, to dissuade many potential students.[44] Greek philosophers despaired of their Roman pupils ever mastering the alien subject and its special terminology, not least Epictetus, whose own teacher of philosophy was paradoxically enough a Roman, Musonius Rufus.[45]

But perhaps most interesting and significant of all the Greek criticisms is one found in Athenaeus (4.160c):

[44] Ignorance of Greek: *Tusc.* 5.116, *Nat. D.* 1.8, *Fin.* 1.10: by implication there are those who cannot pass easily from Latin to Greek.

[45] Epictetus *Discourses* 2.14.14; cf. 1.26.9, 3.8.7, especially 2.23.21. The women are the worst of all (fr. 15); cf. Lucian *Merc. Cond.* 36.

οἱ πολλοὶ τῶν γραμματικῶν τῶν Ρωμαικῶν, οὐχ ὁμιλησάντες πολλοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ποιηταῖς καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅθεν εἴληφεν ὁ Οὐάρρων τὸ ἰαμβεῖον (τοὐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον).

'And most of the Roman grammarians, not having been conversant with many Greek poets and historians, do not know where Varro got the verse from' (Loeb tr., Gulick).

Kroll (*Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1924, repr. 1964) 16, n. 6) claims that Athenaeus' statement is 'at least an exaggeration'. But it is not easy to think of Roman men of letters save perhaps Varro, Laberius, or possibly Horace, who might have entered such by-ways of minor Greek comic writing. The claim made is too vague to be of great help, but Athenaeus has hit upon an esoteric and unfamiliar corner of Greek literature, and we have seen some reason to believe that the claim, more generally, may not have been altogether
[88/89] unjust.

Schools and tutors

I want to look more closely at the social and educational background to certain aspects of Roman bilingualism.

We know extraordinarily little about what Greek was taught in Italian schools and how; of the Greek taught by private tutors in great households, we know nothing at all, though it can probably be assumed that the syllabus of authors read, at least, would not differ much from that followed by ordinary schoolteachers.

At the level of the *Grammaticus*, it was almost exclusively poetry that was read; this is probably because, with the exception of Dionysius Thrax, ancient authorities held that *grammatike* was concerned exclusively with the poets.[46] The only prose author for whom there is any evidence is Sophron (Quint. 1.10.17, Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.158). Quintilian describes tragedy as *utilis* (1.8.6) but it does not feature in the posthumous prospectus of Statius' father's school (*Silv.* 5.3.146). In comedy, only Menander (Quint. 1.8.7; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 2.1.114; Aus. *Ad Nep. Lib. Protr.* p. 236.46 Peiper), with his Roman successors; Menander was even thought suitable for little girls (Ov. *Tr.* 2.369f.). Erotic elegy and hendecasyllables Quintilian thinks undesirable, particularly for younger pupils, and the lyric poets he will tolerate only in selection (1.7.6f.; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.152ff.)—but the story of Calvisius Sabinus, cited below, shows that some knowledge of the lyric poets was expected of a man with pretences to education, despite Cicero's savage remark, *negat, ai duplicetur sibi aetas, habiturum se tempus, quo legat lyricos* (ap. Sen. *Ep.* 49.5). Cicero (*Fam.*

[46] Nepos *ap.* Suet. *Gramm. 4: grammaticus poetarum interpres*; M. L. Clarke, *Higher Education in the Ancient World* (London 1971) 21.

6.18.5) recommends that the son of his friend Lepta should learn Hesiod by heart (cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5.3.15f.), and we have already seen that many distinguished Romans had a splendid supply of tags and sometimes rather more than tags committed to memory. Of other Greek poets—Homer apart—there is not a word, with the perplexing exception of Statius' poem on his schoolmaster father;[47] allowance must be made for the excesses of filial piety and for the school's locale, Neapolis, a city in Bowersock's phrase, 'defiantly Greek' ((n. 43) 81), where, after all, Augustus in his last months decreed that *Romani Graeco, Graeci Romano habitu et sermone uterentur* (Suet. *Aug.* 98.3). What Statius tells us of the syllabus there does not square with our other knowledge about the reading of Greek in Italy and is clearly to be explained by local circumstances, for, apart from the omission of tragedy and Menander, Theocritus (151), Callimachus, and Lycophron (156f.) are included. At least Papinius did now have some scholia to help him expound Lycophron, but one cannot help feeling that an audience of Neapolitan adolescents will have cursed his idiosyncratic tastes.

Language teaching began with Greek, not with Latin: I do not refer to drunken Greek nannies (Tac. *Dial.* 29.1; cf. Gell. 12.1.7), but to school; it was felt that children would learn Latin anyway, though the dangers of this assumption, which was conducive to bad Latin in a bad accent, were recognized.[48] Reading in Greek began with Homer: this is attested from Livius Andronicus to Ausonius.[49] Homer, it was recognized, could be read at several different levels, for different purposes: *ab Homero atque Vergilio lectio inciperet, quamquam ad intellegendas eorum uirtutes firmiore iudicio opus est. sed huic rei superest tempus, neque enim semel legentur* (Quint. 1.8.5). Livius and Ennius used their translations as *praelectiones* in the schools they both conducted at Rome (Suet. *Gramm.* 1.1) and Statius' father did a paraphrase into prose (*loc. cit.* 159), though whether it was in Latin or Greek [89/90] is not clear. We can only suppose that there was not much essential difference in the teaching techniques employed for the two literatures (cf. Quint. 1.4.1); I shall not repeat the expositions of Marrou, Clarke, and Bonner, save to draw attention to Quintilian's statement that the *Grammaticus* should pay special attention to *glossemata, id est uoces minus usitatas* (1.8.15); to a Roman child, used to the Greek of a slave-household, every *uox* will have seemed *minus usitata*.[50]

At the rhetor's, translation was practised, as I have said, (cf. Quint. 10.5.2; Plin. *Ep.* 7.9; Suet. *Gramm.* 25.5). Homer was studied as a master of rhetoric (Quint. 10.1.46) and formal comparisons of Greek and Latin authors were undertaken, not merely Homer and Virgil (Juv. 6.436, 11.180, etc.) but Cicero and Demosthenes (Quint. 10.1.105). Demosthenes and Aeschines were studied

[47] D. Vessey, *Statius and the Thebaid* (Cambridge 1973) 51f.
[48] Quint. 1.1.12; Petron. 46.5; Paulinus of Pella, *Euch.* 75ff.; cf. Diehl, *Inscr. Christ.* 742.
[49] *Protr. ad Nep.* 46 (p. 263 P); cf. Quint. 1.8.5; Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.41f.; Plin. *Ep.* 2.14.2.
[50] Cf. Macr. 1.24.5 for recollections of how Homer was read.

closely.[51] Among the teachers of rhetoric, Hermagoras and Nicetes used Greek as Molon had done, while Arellius Fuscus could instruct in either language.[52] Moreover, an excellent working knowledge of the technical language of rhetorical criticism was clearly to be expected of Dionysius' Roman pupils.

I hope it will by now have become clear that if a Roman wished to acquire an intimate knowledge of the intricacies of poetic Greek, it was something which he would not already have done automatically at school; rather, he would have to take the initiative, and go out into the world to secure such instruction for himself—just as Virgil so fortunately did from Parthenius.

The details of higher education in Greek in the Roman world are too well known for me to have to survey them at length, but one point needs to be made more fully: the emphasis was not on poetic activity. Thus in the case of the exiles, Sulpicius Rufus at Smyrna wrote history—some in Greek; Horace and Brutus, quasi-exiles, turned to philosophy, Horace to the Academy (*Ep.* 2.2.43), Brutus to Theomnestus the Academic and Cratippus the Peripatetic (Plut. *Brut.* 24); Tiberius on Rhodes took to the astrology of Thrasyllus and to the schools of rhetoric (Suet. *Tib.* 11). Quite exceptionally, he not merely fostered the company of poets—Apollonides, Lollius Bassus, but *fecit et Graeca poemata, imitates Euphorionem et Rhianum et Parthenium, quibus poetis admodum delectatus scripta omnium et imanes publicis bibliothecis inter ueteres et praecipuos auctores dedicauit, et ob hoc plerique eruditorum certatim ad eum multa de his ediderunt.*[53]

As for voluntary visitors to Greek lands, the overall picture is the same: Propertius says that in Athens he will study Epicureanism or Platonism, will delight his eyes with paintings or statuary, *persequar aut studium linguae, Demosthenis arma, librorumque tuos, docte Menandre sales* (3.21.27f.). That is neither advanced nor poetic. Gellius talks agreeably of himself and his contemporaries who had gone to Athens *ad capiendum ingenii cultum* (1.2). Cicero studied rhetoric and philosophy in Athens, rhetoric in Asia and Rhodes. His son mastered practical oenology under the corrupting influence of his tutor, Gorgias the rhetorician. An expensive social life, a lot of drinking, some mildly improving tourism, and a little philosophy: that was the normal pattern. Cicero had already outgrown his involvement with Alexandrian poetry (*Aratea*, *Pontius Glaucus*, *Nilus Alcyones*) by the time he went to Athens and the direct literary impact of the Romans' 'Grand Tour' seems to have been negligible.

[90/91] More familiar perhaps, and rather less surprising are the pretensions to Hellenistic culture in fashionable and arriviste circles during the Empire: Calvisius Sabinus had slaves to recite Homer, Hesiod, and the *nouem lyrici* after

[51] Gwynn (n. 2) 229 etc.

[52] Sen. *Controv.* 9.3.13; H. Bornecque, *Les Déclamations* (repr. Hildesheim 1967) 139.

[53] Suet. *Tib.* 70.2; cf. Germanicus *Aratus* ed. D. B. Cain, 17, 20: A. F. Stewart, *JRS* 66 (1976) 85; Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979).

they had defeated his own memory (Sen. *Ep.* 27.6); Trimalchio drops references to Homer's account of the labours of Hercules and to the Cyclops who twists Ulysses' thumb with the tongs (Petr. 48); Juvenal's bluestocking weighs up Homer and Virgil in the scales (6.436). These vignettes are lent body by Lucian's account (*De mercede conductis* 25) of the Roman 'mightily consumed with longing for the wisdom of Homer or the eloquence of Demosthenes or the sublimity of Plato'. Rent-a-Greek provides a savant in beard and mantle; 'it will make people think him a devoted student of Greek learning and in general a person of taste in literary matters'. Of course we must allow for date and animus, but the passages cited do provide some slender confirmation of the superficiality of certain aspects of Roman philhellenism (cf. further, Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979)).

I turn finally to the Greeks in the households of great Roman families, whether at home or on their travels. They have been surveyed repeatedly and I concentrate here on certain significant details: Greeks were employed to teach, to advise, and to chronicle; the Scipios, the elder Cato, Aemilius Paullus, Cicero had Greek tutors for their younger children; others educated the Gracchi, Brutus, the younger Cato. Hillscher's list supplies dozens more (*NJahrb.* Suppl 28, 1891). The value of Panaetius, Posidonius, Antiochus of Ascalon, or Theophanes of Mytilene to their Roman patrons as counsellors has rightly been stressed (Bowersock, 3f.); from Archias on Lucullus to Crinagoras in the Augustan court, Greek men of letters served also to chronicle. Occasionally, their functions are more specialized, as when Sosigenes advises Caesar on calendar reform, or when Tyrannio and Chrysippus advise Cicero on the acquisition of Greek books. Tyrannio also taught both Cicero's nephew and Strabo, who merits notice as a Greek who came to Rome to study under another Greek. Words suggestive of real personal intimacy are regularly used of the relationship between Roman patrons and Greek dependents: Cicero allowed Diodotus to live out his days in his own house, where he had been for many years (*Brut.* 309; *Fam.* 13.16.4). On Terentia's money ἐλευθερίως ἅμα καὶ σωφρόνως διῆγε μετὰ τῶν συμβιούντων Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ῥωμαίων φιλολόγων (Plut. *Cic.* 8.2). 'He lived, in a generous and at the same time modest manner with the Greek and Roman men of letters who were his associates' (Loeb tr. Perrin). That the Roman patrons loved much Greek literature and some Greeks is not in question. That the Greeks had, except in the fields of philosophy and rhetoric, any fundamental intellectual or literary influence one is at times tempted to doubt. The horrors of Cicero's Greek upon his consulship we have noticed; the story of how the *de temporibus suis* was composed is no more edifying (Soubiran, ed. Budé, cc ff.); at least he admits candidly that serious Greek geographical texts, notably Dicaearchus, are too much for him (*Att.* 2.4, 6, 7, *passim*); even he is a little surprised when his brother writes that he has composed four tragedies in sixteen days (*QFr.* 3.5.7); has he perhaps borrowed from someone? These stories may now serve to entertain, but they do suggest an attitude to literary composition that is by Alexandrian standards gravely irresponsible; it was fundamentally at odds with

everything for which his Greek teachers and the favourite authors of his youth will have stood. I am not sure that a Cicero would have known how to appreciate the
[91/92] minute craftsmanship of a Catullus, or that his brother had ever read, let alone taken in, the *Aetia*-prologue.

Cicero was as a young man called *scholasticus* by way of insult (Plut. *Cic.* 5.2); *grammaticus* and *paedagogus* could be used with similar intent, notably because they were written in receipt of *merces*.[54] Though Caesar and Varro might write about the Latin language, very few Romans under the Republic attained eminence as teachers of it, let alone of Greek; Santra, Aelius Stilo, and his son-in-law Servius Clodius are all very much the exception. Meticulous understanding of poetic texts, whether Greek or Roman, but particularly Greek, was to be looked for only in Greek pedants and in a few choice *docti poetae*. Clearly the relationship between these two classes, which is where I began, merits further study, though with slender chance of results; I wish, for example, we knew how and where Catullus learned his Greek; was Parthenius his teacher too?[55] Bilingual *doctrina* was the preserve of a very few poets, and I do not see how they can have expected any more than a minute proportion of their readership to appreciate its finer points. We are therefore, perhaps more often than we might care to admit, in the position of knowing more about the Latin poets we read than many of their original audience!

[54] Suet. *Gramm.* 3; Dio Chrys. *Or.* 7.114; R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations* (New Haven 1974) 139ff.; A. D. Booth, *EMC/CNV* 20 (1976) 5.

[55] Cf. D. Mulroy, *Phoen.* 30 (1976) 61ff.

9

Virgil, Varro's *Imagines*, and the Forum of Augustus

It has long been realized that many of the figures in Virgil's 'Parade of Heroes' in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* are described in such a way as to heighten the reader's visual awareness of them and to suggest clear links with commemorative statuary. For example:

> *pura iuuenis qui nititur hasta* (760: Romulus)
> (the lad leaning on an untipped spear)
> *uide ut geminae stant uertice cristae* (779: Romulus)
> (see how two plumes stand out on his crest)

or

> *aspices ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis ingreditur* (855–6: Marcellus)
> (see how Marcellus (the elder), marked out by the spolia opima,[1] advances).

It is, moreover, possible to go further, and draw parallels between the figures Virgil portrays and actual statues in the city of Rome.[2]

The other set of parallels which has long excited the attention and speculation of scholars is that between the choice of heroes in *Aeneid* 6 and that in the Forum of Augustus; there the approaches to the Temple of Mars Ultor were flanked by two sequences of statuary, the ancestors of the Julian family facing the *summi uiri*, the greatest men of Roman history.[3] The links between Forum and poem lie not only in figures chosen in common (Romulus, the Alban kings, Camillus, for example), but also in a common ideology, in as much as Augustus intended the figures in the Forum to stand as models by which he himself and the *principes* of future ages were to be judged (Suet. *Aug.* 31.5), just as the figures in the 'Parade of

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[1] Won by him, by Romulus, and by Cossus – when a Roman commander killed the leader of an enemy army.

[2] For fuller discussion and references, see Horsfall, *Prudentia* 8 (1976) 84 [ch. 6, 71–2].

[3] *SHA Alex. Sev.* 28.6.

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Heroes' serve as an inspiration not only to Aeneas (e.g. 806: *et dubitamus adhuc uirtutem extendere factis?* 'and do we *still* hesitate to spread our valour by our achievements?') but to the reader (8.51: *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento*, 'do you, Roman, remember to rule in sovereignty over the nations'); so too, in both Forum and Parade, Augustus himself is presented as the apogee, the climax of Roman history up to the point of construction or composition: in 6.791ff. the future Augustus stands between Romulus and Numa, portrayed in language and details deliberately recalling Dionysus as conqueror, Hercules and Alexander the Great; in the Forum, the chariot set up in his honour by Senate, knights, and people (*Res Gestae* 35.1) occupied a focal position, probably in the centre, some distance in front of the foot of the temple steps.

[20/21] But how were these links to be explained? There seemed to be an irresoluble problem of dating, which excited a good deal of relatively futile scholarly debate: Virgil died in 19 BC, though it would appear that Book 6 was completed, more or less, four years earlier, whereas the Forum was not finally ready until 2 BC, though its facilities for court sittings had been pressed into use before that date (Suet. *Aug.* 29.1). The answer must lie in a common source, and I think that both Virgil's and the Forum's indebtedness to that source can at last be proved.

I refer to the *Imagines* or 'Portraits' of M. Terentius Varro (116–27 BC), which was completed in 39 BC, the very year in which Asinius Pollio opened the first public library in Rome, adorned with portraits of great men of letters—and of Varro himself.[4] The *Imagines* contained 700 portraits, some at least in colour; the achievements of each were summarized in a short epigram (up to half a dozen lines, it would appear), and copies were exported all over the Roman world.[5]

In the late fourth century AD, Symmachus, writing to his father about the *Imagines*, says:

> Ille pauperem Curium, sed diuitibus imperantem, ille seueros Catones, gentem Fabiam, decora Scipionum, totumque illum triumphalem senatum parca laude perstrinxit. (*Ep.* 1.4)
>
> (He summarized with terse praise Curius the poor, poor but ruler over the wealthy, the frugal Catos, the family of the Fabii, the glories of the Scipiones, and that whole Senate full of *triumphatores*.)

We may clearly compare in *Aeneid* 6 the sequence *magne Cato* (841; 'mighty Cato') *geminos, duo fulmina belli, Scipiadas, cladem Libyae* (842–3; 'the two sons of the Scipios, thunderbolts of war, the ruin of Libya') . . . *quo fessum rapitis, Fabii?* (855; 'where are you hurrying me on, tired as I am, Fabii?). In 6.844 Virgil refers to Fabricius and Serranus (Regulus), rather than to Curius: the three were regularly

[4] Plin. *HN* 35.10, 11.
[5] Ibid.; A. Momigliano, *The Development of Greek Biography* (Harvard 1971) 98.

and naturally associated as the archetypal frugal soldier-heroes of early Rome.[6] This degree of coincidence is very striking, as is the fact that both authors are at pains to lay emphasis upon the continuity of achievement within the *gens*—explicitly, in the case of Symmachus/Varro within those of the Fabii, Catones, and Scipiones. The collection of family busts in the *atrium*, publicly displayed in the funeral of a noble Roman, and a source of pride and inspiration to living members of the *gens*, must have been in the minds both of Virgil and of Varro; for Varro, such family portraits must have been an important visual source—and we know that on occasion he did specify his visual sources[7] and perhaps we might even go so far as to suggest that the Roman *gens* was one of the ways in which groups of portraits were arranged within Varro's colossal work.

The links between Varro and the Forum have taken longer to emerge: the statues in the Forum showed individual heroes with their traditional visual attributes (one is drawn irresistibly to think of the attributes of Christian saints, such as St Catherine and her wheel!): Corvinus was shown with a raven on his head—the raven which explained his *cognomen* (Gell. 9.11.10), and Scipio Aemilianus must have worn the *corona obsidionalis* ('siege crown'); certainly it [21/22] was mentioned in the inscription under his statue, and we can hardly suppose that the statue itself did not represent visually the decoration mentioned in the text underneath. Moreover, we are told explicitly that Varro (though not necessarily, it has to be admitted, in the *Imagines*) did discuss the decoration (Plin. *NH* 22.13).

It will be recalled, moreover, that Symmachus referred to 'that whole Senate full of *triumphatores*' as portrayed in Varro's work; the dress of the *triumphator* was striking and elaborate, and it is not impossible that in the illustrations in the *Imagines* they were portrayed in glorious purple! Suetonius tells us (*Aug.* 31.5) that Augustus honoured the memory of the generals (*duces*) who had raised the Empire to its present greatness and *statuas omnium triumphali effigie dedicauit* in his Forum ('dedicated statues of them all in triumphal form'). Not only *triumphatores* were portrayed down the non-Julian row of statues in the Forum, but they were clearly a major category, as we can tell from the surviving inscriptions. It is, therefore, at least a possibility that depiction in Varro was a significant factor in the delicate matter of choosing who was to be commemorated in the Forum. It would be splendid if one could also prove that Varro's verse text lay behind the inscriptions in the Forum (bipartite: name, filiation, and *cursus honorum* at the foot of the statue, *res gestae* on the base), but the surviving inscriptions are, many of them, too long and too detailed to have derived from Varro's terse verses. It is perhaps worth adding, however, that Varro was not the only scholar to compile

[6] Horsfall, *Latomus* 30 (1971) 1108f. [ch. 1, 2]; Nisbet Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.40.
[7] Aeneas, after a statue at Alba: Lydus *Mag.* 1.12.

Imagines; Cicero's friend Atticus did so too, at much the same time, and we are told that Atticus' explanatory epigrams contained *facta magistratusque*[8] ('deeds and magistracies'). So, then, may Varro's likewise have done, upon occasion. All we can say is that Varro may have been *a* source for the texts in the Forum of Augustus, as he was, so far as we can tell, for the actual statues.

[8] Corn. Nep. *Att.* 18, cf. Momigliano (n. 6).

10
From history to legend
M. Manlius and the geese[1]

Since a brief but profoundly disquieting paper by Otto Skutsch in *JRS* 1953,[2] students of early Roman history have been compelled, if not to accept, then at least to acknowledge[3] the existence of a quite widely diffused story, according to which, in 390 BC, the Capitol fell, like the rest of Rome, to the Gauls. Such a narrative evidently precludes, for example, the rousing of the sleeping garrison by the geese, M. Manlius' blow with his shield-boss to knock the first Gaul over the cliff, and, for that matter, Camillus' last-minute intervention to halt the payment of the ransom (which is anyway a late development in the story).

It has long been recognized that the events of 390—or rather, 387/6[4]—are, in their transmitted form, a hopeless jumble of aetiological tales, family apologias, doublets, and transferences from Greek history.[5] Literary testimonia are exceptionally copious, and the topic has been a matter for fierce academic debate at least from the days of Niebuhr and G. C. Lewis.[6] I shall concentrate almost exclusively upon the Capitol and the geese; much else may then fall into place.

Not all the evidence for the Gallic capture of the Capitol has been surveyed with equal, or with sufficient care, but a detailed assessment of all the evidence is no longer required. Our earliest evidence—and a surprising amount of it comes from within a century of the events—does nothing, it is acknowledged, to encourage acceptance of the traditional Livian version.

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[1] I am most grateful to my friends in the School of History, Macquarie University for encouragement and criticism and to *Classical Journal* for permission to reprint *CJ* 76 (1981) 298 311. Several substantial alterations have been made.

[2] *JRS* 43 (1953) 77f., reprinted with important *Postilla* in *Studia Enniana* (London 1968) 138ff., references hereafter to *SE* pagination. See also id. on Enn. *Ann.* 227f.

[3] But not to study in detail; contrast the great mass of literature on Tarpeia (below, n. 40). E. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius* (Leipzig 1915) 107 n. 2, stumbled upon the version here discussed but did not pursue it.

[4] Cf. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 1 (Oxford 1970) on Polyb. 1.6.1; M. Sordi, *I rapporti romano ceriti* (Roma 1960) 26ff.

[5] Cf., for instance, J. Wolski, *Hist.* 5 (1956) 24ff.; M. Grant, *Roman Myths* (London 1971) 106ff.; T. J. Luce, *TAPA* 102 (1971) 290ff.; R. M. Ogilvie, *Early Rome and the Etruscans* (London 1979) 166ff.

[6] *An Enquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History* 2 (London 1855) 324ff. still repays careful study, as do Schwegler's pages, *Röm. Gesch.* 3 (Tübingen 1858) 252ff.

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(i) Arist. *ap.* Plut. *Cam.* 22.3 (= fr. 610 Rose, *FGrH* 840 F 23): Aristotle the Philosopher *τὸ μὲν ἁλῶναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἀκριβῶς δῆλός ἐστιν ἀκηκοώς, τὸν δὲ σώσαντα Λεύκιον εἶναί φησιν*.[7] Plutarch predictably complains that Camillus' praenomen was Marcus; scholars recently have been tempted to see here a reference to L. Albinius, who carried the *sacra* to Caere.[8]

(ii) Theopompus *ap.* Plin. 3.57 (= *FGrH* 115 F 317 and 840 F 24): *nam Theopompus, ante quem nemo mentionem habuit* (sc. of Rome) *urbem*[9] *dumtaxat a Gallis captam dixit*; as the context makes quite clear, the force of *dumtaxat* is 'Theopompus says only that the *urbs* was *capta a Gallis*', rather than 'that only the *urbs* was captured'.[10] It is possible that Just. 20.5.4, *legati Gallorum, qui ante menses Romam incenderant*, reflects Theopompus.[11]

[63/64] (iii) Heraclides Ponticus, *Περὶ Ψυχῆς* (*ap.* Plut.*Cam.* 22.3 = fr. 102 Wehrli, *FGrH* 840 F 23): 'a story prevailed out of the West that *στρατὸς ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἔξωθεν ῥ̓ήκοι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα*[12] *Ῥώμην ἐκεῖ που κατῳκημένην περὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν*.[13]

(iv) It may well have been narrated to Timaeus—it is so narrated in both Diod. Sic. (14.117.7) and Strabo (5.2.3)—that it was not the Romans who defeated the Gauls and forced them to withdraw, but the Caeretans;[14] Strabo calls the invaders the Galatians *τοὺς ἑλόντας τὴν Ῥώμην*.

(v) It is perhaps worth adding the account in Polybius, who here probably follows Fabius Pictor (2.18.2):[15] *κατέσχον αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην πλὴν τοῦ Καπετωλίου*. But a diversion occurred: the Veneti invaded their territory and they withdrew after making a treaty with the Romans. No word of Camillus, of the payment of a ransom, of a Roman victory as the Gauls withdrew.

It emerges so far only that perhaps by the time of Fabius Pictor the peculiar salvation of the Capitol had in some way been established. No word of such a story appears to have seeped out in the fourth century, though that in isolation is not an *argumentum ex silentio* by which much store should be set.

The positive evidence collected from authors writing in Latin stands as follows:

(vi) Enn. *Ann.* 164f. V = 227 Skutsch:

> qua Galli furtim noctu summa arcis adorti
> moenia concubia uigilesque repente cruentant.[16]

[7] It is quite clear that Aristotle the philosopher has heard that the city was taken by the Celts, but he says that her saviour was Lucius.

[8] Luce (n. 5) 291; R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy 1 5* (Oxford 1965) 723.

[9] The Greek, like Aristotle's, will simply have referred to 'Rome'; nothing can be made of the occasional use of *πόλις*/*urbs* in the sense of Acropolis/Capitol.

[10] O. Skutsch, *JRS* 68 (1978) 93, n. 1, decisively, against Wolski (n. 5) 45.

[11] 'Legates of the Gauls, who had burned Rome months before'; cf. Sordi (n. 4) 34.

[12] Cf. E. Gabba, *Miscellanea . . . Rostagni* (Torino 1963) 188ff.

[13] 'A story prevailed out of the West that an army from the distant land of the Hyperboreans had taken the Greek city of Rome, established somewhere near the great sea.'

[14] Luce (n. 5) 292. Ogilvie (n. 7) 723, 726; Sordi (n. 4) 32ff.

[15] See Walbank (n. 4) *ad loc.* and on 1.6.1: 'they occupied Rome herself except for the Capitol.'

[16] 'On which the Gauls, stealthily at dead of night, attacked the high points of the citadel and made bloody of a sudden walls and guards' (a difficult passage; I gratefully follow Skutsch's interpretation).

The whole point of the classical Livian version is that the watchmen were not surprised and were therefore not bathed in blood. Attempts have, unnecessarily, been made to reduce Ennius and Livy to narrative uniformity at the cost of violence to the language[17] or to common sense, for example, by supposing that the guards, though bloodstained, repelled the assault.[18]

(vii) Virg. *Aen.* 8.652ff. must be considered at the same time:

> in summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis
> stabat pro templo et Capitolia celsa tenebat...
> atque hic auratis uolitans argenteus anser
> porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat;
> Galli per dumos aderant arcemque tenebant.[19]

Is Virgil saying that the Gauls reached the top? He is characteristically elusive: [64/65]
Servius engagingly comments *deest 'paene'*; *nam prope tenuerunt*. More sophisticated commentators argue that *tenebant* should be taken *de instanti*, 'were on the point of holding'; but it is not easy to take *tenebat* (653) as continuous, of Manlius persisting in holding the citadel, in contrast, as Gransden notes, to the imperfect *de instanti* or conative ('were eager to hold') four lines later (the same verb, at the same point in the line, but used now not for defenders, but, as Fordyce notes, of the assailants); nor is it easy to locate the Gauls: at 656 *per dumos aderant*—they are on the way up, but in the previous line the goose warned that they *in limine adesse*, that is, were on the temple steps already. The repetition *adesse ... aderant* is awkward, not rhetorically effective. Skutsch's suggestion (*loc. cit.*) that the passage is unfinished is attractive: Virgil has Manlius the *custos* of the Capitol, he has the geese fluttering through golden porticoes, and yet, in the plain sense of the Latin, he has the Gauls holding the citadel.

(viii) The evidence of Varro, *De uita populi Romani* ii has been challenged: the text in Nonius reads *ut noster exercitus ita sit fugatus ut Galli Romae Capitoli sint potiti neque inde ante sex menses cesserint*;[20] *Romae nisi Capitoli*, Popma; *Romae praeter Capitolium*, Riposati (165, n. 1 after Quicherat); = Non. p. 800L = fr. 61 Riposati. The text was emended—'Rome but for the Capitol'—both to bring Varro into line with the conventional story of the Capitol's survival and to render Varro

Prop. 3.3.15 is of doubtful relevance: see Skutsch comm., 15f. and, unconvincingly, S. J. Heyworth, *CQ* 36 (1986) 200 1.

[17] Cf. too Skutsch (n. 2) 138f. [18] Skutsch (n. 2) 141, n. 11, 142, n. 1; Norden (n. 3) 102ff.

[19] 'At the top Manlius, guard of the Tarpeian citadel, stood before the temple and occupied the lofty Capitol... and here a goose of silver, fluttering in porticoes of gold, gave vocal warning that the Gauls were there on the threshhold; the Gauls were close, through the thickets, and held the citadel.'

[20] 'Though (?) our army was so routed that the Gauls took possession of the Capitol at Rome nor departed thence for six months.'

consistent with himself, for in *De uita* ii he also writes[21] (the subject will presumably have been *Galli*): *auri pondo duo milia acceperunt, ex aedibus sacris et matronarum ornamentis; a quibus postea id aurum et torques aureae multae relatae Roman et consecratae*;[22] clearly, if the Capitol was seized (fr. 61), then the circumstances in which a ransom was paid, let alone recovered (fr. 62) are not easy to envisage. But there is no reason why Varro should have to narrate the conventional story, and certainly no reason why he should have to be made internally consistent—not only on account of his hasty and careless technique of composition, but on account of his regular practice of setting down numerous versions of a story, between which he sees no reason to decide.[23] There is, therefore, no good reason to alter the text of Varro, and, as it stands, it should be allowed all due weight.

(ix) Lucan: the text of Geoffrey of Monmouth (d. 1154; ed. Griscom) 3.10, *remansit Brennius in Italia populum inaudita tyrannide efficiens* is echoed, as has long has been recognized, by Matthew Paris (Chron. Mai. 1.59, ed. Luard; Matthew d. 1259 and here followed directly the *Flores Historiarum* of Roger of Wendover, d. 1236): *et populum inaudita tyrannide fatigauit*.[24] But Matthew (Roger) continues: *de quo etiam Lucanus poeta eximius sic dixit: Tarpeiam cum fregerit arcem Brennius. hic est, Capitolium.*[25] Morel inserts (not quite [65/66] mandatorily) *saeuus* (*exempli gratia*) between *Tarpeiam* and *arcem* for the sake of the metre. *Fregerit arcem* is an unparalleled but not a difficult collocation,[26] and for *Tarpeiam . . . arcem*, McGann (*loc. cit.*) compares Luc. 7.758. There is, as McGann rightly insists, no *prima facie* case why Matthew (Roger) should not have cited a piece of otherwise unknown Lucan. The issue might appear to be complicated by Walter of Chatillon, *Alexandreis* 1.12ff. (1178–82):

> At tu, cui maior genuisse Britannia reges
> gaudet auos, Senonum quo praesule non minor urbi

[21] Non. p. 338L fr. 62 Rip.; Nonius' *i* was emended to *ii* by Popma to juxtapose the fragments on the Gallic sack. Cf. further M. J. McGann, *CQ* 51 (1957) 127, n. 4: 'They took two thousand pounds of gold by weight from sacred buildings and matrons' ornaments; from whom thereafter that gold and many golden torcs were brought back to Rome and dedicated.'

[22] Ogilvie (n. 8) on 5.48.8; id. (n. 5) 167; Luce (n. 5) 293, n. 52; Mommsen, *Röm. Forsch.* 2 (Berlin 1879) 329f.

[23] Cf. *Ling.* 5.53, and related texts (on the etymology of the Palatine, a striking example); also Horsfall, *Antichthon* 15 (1981) 141f. [ch. 12, 154 5] and 'Varrone (e l'Eneide)', *Enc. Virg.* 5.447 50.

[24] Geoffrey: 'Brennius remained in Italy afflicting the population with unheard of tyranny'; Roger: 'wearied the population with unheard of tyranny.'

[25] 'Of whom too the distinguished poet Lucan speaks as follows: "when Brennius shattered the Tarpeian citadel". That is, the Capitol.' See P. Esposito, *Vichiana* 6 (1977) 132ff.; O. Skutsch, *Notes on Ennius* 5, *BICS* 27 (1980); W. D. Lebek, 'Das angebliche Lucan fragment 12 FPL (Morel)', *Mittellat. Jhrb.* 18 (1983) 226ff. Profs. Skutsch and Lebek were most generous in granting me access to their papers before publication, but I still remain unconvinced by Prof. Lebek's arguments. Cf. also McGann (n. 21) 128 for a possible context within Lucan's opus for the fragment, with F. Ahl, *TAPA* 102 (1971) 4ff.

[26] *TLL* s.v. 'frango' 1241. 78ff.; McGann (n. 21) 127 n. 1.

> nupsit honor, quam cum Roman Senonensibus armis
> fregit, adepturus Tarpeiam Brennius arcem,
> si non exciret uigiles argenteus anser.[27]

Let us be clear: Matthew (Roger) is not citing Walter directly, nor can the text of the *Alexandreis* be used to help restore a regular caesura in Matthew's (Roger's) quotation: of the first five words in common (including *fregit–fregerit* with sharply different meanings) only *arcem* stands at the same point in the line. Perhaps more seriously, Walter's text clearly follows the traditional story of Manlius and the geese; the narrative in Geoffrey and Matthew (Roger) alike is wholly non-classical and Matthew (Roger) cites 'Lucan' in support of a completely different sequence of events, which will be altogether unfamiliar to conventional ancient historians and readers of Livy. The climax of both is indeed the capture of Rome, but Geoffrey does not mention the Capitol. Matthew (Roger) cannot therefore be cited in support of the 'deviant' version of the Gallic sack. But it is very hard to suppose that Matthew (Roger) elegantly altered the text of Walter, and ornamented it with a false attribution in order to support a story quite other than that in Walter. Far easier to suppose that Matthew's (Roger's) Lucan is indeed Lucan, cited for ornament in a moderately inappropriate context, and that the same text was also known to Walter, who could not credit the 'deviant' version—which was in fact one beyond dispute well known to Lucan himself *Phars.* 5.27[28]—and altered the text neatly, as he at least was very well able to do, to suit the familiar story. Walter, William, and Matthew (Roger) all write 'Brennius'; the citation is inevitably normalized. Orthographic modernization is no argument that Matthew (Roger) also misattributed the citation. Misattribution is of course perfectly possible; it is in no way mandatory. Even if Lucan fr. 12 succumbs to Prof. Lebek's scepticism (I confess that I do not see why it should), it is his great merit (*ad fin.*) to have unearthed yet another reference to the sack of the Capitol, as will appear from his citation of Joseph Iscanus' *Antiocheis* (after 1190, 10ff.).

(x) Skutsch[29] has recently pointed out new evidence in Tacitus, but Tacitus' position is in fact yet more complex: writing of the sack of Rome, 19 Dec. AD 69, he comments: *sedem Iouis Optimi Maximi auspicato a maioribus pignus imperii conditam, quam non Porsenna dedita urbe, neque Galli capta temerare potuissent, furore principum exscindi* (*Hist.* 3.72.1). The possibilities that Horatius did not

[27] 'But you (Archbishop William of Rheims), to whom great Britain rejoices to have borne kings as ancestors, with you as their lord, no less an honour embraced the city of the Senones, than when Brennius, with the arms of the Senones, shattered Rome, being about to capture the Tarpeian citadel, did not the silver goose wake the guards.'

[28] McGann compares Tac. *Ann.* 15.41.3 and *uersus pop. ap.* Suet. *Ner.* 39.2 Morel *FPL* 133.3.

[29] *JRS* 68 (1978) 93f. 'The seat of Jupiter Best and Greatest, founded after auspices by our ancestors, a pledge of empire, which neither Porsenna when the city was surrendered, nor the Gauls when it was captured, were able to defile, was destroyed by the madness of the emperors.'

keep the bridge, that Cloelia did not swim the Tiber, and that Rome fell to Porsenna emerge excitingly and are, historiographically, strikingly parallel to the [66/67] story of the fall of the Capitol in 390.[30] Tacitus earns a bouquet:[31] 'the scepticism of a powerful intelligence'; the story of Porsenna's success is likewise scantily attested elsewhere.[32] But Tacitus clearly appears to suggest that the Capitol escaped during the events of 390. Yet he equally clearly knew the story that the Capitol fell, as we have recently learned: for him the question of which story to use is an issue of rhetorical appropriateness. In *JRS* 1978 (see n. 10), Skutsch drew attention to a passage in the debate about Gallic senators: Claudius (*Ann.* 11.24.9) paraphrases an objection which has been raised: *at cum Senonibus pugnauimus*;[33] and answers it: *scilicet Vulsci et Aequi numquam aduersam nobis aciem instruxere*. The next objection he restates as: *capti a Gallis sumus*; and answers it: *sed et Tuscis obsides dedimus* (cf. n. 32) *et Samnitium iugum subiimus*. The passage in the previous chapter (11.23.7) first stating the objection is corrupt:[34] it is transmitted as: *quid si memoria eorum moreretur qui Capitolio et ara Romana manibus eorundem per se satis oreretur*. It is quite immaterial that we are still not entirely sure what Tacitus wrote here (does the sentence end with *perissent*?); the use of *capti*, the link with Porsenna, just as at *Hist*. 3.72 and the unquestioned reference to the Capitol make the line of argument certain. Claudius' reasoning is not in doubt: whatever the precise text, it is virtually certain that, as Skutsch suggested, Tacitus also knew and here used the 'deviant' version of the events of 390.

(xi) Three passages from Silius which may also bear upon this argument were discussed with admirable clarity by Skutsch in his 1953 article:[35]

> 1.625f. Gallisque ex arce fugatis
> arma reuertentis pompa gestata Camilli.
> 4.150f. ipse tumens atauis Brenni se stirpe ferebat
> Crixus et in titulos Capitolia capta trahebat ('Prahlerei', Norden[36]).
> 6.555f. Allia et infandi Senones captaeque recursat
> attonitis arcis facies.

[30] Cf. Skutsch (n. 2) 140. [31] Syme, *Tacitus* 1 (Oxford 1958) 397.

[32] Cf. Plin. *HN* 34.139; Dion. Hal. 5.34; Liv. 2.13.4 does refer to hostages.

[33] 'But we fought against the Senones' (the tribe charged in many texts with having sacked Rome: Wolski (n. 5) 32ff.; Ogilvie on Liv. 5.35.3); 'I suppose the Volsci and Aequi never drew up their line of battle against us'; 'but we were captured by the Gauls'; 'but we also gave hostages to the Etruscans and passed under the Samnite yoke'.

[34] *Oreretur* for *moreretur*, Bach; *arce* for *ara*, Acidalius; *capto* before *Capitolio*, Skutsch. Accurate translation is not possible.

[35] Skutsch (n. 2) 138. Wolski (n. 5) advances inadequate and unconvincing explanations. 'The arms of Camillus borne in the procession on his return, when the Gauls had been chased from the citadel'; 'Crixus himself, swollen with pride in his ancestors, held himself of the race of Brennus and carried the caputure of the Capitol among his titles'; 'the Allia and the unspeakable Senones and the appearance of the captured citadel returned to men in their terror'.

[36] Norden (n. 3) 107.

(xii) Tert. *Apol.* 40.9:[37] *omnes dei uestri ab omnibus colebantur cum ipsum Capitolium Senones occupauerunt*....The Gauls' capture of the Capitol is presented as the climax of an extended list of catastrophes in the BC period; its sources have been discussed in detail[38] and it [67/68] emerges as beyond question the product of wide reading: this reference is not a 'mere' rhetorical flourish.[39]

Lastly, we must consider Simylus, an elegist of increasingly less uncertain date,[40] quoted by Plut.*Rom.* 17.5,[41] who could certainly be interpreted as lending oblique support to the case here argued:[42]

ἡ δ' ἀγχοῦ Τάρπεια παραὶ Καπιτώλιον αἶπος
ναίουσα Ῥώμης ἔπλετο τειχολέτις,
Κελτῶν ἥ σπέρξασα γαμήλια λέκτρα γενέσθαι
σκηπτούχῳ, πατέρων οὐκ ἐφύλαξε δόμους.
καὶ μετ' ὀλίγα περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς·
τὴν δ' οὔτ' ἄρ Βοίοι τε καὶ ἔθνεα μύρια Κελτῶν
χήραμενοι ῥείθρων ἐντὸς ἔθεντο Πάδου.
ὅπλα δ' ἐπιπροβαλόντες ἀρειμανέων ἀπὸ χειρῶν
κούρῃ ἐπὶ στυγερῇ κόσμον ἔθεντο φόνον.

This passage is beset with problems.[43] Tarpeia traditionally betrays Rome to the Sabines in the time of Romulus.[44] Her motive is given either as greed for the

[37] Cf. G. W. Clarke, *CR* 81 (1967) 138. 'All your gods were worshipped by everyone when the Senones took possession of the Capitol itself.'

[38] T. D. Barnes, *Tertullian* (Oxford 1971) 204ff., 'a particularly precious piece of information' (204); id., *Studia Patristica* 14 (1976) 4.

[39] I hope to discuss elsewhere disaster catalogues in Christian apologetic; the capture of the Capitol is not attested elsewhere, despite its polemic advantages, but that is a product not of the episode's non existence, but of the fathers' casual and unscholarly historical reading.

[40] Parsons and Lloyd Jones do not commit themselves ('possibly imperial'); 'Hellenistic', O. Rossbach, *NJahrb.* 7 (1901) 416; but (cf. n. 45 below) a case might be made for the influence of Prop. 4.4; cf. G. W. Williams, *Change and Decline* (Berkeley 1978) 132.

[41] *Suppl. Hell.* 724; cf. E. Norden, *Kl. Schr.* (Berlin 1966) 382, n. 61; A. D. Momigliano, *Quarto Contributo* (Roma 1969) 482.

[42] A. La Penna, *Studi Classici e Orientali* 6 (1956) 116f.; Mielentz, 'Tarpeia', *RE* 8A:2333.63ff.; Rossbach, *loc. cit.* (n. 40); Ogilvie on Liv. 1.11.5 9; J. Gagé, *Matronalia* (Bruxelles 1963, *Coll. Latomus* 60) 217; M. E. Hubbard, *Propertius* (London 1974) 119ff.; J. Poucet, *Recherches sur la légende Sabine des origines de Rome* (Kinshasa 1967) 114ff.

[43] 'Tarpeia who dwelt near the Capitoline rock became the destroyer of Rome, she who longed to become the bride of the lord of the Celts did not watch over the homes of her forebears.' And after a little, about her end: 'her, rejoicing, the Boii and numberless tribes of the Celts did not estabish within the streams of the Po, but casting forward their armour from their warlike hands they made ornament death upon the hated maiden.' See, above all, H. A. Sanders, *Univ. of Michigan Studies*, *Humanistic Ser.* 1 (1904) 22f.; his collection of material on Tarpeia is unmatched, but his approach is vitiated by a rigid and untenable source analysis. Cf. too Momigliano (n. 41) 479ff.; K. Müller, *MH* 20 (1963) 114ff.; F. E. Brenk, in *Studies in Latin Literature*, ed. C. Deroux (Bruxelles 1979, *Coll. Latomus* 164) 1.166f.; W. Burkert, *Structure and History* (Berkeley 1979) 76f.

[44] The story is at least as old as Fabius, fr. 8 P; cf. Cincius fr. 5 P, both *ap.* Dion. Hal. 2.38ff.

Sabines' ornaments, by which she is crushed to death, or, uniquely, by Prop. 4.4, as love for the Sabine general, Titus Tatius.[45] Propertius' story is one of an extremely familiar and widespread type, both in Greco-Roman literature and elsewhere,[46] but there exists no parallel for its application to Tarpeia in the context of Romulean Rome.[47]

The traditional story of Tarpeia and the *armillae* raises a number of formal problems: the story stands in conflict[48] with the fact that the Romans did not yet, in the time of Romulus, occupy the Capitol; it conflicts also with the traditional austerity of the Sabines, who may [68/69] indeed have worn enticing ornaments, but will not have been thought to;[49] and thirdly, the story overrides the traditional association of *armillae* with the Gauls.[50] All these apparent difficulties are avoided in Simylus' version, with Tarpeia enamoured of a fourth-century Gaul. To this version, there exist at first sight two analogues:

(i) Schol. Luc. 1.196 *Capitolium autem dicitur a quadam uirgine quae Tarpeia uocabatur, a Gallis quondam interfecta*;[51] but this text may itself derive ultimately from Simylus, for the scholia from which it comes display a good deal of learning from Greek sources, with Plutarch not excluded.[52]

(ii) Clitophon of Rhodes, *Galatika* (?) 1 (*FGrH* 293 F 1 = (Plut.) *Par. min.* 15 = *Mor.* 309B–C; cf. Stob. *Flor.* 10.71.):

> Brennus the king of the Galatians, when he was ravaging Asia came to Ephesus and fell in love with the maiden Demonice. She promised to satisfy his desires and also to betray Ephesus, if he would give her the Gauls' bracelets and feminine ornaments. But Brennus requested his soldiers to throw into the lap of the avaricious woman the gold which they were wearing. This they did and she was buried alive by the abundance of gold they were wearing.

[45] Motives: Mielentz (n. 42) 2334.52ff. Is Propertius' version original? Much depends on the date of Simylus (cf. n. 40); cf. Hubbard, *loc. cit.* (n. 42). E. Rohde, *Der griech. Roman* (repr. Hildesheim 1960) 82, and F. Münzer, *Cacus der Rinderdieb* (Basel 1911) 9, suggestively compare Propertius' idiosyncratic development of the story of Cacus (4.9). Cf. further Mielentz 2337.19ff.; Sanders (n. 43) 18; La Penna (n. 42) 116; P. Parsons and H. Lloyd Jones, in *Kyklos, Festschrift Keydell* (Berlin 1978) 88.

[46] Mielenz (n. 42) 2337.59ff.; Rohde, *loc. cit.* (n. 45); Sanders (n. 43) 18, 27ff.; Ogilvie (n. 7) 74; and especially A. H. Krappe, *Rh. Mus.* 78 (1929) 249ff. Cf. too Poucet (n. 42) 115; G. Dumézil, *Tarpeia* (Paris 1947) 282ff.

[47] *Pace* Ogilvie (n. 7) 74: Antigonus, *FGrH* 816 F 2 Plut. *Rom.* 17.5, does not make love for the enemy general her motive; not Ant. 'of Carystos'; so Ogilvie, after Mielentz (n. 42) 2333.53. See *FGrH*, *loc. cit.*; Sanders (n. 34) 7; La Penna (n. 33) 120, n. 27.

[48] Hubbard (n. 42) 120; Ogilvie (n. 7) 74f.

[49] It is a myth advanced by Rumpf (*JHS* 71 (1951) 168, cf. Ogilvie (n. 7) 74f.) that according to Dion. Hal. the Sabines had taken over luxury from the Etruscans; at 2.38.2, Dion. Hal. says only that the Sabines were not less luxurious than the Etruscans; cf. Poucet (n. 42) 118, n. 194.

[50] Diod. Sic. s.v.; Polyb. 2.29.8; Diod. Sic. 5.27.3; Liv. 24.42.8; Claud. Quad. fr. 10b P.

[51] 'The Capitol is also called Tarpeium from a girl who was called Tarpeia, once killed by the Gauls.' *Supplementum adnotationum super Lucanum*, ed. Cavajoni (Milan 1979) 37.

[52] Sanders (n. 43) 23.

The motives of gold and love are here hopelessly confused and Salomon Reinach described the passage as 'd'une absurdité révoltante'.[53] Though Clitophon, like Simylus, does refer to Gauls, the story cannot be pinned down in historical terms; it does not belong to Brennus' invasion of Greece in 280–279, for Asia Minor was spared;[54] it cannot confidently be connected with the Galatian descent on coastal Asia Minor in 277–275[55] and indeed we are under no very strong obligation to try to locate the romantic episode in a real context of events, for Clitophon is after all a *Schwindelautor*, and has indeed been recognized as such for a long time.[56] Demonice's literary ancestry is irretrievably confused: she may in part be a bastard offspring of the traditional Tarpeia story. At all events, she is wholly the creation of bogus-*Wissenschaft* and spurious ingenuity;[57] she has no independent existence or value. Without Demonice, Simylus' Tarpeia stands quite alone, like Propertius'; and as in the case of Propertius, we may wonder whether she was derived, or the product of studied originality and unorthodoxy. At first sight, however, Simylus' account has much to commend it: in the fourth century, the Capitol is inhabited by the Romans and the *armillae* are worn, as they should be, by the Gauls. And if we acknowledge Simylus' as an old and independent version of the story (and not merely as an elegantly innovative piece of learned originality), then we may begin to speculate. Was Tarpeia the original betrayer of 390? Did the story of Manlius then displace her? And was she thus forced back into the Romulean period? Or was that where she had originally belonged and was she brought down to 390 to lessen the shame of the Capitol's fall, as Sinon's [69/70] treachery served to assuage the shock to pride and courage of Troy's fall (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.196ff.)? And was she then—but for Simylus' poem—displaced by the story of Manlius?

But the story cannot be made to bear so much weight. It is no real objection to the traditional Tarpeia-story that Romans are located on the Capitol in the reign of Romulus: in our texts the hill is frequently enough associated with Romulean Rome, and no topological difficulty can have been sensed in the 'normal' story of Tarpeia.[58] I am made suspicious of Simylus' version by his artful blending of two distinct motives—love and greed—kept separate in all other accounts of the episode, into a single version;[59] it is tempting to wonder whether Simylus may

[53] *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* 3 (Paris 1908) 252f. [54] Niese, 'Brennos', *RE* 3.1:830.3.

[55] Cf. Droysen and Niese *ap.* Jacoby *ad loc.*; also G. Nachtergael, *Les Galates en Grèce* (Bruxelles 1977) 51, n. 119, a reference for which I am grateful to Dr S. Sherwin White.

[56] Jacoby, comm., *ad init.*; id., 'Kleitophon' *RE* 11.1:661(3); id., *Mnemos.* 3.8 (1940) 73ff.

[57] W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung* (München 1975) 75ff.; Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979) 43.

[58] References in Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*, s.v. Roma, 729; G. Lugli, *Fontes* 6 (Roma 1965) 101ff. See, for instance, Liv. 1.12.1; Dion. Hal. 1.85.4, 2.37.1, 38.1; Plut. *Rom.* 18.2f. Note Tac. *Ann.* 12.24.2 *forumque Romanum et Capitolium non a Romulo sed a Tito Tatio additum urbi credidere*; the form of the sentence implies that Tac. knew of those who thought the Capitol a Romulean addition.

[59] Cf. E. Pais, *Ancient Legends of Roman History* (London 1906) 102. Reinach (n. 53) 251, points to Polyaen. 8.25.1 and Fest. p. 363M for another connexion between Titus Tatius and Brennus.

not have concocted the story just because he knew of the lavish and familiar Gallic *armillae* and wanted to achieve independence and originality in his treatment of Tarpeia. One might also, by contrast, consider whether the *armillae* of the Sabines in the traditional version might not be the product of the widespread antiquarian urge to find Sabine antecedents for so many Roman social and military practices—in this case, perhaps the wearing of honorific military decorations, however simple originally, on the arm, perhaps prompted by some faint knowledge of Italic gold ornaments.[60]

The 'rightness' of Simylus' version, which has excited recent enquirers a good deal, does not, I think, withstand sceptical analysis. That is a pity: did it emerge as the sole surviving representative of an old and independent tradition, then it would be very simple to argue that the Gauls' success and Tarpeia's treachery had stood conjoined, till displaced by the classical geese.

The archaeological evidence, both positively and negatively, is entirely inconclusive. 'Damage' in the Forum is not (see below) as convincing as it once seemed.[61] On the Capitol, only one site, the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, has been explored in sufficient detail, and it was already clear from the literary evidence that few or no traces of damage by fire would be found, for the Carthaginian treaty of 509 perhaps survived there;[62] and when in 83 BC the temple was rebuilt the original sixth-century foundations were used.[63] Archaeologists no longer acknowledge any surviving traces of the Gallic sack in the Forum; the references to total destruction in the literary tradition (Plut. *Cam.* 31.1 is perhaps the most extreme) rest upon interference not evidence. There are therefore no relevant deductions to be drawn from the archaeological evidence.[64]

But the literary evidence for the Gauls' capture of the Capitol stands firm without archaeological assistance. Students of early Rome have not been eager to welcome this new datum: 'The story of Manlius and the geese is the authentic stuff of history.'[65] 'Une hypothèse faiblement fondée du point de vue de la critique et de la vraisemblance historique.'[66] 'Perhaps not enough consideration has been given to the possibility of poetical or rhetorical exaggeration [70/71] in these instances.'[67] 'How this version (that the Capitol fell) dealt with Manlius and the geese is not known: presumably they were simply left out. At any rate for our purposes it may be ignored.'[68]

Nothing has been done either to discredit Skutsch's evidence in detail (too much has now been accumulated for that to be a real option) or to try to integrate

[60] Rumpf (n. 49) 168f., 171; Gagé (n. 42) 213; Domaszewski, 'Armillae' *RE* 2.1:1189.7f.
[61] Ogilvie (n. 7) 751, L. G. Roberts, *MAAR* 2 (1918) 58ff. [62] Polyb. 3.22.
[63] Dion. Hal. 4.61.4; Tac. *Hist.* 3.72.
[64] M. Torelli, in *I Galli e l'Italia* (Roma 1978) 227; F. Coarelli, ibid., 229 and *PP* 124 (1977) 181f. I am most grateful to Prof. T. P. Wiseman for these references.
[65] Ogilvie (n. 7) 734. [66] Wolski (n. 5) 45. [67] Luce (n. 5) 291, n. 41.
[68] T. P. Wiseman, *Hist.* 28 (1979) 39.

the version he has isolated into a revaluation of the legends of the Gallic sack. In historiographical terms, the situation is of course striking: both capture and non-capture are attested, both triumph and disaster, survival and indignity.

It may be helpful to compare:

(i) The medieval legend of Belisarius, which began to develop in the seventh century, in which the campaigns against the Persians, Vandals, and Goths are forgotten and Belisarius rebuilds Constantinople, is imprisoned for three years, invades England, but is then blinded—so that his son Alexios rescues the state from a Persian invasion (after which, however, Belisarius is found as a blind beggar by ambassadors from abroad). Every important feature of the historical Belisarius' record comes to be lost, or distorted fundamentally.[69]

(ii) The story of Roland;[70] in Einhard's life of Charlemagne (§9), *Hruodlandus Brittanici limitis praefectus* was one of a number of distinguished casualties in Charlemagne's severe defeat by the Basques in the Pyrenees on 15 Aug. 778. It took three hundred years of development for Roncevaux to become a great Christian victory, during which the minstrel Taillefer actually sang of Charlemagne, Roland, and Oliver to hearten the Normans at Hastings.[71] Here we have a comparable reversal of historical fact as the end-product of an extended period of heroization and romanticization. We should therefore enquire whether there are comparable indications of how capture is turned into survival and how a Gallic *coup de main* becomes a Roman victory. It is altogether implausible—and entirely unparalleled in Roman pseudo-history—that an original national victory has been recast as a catastrophic and embarrassing loss of the greatest national shrine.[72]

The story of the geese is itself of a familiar and universal type:[73] in early Icelandic literature, the warning role is taken by a golden cock, conceivably under indirect Livian influence. Attention has been drawn[74] to an attack by Philip on Byzantium in 346 BC, when the alarm was raised by dogs; one might also wish to compare Agesipolis' use of dogs to enforce his blockade of Mantinea

[69] H. G. Beck, *Gesch. der byz. Volksliteratur* (München 1971) 150ff.; B. Knös, *Eranos* 58 (1960) 237ff. I am most grateful to Dr M. Jeffreys for alerting me to the existence of this legend and for assisting me with references.

[70] Charmingly surveyed in D. D. R. Owen, *The Legend of Roland* (London 1973) 34ff.; cf. further J. J. Duggan, *A Guide to Studies on the Chanson de Roland* (London 1976) 97ff.; J. Bédier, *Les Légendes épiques* 3[3] (Paris 1929) 185ff.; R. Menendez Pidal, *La Chanson de Roland* (French tr., Paris 1960) 181ff.; M. de Piquer, *Les Chansons de Geste Françaises* (Paris 1957) 21ff.; R. Fawtier, *La Chanson de Roland* (Paris 1933) 181ff.

[71] Menendez Pidal (n. 70) 271, etc.

[72] I am most grateful to Mr M. Walkley for assistance.

[73] For parallels and analogues, cf. Stith Thompson, *Motif Index of Folk literature* 1[2] (Copenhagen 1955) b.521.3.3, 143.1.5.

[74] Ogilvie (n. 7) 734, actually narrated by Hesychius of Miletus, *FGrH* 390 F 1 §27; cf. Schaefer, *Demosthenes u. seine Zeit* 2[2] (repr. Hildesheim 1966) 511.

by night,[75] the dogs used for Aratus' defense of Acrocorinth,[76] and the key role played by the gardener's little dogs in Aratus' projected attack on Sicyon.[77] There is, moreover, gentle [71/72] discussion of the merits of dogs as against geese as guard animals in writers on warfare and on natural history, not least since the dogs failed, as we shall shortly see, in 390.[78]

No difficulty, then, in inventing an appropriate *type* of story to account for the survival of the Capitol. It has also been observed[79] that parallels are to be drawn between, for example, Livy's account of the Gallic attack on Rome and the Persians' sack of Athens: 'in particular the resemblance between the massacre of the senators and the liquidation of those Athenians who had taken refuge on the Acropolis, and between the abortive attempt on the Capitol (*sic*) and the successful ascent of the Acropolis is to be noted' (Ogilvie, *loc. cit.*). I would add that further parallels should be drawn between the flight to Caere (Liv. 5.40) and the flight to Salamis—amid closely parallel scenes of distress.[80] But especially to be noted is the story of the serpent: 'it is said by the Athenians that a great snake lies in their temple to guard the Acropolis; in proof whereof, they do ever duly set out a honey cake as a monthly offering for it; this cake had ever before been consumed, but was now left untouched.'[81] So the Athenians thought the goddess had deserted them and were the readier to flee. The priests, suggests Plutarch, were told what to say by Themistocles.[82] At Rome, on the other hand, the geese were fed despite the famine; *pietas* was preserved; the sacred geese gave the alarm; the citadel was saved. Thus the traditional version—almost as though in calculated antithesis to the story of Athena's serpent.

The geese are at the heart of the matter: the Gauls, wrote Livy, climbed so quietly, *ut non custodes solum fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, sollicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus, excitarent. anseres non fefellere quibus sacris Iunonis in summa inopia cibi tamen abstinerentur* (Liv. 5.47.3). From this text, it would appear that the dogs were common secular mutts, and that the geese were already there and sacred to Juno in 390.[83] But with what temple were they associated?

[75] Polyaenus 2.25. [76] Plut. *Arat.* 24.1. [77] Plut.*Arat.* 5.5; 6.3; 7.4f.; 8.1f.

[78] *A.P.* 7.425 (Antip. Sid.); Arist. *Hist. an.* 488b 23, geese are αἰσχυντηλὰ καὶ φυλακτικά; Aen. Tact. 22.20; Ael. *NA* 12.33; Veg. *Mil.* 4.26; Plin. *HN* 10.51, 29.57.

[79] Ogilvie (n. 7) 720; G. Thouret, *Jhb. kl. Phil.* Suppl. 11 (1880) 139f.

[80] Plut. *Them.* 10; Hdt. 8.41, 51; Aristides, *Panath.* 121 (Dindorf 1.224f.); *On the Four*, 2.256f. Dindorf; C. Hignett, *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece* (Oxford 1963) 199f.; P. Green, *Year of Salamis* (London 1970) 160f., 166f.; A. R. Burn, *Persia and the Greeks* (London 1962) 429ff.; R. J. Lenardon, *Saga of Themistocles* (London 1978) 67f.

[81] Hdt. 8.41 (Loeb tr.).

[82] Plut. *Them.* 10.1; Burn (n. 80) 430; A. Podlecki, *Life of Themistocles* (Montreal 1975) 106.

[83] Geese sacred to Juno: cf. too Diod. Sic. 14.116.6; Dion. Hal. 13.7; Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 325c; Plut. *Cam.* 27.2; Lydus, *Mag.* 1.50; also G. Giannelli, *BCAR* 87 (1980 1), a reference for which I am grateful to John McIsaac: Plut. refers to a *neos*, Dion. Hal. to a *temenos*, but neither author specifies further, nor of course does Virgil identify temple and colonnades in 8.652ff.: there the impression of spaciousness is epic grandeur and should not be taken as evidence for the Capitoline temple.

Mommsen referred confidently[84] to the 'holy geese of Capitoline Juno' and Schwegler[85] asserted that their connexion with the Capitoline temple 'liegt in der Natur der Sache'. But there is no text which explicitly confirms the point. The rival claims of Juno Moneta will be considered shortly.

At a later stage geese and dogs were both involved in a commemorative ritual, on whose detail we are copiously and variously informed: the Gauls were held to have fired Rome on 19 July; the traditional chronology[86] points to a siege from July to the following February,[87] but Lydus curiously (*Mens*. 4.114) places the ritual on 3 August. Minor variants aside, the geese, [72/73] amid purple and gold[88] were carried on litters, while dogs were impaled or crucified on elder-stakes.[89] The ritual clearly survived till Plutarch's time and the use of the present tense by Arnobius and Ambrose suggests that it went on a good deal longer.[90] The geese were fed by the censors; it was the first of their duties to put out the contracts.[91] The dogs were likewise maintained at state expense,[92] though it might seem from Cicero that they had acquired a custodial function and the place of their sacrifice, in the Circus Maximus,[93] is as hard to explain as the date.[94]

It is often stated that the geese were sacred to Juno Moneta.[95] The temple of Juno Moneta was dedicated in 345,[96] and it seems increasingly likely (see below) that there had been some earlier cult of Juno on the site, but the story of the geese is not itself an argument, since the avoidance of anachronisms is not a characteristic of aetiological stories.[97] Bömer rightly observes that there is not a word to connect the geese explicitly with Juno Moneta,[98] and negatively, it is worth observing that though Cicero twice connects Moneta with *monere* (*Div.* 1.101, 2.69), the warning is of an earthquake, not of the Gauls' assault.[99]

The one piece of artistic evidence[100] is no more secure: an Antonine relief from Ostia[101] shows two and a half agitated geese in front of a temple. But there is no

[84] *Hermes* 13 (1878) 533. [85] Schwegler (n. 6) 3.259, n. 2.
[86] Ogilvie (n. 7) 736; Schwegler (n. 6) 254f.; Roberts (n. 61) 65f.; E. Kornemann, *Klio* 9 (1911) 335f.
[87] *Fasti Polem. Silv.* s.v. Feb. 13.
[88] Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 8.652; Plut. *De fort. Rom.* 325d; Aug. *De civ. D.* 2.22. See further F. Castagnoli, *Arch. Laz.* 3 (1980) 165. Serv.'s reference (*ad Aen.* 8.655) to a silver goose on the Capitol looks very much like an invention perpetrated to 'explain' Virgil's text.
[89] Serv. Dan. *loc. cit.*; Plin. *HN* 29.57; Plut. *loc. cit.*; on *sabucus*, see Lucil. 733 (*infelix*); J. Bremmer, *Harv. Stud.* 87 (1983) 308.
[90] Plut. *loc. cit.*; Arnob. 6.20.; Ambr. *Hex.* 5.13.44.
[91] Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 56; Arnob. *loc. cit.*; Plin. *HN* 10.51 (cf. Plut. *QR* 98) 29.57.
[92] Cic. *loc. cit.*; Arnob. *loc. cit.*
[93] Plin. *HN* 29.57. Cf. Lydus *Mag.* 1.50, who refers to a horse race, and Schwegler (n. 6) 3.259, n. 3.
[94] G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus* (München 1912) 190.
[95] Cf. too Gagé (n. 42) 211; Ogilvie (n. 7) 545; Thulin, 'Iuno Moneta', *RE* 10.1:1118; Becatti (n. 101) 33.
[96] Cf. Thulin (n. 95) *loc. cit.*; cf. Schwegler (n. 6) 259f. [97] Wissowa (n. 94) 190, n. 10.
[98] On Ov. *Fast.* 1.453; obscured, H. H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies* (London 1981) 127.
[99] Cf. Gagé (n. 42) 211; Giannelli (n. 83) 35f. n. 129.
[100] E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* 1 (Tübingen 1961) 516f.
[101] Nash, *loc. cit.*; G. Becatti, *Bull. Com. Arch.* 71 (1943 5) 31ff.

compulsion to suppose that this must have been the temple of Juno Moneta, though possibly a mid-second-century AD artist may have had that temple in mind. The geese are therefore not precisely located, and they do not provide evidence for a cult of Juno involving geese on the Arx prior to 390, though it seems likely from the archaeological evidence that some cult in Juno's honour did pre-exist the temple of 345 (Giannelli (n. 83) 17f.).

We may also note that though the Gauls' upward route is variously recorded, it is of no assistance to us in determining the location of the geese:

(i) The Gauls reach the summit of the Capitol by means of a tunnel; Manlius, woken by the geese, ejects them from the temple;[102] though it might appear likely that the Capitoline temple was meant, it is not so specified.[103]

(ii) They climb the Tarpeian rock, on the SE side of the *arx* (i.e. the northern summit of the hill, overlooking the Forum); a late version of the story.[104]

[73/74] (iii) In the version of (?) Quadrigarius, as reflected by Livy and Plutarch,[105] they climb up the cliff nearest the Porta Carmentalis, at the SW end of the hill, overlooking the Forum Boarium.[106]

None of these versions points unambiguously to either one of the temples considered. The goose seems not to be connected with Juno elsewhere. An effort has therefore been made to locate the geese of 390 elsewhere on the Capitol: in the *auguraculum*, 'a place where divination was held *ex tripudiis*, by the manner in which birds treated their food'.[107] It is indeed true that for *auspicia ex tripudiis*, no specific birds were required,[108] and it is also true that there was an *auguraculum* on the Capitol.[109] But an *auguraculum* was only 'ein eigenes, für ihr Kultakte bestimmtes Lokal';[110] that is to say, it was a place, in general, for taking auspices, and there is no reason to suppose that the Capitoline *auguraculum* was a permanently established sacred poultry yard of the city of Rome. Moreover, *signa ex tripudiis* are observed primarily for convenience, by generals on campaign, notably:[111] it is not clear why Ogilvie (n. 107) wished to import them to the Capitoline *auguraculum*, nor am I persuaded either that the goose was an augural bird, or that the *auguraculum* has been found (*aliter*, Giannelli n. 109). The *auguraculum* is better, therefore, altogether divorced from this argument.

[102] Lydus *Mens.* 4.114, *Mag.* 1.50; Cic. *Dom.* 101, *Phil.* 3.20, etc.; Wiseman (n. 68) 39f.
[103] Not even the case in Lydus *Mens. loc. cit.*
[104] Liv. 6.17.4; Wiseman (n. 68) 41ff.
[105] Liv. 5.46.9, 47.2; Plut. *Cam.* 251.3; Wiseman (n. 68) 40f.
[106] Cf. further, T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics* (Leicester 1979) 36 and *AJAH* 3 (1978) 169.
[107] Ogilvie (n. 7) 734; Olck, 'Gans' *RE* 7.1:722.41ff.; W. Richter, *Kl. Pauly* s.v. 'Gans'.
[108] Cic. *Div.* 2.73; Wissowa (n. 94) 532 n. 5, 530 n. 3.
[109] Paul. exc. Fest. p. 17, 14L; Varr. *Ling.* 7.18; Wissowa (n. 94) 524.6.
[110] Wissowa (n. 94) 524, *quod ibi augures publice auspicarentur*; Paul. *loc. cit.*
[111] A. S. Pease on Cic. *Div.* (Urbana 1920 3) 1.27; Wissowa (n. 85) 532.

We are not even really clear why geese should be connected with Juno at all, though their alleged modesty and domesticity are attested.[112] But if the geese had in origin been domestic (and there is no reason why there should not have been, as Prof. Ogilvie suggests to me, an ordinary domestic goose-pen appropriately sited on the Capitol), then it is very hard to see why the connexion with Juno (not, after all, one generally known) should have developed.

It has been suggested that the story of Manlius and the geese is aetiological,[113] either to explain the ritual of the geese and the dogs, or to account for the *cognomen* Capitolinus among the Manlii.[114] The *cognomen* predates the hero of 390 and is most simply explained from the fact that the Manlii lived there.[115] A simple and conclusive answer does not lie to hand.

M. Manlius was disgraced and put to death in 384. On the site of his house on the *arx*, by the Aracoeli church (cf. Giannelli (n. 83) 13ff.), the temple of Juno Moneta was put up in 345, by the dictator and *magister equitum* of that year in commemoration of a victory over the Aurunci: they were L. Furius Camillus, nephew or son of the dictator of 390 (Münzer, 'Furius' *RE* 7.1:322f. (41/42)), and Cn. Manlius Capitolinus respectively.[116] The story of the events of 390 is already full enough of doublets, and another might in some form lurk here: certainly the building of a temple to Juno, where Manlius' house had stood, by a Manlius and a Camillus, could be both a powerful stimulus to the creation of legend and a potent source of error.

We should start from the assumption that there were no geese, that Manlius [74/75]
failed and that the Capitol fell. Four years later, moreover, disgrace and execution. Beyond that, there is only speculation.

We have no idea when the story of the geese developed; evidently before Fabius Pictor (n. 15). The motive could have been to rehabilitate Manlius or the Manlii, but rehabilitation may have been no more than a by-product. Though it has been stressed that there is no specific evidence to connect the geese with the temple of Juno Moneta, the coincidence of names is very seductive. Were the geese connected historically with the temple of 345, and if the temple was raised, or thought to have been raised, on the site of Manlius' house,[117] then it is easy to see the glimmerings of how the story might have begun: it was creditable to Rome and to the Manlii—and in its later, expanded form to the Camilli. But the story of Manlius and the geese does not seem very early; this is particularly so if I am right in suggesting Greek, if not specifically Herodotean, influence.

[112] Wissowa (n. 94) 190, n. 10; Thulin, *loc. cit.* (n. 95); Gagé (n. 42) 207; Plin. *HN* 10.44; Petron. 137; Arist. *Hist. an. loc. cit.* (n. 78).

[113] Schwegler (n. 6) 259f.

[114] Münzer, 'Manlius', *RE* 14.1:1168; Ogilvie (n. 7) 694, 734; Schwegler (n. 6) 258, n. 3.

[115] Wiseman (n. 68) 39f.; I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki 1965) 183, with 19f.; B. Doer, *Die röm. Namengebung* (Stuttgart 1937) 48; Giannelli (n. 83) 33.

[116] The coincidence is noted by Gagé (n. 42) 207f., but he makes nothing of it.

[117] Gagé (n. 42) 207f.; Ogilvie on Liv. 4.7.12.

The temple geese need not originally have been carried in any splendid procession; their feeding by censorial contract will not always have been connected with their role in rousing the Capitol's defenders; equally, the crucifixion of the dogs and the story of their failure to rouse the guard will not have been integrally connected from the first. Schwegler's suggestion that the story explains the origins of the rituals is not mandatory (n. 113). The growth of a popular and patriotic tale could lead to a more complex pattern of growth: some simple ritual involving geese, in honour of Juno Moneta, some sacrifice of dogs, common in Roman religion,[118] could even have developed under the influence of the story into the remarkable procession which so outraged Arnobius. Such a development will have been made possible by the patriotic appeal, the charm, the poignancy of the story, even though there always remained those who knew that the geese had never cackled. But this historical scepticism could not affect the growth of legend and ritual conjoined; the growth of a national folklore was irresistible.

[118] Wissowa (n. 94) index s.v. *Hundeopfer*.

11
Some problems of titulature in Roman literary history

To consider the evidence for the titles of works of Latin literature[1] is at once depressing and rewarding: depressing in that Latinists are revealed repeatedly as the slaves of erroneous convention,[2] rewarding on account of the fresh light shed upon the world of books at Rome and upon literary terminology.

The 'title' of a work of Greek or Latin literature can mean, in concrete and physical terms, one—or more than one—of four things:

(i) the tag or *sillybos*, which hung from the end of the roll as it lay on the shelf: numerous examples from Egypt survive;[3]

(ii) a title standing at the head of the work within the roll:[4] Theodor Birt rightly pointed out that such a title must always have stood—as one still stands—at the head of Fronto's *Laudes Fumi et Pulueris* for the text begins *plerique legentium forsan rem de titulo contemnant*;[5]

(iii) the *subscriptio*, that is, a title standing at the end of the work (for which we use the term colophon):[6] this is the form most likely to be preserved, standing as it does towards the centre of the roll. Several examples survive,[7] and Censorinus refers to Varro with the suggestive phrase *in*

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[1] This paper does not aim to cover systematically the periods before Cicero, surveyed by L. W. Daly (n. 10), or after Suetonius.

[2] See T. Birt, *Kritik und Hermeneutik nebst Abriss des antiken Buchwesens* (München 1913) 153ff.; Horsfall, *LCM* 4 (1979) 117.

[3] Birt (n. 2) 237ff.; K. Dziatzko, *Unters. über ausgew. Kapitel des ant. Buchwesens* (Leipzig 1900) 118; C. Wendel, *Die gr. röm. Buchbeschreibung* (Halle 1949) 25 and 107; R. P. Oliver, *TAPA* 82 (1951) 243; E. G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (Oxford 1971) 16; for example, *POxy*. 2.310, 24.2396, 25.2433, 47.3318.

[4] Oliver (n. 3) 243f.; Turner (n. 3) 16; for example, *POxy*. 3.568, 34.2699. The papyrus evidence, slowly increasing, has overtaken Daly's assertion (n. 10, 30f.) that titles on *sillyboi* are given in an unspecific, 'generic' form (for example, *POxy*. 2.301: 'Sophron's mimes on women'); contrast *POxy*. 24.2396 'Tryphon son of Ammonius on the Spartan dialect in 2 (?) books'.

[5] Birt (n. 2) 300; 215.6 van den Hout.

[6] Oliver (n. 3) 241ff.

[7] Turner (n. 3) 16; Oliver (n. 3) 245; W. Schubart, *Das Buch*[3] (Leipzig 1960) 88f.; for example, *POxy*. 17.2076, 21.2356.

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libro qui uocatur Tubero et intus subscribitur 'de origine humana';[8] (iv) there are examples on papyri of titles written on the verso of the roll along the outside edge.[9]

Lloyd W. Daly's 'Pre-Ciceronian entitulature'[10] offered the conclusions that in the early days of Latin literature titles of whatever form were often not used, that if they were their character was vague and general, and that those that survive rest upon evidence so confused and conflicting that no general principles of critical method can be laid down nor any accurate conclusions reached. Such pessimism is not justified in all details,[11] nor, as Daly (32) suspects to be the case, does the state of chaos he explores survive the Ciceronian era. Cicero himself (Daly, 21) does not cite titles with unremitting care—his commitment to scholarly rigour has after all long been recognized in other spheres as intermittent[12]—but to him (see below) titulature is already an integral part of *Buchwesen* in general, in keeping both with the attention that Hellenistic scholars had already for generations taken over the matter and with the sudden 'Attività commerciale ed editoriale' in the world of books during this period.[13]

It should be stressed that in the period under discussion (n. 1) Roman books did in general have titles, and that those titles were often demonstrably the author's own and not those later supplied by booksellers, librarians, or purchasers.[14] Suet. *Gramm.* 6 (see Daly, 22) suggests this could have been the case even before Cicero's time: Aurelius Opillus (who followed Rutilius Rufus to Smyrna) *<in>scripsisse se ait ex numero diuarum* (that is, the Muses) *et appellatione*. Cicero himself (Daly, 21) repeatedly acknowledges responsibility for the naming of his own works:

Off. 2.31: alio libro . . . qui inscribitur 'Laelius'.
Att. 16.11.4: sed inscriptio plenior 'de officiis'.
Div. 2.1: eo libro qui est inscriptus 'Hortensius'.
Fam. 15.20.1: Oratorem meum (sic enim inscripsi).

Ovid opens the *Rem. am.* with *legerat huius Amor titulum nomenque libelli*; a *titulus* bearing the *nomen* must always therefore have been visible to the imagin-
[103/104] ation of the author and to the eye of the reader. When Amor continues *bella mihi,*

[8] Censorinus, *DN* 9; Birt (n. 2) 301; id., *Die Buchrolle in der Kunst* (Leipzig 1907) 128 n. 1 does not persuade me that one title was on the outside of the roll and one within.
[9] Turner (n. 3) 16 and 125; Oliver (n. 3) 243; for example, *POxy.* 23.2358, 25.2741, *P.Paris* 1 (on which see Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979) 29ff.).
[10] *Classical Studies in Honor of W. A. Oldfather* (Urbana 1943) 20ff.
[11] See pp. 139 40 above.
[12] See E. Rawson, *JRS* 72 (1972) 33.
[13] T. Kleberg, in *Libri, editori e pubblico nel mondo antico*, ed. G. Cavallo (Bari 1975) 41.
[14] See Turner (n. 3) 16 on a *sillybos* provided by the roll's owner, not the bookseller; compare Oliver (n. 3) 242: a reflection only upon the vicissitudes of book ownership.

uideo, bella parantur, the god confirms the title and suggests strongly that it was put there by the author in the confident expectation that it would not have disappeared by the time the work passed into the hands of the reading public. Ovid is just as clearly aware of the title of the *Amores*. In the preface to Book 9, Columella refers to the *titulus* of the book, *quem praescripsimus huic disputationi*; similarly, at 12.18.1 he speaks of *priore libro, qui inscribitur 'Villicus'*.[15] We may also note, by way of example, Sen. *Ep.* 81.3 *in iis libris . . . qui 'de beneficiis' inscribuntur*. Mart. 8 *praef.* 5 *hic tamen* (sc. *libellus*) *qui operis nostri octauus inscribitur*. Gell. *praef.* 4 *eas inscripsimus Noctium esse Atticarum*. Tert. *adv. Marc.* 3.24.2 *in alio opere . . . quod inscribimus 'de spe fidelium'*. Fest. p. 242.37L. *in his libris meis inuenientur qui inscribuntur 'priscorum uerborum cum exemplis'*.[16]

Two major discussions of titulature survive: when Pliny (*praef.* 24–5) and Gellius (*praef.* 4–10, see Daly 21) discuss the *doctrina* of many *exquisitissimi tituli*, they presume that the titles they list are the authors' own and their surveys would lose all point were they at fault in ascribing responsibility for the *festivitates inscriptionum* to the authors themselves.[17] It is superfluous to turn to the frequent assertions by ancient writers that *A.B.* was the title X gave to his work; such texts are clearly of widely varying reliability.[18]

There exists, moreover, some evidence both for the circumstances in which books might come to lack titles and for the ancients' concern and surprise at finding them thus deficient. E. Schmalzriedt, in his admirable *Περὶ Φύσεως*,[19] has shown lucidly and convincingly that books first acquired formal titles—as against including the author's name and the subject of the work in the opening sentence[20]—in the course of the fifth century BC, and then notably in the spheres of drama[21] and philosophy.[22] It is also clear that one of the great achievements of Callimachus in the *Pinakes* was to systematize the titulature of Greek literature:[23]

[15] Nepos, *praef.* 8; E. Wistrand, *Opera Selecta* (Stockholm 1972) 42f. (on Vitruvius).

[16] Auson. p. 126.11f. Prete: *libello Technopaegnii nomen dedi* and Jer. *ad Is.* xvii (Migne *PL* 24.585c; Birt (n. 2) 300 n. 4) may stand as showing that the late antique practice does not change.

[17] See further Cato ed. H. Jordan (1860) xxi[f] for the grammarians' criticism of the appropriateness of author's choice of titles.

[18] Quint. 2.14.4, for example: clearly implying that he thought *Rhetorica* Cicero's own title for the work today called *De inuentione*; see too Fest. p. 53.19, 216.20f.,L.: *Originum libros quos inscripsit Cato. Pace* Daly (n. 10, 22f.) it cannot be excluded that one of F.'s sources may not have had good evidence for this statement.

[19] E. Schmalzriedt, *Περὶ Φύσεως* (München 1970), a reference for which I am grateful to Professor L. E. Rossi, whose comments were also of great value.

[20] Alcmaeon of Croton, D. K. 24 frg. B1; Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 F 1; see also Hdt. 1.1; Hes. *Theog.* 22ff.; Schmalzriedt (n. 19) 32ff.

[21] Where the number of plays and dramatists made titulature essential: see Hdt. 6.21.2; Ar. *Nub.* 553f., *Thesm.* 770; Schmalzriedt (n. 19) 27ff.

[22] Perhaps first Protagoras, *Aletheia*; Schmalzriedt (n. 19) 64ff.

[23] R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* 1 (Oxford 1968) 127ff.; R. Blum, *Kallimachos und die Literaturverzeichnung bei den Griechen* (Frankfurt 1977).

whenever possible, he gave both the title and the *incipit*[24] of a work. Throughout the period under discussion, title and *incipit* are almost entirely distinct, though it was common to refer to a work by its *incipit*;[25] one instance where confusion between the two may have arisen will be considered. And yet it emerges that despite Callimachus' efforts, Dionysius of Halicarnassus did not have titles for all the speeches of all the Attic orators, particularly Dinarchus, where he was engaged in the pioneer work which established the canon.[26]

There are certain areas where the possibility of confusion was greater than elsewhere, though they need to be defined with precision. Daly (20) excluded from consideration first, dramatic titles 'because . . . so frequently merely translations' and, secondly, speeches, 'because an oration obviously has no title'. That is to obscure the issue, twice.

Schmalzriedt ((n. 19) 27f. with n. 11) observes that the dramatic *agon* at Athens necessitated a precise contemporary system of titulature;[27] the competitive element is also present, though less strongly, at Rome[28] and here too any competition presupposes at least a substantial degree of unambiguous nomenclature.[29] The issue of Greek names is tangential; for very few plays do alternative titles exist:[30] they are clearly of great antiquity, as the parallel case of the Plautine *Caecus uel Praedones* suggests, and also represent an elaboration belonging to the era of revivals rather than to the original competitions.[31] It is in keeping with Greek usage (for example, Soph. *Memmon* for *Aethiopes*) that Latin grammarians refer occasionally to plays by the names of their leading characters, *Pyrgopolynices* for *Miles*, *Cacistus* for *Vidularia*;[32] such variation cannot be taken as evidence that a regular schema of titles was lacking.[33]

Secondly, the oration: Daly is right to suppose that it had no formal title at the moment of delivery; but one existed, ready to hand, in the name of the motion or of the individual attacked or supported, and the ancient historians of oratory had no problems of nomenclature. Authorship, of course, was another matter.[34]

[24] Title: *Pinakes* fr. 429ff.; note particularly fr. 436 (Ath. *epit.* i 4E): Archestratus on gastronomy had hitherto eluded formal titulature. *Incipit*: *Pinakes* fr. 433 (Ath. 13.585B), 434 (Ath. 6.244A), 436 (Ath. *epit.* i 4E).

[25] O. Jahn on Pers. 1.96; *Aeneid* 1 ed. R. G. Austin (Oxford 1971) p. 108; *Tragedies of Ennius*, ed. H. D. Jocelyn (Cambridge 1967) 350 n. 4; E. Nachmanson, *Der griech. Buchtitel* (repr. Darmstadt 1967) 37; E. J. Kenney, *CR* 20 (1970) 290; Cic. *Fin.* 1.5, *Att.* 16.3.1, 11.3; Prop. 2.24.2; Ov. *Tr.* 2.534.

[26] Nachmanson (n. 25) 44f.; Wendel (n. 3) 31, 109f.; Dinarchus: Dion. Hal. 1.312.8 (U R), 318.1,18,320.14.

[27] Not that Greek dramatic titulature survived unconfused entirely: see Birt (n. 8) 238, (n. 2) 153f., with further references.

[28] Horsfall, *BICS* 23 (1976) 83, 86 [ch. 5, 47, 52].

[29] A. L. Wheeler, *Cphil.* 7 (1912) 472.

[30] Caecilius, *Obolostates*/*Faenerator*, *Hypobolimaeus*/*Subditivus*, Plautus *Mostellaria*/*Phasma*.

[31] F. Ritschl, *Parerga zu Plautus und Terenz* (Leipzig 1845) 156ff.

[32] See Ritschl (n. 31) 162ff.; Birt (n. 2) 153; Vahlen, Ennius p. xxxv.

[33] See Pfeiffer (n. 23) 81ff. on dramatic victor lists and Ritschl, *Rh. Mus.* NF 1 (1842) 29ff. on *didascaliae*.

[34] E. H. Clift, *Latin Pseudepigrapha* (Baltimore 1945) 81ff.; W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung* (München 1971) 123 n. 4; G. Kennedy, *Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (Princeton 1972) 57ff.

It is rather more illuminating, though unfortunately the circumstances are not directly applicable to Latin literature, to study the confusion that could arise in the case of authors who, during their lifetimes, were at the centre of a school of disciples:

(i) Plato's dialogues had original titles in the modern sense, used by the author.[35] But the double titles, *Φαίδων ἢ περὶ Ψυχῆς*, for example, which is attested as early as *Ep.* 13 (363a5), and which is found (with many others) in Diogenes Laertius' catalogue (3.58), are all too clearly expansions made by assiduous disciples within the Academy for the sake of indicating the work's content.[36] [104/105]

(ii) We may compare Porphyry's remarks on Plotinus:[37] he prefaces his catalogue of the master's works with the words (*Vita* 4.17ff.): *ἦν δὲ καὶ τὰ γεγραμμένα ταῦτα ἃ διὰ τὸ μὴ αὐτὸν ἐπιγράφειν ἄλλος ἄλλῳ τοὐπίγραμμα ἐτίθει*. To facilitate identification, he adds *incipit*s in his Catalogue (*αἱ δ' οὖν κρατήσασαι ἐπιγραφαί εἰσιν αἵδε . . .*): the provision of titles he regards as an essential part of his work of *ἔκδοσις*.

(iii) Different again is the case of Galen.[38] He writes that 'they (his books) had been given to friends or pupils *χωρὶς ἐπιγραφῆς*, in as much as they were not for *ἔκδοσις* but for themselves, upon their request for *ὑπομνήματα* of what they had heard'. Some died, some went away, some had copies made. And among the introductions, summaries, and so on that crept in were *ὑπογραφαί* (the exact equivalent of *subscriptiones*). 'I, however,' continues Galen (p. 11) 'simply giving texts to my pupils *οὐδὲν ἐπέγραψα*. And on account of this, when copies later reached many, *ἄλλος ἄλλην ἐπιγραφὴν ἐποιήσατο*.' Schmalzriedt draws three important conclusions: first, works destined for regular *ἔκδοσις* did, *e contrario*, carry a title; secondly, works in limited circulation could remain untitled; thirdly, works left untitled by their author could receive titles from the public.

The first of these conclusions finds some confirmation in Latin patristic texts. When Augustine writes to Jerome about the latter's *de uiris illustribus*, he complains: *Quae sit eius inscriptio nescimus adhuc, non enim hoc codex ipse, ut adsolet, in liminari pagina*[39] *praetendebat*.[40] The words *ut adsolet* bear stressing: it was

[35] Schmalzriedt (n. 19) 49; at *Polit.* 284b Plato refers to his own *Sophist*.
[36] Birt (n. 8) 238; Blum (n. 23) 217.
[37] Schmalzriedt (n. 19) 21; Nachmanson (n. 25) 26f.; Wendel (n. 3) 31f.
[38] 19.10f. (*de libris suis*); note also Nachmanson (n. 25) 25; Schmalzriedt (n. 19) 20f.; Dziatzko (n. 3) 166.
[39] 'First page' rather than 'title page'.
[40] *Ep. ad Hier.* 67.2 (*PL* 22.647, *CSEL* 54, p. 667); Dziatzko (n. 3) 179f.; Wendel (n. 3) 27; E. Arns, *Le technique du livre d'après Saint Jèrôme* (Paris 1953) 109; E. A. Lowe, *CQ* 19 (1925) 206 *Palaeographical Papers* 1 (Oxford 1972) 200.

normal for the codex to be titled. In the *de uiris illustribus*, Jerome comments on an acephalous (and therefore untitled) copy of the epitome of Lactantius' *Institutiones diuinae*.[41]

A brief look at some familiar titles in the history of Latin literature clearly reveals some sources of error and confusion. It was, for example, not uncommon to refer to a book by a nickname. That is what Brink calls the *Ars Poetica* of Horace, a name first used by Quintilian;[42] compare Cicero's use of *Πολιτικά* and *Τέλη* for his own *De re publica* and *De finibus*,[43] and the *Dindymi domina* jestingly used by Catullus of the *Magna mater* of Caecilius (35.14,18).[44] Ovid's reference at *Tr.* 2.303[45] to his *Ars amatoria* simply as *Ars* may be compared. He is driven to use *Ars amandi* (*Ars am.* 1.1 *si quis in hoc artem populo non novit amandi*) only by metrical necessity: the intractable *Ars amatoria* is further confirmed by the uniformity of the MS evidence and by an allusion as early as Sen. *Contr.* 3.7 *qui hoc saeculum amatoriis non artibus tantum sed sententiis impleuit*. Sheer brevity is relevant,[46] as is the pleasure and comfort of shared familiarity: the use of the leading character's name by a stage-struck public has already been observed. The title of the *Ars am.* is similarly a key element in its parodic intent, in contrast to the formal exposition of the handbook (= *ars* / *τέχνη*).[47]

Secondly, there is the possibility of confusion between titles and subject matter noted above. There is no general rule: *Φαίδων ἢ περὶ Ψυχῆς* was not Platonic; *Tubero de origine humana* is Varronian.[48] Cato's *De agri cultura*[49] was too readily abandoned by Daly (27) as typically ambiguous and uncertain. Though there is a little evidence for *De re rustica* as a title (Gell. 10.26.8 as against 3.14.7), it should be borne in mind that Cic. *Sen.* 54 *in eo libro quem de rebus rusticis scripsi* refers quite clearly not to the title but to the subject matter, and that, as Mazzarino (n. 49) elegantly suggests, the discrepancy in the MSS may arise from the naming of the *corpus* of agricultural writers in which the *De agr.* was preserved as *De re rustica*.

[41] Ch. 80; compare Arns (n. 40); see S. Brandt, *CSEL* 19, pp. lxix, lxxv: the mutilation is still identifiable. See also id., *Ep. ad Evang.* 73.1 (*PL* 22.676, *CSEL* 55, p. 13): Evangelus has sent him an anonymous work; has he removed the *nomen* from the *titulus* or was the author responsible for his own anonymity? See Arns, n. 111.

[42] *Ep. ad Tryph.* 2; C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry* 1 (Cambridge 1963) 233; Horsfall, (n. 2) 117.

[43] Cic. *Q.Fr.* 2.13(12).1; *Att.* 13.12.3.

[44] Also compare Aug. *De civ. D.* 18.18 (of Apuleius' books) *quos asini aurei titulo inscripsit*, for the original *Metamorphoses* (see Robertson and Vallette, edn. Budé, i p. xxix).

[45] *Et passim*; see P. Brandt's preface, xxii n. 6; *Rem. Am.* ed. Henderson (Edinburgh 1979) xix.

[46] Was this why the younger Pliny referred to *naturae historiarum triginta septem* (*Ep.* 3.5.6), though his uncle had spoken explicitly (*praef.* 1) of *libros naturalis historiae* (confirmed by repeated citations in Gellius)?

[47] For Cic.'s *Ars rhetorica*, see p. 138 above; note also Ov. *Tr.* 2.471; *TLL* 2.671.54ff.

[48] See p. 137 8 above; on the Varronian double titles, see: Blum (n. 23) 216ff.; R. Heisterhagen, *AAWMainz* (1957.4) 131; Horsfall, *BICS* 19 (1972) 123.

[49] The title used by Varr. *Rust.* 1.2.28; for bibliography, see A. E. Astin, *Cato the Censor* (Oxford 1978) 189; R. Goujard, edn. Budé, xxxii; A. Mazzarino, Teubner ed., xx.

Lastly, the titulature of historical works down to Livy;[50] the evidence was collected by Peter and surveyed by Daly (22ff.). At first sight all is almost complete confusion: so many original titles are irrecoverable that it might seem appropriate to ask sceptically (as does Daly) whether such works had ever formally been titled. Certainly the renowned distinctions drawn between *historia* and *annales* and between *annales* and *res gestae*[51] are not observed in general usage in the late Republic and after, and may never have been in titulature. Cicero (*Rep.* 2.18, Gelzer (n. 51) 48 n. 2) and Pliny (5.9) even refer to the *annales* of Polybius. [105/106] I would, however, note that Festus' assertion that *Origines* was Cato's own title (n. 18) is confirmed by Nep. *Cato* 3 *quam ob rem omnes origines uidetur appellasse* and by an almost unvarying pattern of citation (Peter, *HRRel.* 1.131). Tubero's work, moreover, is always cited as *Historiae*.[52] It is difficult to imagine why these works in isolation should have been endowed with specific and perdurable titles and also why works of history should—in contrast to speeches and plays of oratory and drama—have escaped regular provision of titles. It is on the other hand apparent that *historia*/*historiae* and *res gestae* can serve to designate either title or subject matter, whereas *annales* is used only of a particular type of historical writing and as the title of works written within that particular type. Here are the seeds of limitless confusion.[53]

Three main categories of misused Roman book-titles are particularly easy to isolate and define: first, where it is a renaissance title, not an ancient one, that is current today; secondly, where the ancient title of a work is altogether lost; and, thirdly, where it can be shown that the MSS transmit a false title. A few examples will be given in each category.

The modern use of *De inuentione* for Cicero's *Rhetorica* has already been noted; similar are the expansion *Brutus de claris oratoribus*, the use of *Pro lege Manilia* in lieu of *De imperio Pompei*,[54] and the title of the collection *Epistulae ad familiares*.[55] There are others, but reassuringly few: the *Annales* of Tacitus, of course,[56] and the popular abbreviations *Germania* and *Agricola*.[57] It is also possible that use of *Pharsalia* for the *Bellum ciuile* of Lucan is a modernism; certainly the passages

[50] The *ab urbe condita* of the MSS is confirmed by 6.1.1; contrast, however, the *annales meos* of 43.13.2 and the *historiae* of Plin. *praef.* 16.

[51] Sempr. Asellio fr. 1, 2 P; Gell. 5.18 after Verrius Flaccus; M. Gelzer, *Hermes* 69 (1934) 46ff.

[52] Peter *HRRel.* 1.371.

[53] Daly's nihilism regarding the titles of the early Roman historians has yet to be challenged in detail; I have only suggested possible areas of weakness.

[54] A. Boulanger, edn. Budé, 143 n. 1.

[55] In antiquity, the letters were cited by correspondents, not as a collection: Shackleton Bailey, *Cic. Epist. ad famil.* (Cambridge 1976) 1.23.

[56] The *subscriptio* in the first Medicean gives *ab excessu divi Augusti*; see R. P. Oliver, *TAPA* 82 (1951) 232ff. *Pace* F. R. D. Goodyear, *G&R* Surveys 4 (1970) 17 n. 1, accepted at Horsfall (n. 2) 117), may not Plin. *Ep.* 7.33 *historias tuas immortales futuras*, in conjunction with Tert. *Ath.* 16.1 *in quarto* (!)*historiarum suarum de bello Iudaico* be sufficient to establish the antiquity of *Historiae*?

[57] For which *de origine et situ Germanorum* and *de vita Iulii Agricolae* may well be correct: see E. Norden, *Germ. Urgeschichte* (Leipzig 1922) 451ff.

cited as evidence for the antiquity of *Pharsalia* convey not the title but rather the subject-matter of the poem.[58] Lastly, clarification of the titulature of the translations of Aratus reveals a definite tradition. The MSS of Rufius Festus Avienus' version[59] give *Arati Phaenomena*, with the name of the translator also in the genitive (see Holder's edition). The MSS of Germanicus also give *Arati Phaenomena* and some add the translator's name in the genitive. Priscian (*GL* 3.417.1) cites fr. 6 by a natural abbreviation as *in Arato*. For Gain's implausible and ungrammatical suggestion, *Germanici Aratus: Phaenomena* (ed. (1976) 16) there is neither need nor evidence. It may, moreover, be possible slightly to reduce the confusion surrounding Cicero's translation(s) from Aratus—at least by disposing of *Aratea* as a title. *Aratus* is supported amply by later parallels and *in Arato* is vastly the commonest way of citing Cicero's translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*,[60] whereas *Aratea* is found once only as a noun, in a conversational context at *Div*. 2.14, *in quo nostra quaedam Aratea a te memoriter pronuntiata sunt*. Due weight should be given to the important *quaedam*: 'Some of our Aratean bits and pieces.'[61]

Secondly, there are works where the correct ancient title seems altogether lost: that is true of the *Ars Poetica*, and perhaps of Hor. *Epist*. 1.[62] The title *de re coquinaria* for Apicius goes back to 1498. The only evidence is that of a ninth-century MS (Urb. Lat. 1146), which gives:

API
CAE;

that is all, and the case is clearly hopeless. Seven fragments survive of Hyginus on the towns of Italy, and the title is cited in four ways.[63] The title of Hyginus (?) on astronomy is given in different ways (or not at all) by each MS.[64] Beyond *liber*, we have no title for Catullus, Tibullus, or Books 2–4 of Propertius. Julius Caesar's narratives present a less simple problem:[65] the evidence of Cic. *Brut*. 262 and Hirt.

[58] *Bellum ciuile*: MSS, Suet. Vita (given as *CB*); Vacca Vita. Stat. *Silv*. 2.7.66 *et Pharsalica bello detonabis* is not evidence for title. At Lucan 9.985 *venturi me teque legent; Pharsalia nostra vivet . . .*, *Pharsalia* refers to the battle which Caesar won and Lucan sang; titulature is not proved by F. Ahl, *Lucan* (Ithaca 1976) 326f.

[59] For the name, see A. D. E. Cameron, *Entretiens Hardt* 23 (1976) 4.

[60] The *Phaenomena* tr. is cited as *in Arato*, the *Prognostica* as *in Prognosticis*; Soubiran, edn. Budé, 11.

[61] Note also the adjectival form; Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.104 *carminibus Arateis*; *Leg*. 2.7 *Aratio carmine*: clearly not evidence for a title *Aratea*.

[62] Horsfall (n. 2) 117ff., 169ff.

[63] Fr. 13 Fun. Macr. 5.8.15 *in libro secundo Urbium*; fr. 14 Serv. *ad Aen*. 8.597 *in Urbibus Italicis*; fr. 15 Serv. *ad Aen*. 7.412 *in Italicis Urbibus*; fr. 19 Serv. *ad Aen*. 8.638 *de origine Urbium Italicarum*.

[64] Ed. B. Bunte (Dresden 1875) 11ff., 19; Schanz Hosius 2.374. The same is true of Rutilius Lupus on figures of speech (vd. E. Brooks, *P. Rutilii Lupo, De figuris sententiarum et elocutionis* (Leiden 1970, *Mnemos*. Suppl. 11) 95; Schanz Hosius 2.742).

[65] Fully studied by F. W. Kelsey, *TAPA* 36 (1905) 211ff.

praef. 4 suggests that *commentarii* formed part of the title (Kelsey 219f.); Cic. *loc. cit.*, Hirt. *praef.* 2, and Suet. *Iul.* 56.1 might prompt the addition of *rerum suarum/gestarum* (id. 227ff.); the testimony of the manuscripts (id. 212ff.) is sorely confused.[66] For Celsus' encyclopedia, the evidence presents two strikingly opposed choices: the MSS refer to *Artes*;[67] a scholium in the fifteenth-century Cod. Laur. 36.36 on Plaut. *Bacch.* 69 gives it as *Cesti*. 'Embroidered girdles' as a title is of a very familiar type (compare Plin. *praef.* 24ff., Gell. *praef.* 6ff.), though there is no exact parallel in Latin; in Greek, however, it was the title of Sextus Julius Africanus' vast miscellany. Despite the objections that Celsus avoided Greek vocabulary and that the scholia in question are elsewhere wholly derivative,[68] *Cesti* remains an enticing possibility, upon which *Artes* represents a normalization.[69]

Thirdly, works whose titles can be shown to have been distorted in the MS transmission. Most MSS of Cicero's work on the nature of the gods give the title as *de deorum natura*: this sequence is supported—in the face of considerations of euphony—by about a third of the ancient citations (Pease *ad* 1.1) and by the analogy of Lucretius' *de rerum natura*. *De natura deorum*, however, is how Cicero refers to the *περὶ θεῶν* of Chrysippus and Posidonius, and, five times, to his own work.[70] [106/107]

Sall. *Cat.* 4.3 *igitur de Catilinae coniuratione quam uerissime potero paucis absoluam* should probably be followed as a guide to the title; contrast *Jug.* 5.1 *bellum scripturus sum*. The *Bellum Catilinarium* or *Liber Catilinarius* of the MSS represents a natural but confused (and regrettable) development. The *codex archetypus* of Frontinus on aqueducts survives (Cass. 361); it gives as the title *de aquae ductu urbis Romae*.[71] Later MSS turn the title into the plural and editors also vary. *Ἀποκολοκύντωσις* (Dio 60.35.2) is probably Senecan; the MSS give *Ludus de morte Claudii/satyra de Claudio Caesare*.[72] Pliny refers to *librum quo nuper optimo principi consul gratias egi* (*Ep.* 3.13.1; note also 18.1). Two passages in the text itself (1.6, 90.3) refer to his *gratiarum actio*; that this actually was the title is, I suggest, confirmed by Ausonius' *Gratiarum Actio* to Gratian; the *Panegyricus* of Pliny's MSS is first found at Sid. Apoll. *Ep.* 8.10.3.

Two Ovidian titles (Birt (n. 2) 155) belong to this category, but the issues are less clear-cut. *Heroides* or perhaps rather *Heroidum liber* I believe to be Ovidian.[73] This title (as *Ἡρωΐναι*) had been used by Philochorus (*Suda* s.v.) and Theocritus

[66] For the complex evidence in favour of *Bellum Africanum* and *Bellum Hispaniense*, see R. Schneider's ed. of the *BA* (1905) *ad init.* and G. Pascucci's of the *BH* (1965) 23.

[67] See Quint. 2.13.1; Plin. *praef.* 24; Marx, preface, vi[f], *TLL* 2.671.54ff.

[68] M. Schanz, *Rh. Mus.* 36 (1881) 373.

[69] See K. E. Henriksson, *Griech. Buchtitel in der röm. Literatur* (Helsinki 1956) 10.

[70] See Pease, *loc. cit.*; Birt (n. 2) 154 argues unconvincingly that euphony does not matter in a title, but does in a continuous text: *Div.* 1.7, 8; 2.3, 148; *Fat.* 1.

[71] This title may receive some confirmation from the headings of *Cod. Theod.* 15.2 and *Cod. Iust.* 11.43; see F. Krohn (Teubner ed.) vi.

[72] The matter is surveyed in detail by M. Coffey, *Lustrum* 6 (1961) 245ff.

[73] See pages 138 9 and 151 above for the poet's concern with titles.

(*Suda* s.v.); it is that known to Priscian (*GL* 2.544.4), to the compiler of the *Scholia ad Ibin* (357, 589), and to John of Salisbury (see Palmer's ed., x); it also has some MS authority. Ovid himself, in the *Ars* 3.345 *uel tibi composita cantetur epistula uoce*) uses *epistula* of a single poem from the *liber Heroidum*; we shall find this distinction between collection and individual poem elsewhere, and also that such terminological refinements have regularly been misunderstood. It is not surprising that Planudes used *Ἐπιστολαί* and that *liber epistolarum* and, worse still *Heroidum epistulae*, appear in the MSS. The MSS of Ovid's work on beauty treatment give as its title *de speculo*/*de medicamine faciei*/*de medicamine faciei femineae*. Ovid himself refers to the work's theme in the *Ars* (3.205) as *uestrae medicamina formae* and its opening couplet

> discite, quae faciem commendet cura, puellae,
> et quo sit uobis forma tuenda modo

may be used to support either *forma* or *facies* in the title. Owen (*CR* 3 (1889) 212) makes the pertinent observation that in poetry at least—though one might wonder whether the norms of poetic usage apply to the titles of poems—Ovid would not have used the form *faciei* in the genitive.[74] He could therefore perfectly well have written in the *Ars* of

> facie medicamina uestrae.

We may therefore suspect that *formae* must have belonged somewhere in the correct title—possibly *Medicamina formae femineae*.

Some of the most serious misconceptions in the field of titulature have arisen from a failure to consider shifts in ancient terminology. Horace wrote not *Odes* but *Carmina*.[75] This is a real and important distinction, not a piece of idle pedantry: to the author of *princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos deduxisse modos* such matters were an integral part of his attitude to poetry overall.[76] To Horace and his contemporaries, *Odae* was still wholly a Greek word, associated with Pindar, with choirs and with great public occasions. *Carmen* belonged to Italy and etymologically was linked to the ancient Muses of Italy, the Camenae.[77] *Odae* was apparently first applied, in the plural, as a title for the *Carmina* of Horace, in the sixth-century scholia to Claudian.[78] The MSS of Horace, Suetonius' biography, the usage of the grammarians, and Diomedes' explicit statement (*GL* 1.518.26) *Horatii corpus quod carminum inscribitur* confirm overwhelmingly the

[74] Neue Wagener, *Formenlehre* i[3] (Leipzig 1902) 572. [75] See Horsfall (n. 2) 117.
[76] See Elter (n. 78) for some justly severe strictures upon this point.
[77] Varr. *Ling.* 7.26; *TLL Onomasticon* s.v., *ad init.*
[78] A. Elter, *Donarem pateras* 3 (Bonn 1907) 47.

correctness of *Carmina*. *Ode* is, if not first used in Latin by Statius as the title of *Silv*. 4.5 *Ode lyrica ad Septimium Seuerum* (for these titles are not necessarily the poet's own),[79] then a term frequently used by the grammarians as 'a lyric poem'. Servius can speak of 19 odes of Horace (*GL* 4.468.13) and Marius Victorinus (*GL* 6.168.15) of all the odes—that is, all the individual lyric poems—in Books 2–4 of the *carmina*.

The same distinction between a legitimate ancient term for a single poem, or, in the plural, for a number of poems, and a demonstrably correct title occurs in two other notable cases: Horace wrote not *Satirae* but *Sermones*, a title with clear and significant links with Greek *diatribe*: this is demonstrated by his own references in the '*Epistulae*' (2.2.60; compare 2.1.150), by the evidence of the MSS, and by methods of citation.[80] The title *sermones* may well be Lucilian.[81] Horace does, however, refer twice to his own *satura*: when at 2.6.17 he asks *quid prius illustrem saturis musaque pedestri* he refers not to a formal title but to a sequence of individual poems, each one of them a *satura* (compare Juv. 3.321).[82] When he begins the second book of *Sermones* with the proposition *sunt quibus in satura uideor nimis acer*, he refers either to *satura* as a genre ('my satiric writing'), or, perhaps, to a single specific earlier poem, 1.2, the tone of which he had already had to defend in 1.4.[83] [107/108]

There is no evidence sufficient to demonstrate that the 'Satires' of Ennius and Lucilius, collectively or individually, bore that title in the second or first centuries BC.[84] Since Lucilius wrote nothing but satiric verse (Daly, 30), there was no need of a collective title—at least not before one of the posthumous editions, when Varro writes baldly (*Ling*. 5.16) *Lucilius suorum unius et uiginti librorum initium fecit hoc*. I am inclined to suspect the absence of a collective title, nor is it certain that the titles given to individual books[85] are original. The earliest text to cite Ennius' 'Satires' as such might seem to be Quint. 9.2.36, but *in satira* clearly need not refer to a formal title.[86] The collective title *Varronis Satirae Menippeae* must be viewed with equal caution;[87] is it Varro's own, or was it devised for the sake of order and

[79] See Vollmer's ed. (Leipzig 1898) 207f.

[80] Horsfall (n. 2) 117; Fronto 19.15 van den Hout, *GL* 4.472.11 (for example); Porph. *ad* 2.1.1 *hos duos libros cum sermonum inscripserit*.

[81] J. G. Griffith, *Hermes* 98 (1970) 68.

[82] C. A. van Rooy, *Studies in Classical Satire* (Leiden 1965) 60; U. Knoche, *Die röm. Satire*² (Göttingen 1957) 49; compare M. Coffey, *Roman Satire* (London 1976) 69.

[83] W. J. N. Rudd, *AJP* 76 (1955) 165ff.

[84] For a detailed and sceptical survey of the evidence, see J. R. C. Martyn, *Mnemos*. Ser. 4.25 (1972) 157ff. Note also Hendrickson (n. 88) 129ff.; Marx, Lucilius 1, 13f.; *contra*, the *communis opinio*: Coffey (n. 82) 39; van Rooy (n. 82) 32 and 50; Ullmann (n. 88) 186f.; A. L. Wheeler (n. 29) 457ff., notably 470ff., a subtle argument; but see Martyn 166.

[85] 1: *concilium deorum* (Lact. *Inst*. 4.12); 16: *Collyra* (Porph. *ad* Hor. *Carm*. 1.22.10).

[86] Contrast the plur. *in satiris*, Gell. 2.29.21, 6.9.1, 18.2.7.

[87] Jerome's catalogue gives 150 books of '*Sat. Men.*', four of *saturae* and *de compositione satirarum*.

convenience by a later compiler?[88] It may be ill-advised to use Gell. 2.18.7 *Menippus . . . cuius libros M. Varro in saturis aemulatus est, quas alii cynicas, ipse appellat Menippeas* to support the title in Jerome's catalogue as an authentically Varronian collective title;[89] Gellius will have read the words put into Varro's mouth by Cicero at *Acad.* 1.8 *in illis ueteribus nostris, quae Menippum imitate . . .* . The possibility that Gellius is using Ciceronian, not Varronian, evidence should reinforce the caution with which such *ipse appellat* statements should be viewed. On the other hand, Persius and Juvenal did, so far as can be ascertained, use *Saturae* as a title.[90] This shift in usage was sufficient to mislead later writers into referring to the *Saturae* of Ennius and Lucilius by way of title.[91]

There are only three further apparent references to the 'Satires' of Horace (compare n. 80):[92]

(i) Suetonius' remark that Horace *habitu corporis fuit breuis atque obesus, qualis et a se ipso in saturis describitur*. The statement rests in fact upon both *Sermones* and *Epistulae*;[93]
(ii) Quint. 10.1.94 appears to lump all of Horace's hexameter poetry together as *satura* (see Horsfall *LCM* 4 (1979) 118);
(iii) Sid. Ap. *Carm.* 9.221 *saturas epistularum* (see *LCM* 4 (1979) 170). It is striking that all three passages attempt to refer with excessive concision to both *Sermones* and '*Epistulae*' in a single portmanteau phrase,[94] and none is therefore adequate evidence for the independent titulature of Horace's *Sermones* as 'Satires'.

The *Bucolica* of Virgil are an altogether simpler matter.[95] Macr. 5.17.20 says that *maluit inscribere Bucolica*; such statements do not have independent value, but *Bucolica* here is confirmed by the title *Antibucolica* attributed to one Numitorius (Suet.–Don. *Vita* 43), by the Servian tradition (*praef.*: *Bucolica, ut ferunt, dicta sunt, et passim*), by the capital MSS, by Columella (7.10.8), by Quintilian (8.6.46, etc.), and by the Suet.–Don. biography (26, etc.). The proof is sufficient, but there remain two serious issues.

First, the relationship to Theocritus; the posthumous title of his collection, εἰδύλλια, is irrelevant (Gow, comm. on Theocritus (Cambridge 1952) 1, lxxii); not

[88] For a persuasive defence of the latter view, see G. L. Hendrickson, *CPhil.* 6 (1911) 342f.; not decisively challenged by B. L. Ullmann, *CPhil.* 8 (1913) 187f. See further van Rooy (n. 82) 55ff.
[89] Hendrickson (n. 88) 343. [90] Van Rooy (n. 82) 72ff., 75ff.
[91] Hendrickson (n. 88) 342; van Rooy (n. 82) 75.
[92] See Horsfall (n. 2) 118; Stat. *Silv.* 1.3.103 shows only that Horace wrote satire.
[93] *Sat.* 2.3.309; *Epist.* 1.4.15, 20.23.
[94] Could it be that the word is used in these three passages in the sense of 'hexameter medley' to cover the variegated but related subject matter of all four books?
[95] H. W. Garrod, *CQ* 10 (1916) 218f.; two recent English editions print *Eclogues*, with no comment upon the matter.

so the repeated references to βουκολικᾶς . . . ἀοιδᾶς in the first idyll. It has also been plausibly suggested that the references to *boves* in Virgil's first eclogue (9.45) contain an element of etymological play with reference to the title of the collection. Secondly, the very word '*ecloga*' signifies a 'chosen piece', and, applied to Virgil, implies a most unwelcome process of selection from a larger corpus.[96] Varro writes of *eclogas ex annalei descriptas* (*Epist. Quaest.* 6 = Charis. 154.22 Barwick), Cicero of *eclogae duae* taken from his *De gloria* (*Att.* 16.2.6), perhaps the same excerpts to which he refers at *Att.* 16.11.1 by the Greek ἄνθη. That illustrates republican usage clearly enough. By the end of the first century AD, the word had come (n. 95) to be used of any short poem. Thus the younger Pliny (4.14.9) [108/109]
writes of *epigrammata siue idyllia siue eclogas, sive, ut multi, poematia*, Statius (*Silv.* 3, 4 *praef.*) of two of his own *Siluae* as *eclogae* (3.5, 4.8), Suetonius (*Vita Hor.*) of an epistle of Horace in the same way. The grammarians use *ecloga* even of individual *iambi* and *sermones* of Horace (Knaack, 'Ecloga', *RE* 5.2:1930.59ff.).

When did *ecloga* first come to be applied as a title to Virgil? The Suet.–Don. *Vita* refers to Numitorius as the composer of *duas modo eclogas* (43): that proves nothing as to Virgil's title. It also refers, quite properly, to *secunda Bucolicorum ecloga* (9); that is, to a single poem within the *Bucolica*. *Eclogae* as a title of the whole collection is not attested.[97]

Iambi is Horace's own description of the so-called *Epodes*,[98] notably at 14.6ff. *deus, deus nam me uetat inceptos olim, promissum carmen, iambos ad umbilicum adducere*.[99] *Epodi* as a title is attested as early as Porphyrio,[100] but the word itself is a purely metrical term, denoting poems or individual lines made up of disparate metrical units.[101] In a difficult passage,[102] Quintilian writes of Horace *quamquam illi epodos interuenit*: Horace wrote iambic verses, but diversified them metrically, with the exception, as Winterbottom observes, of the seventeenth poem, by the insertion of epodic elements. *Iambi* denoted, however, as Horace and Quintilian both well knew, not only a metre but a genre;[103] 'the name ἴαμβος does not automatically imply a particular metre or metrical type. Iambic metre got its name from being particularly characteristic of ἴαμβος and not *vice versa* . . . . Invective was clearly regarded as being the outstanding feature of the genre.'[104] Within the exponents of the Latin *iambus*, Quintilian links Horace with Catullus

[96] K. Büchner, 'Vergilius Bucolica', *RE* 15A:1255.62ff.; Garrod (n. 95) 218.
[97] Henriksson (n. 69) 41f.: *nirgendwo wird die ganze Sammlung als ein Eclogarum liber bezeichnet*.
[98] Horsfall (n. 2) 117. [99] See *Ep.* 1.19.23f. *Parios ego primus iambos ostendi Latio*.
[100] ? third century; *ad* 1.1 *liber hic Epodon inscribitur*.
[101] See for instance, L. E. Rossi, *Arethusa* 9 (1976) 207ff.
[102] 10.1.96; see M. Winterbottom, *Studies in Quintilian*, *BICS* Suppl. 25 (1970) 191.
[103] *TLL* 7.1.1 31.13ff.
[104] M. L. West, *Studies in Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974) 22. See Cic. *Nat. D.* 3.91 *quem Hipponactis iambus laeserat aut qui erat Archilochi versu vulneratus*; Cat. 36.5 *truces vibrare iambos*, 40.2, 54.6; Hor. *Carm.* 1.16.24, 2.2.69, *Ars P.* 79; Tac. *Dial.* 10.

and Bibaculus; Horace himself had in mind specifically to introduce the metre (*numeri*) and spirit (*animi*) of the master of the genre, Archilochus, to Latin literature (*Epist*. 1.19.23ff.). When the ancient terminology is so delicate and specific, it is grotesque to entitle the collection 'Poems of disparate metrical units' in place of 'Invectives'.

Something must finally be said of the elegiac poets: in the case of Tibullus, the MS evidence is for *Albi Tibulli liber, liber secundus, liber tertius*. That is all. There is no other evidence; the fact that Domitius Marsus writes of his *elegi* and that the *Vita* calls him *elegiographus* does not constitute evidence for a title *Elegiarum libri*.[105] The MSS of Propertius refer to *liber secundus*, *tertius*, *quartus* and Nonius writes, for what it is worth (which, in isolation, is very little), of *elegiarum libro iii* (p. 249.30L). The first book is a rather more complex matter:[106] the evidence of the MSS is for *Monobiblos*. But at 2.24a.1f., Propertius himself writes:

> tu loqueris cum sis noto iam fabula libro
> et tua sit toto Cynthia lecta foro,

which can be taken as suggesting that Book 1 had rapidly come to be known as the *Cynthia*.[107] The *Apophoreta* of Martial confirm both titles: 189 has the heading (Martial's own; see 14.2) *Monobyblos Properti* and the poem on the other hand reads:

> Cynthia facundi carmen iuuenale Properti
> accepit famam; nom minus ipsa dedit.

The term *Monobiblos* is indeed attested elsewhere:

(i) The medical writer Philagrius—who lived between Galen and Oribasius—wrote[108] *βιβλία ἰατρικά—μονόβιβλα μὲν ὁ* (70) . . . (*Suda* s.v.);
(ii) The list of sources prefacing the *Digest*[109] refers to the *MONOBIBΛA* of Paulus, Ulpian and Modestinus.

[105] J. P. Postgate, *Selections from Tibullus* (London 1922) xxxiv. *Delia* and *Nemesis* have been suggested: see D. F. Bright, *Haec mihi fingebam* (Leiden 1978) 99 n. 1. For the *Neaera* of Lygdamus, G. Luck, *Latin Love Elegy* (Eng. tr., London 1969)[2] 104 n. 1; for Gallus, *Lycoris* and Valerius Cato, *Lydia* see Henriksson (n. 69) 52.

[106] Henriksson (n. 69) 50ff., with further bibliography.

[107] Precedents are discussed by Wilamowitz, *Sappho und Simonides* (Berlin 1913) 301f.; Mimnermus, *Nanno*, Hermesianax, *Leontion*, and Antimachus, *Lyde* are all attested as titles, current rather than original; whether this area of Greek usage was known to Propertius or influenced him is quite another matter.

[108] T. Birt, *Rh. Mus.* 64 (1909) 394.

[109] Ed. Mommsen, liii* lv*.

There is then, not evidence for a title so much as for a specialized term applied to a specific form of composition, apparently applicable, unlike 'monograph', to prose and verse alike. It certainly cannot be excluded that the title *Monobiblos* was current in Propertius' day. *Cynthia*, on the other hand, is extremely attractive as a generally acknowledged designation, almost, indeed, a nickname, if not so much as a formal title. *Cynthia* was both the first word of the book, and in that sense, as its *incipit*, strictly speaking one form of its title,[110] and also the book's dominant theme. Whether *Monobiblos*, on the other hand, was the poet's own title, or one that grew through the book-trade while Book 2 was in gestation, cannot be defined, just as we cannot say what Propertius himself called his first book.

Lastly, Ovid. The title *Amores*[111] depends on *Ars* 3.343f.: [109/110]

> deue tribus libris, titulus quos signat Amorum
> elige quod docili molliter ore legas.

Luck[112] advanced the theory, on the basis of *Am.* 2.12[113] that the five books of the first edition were called *Corinna*; his arguments are modified by Cameron,[114] who suggests that *Amores* 1^1 alone might have been called *Corinna*. Ovid can and does refer explicitly to his own titles; of such a reference there is not a trace in 3.12. There is no independent evidence for *Corinna* as against *Amorum liber i*, and the possibility (Cameron, 325) that Ovid might have wished to recall the title of Propertius 1 is not sufficient to demonstrate that Ovid *Amores* 1^1 or $1–5^1$ was called *Corinna*.[115]

Both *Amores* 1 and *Ars* 3 begin with the word *arma* in deliberate and irreverent reminiscence not of Propertius 1 but of the *Aeneid*; Ovid knew very well that the *Aeneid* was also called the *arma uirumque* (*Tr.* 2.534), and so his *incipit*s were designed to be the same as Virgil's. Corinna could never, in dactylic verse, have served as an Ovidian *incipit*, as Cynthia had done in Propertius' case. It might be conceived that Ovid meant his title to recall Propertius and his *incipit* Virgil, but to do so is both messy and unnecessary. Nor does the epigram at the head of *Amores*[2] contain a title, neither

> (for example) Nasonis fuimus modo libri quinque Corinnae

[110] Though I know of no other coincidence of *incipit* and formal title.

[111] See ed. F. Munari[5] (1970) xiii n. 1; called *sine titylo* in the Middle Ages.

[112] *Röm. Liebeselegie* (Heidelberg 1961) 184; not in either English edition.

[113] For detailed criticism of Luck's reading of this poem, see W. Stroh, *Röm. Liebeselegie* (Amsterdam 1971) 157 n. 65.

[114] *CQ* 18 (1968) 324f.

[115] *Nanno*, *Leontion*, and *Lyde* (n. 107), whether or not their protectors wrote subjective love elegies, could be pressed into service as precedents for *Corinna* (or *Cynthia*) (see Cameron (n. 114) 325), but the Greek titles do not of themselves constitute evidence that the title *Corinna* must have existed.

nor

> (for example) quinque libri quondam Nasonis eramus Amorum.

That was because the *tituli* clearly marked the rolls as *Amorum* (*Ars* 3.343f.): Ovid knew very well what the three books of his second edition were called and we have found no reason to suppose that the title of his first edition was any different. Ovid, after all, has emerged as an author sharply and frequently aware of the *titulus* as a physical object and of the importance to be attached to thoughtful and significant titulature.

12
Virgil and the conquest of chaos[1]

The hunt for Virgil's sources has been, by unspoken agreement among Latinists, largely abandoned. This regrettable development may in part have been a by-product of the justifiable revulsion against the excesses of *Quellenforschung* as practised *c.*1880–*c.*1930 (everyone read Posidonius and Varro; no one else was read), in part by the opening of alluring new vistas in Virgilian studies, where apparent progress might be made without the need of painstaking consultation of *HRRel*, *GRF*, *FGrH*, *FHG*, and similar collections. It has therefore escaped notice that just as the detailed examination of Virgil's use of Homer (Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen 1979)) or even of the Homer scholia (Schlunk, *Virgil and the Homeric Scholia* (Ann Arbor 1974)) can lead to immensely valuable advances in our understanding of the poet's compositional techniques, so the survey of Virgil's prose sources and the analysis of how he handles the material available to him can be employed to precisely comparable ends. It is the purpose of this paper to indicate some ways in which such a survey may be put into effect.

Chaos[2] was indeed what confronted Virgil whenever he turned to consider a story in the mythology of Italy. In his brilliant paper, *Origines Gentium*, Elias Bickerman writes: 'One could write on the subject in an original manner, disentangling the difficulties (i.e. any problem of religion, topography or antiquities) in most satisfactory fashion, yet without coming into conflict with accepted mythology' (*CPhil.* 47 (1952) 67). We should not forget that Virgil was the pupil of Parthenius (Macr. 5.17.18), whose collection of arcane and curious tales of love survives (cf. Horsfall, *EMC* 23 (1979), [ch. 8, 100–101]).[3]

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[1] I am grateful to audiences in Cambridge, University of Southern California, and ANU Canberra for their comments on versions of this paper; more generally, I gladly record my warmest thanks to Australian audiences who cheerfully excoriated my lectures for six months in 1980. After I had completed and revised this paper, I became aware that some of the same ground had been lightly covered in A. M. Guillemin, *L'originalité de Virgile* (Paris 1931), some cross references to that uneven but stimulating book are included.

[2] Cf. Guillemin (n. 1) 47, who speaks specifically of the 'chaos' of contradictory legends.

[3] Of rare Greek stories in Virgil I give four examples: elements in the tale of Laocoon (Austin comm. (Oxford 1964) on 2.95); on Orpheus: see Bowra, *CQ* 1952, 113ff.; Wilkinson, *Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge 1969) 116ff.; on 7.304: see Horsfall, *CR* 29 (1979) 222; Troilus: see Austin comm. (Oxford 1971) on 1.474. A certain delight in lesser known versions emerges.

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To begin with a modest range of examples of the sort of fluidity which confronted Virgil in his sources:

(i) First, an instance where there was no settled Greek version and Roman writers only increased the range of possibilities: in the texts the Trojans' homeland is given variously as Troad itself (*Il.* 20.216ff.), Arcadia
[141/142] (Thraemer, 'Dardanos', *RE* 4.2:2168.55ff. on Hellanicus), Crete—probably on account of association between the two Idas (*Aen.* 3.94.ff.; from Callinus on), Samothrace—as the product of speculation about the origin of the mysteries (cf. *Aen.* 7.207f.) and Etruria (*Aen.* 3.168f.), though it is not certain that Virgil is not innovating here (cf. Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973), 74ff.).

(ii) Just as diverse and confusing is the range of explanations given for the origin of the name of the Palatine Hill: according to Virgil (*Aen.* 8.54), Evander named it after his ancestor Pallas. But Varro (*Ling.* 5.53) offers five other possibilities (e.g., following Naevius, *a balatu ovium*).

(iii) The length of the era from Aeneas' arrival in Italy to the foundation of Rome.[4] Virgil records idiosyncratically an era of 333 years (*Aen.* 1.257ff.); Naevius and Ennius, on the other hand, make Romulus a grandson of Aeneas (Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 1.273), while (e.g.) Cato counts 432 years between the fall of Troy and the foundation of Rome (*Orig.* fr. 17P).

(iv) (v) The site of Anchises' death and the places visited by Aeneas on the Campanian coast will shortly emerge as comparable.

It should not be thought that the legend of Aeneas is a special case. Nor, for that matter, is the story of Romulus. It might not appear at first sight that the story of Tarpeia was so important (and therefore so liable to variation). That is far from the case.[5] Livy 1.11 may give to the casual reader, as does the *Aeneid*, an altogether misleading impression of the classical and definitive statement of a long, settled, and normalized tradition.

However, we should not suppose that Virgil regularly confronted directly a mass of conflicting prose and verse texts. Prolonged study of Virgil's sources confirms me in the view already argued most lucidly by B. Rehm (*Philol. Supplbd.* 24.2 (1932) 92ff.) that for many of the more minute details of Italian legend—and one might wonder whether Virgil was really as interested in them as he was in Greek stories—he confronted the range of discrepant texts at one remove, as they stood arrayed in Varro's surveys, cited by name, sometimes quoted, sometimes arrayed in partial order of credibility. One should, of course, think of a considerable range of texts: *res humanae* 2, 8, and 11, the *De uita* and *De gente populi*

[4] H. A. Sanders, *CPhil.* 3 (1908) 317ff.; Horsfall, *CQ* 24 (1974) 111ff. [ch. 4, 34 9.]

[5] H. A. Sanders, in *Roman History, Sources and Institutions* (New York 1904) 1ff.; Horsfall, *CJ* 76 (1981) 298ff. [ch. 10, 121 136].

Romani, the *De familiis Troianis*, and the *Imagines*.[6] But Varro is characteristically descriptive, not prescriptive; the impact of his normative date of 753 BC for the foundation of the city is not typical of his effect on the state of scholarship at Rome. That the poet also read (e.g.) Cato's *Origines* is of course highly likely, but his extensive reading in Roman antiquarian prose cannot be demonstrated and is indeed not a necessary deduction from the poem or from general probabilities.[7] [142/143]

I turn first to the simplest *modus operandi* under discussion: instances where the poet simply selects and omits from a clearly far more substantial register of people or places:

(i) It was observed in a notably valuable discussion by R. B. Lloyd (*AJPhil.* 77 (1957) 382ff.) that Virgil had nine episodes on Aeneas' voyage from Troy to Sicily, of which four (Crete, Strophades, Scylla and Charybdis, Cyclops) seem not to have been associated with Aeneas previously. In contrast, seventeen stopping places for Aeneas are attested, of which fourteen appear in Dionysius' narrative. Virgil clearly selected to avoid sameness and repetition; mere economy of number is less important, as is evident from the readiness with which he exploits the mythical connexions between Troy and Crete, the Argonautic Harpies and the Odyssean episodes of Scylla and Charybdis and of the Cyclops in order to enrich and diversify the aridities of the antiquarian tradition.

(ii) Closely comparable is Aeneas' passage along the coast of Campania: connexions are attested[8] with Cape Palinurus, Leucosia (Isola Piana), Inarime (Ischia), Prochyta (Procida), Baiae, Cape Misenus, Cumae, Capua, Fromiae, and Caieta. Virgil merely alludes in passing in a simile (9.710ff.) to Baiae, Prochyta, and Inarime; no connexion with Aeneas is drawn. The *aetia* of the two capes are of course given (6.234, 281), but Aeneas only in fact lands at (i) Cumae and (ii) Caieta, before reaching the Tiber mouth; to the north he sails past Circeii, in the interests of narrative economy and the avoidance of retardation.

(iii) It is very clear indeed, even from a simple comparison of *Aen.* 7.647ff. with Sil. 8.349ff. that Virgil is vastly more self-denying in his selection of material from a common geographical source, i.e. Varro *Res humanae* 11 (Rehm, 84ff.);[9] his intention, after all, is, in the footsteps of Homer,

[6] For *Imagines*: see Horsfall, *Anc. Soc.* (Macquarie) 10 (1980) 20ff. [ch. 9, 117 120]; for *De gente*: id., *Ce&M* 30 (1969) 299 and *CR* 28 (1978) 356f.; *De fam. Tro.*: see G. J. M. Bartelink, *Etymologisering bij Vergilius* (Amsterdam 1965) 65 n. 1. Use of the *De uita* and of *Res hum.* 2 and 8 is not, so far as I know, provable, just highly likely.

[7] Horsfall, *Prudentia* 8 (1976) 77f. [ch. 6, 65 6].

[8] H. Boas, *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium* (Amsterdam 1938) 27ff.

[9] Fordyce (Glasgow 1977) (*ad loc.*) is right to insist that Virgil's source for the Italian *leaders* was not alphabetical, against L. W. Daly, *AJPhil.* 84 (1963) 68f.; *Res hum.* 11 moreover, was not a list of people, nor was the book's arrangement geographical (R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 20.4 (1885) 534).

impressionistically to evoke the diversity of country and people, not to versify a gazetteer. But again, he does have ingenious techniques for alluding to people and places which he does not include in the catalogues, for example, by the topographical associations of such names as Umbro, Messapus, and Asilas.[10]

(iv) We can see elsewhere in very different contexts how far Virgil is concerned to eliminate a superfluity of detail that could raise only satiety in a reader and to achieve a simplicity in his outlines of place and time:

[143/144] Thus in *Aen.* 5 there are only four contests in the games, as against the Homeric eight: wrestling is too like boxing and field events are the narrator's despair: hence, only archery as against discus–archery–javelin;[11] the Homeric spear-fight is unattractively and inappropriately menacing. So too an increased economy of narrative is achieved by the elimination of retardatory up-country episodes in *Aen.* 3;[12] we might compare the omission of Capua, later. In Book 6, the juxtaposition of Avernus, Cumae, and Misenum is apparently unreal and 'inaccurate'; on 6.13 Austin aptly cites an admirably perceptive comment by Bertha Tilly on 'Virgil's habit of telescoping, or even ignoring, distances. For him the epic must move more quickly, against a shadowed background of omissions.'[13] Time, just as much as place, demanded straight and rapid outlines: the foremost example is, of course, the well-known acceleration of the action in Books 7–12, from the three or four campaigning seasons of the annalistic tradition to a matter of days.[14]

I have pointed already to Virgil's technique of geographical allusion through his choice of personal names.[15] Allusive poetry requires erudite readers and the *Aeneid* is an extreme case: the poet borrowed and alluded *hoc animo ut uellet agnosci* (Sen. *Suas.* 3.7): his most careful readers were expected to recognize not only poetic but scholarly allusions. So just as the poet borrowed isolated lines at times with conscious glee from bizarre and apparently inappropriate contexts,[16] straining his readers' memories, or even altered an Homeric original in the expectation that the scholiastic comment on that original which prompted the alteration would itself be recalled (Schlunk 7, 110), so his erudite public will have

[10] Asilas: cf. Sil. 8.445; in Picene country. Cf. I. A. Holland, *AJPhil.* 56 (1935) 202ff; C. Saunders, *TAPA* 71 (1940) 544ff. Names familiar from legends other than that of Aeneas are an extreme case: for Acro 'the Greek' at 10.719, see Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973) 69 n. 11.

[11] Cf. H. A. Harris, *PVS* 8 (1968 9) 14ff.

[12] e.g. that at Dodona; cf. Horsfall, *CQ* 29 (1979) 378 [ch. 7, 85]; likewise, Lloyd (*AJPhil.* 77 (1957)) 384 on Arcadia.

[13] *Gnomon* 47 (1975) 363. Through Miss Tilly's recent death, we have lost a passionate and perceptive student of Virgil, a real lover of Italy, and a true friend; this article should be taken as a tribute to her memory.

[14] R. Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik*[3] (Leipzig 1928) 172ff., cf. 340ff.

[15] One might refer also to the technique of hinting at a name by means of etymological play; for 7.182, cf. Bartelink (n. 6 above) 61f.

[16] Cf. E. L. Harrison, *CPhil.* 65 (1970) 241ff.

been expected to recognize the most fleeting allusions to stories which are not narrated, or which are narrated but in an entirely different form:

(i) 4.427 *nec patris Anchisae cineres manesue reuelli*: Dido alludes to the (Varronian) story that Diomedes dug up and carried off the bones of Anchises and later restored them to Aeneas (Serv. *ad loc.*). In *Aen.* 3–5, Anchises is, of course, buried at Drepanum in Sicily. Other sites are also attested: Trojan Ida, the peninsula of Pallene, Aeneia (in N-W Chalcidice), Arcadia, Anchisos in Epiros, and Latium.[17]

(ii) 5.298: Salius and Patron, one an Arcananian, one a native of Tegea; this Salius, according to Varro (Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 8.285; Isid. *Orig.* 18.50) was an Arcadian and founded the Salii: to the alert reader, this familiar and important name is the only hint in the poem of Aeneas' traditional visit to Arcadia. [145/146]

(iii) *ulta uirum poenas inimico a fratre recepi* says Dido (4.656). But is it enough that Pygmalion's treasure was carried away (1.340ff.)? The possibility exists (cf. Sil. 8.143) that Virgil is hinting at some story of altogether more drastic punishment (so Pease *ad loc.*, most attractively).

(iv) 4.421f. (Dido to Anna): *solam nam perfidus ille te colere* . . . may hint at the (Varronian) story (Serv. *ad Aen.* 5.4; Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 4.682) that Aeneas was in love with Anna not Dido (cf. Horsfall, *PVS* 13 (1973–4) 11 [ch. 2, 23–4]).

It is also worthy of note that Virgil is evidently concerned to hint at, in polemic allusion, and to reject, certain versions of the legend of Aeneas hostile to his hero:

(v) *qui primus Italiam Lauinaque uenit litora* (1.1f.) is, as Galinsky (*Lat.* 28 (1969), 3ff.; cf. Guillemin (n. 1) 43ff.) recognized, polemic against the claims and achievements of both Odysseus and Antenor (cf. Horsfall, (n. 12) 379ff., 387 [ch. 7, 86–9]).

(vi) 1.599 describes the Trojans as *omnium egenos*, in sharp and arguably deliberate conflict with versions in which the Trojans left their city by negotiation, well loaded with riches—like Dido, indeed.[18]

(vii) Ilioneus is at pains to assure Latinus (7.231ff.) that the Trojans will be respectable immigrants in Latium: contrast Cato, *Orig.* fr. 10P *cum Aeneae socii praedam agerent* (the banditry alleged at *Aen.* 7.362 is of another kind). When Ilioneus asks for *litus* . . . *innocuum* (230f.), an active sense, *non nocens*, is required for the adjective by the argument of the passage—notably *non erimus regno indecores.*[19]

[17] Cf. Guillemin (n. 1) 60ff., see Horsfall (n. 12) 381f. [ch. 7, 89] for the widespread story of the burning of the ships, located by Virgil in Sicily.

[18] Cf. G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton 1969) 49, but see Horsfall, (n. 12) 384, 386 [ch. 7, 91, 94].

[19] Cf. *TLL* 7.1.1708.73; Fordyce (n. 9) characteristically misses the antiquarian point. This whole area of Virgilian allusion has been, up until now, barely explored. I have given, therefore, a rather wider range of instances.

Allusions to rejected stories are one thing, extended references to conflicting accounts, another. 'Inconsistencies in the *Aeneid*' have fortunately ceased to attract much learned attention. But it may not be inappropriate to suggest a novel mode of explanation (hinted at, Guillemin (n. 1) 59): that is, that Virgil, confronted by the multiplicity of accounts in his sources, simply set down different accounts in different places with no thought of a single 'authorized version'. This, after all, is far and away the simplest explanation of confusions and inconsistencies in the eschatology of *Aen.* 6 (cf. Austin (Oxford 1977) on 724, for example): Homeric, Pythagorean/Orphic, and Stoic theories simply coexist and it is as misguided to attempt a coherent synthesis (something of the sort recently in both A. Thornton, *The Living Universe* (Dunedin 1976) and R. J. Clark, *Catabasis* (Grüner 1979)) as it is to reprove the poet for incoherence (low marks awarded by H. E. Butler in his commentary on Book 6 (Oxford 1920) p. 18). If we turn to the 'classic' inconsistencies, it is striking how often both versions are established and traditional; I would point to the following:

[145/146] (i) In *Aen.* 3, the Trojans are sometimes presented as unaware of their goal (7f.), sometimes as following oracular prescriptions. Both conceptions are attested earlier; we may contrast Sallust's *Troiani, qui Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis uagabantur* (*Cat.* 6.1), with Naevius' account of Anchises having given *libros futura continentes* to Aeneas (fr. 13 Marm.; cf. H. T. Rowell, *AJPhil.* 78 (1957), 1ff.).

(ii) The kings of Alba are variously presented as descendants of Aeneas and Creusa (1.267ff.; cf. Liv. 1.3.2) and descendants of Aeneas and Lavinia (6.760ff.; cf. Liv. 1.1.11). Both genealogies are well attested and have a long history; that in *Aen.* 1 clearly does more honour to the Julii and the persistence of conflicting versions in this case is best explained by the annalists' political involvement (cf. Ogilvie (Oxford 1956) on Liv. 1.3.2).

(iii) The prophecy of the tables is given by the harpy Celaeno (3.255) or by Anchises (7.127). In the antiquarian tradition, it was given variously by Zeus at Dodona, the Erythraean Sibyl, Delphic Apollo, and Venus. Virgil does not therefore appear at first sight to have a source for either version, but we have just seen that Naevius granted Anchises oracular associations and they recur at Enn. *Ann.* 18–19; thus when *OGR* 11.1 refers to Anchises as having remembered a prediction of Venus to him that when they ate their tables, *illum condendae sedis fatalem locum fore*, it is not unlikely that the author has some respectable, if garbled, warrant for his story.

Celaeno's role, on the other hand, is the product of an eminently Virgilian proceeding, the enrichment of Roman and antiquarian material by a reminiscence Greek, poetical, and mythological (*vide infra*): structurally, the warning of famine corresponds to Circe's warning about the cattle of the sun (*Od.* 12.127–41; Knauer 187 n. 1), while the attribution of an impeding and alarming role to an Harpy is in turn a recollection of Ap. Rhod. 2.178ff. (Jason, Phineus, Harpies).

(iv) In *Aen.* 3.389ff. the sow, found with her thirty piglets, indicates the site of Aeneas' future city (*is locus urbis erit, requies ea certa laborum*); in 8.42ff. Tiberinus refers the prodigy to the ultimate foundation of Alba, *ex quo ter denis urbem redeuntibus annis Ascanius clari condet cognominis Albam.*... The fine distinction in formulation (obscured, Williams (Oxford 1962) *Aen.* 3.138) is real and traditional: for the correspondence of the piglets to the thirty years which will elapse until the foundation of Alba, we may compare Varro, *Ling.* 5.144 and *Rust.* 2.4.18 (cf. Schol. Lycoph. 1232 = Dio. Cass. 1, fr. 4–5 and Schol. Lycoph. 1255); for the sow as indicating the site of a nameless city, the end of Aeneas' wanderings, we turn, on the other hand, to Fabius Pictor, fr. 4P (where the litter presages a foundation date in 30 years), Caesar and Lutatius *ap. OGR* 11.2 and Dion. Hal. 1.55.4.

I would end with a minor and curious example:

(v) At 6.825, Camillus is described as *referentem signa*; the gold of the annalistic tradition has, as Austin persuasively suggests, been replaced by a reminiscence of the contemporary preoccupation with the recovery of Crassus' standards from the Parthians: at all events, the story is the conventional one of Camillus as Rome's saviour, not so at 8.656 *arcemque tenebant*, where Skutsch senses [146/147]
problems in the Latin (*JRS* 43 (1953) 77) and Gransden (Cambridge 1976) rightly suggests that the plain meaning is a reference to the original version of the story, in which the Gauls seized and held the Capitol (cf. further Horsfall in *CJ* 76 (1981) 298ff. [ch. 10, 121–136]).

Virgil's large-scale recasting of his Italian source-material is necessarily an isolated phenomenon: the structure of Books 7–12 remains Iliadic and from his antiquarian sources what Virgil has to extract is a coherent and essentially familiar account of the situation at Aeneas' arrival, a credible narrative of how the war began (the criticism preserved by Macrobius 5.17.1 is deservedly well known, though in many ways unfair) and a vision of the war in Latium capable of narration in Homeric terms, in six books. How Virgil reduced the three or four campaigns of the antiquarian tradition to a few clear and tumultuous weeks of war was brilliantly outlined by Richard Heinze (*Vergils epische Technik*[3] (Leipzig 1914, repr. Stuttgart 1975) 71ff.). Far less familiar is the formidable and suggestive economy with which he outlines the situation in Latium at the time of the outbreak of Aeneas' arrival. All further developments in the plot arise out of the re-working of traditional material in 7.45–58:

> rex arua Latinus et urbes
> iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat.
>
> (45 6)

Latinus is regularly described as a warrior who died in battle (Cato, *Orig.* fr. 9, 10P; Liv. 1.2.2; Dion. Hal. 1.64.3); Dionysius of Halicarnassus specified his age

(1.44.3)—about 55. Virgil on the other hand alters the tradition; his Latinus is conveniently too old to fight against his fellow ancestors of Rome. In the *Aeneid*, his old age is emphasized: the weakness of his resistance (7.591ff.) to Latin war-fever and the guilt-stricken perfidy of his opposition to the Trojans (11.113f., 304f., 471f.; 12.27ff.) provide Aeneas with a rightful claim to Lavinia (one absent in the tradition), yet do not alienate our sympathy, for Latinus' faults are exculpated by his senility (cf. 7.597f.; 12.611; Heinze 174f.). Latinus' failings are seen most clearly in the matter of Lavinia's betrothal: he thinks he is still free to decide on a son-in-law (7.58ff.); Turnus does not, nor, clearly enough, does Amata. In many accounts, Lavinia is formally betrothed to Turnus before Aeneas' arrival and Latinus' sudden preference for a stranger was variously explained (Strab. 5. p. 229; Liv. 1.1.8; Dion. Hal. 1.57.4; Dio Cass. 1. fr. 2; *OGR* 13.2; Justin 43.1.10). In Virgil, Lavinia's betrothal to Turnus is only alleged by him and Amata (7.366; 10.79, etc.); it is never objectively confirmed in the poet's narrative. Aeneas must hold right on his side; that he is another Paris is merely alleged against him (7.363f.) and Turnus' fight for the bride and kingdom supposedly owed him (cf. 7.421ff., 469, 478f.; 9.737; 11.369ff., etc.) is thus misconceived and in consequence his motives can be represented as personal and selfish, not patriotic and national.

Secondly,

> arua . . . et urbes
> . . . longa placidas in pace regebat.

[147/148] Certainly, Virgil exhibits two opposed conceptions of the condition of primitive Italy; it seems likely that he found antecedents for both conceptions in his sources.

Appropriately, it is the peaceful condition of Latium which is stressed at 7.45ff., in keeping with (49) Latinus' descent from Saturn, and in contrast both with the Sibyl's prophecy of war (6.85ff.) and with the invocation of Erato's aid in singing *horrida bella*, immediately before the passage under discussion. More important, there are thematic consequences here for Virgil's preference for the peaceful image of Latium[20]—it is evidently in keeping with Latinus' old age; unreadiness reinforces vacillation and serves further to exculpate the old king. Above all, this unreadiness and the warm welcome he naively offers the Trojans amid the ancient martial glories of his race (7.170ff.)[21] greatly heighten the chaotic drama with which rural Latium plunges into war (475ff.) and takes up arms (623ff.).

[20] There is no certainty, though, that Naev. *BP* fr. 21 *Morel siluicolae homines bellique inertes* refers to Latium (see e.g. *BP* ed. Strzelecki (Wroclaw 1959) 63f.)

[21] So elsewhere too Virgil alludes to the warlike condition of early Latium (cf. 8.146ff., 492ff., 9.603ff.); this latter conception seems to have been widely attested: Liv. 1.1.5; Dion. Hal. 1.57.2; *OGR* 13.1.

In the *Aeneid*, Latinus is regularly presented (7.151, 160 e.g.) as ruler over Latins;[22] hitherto *Latini* had designated the joint Trojan–native stock, and Aborigines, Latinus' people before the settlement with Aeneas, dwelling in the *ager Laurens*. Aborigines are colourless, remote, and unmetrical (but cf. 7.181 *cunctique ab origine reges*, where the etymological reference is unmistakable), in sharp contrast to the familiar and historical Latini and Latium. Virgil builds up the land as Saturn's own (7.322ff.) and the people as direct ancestors, under a proudly unchanged name (12.819ff.), of Rome, her customs and her greatness (1.6ff.; 6.876ff.; 7.601ff.; 12.826ff.). Now Latinus' role as the embodiment of the old Italy is greatly helped by his evocative genealogy; Circe, Odysseus, and Heracles are attested in the Greek historiographical tradition,[23] but Virgil dispenses with alien origins in favour of a well-attested (second-century BC annalistic)[24] family tree which involves the local and Italian Faunus, Marcia, and Picus (7.47ff.).

At the same time that Virgil simplified, clarified, and abbreviated the main lines of the narrative of Aeneas' progress which he had inherited from the antiquarian tradition, he was under a strikingly contrasted obligation: not only did he have to create order out of chaos, but Eden out of the desert, for not only were the narratives in his sources sorely confused, but also, as far as we can judge from much in Dionysius, they were trite, jejune, and mechanical, a mere chronicle of events in episodic sequence, intermittently enriched by pedantic digressions. Virgil's fundamental recasting of this material[25] is not, of course, the matter [148/149] of this paper. But Virgil's erudite readers will have relished some of the exquisitely elaborate combinations of sources and textures in *Aen.* 7–12.

This re-elaboration is of the texture of individual episodes; I give a pair of examples, both quite complex, from *Aeneid* 7, whose sources constitute an extraordinarily entangled and largely unexplored maze, to show just how Virgil simultaneously simplifies and elaborates:

761ff. Virgil's first catalogue is a direct inheritance from *Iliad* 2, but also reveals details which suggest powerfully a Varronian origin (*Res hum.* 11).[26] Yet these double foundations may be subject to further elaboration, as at 7.761ff., from Callimachus' *Aetia*;[27] detailed and extended borrowing is likely, as features such as *namque ferunt fama*, *uerso nominee*, and *unde etiam* suggest. An interesting parallel (note 7.781::10.194) may be drawn with a detail in the catalogue of

[22] Laurentes too, 11.909, 12.240; see Carcopino, *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie*[2] (Paris 1968) 245f.: they are irrelevant to this discussion.

[23] Dion. Hal. 1.43, etc.: see A. Schwegler, *Römische Geschichte* (Tübingen 1867) 1.405, 216 n. 21, etc.

[24] Schwegler (n. 23) 1.214ff.; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus*[2] (München 1912) 66.

[25] Of which the most striking and familiar aspect is Virgil's entirely original vision of events in Latium in Homeric terms: G. N. Knauer, *GRBS* 5 (1964) 61ff., for example; the familiar Lavinia of the antiquarian tradition acquired the roles in part both of Helen and Penelope: Knauer, *Aeneis u. Homer* 327ff., 343.

[26] August. *De civ. D.* 6.3; Macr. 3.16.12; R. Ritter, *Diss. Phil. Halenses* 14.4 (Halle 1901); Rehm, *Das geogr. Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis*, *Philol.* supplbd. 24.2 (1932) 84ff. (a brilliant discussion).

[27] *Aetia* fr. 190; cf. Horsfall, *JRS* 65 (1975) 228f. and review of Fordyce, *CR* 29 (1979) 223.

Aeneas' Etruscan allies: the story of Cycnus' love for Phaethon;[28] the catalogue itself recalls that of the Trojans' allies in *Iliad* 2, but Virgil is under compulsion to include it, for the Aeneas of his recast narrative has no allies at the outset of the war against Turnus and must do on the grounds of narrative credibility. Cycnus' son Cupavo fights for Aeneas. The connexion of Cycnus with the Ligurians is traditional (Plat. *Phaedr.* 237 A) and it is again likely that much of Virgil's geographical detail in his second catalogue at large is Varronian,[29] but the erotic vignette *namque ferunt*... (10.189ff.) is Alexandrian and elegiac in tone and Phanocles' Ἔρωτες ἢ Καλοί has been suggested as a likely source.[30]

Secondly, 7.475ff. On the trenchant criticism preserved by Macr. 5.17.1 we have touched already: *quid Vergilio contulerit Homerus hinc maxime liquet quod, ubi rerum necessitas exegit a Marone dispositionem inchoandi belli, quam non habuit Homerus*... *laborauit ad rei nouae partum.* The critic's analysis of detail is often peculiarly silly and trivial. But the absence of an Homeric model is of course true and Virgil's answer is elegant, ingenious, and effective. He starts the third section of his narrative, I have suggested, from a hint in Cato (*Orig.* fr. 10P) and develops it with borrowings from at least six quarters: the name of the bailiff, Tyrrhus (485), is traditional (Schol. Ver. *Nomen ab historicis traxit*) and traces of his presence in the antiquarian writers survive.[31] The deer, beloved pet of his daughter Silvia, is
[149/150] described in terms which are, I have suggested elsewhere,[32] clearly modelled upon the description of a pet hare in an epigram of Meleager (Gow–Page *HE* 65 = *A.P.* 7.207); Virgil's best-educated readers will have recalled with delight that the hare died of overeating. Allecto maddens Ascanius' hounds in pursuit of the deer in a manner surely reminiscent of the scene in Aeschylus' lost *Toxotides* in which Lyssa, bearing a torch, maddens the hounds of Actaeon (fr. 422M). When the deer returns to its home, Silvia *auxilium uocat* and to reinforce the effect, Allecto *pastorale canit signum*: 'auxilium' was the traditional term for a formal appeal, publicly, for aid to one's fellow-citizens[33] and the trumpet-signal likewise belongs to the world of antiquarian traditions: according to Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.96, it was still in use in central Sicily as an emergency signal and it had been used (Prop. 4.1.13; Varr. *Ling.* 6.92) to summon the primitive assemblies of Rome. The effect of the trumpet is described—as has long been recognized—in terms borrowed from the language used by Apollonius to portray the effect of the Colchian dragon's hiss (4.131f.). The range is startling: the Latin antiquarian writers, Greek tragedy and epigram; in smaller details, more echoes will be found.

[28] Cf. S. Timpanaro, *Contributi di Filologia* (Roma 1978) 317.
[29] R. Ritter, *de Timaei fabulis* (diss. Halle 1901) 40ff.
[30] Knaack, in Roscher 3. 2187.15ff.; Eur. *Phaethon*, ed. Diggle, 8.
[31] Serv. on Aen. 1.270, 6.270 (falsely attributed to Cato, see R. M. Ogilvie, *CR* 24 (1974) 64f.; the parallel with Livy is decisive against Catonian authorship) and Dion. Hal. 1.70.2, where Tyrrhenus is called superintendent of the royal swineherds.
[32] *EMV/CNV* 23 (1979) 84 [ch. 8, 106].
[33] W. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* (Göttingen 1934) 176.

It would not be true to say that Virgil's narrative is wholly clear and coherent in all details; careful analysis of the subject-matter reveals, at times, I believe, that Virgil was *not* passionately interested in antiquarian or technical minutiae, and we have already seen that consistency mattered much less than effect. The disorder that survives is the diversity or disdain of great art, not the quibbling of antiquarians and pedants.

Appendix: Postscript 1988 (ORVA)

Source criticism as an instrument of literary criticism remains unsurprisingly unpopular. But W. Suerbaum in *Et scholae et vitae* (*Beitr. . . . K. Bayer*) (Munich 1985) 22 32, has developed some of my ideas. Cf. too G. D'Anna in *Atti del Convegno virgiliano di Brindisi* (Perugia 1983), 323 43. Some elements in my argument I have developed further in *Vergilius* 32 (1986) 8 17 [ch. 16], and *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 31 51 [ch. 18]. The topic is, for me, very much 'work in hand'.

13
The structure and purpose of Virgil's parade of heroes

The parade of heroes in Virgil, *Aeneid* 6.756ff., I have already discussed briefly in *Ancient Society*;[1] it is a text which has attracted a huge bibliography.[2] By far the most valuable item is the late Roland Austin's commentary (1977), but that is a work not without lapses and blind-spots,[3] and for English-speaking readers there are still a good many loose ends to be tidied up. This discussion summarizes some results of ten years' thought.

To begin from lines 825ff.

> et referentem signa Camillum
> illae autem paribus, quas fulgere cernis in armis
> concordes animae . . .

Virgil refers to Pompey and Caesar. The suspicion of an elaborate and elusive connexion of thought here led me to wider considerations of themes and links in the Parade of Heroes: Camillus was famed for saving Rome from the Gauls, though here he does not recover the Romans' treasure,[4] but rather brings back the standards, and is represented in terms of a figure strongly reminiscent of statuary:[5] his action is vividly contemporary in character and suggests the Romans' recovery of Crassus' standards from the Parthians.[6] But Camillus was also famed for setting up the temple of Concordia in 367 and it is the failure of Concordia in 49 BC to which Virgil next turns. It was of course Augustus who finally recovered the standards and established lasting Concordia.[7]

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[1] *Ancient Society* 10 (1980) 20 3 [ch. 9, 117 20].

[2] Apart from Austin (*Aeneid 6* (Oxford 1977)), there is little value in English; some recent German work is summarized in Horsfall, *Prudentia* 8 (1976) 80ff. [ch. 6, 70 3 nn. 80, 92, 96, 99, 106].

[3] *JRS* 69 (1979) 231f.

[4] Livy, 5.48: see R. M. Ogilvie, *Commentary on Livy, Books 1 5* (Oxford 1965); M. Grant, *Roman Myths* (London 1971) 210; and Austin's commentary *ad loc.*

[5] A theme discussed in my articles (n. 1) and (n. 2) [chs. 9 and 6].

[6] The point is well made by Austin. See *Aeneid* 7.606, and R. Syme, *Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1956) 388, etc.

[7] See Ogilvie, (n. 4) on Livy 5.49.7; T. J. Luce, *Livy* (Princeton 1977) 288, 292; S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford 1971) 265.

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Caesar is called upon to lay down his weapons first: a descendant of Aeneas, he is to show his much-vaunted *clementia*.[8]

Let us now look back to the republican heroes in *Aeneid* 6.818–24, leading up to Camillus: the royal Tarquins lead into the high spirit of Brutus[9] who drove them out and was then tragically forced to put his own sons to death for plotting against the state and aiming at the Tarquins' return (817–24). Brutus claims (823) love of *patria* as his motive; ten lines later Caesar and Pompey are said to threaten her very existence (833). There follows (824–5):

> quin Decios Drusosque procul saeuumque securi
> aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum . . .

These names, and not Brutus' alone, sandwiched between the great monumental blocks of the kings and Caesar and Pompey must be of particular importance. The alliteration of *Decios Drusosque* is striking. Virgil highlights the strength of the *gens*, symbolized by the masks in the family *atrium* which served as inspiration to Romans of good family.[10] Decii and Drusi are linked alliteratively and alphabetically. In legend there were two (or three) Decii who sacrificed themselves for the [12/13]
state; the middle one in 295 fighting the Gauls (Livy 10.28). Equally Torquatus acquired his *cognomen* for stripping the *torques* from a gigantic Gaul when military tribune (361 BC: Livy 7.10); he likewise, *saeuum securi*, cruel with his axe, executed his son for disobedience, much as Brutus had done. The Drusi are another matter: related to Augustus through his wife Livia (of the Livii Drusi), but because of the Gallic connexions of Julius Caesar, Camillus, a Decius, and Torquatus, it is also clearly relevant that the first Livius to get the *cognomen* Drusus was said to have done so by killing a Gallic chief, Drausus (Suet. *Tib.* 3).

What precedes these republican heroes is a good deal simpler; the Alban kings who were set among the descendants of Aeneas in the Forum of Augustus.[11] These kings are an historiographical embarrassment: in the third century BC general agreement existed that Troy fell about 1184 BC (or earlier) and that Rome was founded somewhere between 814–813 and 748–747 BC. Rome could not, therefore, have been founded by Aeneas or by an immediate descendant, and Alban kings—up to sixteen of them by the first century BC—were summoned out of the void to bridge the gap.[12]

[8] Syme (n. 6) 159; Austin half makes the point.

[9] The memory of the tyrannicide prompted many to the expectation that Brutus would join in the conspiracy against Caesar: Syme (n. 6) 59.

[10] M. Gelzer, *Roman Nobility* (Eng. tr., Oxford 1969) 27f.; D. Earl, *Moral and Political Tradition of Rome* (London 1967) 20f., Horsfall (n. 2) 83 [ch. 6, 72].

[11] Cf. n. 1 above. Note 6.771f.: Virgil constantly has visual attributes in mind.

[12] Ogilvie (n. 4) 43f.; Grant (n. 4) 94ff. (lucid, provocative, and occasionally unreliable); Horsfall *CQ* 24 (1974) 111f. [ch. 4, 35].

There was a pleasant but silly story in circulation long after Virgil's death (Servius on *Bucolics* 6.3) that Virgil intended to write an epic about them but was put off by their nasty names (*nominum asperitate*). Virgil here selects five names, some I suspect, at random or very nearly so.[13] Yet he gallantly conceals any hint of tedium and introduces here three key themes:

(i) the Albans and Romans as one family, all poetically conceived as descendants of Aeneas (6.757; cf. 717, 788).
(ii) the fusion of native Latins and Trojan invaders into one people, the future Romans (756–7); King Silvius is 'part-descended' from Italian blood (762), King Procas is at the same time 'glory of the Trojan race' (767).
(iii) Roman imperial growth (cf. notably 781f., 794f.), which is anticipated by the colonies which Alba is said to have founded; Virgil lists eight out of a total raised to the symbolic number of thirty.[14] It is indeed precisely this motif of growth which Virgil uses as a means of transition from Romulus (grandson of King Numitor through his mother Rhea Silvia) to the great panegyric of Augustus (791ff.).

Augustus is placed between the warrior Romulus and the lawgiver Numa, the pair of kings, fighter and priest, that are so common in Indo-European mythology.[15] Virgil associates all three with *imperium* (782, 795, 812) and perhaps intends the three rulers to be seen as a triptych, with Augustus in the centre sharing in the excellence of both.[16] It is Numa who formally establishes the rule of law at Rome (810), which was initiated in Latium by Saturn as part of his Golden Age (8.322), which it will be Augustus' task[17] to re-establish in Latium.

[13/14] This notion of a triptych, thematically integrated, may be dismissed as fanciful. Certainly, I would suggest, its outlines are not left perfectly sharp and clear. For who is the Caesar of 6.789? Most critics assume that he is the Augustus Caesar of 792, but I should like to suggest that there is room for doubt and that Anchises turns briefly to his adoptive father Julius. 'Here is Caesar' points Anchises in the first passage, 'here is the man, here he is' in the second. Is Aeneas inattentive or is Anchises not pointing somewhere else the second time? When 'Caesar' is first introduced he is with 'all the offspring of Julius' (i.e. Ascanius, Aeneas' son), and it was, after all, only through Julius (*sanguis meus*, my flesh and blood, 835) that Augustus belonged to 'the offspring of Julius' in the narrower sense, not of the

[13] Virgil's ability, often revealed, to select rigorously is discussed in my 'Virgil and the Conquest of Chaos', *Antichthon* 15 (1981) 141 50 [ch. 12, 153 63].
[14] R. E. A. Palmer, *Archaic Community of the Romans* (Cambridge 1970) 9ff.; A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor, 1965) 101ff.
[15] Ogilvie (n. 4) 88; Grant (n. 4) 136 7; cf. 141 for allusions to Numa in Augustan propaganda.
[16] Note that Augustus will 'found' (anew, *condet*) the Golden Age in Latium (792); the verb is one used repeatedly of Romulus' foundation of Rome, as at *Aeneid* 1.276f.
[17] *Aeneid* 6.792 4; cf. 4.231; Horsfall (n. 2) 76 [ch. 6, 64].

whole Roman people but of the Julian *gens*. Nor, despite the criticism of Julius voiced in 827–35, was the age of Augustus in any real doubt about the stature of Julius[18] to whom it is highly likely that there is another panegyrical allusion at 1.286ff.[19]

After Numa, Virgil turns to the remaining kings of Rome, who balance the kings of Alba preceding Romulus, but they are dismissed even more briefly (6.812–17); Servius Tullius is omitted and the two Tarquins share precisely two words between them (817; on this controversial line Austin's commentary is excellent). Just as the story of Romulus led into the monarchy, so the story of the first Brutus, the tyrannicide, serves as a bridging passage to the heroes of the republic.

From the apostrophe to Julius Caesar (835), Virgil returns to a second group of republican heroes (836–46). Here we come back to the theme of Trojan ancestry (cf. 756, 767) as one of key importance; it is vengeance for his Trojan ancestors (840) that leads Aemilius Paullus (and by extension Mummius) to the defeat of Greece and to victory over Perseus, king of Macedon, who (*ipsumque Aeaciden*, 839) claimed descent from Achilles himself, thus fully avenging the fall of Troy, though as a matter of history, despite the claims made in 838, Aemilius Paullus did not actually capture Argos and Mycenae. This is a theme already familiar from Jupiter's prophecy in 1.283–5: in that speech, there is not a word of the victories over Carthage, but a heavy emphasis on the fact that the Romans would crush their (mythological) Greek enemies.[20]

Mummius, Aemilius Paullus, Cato, and the Gracchi (one would be very wrong to think of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus alone) are great public men of the second century BC, as are the Scipiadae,[21] who are also linked with the Gracchi more closely in as much as Scipio Africanus Maior's daughter married the father of Tib. and C. Gracchus. Cossus belongs to an earlier generation, but he is linked to Cato by alliteration and thematically he looks both forwards and back, for he won the *spolia opima*, that is, when commanding a Roman army with *imperium* he had in person killed the opposing general; Cossus therefore looks back to Torquatus and Drusus who achieved personal triumphs akin to the *spolia opima*[22] and to

[18] Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.44, 1.12.47; Ovid *Met.* 15.746ff.; Propertius 3.18.34; Virg. *G.* 1.468; it is as well to remember that Augustus vowed a temple to Mars the Avenger at Philippi.

[19] Cf. Austin's commentary there and E. J. Kenney, *CR* 18 (1965) 106.

[20] Note that repeatedly in *Aen.* Books 7 12 the vanquished enemies of Aeneas are presented as descendants of the Greeks who had once defeated Aeneas' kin: see W. S. Anderson, *TAPA* 88 (1957) 17ff.

[21] *Scipiadae*: a bilingual pun, a blind Scipio had once leaned on his son's shoulder and the Greek for a staff is *skeptron*; that is very close to *skeptos*, the Greek for 'thunderbolt' which the family showed on their coins, and to which Virgil refers here: 'Two thunderbolts of war', unravelled brilliantly in Austin's note.

[22] This had only been done three times; Virgil is clearly aware of this rarity.

Romulus whom everyone knew had won them;[23] Marcellus likewise, whom we meet soon, was to do so. Thus all the winners of the honour are here.

[14/15] But we encounter a new motif too, that of victors over Carthage: there was a distinguished Gracchus in the Second Punic War (Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, cos. 215, 213 BC), and of course Scipiadae dominated the Second and Third. This is the link with Regulus, a hero of the First, whom Virgil calls by the agnomen Serranus,[24] and with G. Fabius Maximus the 'Cunctator', who triumphantly used delaying tactics (*cunctando*, 846) against Hannibal after Cannae. Fabricius and Regulus on the other hand are linked by their reputation as Roman farmer-soldiers of the old style, wielding sword or ploughshare with gallant impartiality in the state's service.[25] For all the great involvement of the Gracchi and the elder Cato in politics, the chief emphasis here once again is on military victory, and, in consequence, on the theme of the expansion of the *imperium*,[26] at least by implication, as Greece and Carthage are set alongside the Gauls as peoples doomed to subjection. A second repeated emphasis is that placed upon the importance of the traditional aristocratic *gens*, in its solidarity and values (*Gracchi genus*, *Scipiades*, *Fabii*), recalling their visual presentation together with the masks of the *atrium* or in the funeral procession.[27]

The panegyric on Rome (lines 847–53) balances that on Augustus (791–5, 807). I notice very little regard for the moral virtues here, but the details correspond closely to the Parade at large: *tu regere imperio populos, Romane,*[28] *memento*, 'do you remember, Roman, to rule imperially over the nations' *pacique imponere morem* 'and to impose the force of habit upon peace'. The first element requires no comment; the latter makes us think of Numa and of Augustus, at least of the Augustus who re-founds the Golden Age in Latium. *parcere subiectis*, 'to spare those who have submitted' perhaps should make us think of the instruction (835) to Julius Caesar to lay down his arms in the Civil War (though it is perhaps significant that in this presentation of Roman history a precise parallel is so very hard to find). And *debellare superbos*, 'to beat down the proud in war' should certainly prompt thoughts of victory over Gauls and Carthaginians.

[23] For a really complex allusion to Romulus' winning of them at 10.719f., see Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973) 69 n. 11.

[24] So called because he was sowing (*serere*) on his farm when summoned to the consulship, according to the popular etymology, the hero of Horace *Carm.* 3.5.

[25] Horsfall, *Latomus* 30 (1971) 1112 [ch. 1, 5].

[26] Note that the 'military' side of the Forum of Augustus was filled with those who 'made the *imperium* of the Roman people very large from very small beginnings' (Suet. *Aug.* 31.5). Curiously, this common emphasis is not likely to go back, explicitly at least, to the joint literary source of Parade and Forum, cf. n. 1 and Horsfall (n. 2) 83 [ch. 6, 71 2].

[27] Cf. n. 10.

[28] As Austin observes, this address, 'O Roman', is in the solemn manner of oracles, such as that devised for the Ludi Saeculares of 17 BC, cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.1 and E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 365f.

Marcellus the elder (855–9; cos. 222) looks back in his winning of the *spolia opima* (855) to Romulus[29] and Cossus (841) and as *uictor* (856) to Mummius (837) and to Dionysus himself, returning triumphant from the East (804). As the man who stayed in Rome in a crisis,[30] he is reminiscent of Quintus Fabius Maximus (846) 'who singly by delaying restored our state'. Marcellus is (858) conqueror of both Gauls (against whom as consul in 222 he won the *spolia opima* at the battle of Clastidium) and Carthaginians (from whom he wrested Syracuse after a long siege in 212); those are themes familiar enough by now. Let us be clear: these common themes show that the Marcelli are fully integrated into the Parade; lines 854–86 are not tacked on as an afterthought, written specially after the young Marcellus died in 23.[31] The young Marcellus is just as fully integrated as his forbear (875f.): 'no one of Trojan descent (cf. 756, 767) shall exalt his Latin ancestry (cf. the Italians, 757, 762, 793) so high by his promise.' His virtues are those of both peace and war, like Silvius Aeneas' (769f.; cf. for that matter the combined excellences of Romulus and Numa). Virgil laments his *pietas* (cf. 769) and *prisca fides*[32] (878); at the same time, his right hand will be invincible in war [15/16] (and he had indeed served in Augustus' Cantabrian campaign of 26 BC) whether serving with infantry, or as a cavalryman, which Virgil emphasizes probably because Clastidium had been a cavalry victory.

Finally, a few words on the purpose of the Parade, for its first hearer, Aeneas, and for the Roman reader at the time of composition. Virgil makes Anchises' purpose in guiding Aeneas through the crowd of his descendants most explicit: that Aeneas may rejoice with him the more in the discovery of Italy (717f.); an element of pleasure and a clearer sense of purpose is to be vouchsafed to Aeneas, lured ever forward with his spirit now fired with the love of fame to come (889). And it is precisely at the vision of what Augustus is to achieve (806f.) that Anchises asks Aeneas 'and do we still hesitate to extend our distinction by our deeds[33] or does fear prevent you from standing firm on the land of Italy?'[34]

Perhaps it is more interesting to the historian to consider the intent and impact of the Parade in contemporary circumstances: it was clearly written (very) shortly

[29] The *spolia opima* were normally dedicated to Jupiter Feretrius; hence a problem here, solved by Austin: Marcellus dedicated them, according to Virgil, in Quirinus' honour, for Romulus deified was called Quirinus and it was Romulus who, traditionally, built the temple of Jupiter Feretrius and decreed that the *spolia opima* were to be placed there.

[30] Line 857: *tumultus* is the special word for a Gallic invasion.

[31] When Virgil read these lines, Marcellus' mother is said to have fainted and to have been revived with difficulty (Suet. Don. *Life of Virgil* 32); cf. Horsfall, *PVS* 24 (2001) 135 7.

[32] 'In an old fashioned way he will do his duty by gods, men and state and will keep his word'; the Latin is terser and more poignant.

[33] A careful translation of *uirtutem extendere factis* (806) which is certainly what Virgil wrote at this point; the issue may be confused by older editions and translations.

[34] Those who know the *Aeneid* well will find it very rewarding to work out just how Anchises' formal oracular address to the Roman of line 851 applies, in detail and in verbal parallels, to Aeneas' future situation in Italy.

after the death of Marcellus, was read to the imperial household shortly after that,[35] and became available to the general public after Virgil's death in 19 BC. Augustus, between King Romulus and King Numa, is associated with the re-establishment (after Saturn) of a Golden Age in Latium (792–4), and with a huge extension of the *imperium* (794ff.), compared favourably with the exploits of Hercules (800ff.) and Dionysus (804ff.) in a manner which educated readers would find clearly reminiscent of the panegyrics addressed to Alexander the Great. One should not lose sight of the fact that Virgil must have known, as he composed these lines, that he would shortly be reading them to the *princeps*, who got an advance hearing of both *Georgics* and, in part, *Aeneid*.[36] He cannot have thought that one word would annoy or displease his patron and head of state.

But the year of composition (and perhaps also the reading to Augustus) was after all 23 BC and Virgil must also be thought of as addressing the contemporary Roman reader at large with the alarming disturbances of that year clearly in mind; that must be part, at least, of the purpose of his warning to Caesar and Pompey against civil discord.[37] It would clearly be worthwhile to search the Parade for further possible contemporary allusions.

[35] Cf. Horsfall, *Poets and Patron*, Publications of the Macquarie Ancient History Association 3, 22 n. 54.
[36] *Poets and Patron* (n. 35) 11; L. P. Wilkinson, *Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge 1969) 116f.
[37] Lines 832ff., cf. 816 and the insistence that under Augustus Latium will enjoy a Golden Age.

14

The Caudine Forks

Topography and illusion

The topographical problems involved in Livy's account of the Caudine Forks (9.2.6–10) still exert a fascination over scholars after three and a half centuries of study.[1] The attempt to square seven lines of Livy with personal observation and with the maps of the Istituto Geografico Militare is an agreeable and absorbing exercise of traditional character for ancient historians with a taste for the outdoors. The reader can then be impressed by means of aerial photographs taken from suitable (and unspecified) heights and angles,[2] and awkward details can usually be withdrawn from unwelcome attention under the cover of cloudy rhetoric;[3] it may also prove useful to draw more or less appropriate analogies from the domain of modern military statistics,[4] or to refer to topographical features not clearly localized in maps, photographs, or drawings.[5]

It does not seem to me useful to attempt to cast any doubt upon the conclusion, now solidly argued and—so far as possible—unassailably based, that the fighting, however much there actually was, did take place in the valley between Arienzo and Arpaia (Fig. 1).[6] But to succeed in squaring Livy's account with the actual terrain is to raise grave literary and historiographical problems, for if the historian's account does indeed contain an accurate picture of the ground, then a further issue has to be confronted and explained: did Livy, or his source, actually go to the Caudine Forks to study the terrain? On the other hand, if such an activity accords ill with the known (or presumed) working methods of Livy or his annalistic sources, then

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[1] J. Kromayer, *Ant. Schlachtfelder*[4] (Berlin 1924 31) 481, an historical bibliography; see most recently P. Sommella, in *Antichi campi di battaglia in Italia* (Quad. Ist. Top. Ant., Roma 1967) 49ff.; E. T. Salmon, *Samnium and the Samnites* (Cambridge 1967) 225ff.

[2] Salmon (n. 1) plates 3 a, b; Sommella (n. 1) figures 33, 35, 37: details of height and orientation not given.

[3] A Maiuri, *Saggi di varia antichità* (Venezia 1954) 216 17 beggars belief.

[4] Notably, the question of how much ground a given number of troops, marching in a column of given width, occupies: Sommella (n. 1) 58 (with older bibliography); E. Pais, *Storia critica di Roma* 4 (Roma 1920) 471.

[5] Sommella (n. 1) 57f., refers to just such an invisible Capuchin convent not on his map and the 1:25,000 is required; otherwise his discussion is admirable, in traditional terms.

[6] Even if Livy's account is rejected and the value of toponymy impugned (Sommella (n. 1) 65 n. 14, against the material collected most conveniently by Salmon, (n. 1)), strategic and tactical considerations point strongly to the Arienzo Arpaia valley.

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his apparent accuracy calls for explanation, or challenge,[7] and the literary sources of his battle-picture require analysis. That is a theme central to our understanding of this remarkable narrative in Livy, and it has not received due attention.

A good deal of Livy's account of the engagement in the Caudine Forks and its sequel is, as is not seriously disputed, contaminated by other historical episodes, like so much else in the first decade; one thinks of course of the controversial relationship between the *sponsio* after the Roman defeat in 321 and the *foedus Mancinum*.[8]

That may not be all,[9] and if it should emerge that Livy's portrait of the scene of the Romans' discomfiture has undergone similar contamination, that should not cause us surprise.

It is not, however, any part of the purpose of this paper to suggest that there was no great battle. Livy indeed twice offers precisely that denial (9.5.10 and 12.3; cf. 25.6.10), but the patriotic motive for attempting to conceal the reality of an appalling rout has been recognized and analysed by scholars,[10] and the means for correcting the Livian *suggestio falsi* have always lain ready to hand.[11] A great Roman defeat in the Arienzo–Arpaia valley would make perfectly good sense in the context of a Roman invasion of Samnium through Campania, aimed at the Caudini and directed towards Malventum.[12]

It will be useful to collect all the references in our texts to the terrain. Notably, Livy 9.2.7:

> sed ita natus locus est: saltus duo alti, angusti siluosique sunt, montibus circa perpetuis inter se iuncti. iacet inter eos satis patens clausus in medio campus herbidus aquosusque, per quem medium iter est; (8) sed antequam uenias ad eum, intrandae primae angustiae sunt, et aut eadem, qua te insinuaueris, retro uia reptenda aut, si ire porro pergas, per alium saltum artiorem impeditioremque euadendum.

Indications derived from other texts offer little help; none is sufficiently specific:

Val. Max. 7.2. ext. 17: *legionibus Romanis apud furcas Caudinas inclusis*.

Flor. 1.11.10: *cluso per insidias intra eum saltum exercitu*.

[7] Sommella (n. 1) 50, 65 n. 16; Kromayer (n. 1) 498; Pais (n. 4) 472; Maiuri (n. 3) 219 (but note a more cautious position in *Passeggiate Campane* (Firenze 1957) 350). Livy's accuracy: Kromayer (n. 1) 469, and notably De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* 2 (Firenze 1960) 294.

[8] For recent bibliography, see A. E. Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus* (Oxford 1967) 132 n. 4; M. Crawford, *PBSR* 41 (1973) 2.

[9] Cf. Pais (n. 4) 128 n. 1 on Livy 7.34.1, and in general M. W. Frederiksen, *JRS* 58 (1968) 226.

[10] L. Pareti, *Storia di Roma* 1 (Torino 1952) 691f.; H. Bruckmann, *Die röm. Niederlagen* (Bochum 1936) 3ff.

[11] De Sanctis (n. 7) 311 n. 1; Pais (n. 4) 129; Niebuhr, *Lectures* (London 1848) 1.456f.; but see *Livy IX*, ed. Anderson (Cambridge 1912) 246; Livy 9.1.1 (*clades*); Cic. *Sen.* 41, *Off.* 3.109; App. *Samn.* 4.2; *Chron. Oxy.* 320/319; Dio Cass. fr. 36.9 14; Zonar. 7.26.

[12] Cf. Salmon (n. 1) 224f. for the strategic context.

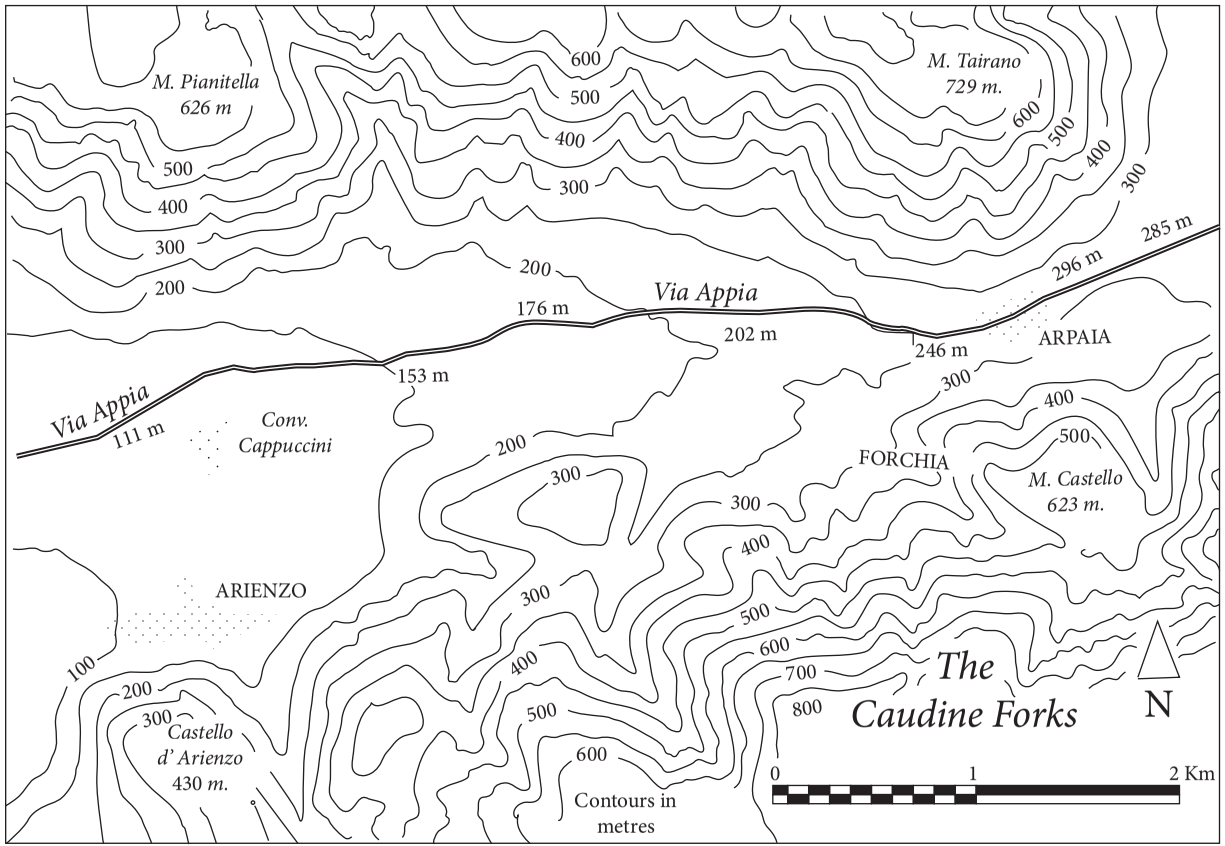

Fig. 1 Caudine Forks.

Gell. 17.21.36: *in locis iniquis circumuallati*.

Oros. 3.15.3: *omnesque copias Romanorum angustiis locorum armisque clausissent*.

Dion. Hal. 16 exc. 1.3: κατακλεισθέντες εἰς ἀνεξόδους δυσχωρίας.

App. *Samn.* 4.2: ἐς γὰρ στενότατον χῶρον τούτους συγκλείσαντες.

Zonar. 7.26 (ii. 167, 1.17 Dindorf): καὶ λοχήσαντες ἔν τινι χώρᾳ κοιλοτέρᾳ καὶ στενῇ.

Maiuri ((n. 3) 219) takes the introductory words in Livy's description, *sed ita natus locus est*, as imprinting the seal of autopsy; however, comparison with, for instance, 32.4.3 (*et adiuuabat eos natura ipsa loci, namque* . . .), 37.28.7, or 21.36.2 should suggest rather that this is a turn given by the historians to the *est locus* formula.[13] There is nothing special or unique in the Livian passage; his topography here should be viewed with no more confidence than it inspires at large.

A brief study of certain details on the map is now called for (all are drawn from the 1:25,000 I.G.M. map, sheet 173).

The distance along the main road from a line drawn between Castello d'Arienzo and Monte Pianitella (passing through Arienzo) to a second line drawn between M. Tairano and M. Castello (passing through Arpaia)—that is, from the first *fauces* to the second—is 4.5 km. One would suppose from Livy's description (*saltus duo alti*) some form of pass or high ground at each end of the fatal valley.
[47/48] However, that is not what emerges from the sequence of spot heights (in metres) along the Via Appia at this point: 102, 106, 111, 123 (exactly on the line I use to indicate the first *fauces*), 144, 153, 176, 180, 203, 202, 264 (almost in the modern town of Arpaia), 296, 285, 274, 266. Only, that is, a most modest pass at the eastern end.[14]

Nor do the western *fauces*, measured transversely, add up to a 'narrows'. In Table 1, I give the distances between contour lines to north and south along the Castello d'Arienzo to Monte Pianitella line:

From the road, at the western end (Table 1) the distance to the 125 m. contour is 50 m. northwards, 1375 m. southwards; on both sides, the ground then rises rapidly, as the figures suggest.[15] But it may be questioned whether these figures are consistent with the clear mental picture conveyed by *uia per cauam rupem* or with a *saltus* both *altus* and *angustus*. Sommella ((n. 1) 57) rightly notes that the hillock now bearing a Capuchin convent partly blocks the freedom of access to and from the west, but there remains enough ground sloping gently enough for an army to advance or withdraw largely outside missile range.

[13] Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.159ff. (*est in secessu longo locus* . . .), 3.163ff., etc.

[14] H. Nissen, *Rh. Mus.* 25 (1870), 7; Kromayer (n. 1) 484, 486, 497.

[15] If Salmon (n. 1) is right in suggesting (226 n. 1) that the first *fauces* were near S. Maria a Vico, then the picture becomes faintly grotesque: the Samnites would have had to block the valley floor for over 2 km.

Table 1 Castello d'Arienzo to M. Pianitella

height m.	*distance* m.
125	1375
150	1625
175	1850
200	1975
225	2075
250	2200
275	2300
300	2350
325	2475
350	2550
375	2625
400	2700
425	2750

Table 2 M. Tairano to M. Castello

height m.	*distance* m.
300	400
325	575
350	675
375	775
400	860
425	925
450	1050
475	1150
500	1260
525	1400
550	1475
575	1625
600	1725

Table 2 gives the corresponding figures at the eastern end of the Forks, along the line drawn between M. Tairano and M. Castello. They show that even at the narrowest point of the second *saltus*, which is indeed *artior impeditiorque*, the Romans advancing down the line of the road are once again substantially out of range of heavy missile attack from Samnites wishing to take advantage of the first steep rise in the sides of the valley.

Livy describes the *saltus* as *siluosi*; woodland would of course have affected the tactics, but if there are no real *saltus*, need there have been *siluae*? The valley Livy describes as *aquosus*, and the validity of that description is confirmed by [48/49]

Sommella ((n. 1) 53); it is very hard to credit that a gently rolling valley floor, near major settlements, was not eagerly farmed by the Samnites and had not therefore been at least partly cleared of woodland (cf. Salmon (n. 1) 66f.). The wooded character of the *saltus* will also emerge as a conventional element in the literary character of Livy's dramatic scene-painting, and serves furthermore as yet another important element in Livy's attempt to extenuate the catastrophe.

If Sommella is right ((n. 1) 55, 58f.) in his proposal that the *praesidium in summo saltu* (Livy 9.2.9) occupied the modern Castello d'Arpaia (623 m.), the Samnites stationed there were in no position to interfere directly with the advance of the Romans through the pass, as, conversely, the Romans themselves must have known.[16]

There is worse to follow: the notion that the Romans marched into the valley, found the east end blocked, turned, and found the west end blocked strains common sense. The valley is straight and rises gently (some 160 m. between the two *fauces*). Unless the Samnite works at the east end were in some way concealed, it is hard to credit that the Romans could not have reversed their line of march before their entire column was committed. The Samnites will have had to block perhaps as much as 500 m. of valley floor with *deiectu arborum saxorumque ingentium obiacente mole*, thoroughly enough to check a legionary army, and by means, apparently, of concealed work. That may or may not be credible. What is not credible is that in the time the Roman army took to march 4.5 km. (an hour?) the Samnites were able (unimpeded?) to bar the western *saltus* with equal impregnability, over a distance of well over a kilometre.

I conclude that just as selective quotation from Livy enables Kromayer and Sommella to locate the engagement in all its details in the Arienzo–Arpaia valley, so quotation of other selected passages from Livy reduces the details of the alleged Samnite tactics to absurdity, when the ground (which is not in dispute) is likewise studied dispassionately.

Within the Livian description, certain details bear an emphasis which they have not always received: the two *saltus*—that is, the passes into the central valley—are alike *alti*, *angusti*, and *siluosi*; they are linked *montibus circa perpetuis*. The eastern pass was *artior impeditiorque*: the Romans entered at the west *per cauam rupem* and on advancing found the eastern pass *saeptas deiectu arborum sacorumque ingentium obiacente mole*. It was equally possible to close the western end *obice armisque*.[17]

These elements in Livy's description have suggested to some distinguished students of the affair a quite different sort of locale and quite other tactics. Thus Niebuhr:[18]

[16] No word of scouts in Livy's text, but it is hardly credible that the Romans employed none.
[17] Cf. Liv. 9.3.6, *inter duos saltus clausos esse exercitus Romanos*.
[18] *Lectures* 1, 456; cf., closely, id., *History of Rome* 3^2 (London 1851) 211.

> The Samnites had probably made preparations of the same kind as the Tyrolese in the year 1809, who had placed on the heights large trunks of trees fastened together with ropes, and behind them huge blocks of stone, so that when they cut the ropes away the enemy in the valley below were crushed under the falling masses: this seems to be suggested by the mention of stones in Livy.

Similarly De Sanctis:[19] [49/50]

> Ma, che è più la valle di Caudio e i passi che vi conducono vengono dipinti contro la verità topografica come fossero le selvaggie spaccature dei valichi alpini e le posizioni dei Sanniti come fossero imprendibili e persino inattaccabili.
>
> [And moreover, the Caudine valley and the passes that lead there were depicted, in contrast to the real topography, as if they were the deep wild gorges of the Alpine valleys and as if the positions of the Samnites were impregnable and so unassailable.]

(It may also be worth noting that visitors to the Albergo President at Benevento will encounter with delight in the hall an extensive representation of the engagement in brightly coloured ceramics; the local heroes have found the invaders within boulder-range, and the might of Rome is being, very literally, crushed.)

It is clearly possible to extract from Livy's narrative a picture of narrow gorges with the Romans under constant attack from beetling ridges, at the cost of grave difficulties in reconciling that picture with the topography of the Arienzo–Arpaia valley. Complaint is not in order; rather, a better understanding of the historian's non-topographical *modus operandi*. It is now no surprise to us to be asked to acknowledge in a Livian geographical description elements appropriate to another place or type of place, or even to another country or campaign[20]—let alone to be invited to credit the author's fertile imagination with topographical details.[21] His geography of the second Samnite War is a known nadir. That the terrain lay between Rome and Campania did nothing to stir an accurate interest in Livy; his ignorance of the Po valley in Book 21 is just as gross. Geographical exactitude has little or no place in Livy's conception of his role as an historian, and the sense that autopsy was desirable, even less.[22]

[19] (n. 7) 311. [20] See for example my discussion at *CJ* 76 (1981) 307f. [ch. 10, 132].
[21] Kromayer (n. 1) 469; Bruckmann (n. 10) 6 (note).
[22] P. G. Walsh, *Livy* (Cambridge 1961) 153ff., and comm. on (e.g.) Liv. 21.47; Anderson (n. 11) 247f.; no rational answer offered by Maiuri, *Passeggiate campane* (Milano 1957) 348ff. and *Saggi* (n. 3) 219. W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der röm. Literatur* (Stuttgart 1924, repr. 1964) 291 says tersely all that is necessary, as so often.

Livy's description was also in some sense formulaic. We may compare:

> 7.34.1: nam ab Saticula profectus Cornelius consul exercitum incaute in saltum caua ualle peruium circaque insessum ab hoste induxit; 31.39.7, (Philip) ad occupandas angustias, ne superare hostis artis faucibus inclusum aditum possent, ibi alia uallo, alia fossa, alia lapidum congerie . . . alia arboribus obiectis . . . permuniit; 38.40.6 11, uia . . . siluestris angusta confragosa . . . ad ipsas angustias uiam con sederunt (Thraces) . . . postquam primos (sc. Romanos) superasse angustias uiderunt . . . . (cf. 38.49.7)

Also comparable is, for example, 28.5.8 (Thermopylae).[23] Most striking, perhaps, is the site for an ambush chosen by Turnus in Virgil, *Aeneid* 11.515ff.: *furta paro belli conuexo in tramite siluae*.[24]

It would be as well also to note the weaknesses of the Latin language in rendering precise geographical information;[25] the formalization of topographical detail also made it easy for Livy to represent a situation of roughly similar
[50/51] dimensions to the Caudine Forks as a kind of recurrent nightmare to the Romans. Thus only eleven years later, he attributes delight to the Samnites on hearing of Q. Fabius' march through the Ciminian forest (9.38.4):

> cladisque imaginem Furculas Caudinas memorabant: eadem temeritate auidam ulteriorum semper gentem in saltus inuios deductam, saeptam non hostium magis armis quam locorum iniquitatibus esse.

Also 35.11.3 (a campaign against the Ligurians, cf. Front. *Strat*. 1.5.15):

> et ab tergo fauces saltus occupatae a parte hostium erant, Caudinaeque cladis memoria non animis modo sed prope oculis obuersabatur.

At 9.2, Livy is revealed as the prisoner of ignorance and convention: his valley may dimly reflect accurate information concerning the Caudine Forks; some details remain compatible enough with the ground to encourage the faithful and credulous. But Livy clearly thinks that the events are occurring in real mountain terrain, and dramatizes his picture with language and details appropriate to a successful

[23] Cf. also 35.11.2f.; 21.34.8; 22.15.3 and 11; 25.16.18; 33.17.7; 29.32.4; 44.5.9.

[24] The parallel was noted by Mackail in his Virgil commentary; cf. also B. Rehm, *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis* (*Philol.* Supplb. 24, Heft 2, Leipzig 1932) 79f., who also compares *Aen.* 5.287; 8.597ff.

[25] A much neglected topic: see Bruckmann (n. 21) and the material collected in H. Stürenburg, *Relative Ortsbezeichnung* (Leipzig 1932) and by E. Wistrand, in *Nach innen oder nach aussen* (Göteborg 1946).

ambush in a genuinely mountainous setting of steep-sided valleys narrow enough to be blocked with ease and perhaps also leave the unwary invader open to bombardment from above. Such lurid topographical detail could of course be called into service to mitigate the shame of a humiliating reverse: Nature herself stood *contra Romanos*.[26]

It remains to suggest that Livy's imagination may at this point also be straying to the East: certainly he is exercised by the simultaneity of the second Samnite War and the campaigns of Alexander,[27] and the synchronism prompts contamination.[28] I take two examples; others, more striking, may well exist.

Alexander's gamble in forcing the Cilician Gates must have been familiar[29]—a pass 30 feet wide:[30]

> obrui potuisse uel saxus confitebantur, si fuissent qui in subeuntes propellerent. iter uix quaternos capiebat armatos: dorsum montis imminebat uiae non angu stae modo, sed plerumque praeruptae crebris oberrantibus riuis.

Better still, the failed first attempt to force the Persian Gates, probably the pass now known as Tang-i-Khas:[31]

> rupes undique praeruptas, in quarum cacuminibus extra teli iactum barbari stabant . . . donec in artissimas fauces penetrat agmen . . . tum uero ingentis mag nitudinis saxa per montium prona deuoluunt.

The influence of such episodes cannot be proved, but to suppose that such [51/52]
influence was exercised would explain much.[32] For in fact, between Arienzo and Arpaia, the Romans had but to march down the centre of the valley out of range of any Samnites on the slopes. What precisely went wrong when the Romans reached the eastern *saltus* is lost to us. That something did is beyond question. Livy denies there was a battle, then admits it, describes the scene at length, offers details

[26] Bruckmann (n. 21) 6; Livy 21.54.7f. is striking.

[27] On Livy 9.16.19ff., see P. Treves, *Il mito di Alessandro* (Milano 1953) *passim*; A. E. Wardman, *CQ* n.s. 5 (1955) 96ff.; T. J. Luce, *TAPA* 96 (1965) 218ff.; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (London 1979) 183ff.

[28] Cf. Ogilvie, *Comm. on Livy* 1 5 (Oxford 1965) 315, 359; T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics* (Leicester 1979) 23f.

[29] E. Rawson, *CQ* 29 (1979) 338f.

[30] Q. Curt. 3.4.11f. (see Atkinson's commentary); cf. Xen. *Anab*. 1.2.20; R. Lane Fox, *Alexander the Great* (London 1973) 154f.; J. F. C. Fuller, *The Generalship of Alexander the Great* (London 1958) 97; Sir W. Ramsay, *Geographical Journal* (1903) 22.

[31] Q. Curt. 5.3.18 19. Cf. Arr. *Anab*. 3.18; Diod. Sic. 17.68.2; Lane Fox (n. 30) 255: 'A particularly narrow gorge.' On the Tang i Khas passes see further Sir Aurel Stein, *Old Routes of Western Iran* (London 1940) plate 4, 24 5; J. Hansman, *Iran* 10 (1972) 11ff.

[32] And if the argument above is valid, then the inadequacies and complexities of the description are Livy's own, rather than an inheritance from his sources.

compatible with the likeliest site, but interweaves them with others more dramatic; they derive presumably from his conception of what a real mountain pass should look like. We cannot prove for certain that his imagination was at this point inflamed by the adventures of Alexander in the gorges of the East, though it is very tempting to suggest as much. At all events, it is quite fruitless to attempt to extract military or topographical sense from the result.[33]

[33] Miss R. M. Gulino (University of Minnesota) roused my interest in Samnite topography and enabled me to visit the site under ideal conditions. Luciana Valentini and Susanna Armani of the British School at Rome provided the appropriate I. G. M. sheet for me with remarkable speed. Robert Ogilvie discussed the theme of this paper with me shortly before his death; though clearly very unwell, he remained as warmly encouraging as he had been to me for nearly twenty years, and this paper may stand as a tribute, however inadequate, to his memory. John Briscoe and the anonymous reader for *PBSR* offered valuable comments.

15
Illusion and reality in Latin topographical writing

From Cluverius and Holstenius, through Nissen and Hülsen to the distinguished contributors to the *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Topografia antica*, the study of Italian topography has achieved solid progress,[1] sometimes with important consequences for military and economic history. New concords between battles and battlefields, between nameless sites and siteless names, continue to be proposed and the steady popularity of a subject involving archaeology, epigraphy, literary texts, and country walks is readily understandable: we must all be grateful for the very real improvements which continue to be made to our map of central Italy.

After nearly twenty years of involvement, intermittently, with some of the most important Latin texts in the field,[2] I am, however, increasingly suspicious of the epistemological foundations of much topographical writing. The attempt to bring Livy and Virgil (with whom this paper will be particularly concerned) into a state of agreement with the terrain causes particular alarm; for it is an easy but very dangerous step from exploring the countryside of Italy yourself to assuming that Livy or Virgil likewise thought it their business to explore the ground described in their narratives. Servius Danielis (*ad Aen.* 1.44) calls Virgil *totius . . . Italiae curiosissimum*, but that is a product of the ancient commentators' insistence on reading into the text an absurd, arcane pantomathy, particularly in matters antiquarian and religious, wherever possible.[3] More to the point, when Virgil describes the river Ufens as a rushing mountain torrent (7.801–2)—and the Ufens he crossed every time he travelled the Appian Way, even Silius' reverential

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[1] R. Weiss, *The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1969) 105ff. I am most grateful to René van Royen for an invitation to lecture on this topic at the University of Amsterdam, and for his splendid hospitality; an element of *ἀγώνισμα ἐς τὸ παραχρῆμα* has not been suppressed, but Lisa Fentress and Tim Cornell wisely insisted on some changes.

[2] Some of the topographical material from my unpublished Oxford D.Phil. thesis on *Aeneid* 7 (1971) appears much altered in the *Enc. Virg.*: 'Laurentes', 3.141 4; 'Nomentum', 3.753; 'Ortinae classes', 3.896; 'Preneste', 4.256; 'Tetrica', 5.152 3; 'Severus', 4.815 16; 'Rosea rura', 4.581; 'Velino', 5.471 2; 'Tevere', 5.156 7.

[3] H. J. Rose, *Aeneas Pontifex* (London 1948) showing that the spirit of Servius is not yet dead; see H. Georgii, *Die antike Äneiskritik* (Stuttgart 1891) 566 7; G. J. M. Bartelink, *Etymologisering bij Vergilius* (Amsterdam 1965) 21ff. Some of these exaggerated claims are at least in part an inheritance from Greek attitudes to Homer; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) *passim*.

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manner of imitation failed him and (*Punica* 8.380ff.) the sluggish muddy stream of the Pomptine Marshes is correctly re-inserted upon the literary map of Italy.[4] J. W. Mackail wrote in 1913 that 'the *Aeneid* shows a wide and intimate knowledge of the whole of central Italy'; such an expression of late Victorian romanticism cannot simply be dismissed as a curiosity of literary history, for only four years ago, Kenneth Wellesley could still write eloquently of 'the places Virgil knew'.[5] It has, however, been clear since 1901 that Virgil's Italian legends (apart from the ones he invented!) and since 1932 that his geographical details derive from the copious
[197/198] pages of Varro.[6] And likewise, though we may now smile at Amedeo Maiuri's claims for Livy's intimate acquaintance with the topography of Campania, it is altogether more surprising and disquieting to find scholars so soberly distinguished as P. G. Walsh and Paolo Sommella arguing respectively that the text of Livy 21.38 displays 'consoling evidences of the Paduan's knowledge of the Alpine passes' and that his account of the battlefield of Telamon in Tuscany does not exclude the possibility of 'una conoscenza Liviana diretta' of the whole area.[7] This paper will not be concerned so much with the question of whether Livy and Virgil were travellers and observers—some fairly striking arguments that they were not should emerge in passing shortly—as with that of why Roman topographical writing was of such exceptionally low quality. It would be pleasant to know the route by which Hannibal actually did cross the Alps; we do not.[8]

It is far more interesting to consider why that route does not emerge clearly from Polybius' narrative. The scientific historian himself writes 'on these points I can speak with some confidence as I have enquired (ἱστορηκέναι) about the circumstances from men present on the occasion, and have personally inspected the country (τοὺς τόπους κατωπτευκέναι) and made the passage of the Alps γνώσεως ἕνεκα καὶ θέας', perhaps indeed both in 151 and in 150,[9] but maps had no place in the composition or publication of historical works. Furthermore, upon the historian already disadvantaged by inaccurate mensuration and imprecise orientation, there descends a thick fog of pernicious schematization: Polybius[10] suggests that the Rhône flows NE–SW, along the northern watershed of the Alps. We may note lastly the utterly inadequate nomenclature at the historian's

[4] B. Rehm, *Das geogr. Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis*, *Philol. Supplbd.* 24.2 (1932) 97; this admirable pamphlet remains much the best guide to the subject.

[5] J. W. Mackail, *JRS* 3 (1913) 7; K. Wellesley in *Vindex humanitatis, Essays in Honour of J. H. Bishop* (Armidale, 1980) 169.

[6] R. Ritter, *De Varrone Vergilii narrandis urbium populorumque Italiae originibus auctore*, *Diss. Phil. Halenses* 13 (1897) 285 416; Rehm (n. 4); see Horsfall, 'Varrone (e l'Eneide)', *Enc. Virg.* 5.447 50.

[7] A. Maiuri, *Saggi di varia antichità* (Venezia, 1954) 216 17; P. G. Walsh (ed.) Livy 21 (London 1973) 195; P. Sommella, 'Antichi Campi di battaglia in Italia', *Quad. Ist. Top. Ant.* (Rome 1967) 45.

[8] Cf. the irreproachably balanced summary in J. F. Lazenby, *Hannibal's War* (Warminster, 1978) 35 48; that Hannibal's route lay across the Mt Cenis massif is overwhelmingly likely and a preference for the Col du Clapier is not unreasonable.

[9] 3.48.12; F. W. Walbank, *Polybius* (Berkeley, 1972) 117f.

[10] 2.14.9, 15.8; 3.47.2; cf. W. W. Hyde, *Roman Alpine Routes* (Philadelphia, 1935) 11.

disposal, even round the fringes of Italy, and certainly further afield. Polybius (3.36.1) holds it actually misleading to the reader to give a lot of names of unfamiliar rivers and places; he will confine himself to using the generally known.

He likewise refers only to four Alpine passes; none is named, none is clearly identifiable; Varro lists five in the Western Alps;[11] by the time of Ammianus, only one has acquired an individual name, the 'Matrona', for the top of the Montgenèvre, from an accident to a noble lady. Varro indeed is likely to have been with Pompey when the Montgenèvre—which we think of as an important route—was opened up, or at least much improved, as late as 77; *per eas iter aliud atque Hannibal nobis opportunius patefeci*, Pompey reported proudly to the Senate.[12] Savoy, therefore, whether to Polybius or to Livy, was not much more familiar than Hyrcania, and no clear and generally accepted nomenclature for the Alpine passes existed. Paradoxically, Livy, who draws upon Valerius Antias and Coelius Antipater, preserves more actual information on Hannibal's route than does Polybius. But he has no clear mental image of Alpine topography, at least on [198/199]
the French side, as emerges most clearly from A. H. Macdonald's brilliant analysis of 21.31, where Livy switches from Antipater to Antias, suspecting that they are incompatible, and, rightly, that Antipater was wrong, but failing to realize that he had not correctly matched the geographical points that Hannibal had reached in his two authorities.[13] But we have seen roughly why no Roman historian could reasonably be expected to get the Alps right. However, what is so striking is that Livy's massive topographical confusions occur precisely in areas that he could reasonably be expected to know: the Lombard plain, the city of Rome, and the coastal plain en route for Naples. His errors in the Ticinus and Trebia campaign and in the second Samnite War are well known and widely listed.[14] That he went to Liternum is clear (38.56); it is equally clear that if he took the Appian way onwards towards Beneventum and passed the Caudine Forks, a mere 50 km. inland from Liternum, such a journey left no improving mark upon his narrative of the action there, as I hope recently to have shown.[15] His slender grasp of the historical geography of the city of Rome has been subjected to fascinating analysis by Professor Wiseman (see n. 14). But while Polybius repeatedly proclaims the primacy of autopsy and the importance of precise geographical information,[16] no such considerations operate in Livy's case. *Regionum descriptio* of course forms

[11] Polyb. 34.10 Strab. 4 208 9; Varr. *ap.* Serv. *ad Aen.* 10.13; Amm. Marc. 15.10; Hyde (n. 10) 11 12, 51.

[12] Sall. *Hist.* fr. 2.98.2 Maur.; Hyde (n. 10) 52.

[13] A. H. Macdonald, *Alpine Journal* (1956) 93ff.: this admirable discussion is by no means so well known as it deserves to be. Once it is realized that Livy 21.31 contains two narratives, not one, many difficulties (cf. Lazenby (n. 8) 39f.) disappear.

[14] P. G. Walsh, *Livy* (Cambridge 1961) 153ff.; W. B. Anderson (ed.), Livy ix, 247f.; T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics* (Leicester, 1979) 43f.

[15] Horsfall *PBSR* 50 (1982) 45ff. [ch. 14, 171 80]: Maiuri, ((n. 7) but more cautiously in *Passeggiate Campane* (Milano 1957) 350) goes to extreme lengths in order to save Livy's credit as a geographer.

[16] Walbank (n. 9) 23 5; Polyb. 4.2.2; 10.11.4, etc.

part of the Ciceronian conception of historiography, in outline inherited by Livy:[17] that entailed, above all, the excursus, of which Livy was sparing in theory (see 9.17) and in practice (Gauls 5.33; Germany 104). The African digression in Sallust, *Jugurtha*, and the fragments on Sardinia and Corsica and the Black Sea in the *Histories* give us a good idea of what was expected. Such geography appeals to a taste for the curious, the mythical, the strange, and the picturesque.[18] Such information is meant to entertain rather than to instruct; a matter for enjoyment, not study. No expectation existed in Augustan Rome that the geographical information contained in a work of literature should be precise.

Now if this paper has a theoretical point, it is that items of apparent geographical information in, for example, Virgil and Livy cannot be treated by topographers, archaeologists, and historians as facts, as being in themselves substantive pieces of information. The considerations of literary form and inheritance are regularly underestimated or misunderstood. That the numerous topographical descriptions in Virgil fall into a restricted number of types was forcefully observed by the admirable Bernhard Rehm: thus, for example (cf. Rehm, 74-8), the cave by which the Sibyl and Aeneas pass to the lower world (6.237ff.; cf. 3.441ff.), Ampsanctus, by which Allecto passes back down to hell (7.563ff.), and Albunea, where Faunus' voice
[199/200] speaks in oracles (7.81ff.) show clear features in common: dark woods, stinking exhalations, and resounding waters. They are indeed all to be labelled as *plutoneia* and striking Greek parallels can be advanced (e.g. Lycoph. 701ff., Ap. Rhod. 4.597ff.); the existence of these parallels and of this type or pattern of the *plutoneion* should long since have warned scholars against taking as literal indications of geographical detail individual features in any one of these passages. Thus it is with welcome scepsis that Colin Hardie[19] observes that Virgil's description of Lake Avernus, which lay, after all, so close to his beloved Neapolis, 'may be following the exaggerated descriptions of the complete ring of steep slopes enclosing the lake'. Arguments need hardly be multiplied; only two further examples follow:

The description of the harbour in Africa where the Trojans make their landfall (1.159ff.); not only does Virgil echo himself (*G.* 4.418ff.), but an impressive range of Homeric antecedents has been collected by commentators—the harbours of the Cyclopes, the Laestrygonians, and that of Phorcys on Ithaca.[20] Predictably, even such powerful considerations of literary form have not discouraged the imprudent from a wide range of attempted localizations. Even Servius gets it right, though: *topothesia est, id est fictus secundum poeticam licentiam locus.*[21]

[17] A. H. Macdonald, *JRS* 47 (1957) 159ff.; E. Rawson, *JRS* 62 (1972) 42ff.; Walsh (n. 14) 32ff.

[18] Sall. *Jug.* 17 19; Sardinia and Corsica: *Hist.* 2, fr. 1 11 Maur.; Black Sea: 3. fr. 61 4 Maur.; on islands, see E. Gabba, *JRS* 71 (1981) 55ff.

[19] See his note on *Aen.* 6.201 in Austin's commentary.

[20] G. W. Williams, *Tradition and Originality in Roman Poetry* (Oxford 1968) 637ff.; V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Heidelberg 1963) 183ff.

[21] But he refers forthwith to the harbour of New Carthage; see the commentaries of Conway and Austin *ad loc.*

Lastly, to counter any suspicion that the argument is applicable to poets, but that prose historians might be another matter, I was not the first to draw attention[22] to the striking analogies of apparent detail between Livy's account of the Caudine Forks and Virgil's description of the valley (11.515ff.) in which Turnus prepares to ambush Aeneas' advancing forces. Comparable too, for example—for many similar passages can be adduced—is the valley where the *ludi* take place in *Aeneid* 5 (287) and the *lucus prope Caeritis amnem* (8.597–9) where Aeneas received the miraculous armour from his mother. Again, the typicality of these descriptions did not deter Carcopino from trying to localize the attempted *furta belli* of *Aeneid* 11.[23] I have myself collected a number of Livian ambushes (*PBSR* (1982), 50 [ch. 14, 177–9]): linguistic similarity is of course a powerful argument against topographic specificity. But to achieve an entirely precise and specific description of one particular place would often entail a wearisome superfluity of detail and due allowance for genuine recurrences of certain distinctive topographical features in any landscape at roughly the same period must be made.[24] A detailed analysis of Livy's description of the *Ciminia silva* (9.36ff.) might, one suspects, prove especially rewarding. Analogies immediately suggest themselves: the forest where Nisus and Euryalus met their end (*Aen.* 9.381ff.) or the *saltus Teutoburgensis*: the historians' evocations are of course echoed in Dio Cass. 56.[25]

Not one word of what has been said about typicality should evoke either surprise or censure of the authors. That it does perhaps still need to be said is a reflection of the isolation in which students of topography, historiography, and formal rhetoric in general work. For really what has been called typicality is in large measure a product of rhetorical education. Not since Emanuel Kienzle's Basel dissertation of 1936, 'Der Lobpreis von Städtern und Ländern',[26] has there been, so far as I know, any systematic attempt to relate the categories of description in Menander Rhetor to actual descriptions, and Kienzle limits himself to early Greek poetry. A crucial topic, and one so far as I know unexplored, is the influence of rhetorical training upon descriptive writing, notably in the sphere of Hellenistic and Roman historical prose: Book 2 of Menander Rhetor containing precepts for encomia of cities and countries does after all survive. 'Cities' is particularly striking; Russell and Wilson quote parallels in other rhetorical treatises and suggestively point to certain precise instances in Strabo.[27] 'Situation', to cite [200/201]

[22] Horsfall, *PBSR* 50 (1982) 50 [ch. 14, 178], after Mackail *ad loc.* and Rehm (n. 4) 79f.

[23] J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie*[2] (Paris 1968) 294f.

[24] No conventional *veni vidi scripsi* formula exists in the historians for economical attestation of autopsy.

[25] A. J. Woodman, in D. West and A. J. Woodman (eds.) *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature* (Cambridge 1979) 152.

[26] L. Gernentz, *Laudes Romae* (diss. Rostock, 1908) 1 70 contains some matter of interest too.

[27] *Menander Rhetor*, ed. D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) 250, citing Strab. 12.2.9, 3.11, 3.39. Cf. C. J. Classen, *Die Stadt* . . . (Hildesheim 1980) 16ff.

their summary, 'is considered in relation to (i) climate and seasons (ii) mainland (iii) sea (iv) territory (v) neighbouring territories and cities (vi) mountains (vii) plains. Geographical situation of the city itself, how far it is built in the hills or in the plain, harbours, bays, acropolis.'

Sherwin-White, in his commentary on Pliny *Ep.* 6.31, criticizes Mme. Guillemin[28] for suggesting, on the basis of comparisons with Virgil (*Aen.* 1.159ff.), Livy (26.42.8), and Lucan (2.616) that Pliny's account of Trajan's harbour at Centum Cellae was 'a literary cliché without factual value': but Menander Rhetor (351.20ff.) indicates precisely how a harbour should be described. That Pliny had learned how to describe harbours at his rhetor's—and clearly he may have done—does not mean that he cannot or does not describe the real Trajanic harbour at Civitavecchia, and indeed his description is apparently quite close to early eighteenth-century drawings of the then surviving remains (cf. Sherwin-White, 396). We should rather acknowledge that the form for such descriptions exists and that any well-trained writer will describe the individual place in terms of that form or type, inescapably at the expense of the individual place's specificity. A brief warning should perhaps also be entered about the formulaic character of some of the passages which have been taken as constituting authentic authorial statements of autopsy: for example, the *ita natus locus est* with which Livy introduces his description of the Caudine Forks; apparently a rare turn of phrase (*O.L.D.* s.v. *nascor* 13), but analogies such as *adiuuabat eos natura ipsa loci, namque*[29] should suggest an historian's variation upon the *est locus* formula. Only once does Livy admit to autopsy: *nuper uidimus* [201/202] *ipsi* allows no doubt that he went to Scipio's monument at Liternum.[30] Nor, one might suggest, does Virgil's *namque sub Oebaliae memini me turribus arcis . . . Corycium uidisse senem* (*G.* 4.125–7). His connexions with Tarentum are massively attested: by Propertius' *tu canis umbrosi subter pineta Galaesi Thyrsin* (2.37.67f.), by the epitaph, of whatever date, *Calabri rapuere*, and by Horace's narrative of the *iter Brundisinum* (*Sat.* 1.5), which at least takes Virgil very near. One is compelled to concede that the tiny Galaesus plain—if no more—he could and even did describe from personal observation.[31] Quite different is Ampsanctus, which will hardly have been less remote in Virgil's time than it is now. *Hic specus horrendum et saeui spiracula Ditis monstrantur* writes Virgil (7.568–9). *Monstrantur* means that the place was shown to Virgil, infers Wellesley.[32] But, first, we have just seen that the description itself is quasi-formulaic. Secondly, Virgil's means of expression here are typically elusive. Should we be forced to concede by analogy that Virgil had also visited the *lugentes*

[28] A. M. Guillemin, *Pline et la vie littéraire de son temps* (Paris 1929) 118.
[29] Horsfall (n. 22) 47, against Maiuri (n. 7) 219.
[30] Livy 38.56; cf. T. J. Luce, *Livy* (Princeton 1977) 101, above 199.
[31] Cf. Horsfall *CR* 34 (1984) 133f.
[32] Wellesley (n. 5) 169; cf. J. A. S. Evans, *Vergilius* 10 (1964) 12ff., *ivi et ipse, vidi, scripsi.*

campi on the basis of *nec procul hinc partem fusi monstrantur in omnem* (6.440)? The verbs are used 'mediopassive' (*TLL* s.v. 1442.25). No cicerone is necessarily implied. The sites are open to view to those who contemplate them. In the lexicon of Virgilian opacity no more does *dicitur* mean 'I believe' than does *monstrantur* 'I was shown'. Comparably, the elder Pliny records the site of a catabasis at Heraclea Pontica (27.4) *ubi monstratur is ad inferos aditus*. There of course the role of local exegetes is far more clearly implied (as is even more clearly the case at Curt. 3.4.10), but the phrasing does no more to guarantee either autopsy or credence.

Simpler in conception than the notion of 'typical places', but fully as damaging in effect is plain literary imitation, whether in historians or in poets: if such imitations are not recognized, then the topographical details they convey must—except by the purest coincidence—be only most superficially relevant in their second application. A. J. Woodman has recently studied a striking example of Tacitean self-imitation[33], from *Histories* (2.70, 5.14–15) to *Annals* (1.61–5) with some bearing on the *Teutoburgerschlacht*. Recently too, I was encouraged by Ogilvie's analysis of Livy's transference of events from the Persian sack of the Acropolis to the Gallic assault on the Capitol[34] to suggest that Livy has transferred elements of a battle tactically coherent in the mountains of Turkey or Iran to Samnium, under the influence, most probably, of Callisthenes.[35] Starker, and indeed more productive of melancholy amusement in the reader are the results of unrecognized imitation in the study of Virgilian topography. At least the imitation of Lycophron's description of the incubatory shrine of Calchas on Mt Gargano (*Alex*. 1047ff.) should have alerted students of Virgil's oracle of [202/203] Faunus to the possibility that the passage represented neither a topographical nor a religious reality.[36] The topographical details correspond closely to the type of the *plutoneion* and the details had probably been conveniently collected and formulated in Varro *Res diuinae* 7, *de locis religiosis*. Certain simple considerations of literary imitation should have imposed restraint in the profoundly tedious hunt for the sites of the Trojans' camp and Latinus' city as described in *Aeneid* 7–12, not least since both draw numerous details from Homer's portrait of Troy, just as both share in Troy's role in the structure of Virgil's transference of Iliadic motifs into his narrative.[37] Further, there are details in the Virgilian description of the Roman Campagna which have been pressed into service in the hunt for the

[33] Cf. Woodman (n. 25).

[34] R. M. Ogilvie, *Commentary on Livy Books* 1 5, 720 *et passim*; extended, Horsfall, *CJ* 76 (1981) 307ff. [ch. 10, 132].

[35] Horsfall (n. 22) 51 2 [ch. 14, 179].

[36] But such a conclusion did not escape Stefan Weinstock, 'Tibur', *RE* A11:833 5.

[37] Horsfall, *Enc. Virg.* s.v. 'Laurentes'; cf. Carcopino (n. 23) 288ff., 355ff.; W. S. Anderson, *TAPA* 88 (1957) 25.

Laurentine citadel[38]—that prove to belong in the first instance not to Latium but to Homer's Troad.

That applies to the vast boundary stone which Turnus attempts to hurl in *Aeneid* 12 (896–8; cf. *Il.* 21.403–5) or the distance separating Turnus from Ardea and his old father Daunus at the opening of that book (44–5; cf. the formulaic τηλόθι πάτρης).[39] One might compare the intended ambush in *Aeneid* 11, where we should not speak so much of Homeric imitation, but of the existence of a literary type or form. It is very striking that while topographical questions—as one sees most clearly from Strabo's account of the Troad—fascinated the Homeric scholars of antiquity, such issues have little or no place in Virgilian exegesis. Tiberius Donatus projected studies of Virgilian prosopography and topography, which were apparently never executed.[40] There is virtually nothing in the relevant scholia. Did the Romans then know that places did not interest Virgil, who got them out of books (Rehm, 96ff.) and that the actual terrain and the localization of the sites mentioned by Virgil are fundamentally unimportant for our understanding of the *Aeneid*? But it is not only issues of literary form and antecedents that are relevant to this argument; it would never do to underestimate at least in Livy the subversive influence of the demands of dramatic narrative and of the necessity of achieving a correct moral balance upon topographical exactitude.[41] At Caudium, it is dramatically desirable that the Romans should be surrounded in a terrifying landscape; it heightens the pathos if they contemplate a breakout in the face of appallingly adverse terrain: one soldier is utterly downcast by it, another seeks to triumph over any physical difficulties (9.3.2). This is standard practice in Livian ambushes, to mitigate the imprudence of Rome's generals and the dishonour of
[203/204] her many defeats. If neither reader nor author are greatly concerned with topographical exactitude itself, then the advantages to be gained from this kind of moralizing or extenuatory embellishment are clearly immense.[42]

Modern students of the geography of classical Italy have to achieve a curiously difficult form of psychological readjustment; they must become reconciled to the fact that to the authors of the texts which constitute much of their evidence, exactitude as we understand it was of very limited importance. That the Romans had the strangest notions of long distances is well known: 5,000 km. from the Rhine to the far end of China appears to have been the figure in the *commentarii*

[38] It hardly needs repetition that the Borghese Palace at Pratica has contributed greatly to the seduction of the unwary.

[39] Boundary stone: *Aen.* 12.898ff., cf. *Il.* 21.405, but see Carcopino (n. 23) 284; Turnus and Ardea: *Aen.* 12.44f., cf. the Homeric τηλόθι πάτρης, but see Carcopino 308.

[40] For Homeric topography, cf. Pfeiffer (n. 3) 249ff., 257ff.; Tib. Don. 2.642.16; Schanz Hosius *Röm. Literaturgesch.*[4] ii. 106. The strikingly small scale of the geographical element in the Virgil scholia appears to have escaped all attention.

[41] Cf. notably the admirable discussion in H. Bruckmann, *Die röm. Niederlagen* (Bochum, 1936).

[42] E. Burck, *Die Erzählungskunst des T. Livius* (Berlin, 1934) 198f.

to Agrippa's map; P. A. Brunt and Ramsay MacMullen[43] have collected diverting examples of the amazing misinformation available to military planners. Ptolemy's indications of latitude and longitude are in general matters of literary borrowing not astronomical observation. At the opposite extreme, the Severan marble Forma Urbis: its parts vary in quality, suggesting teams of surveyors of uneven ability, and where it can be checked incontestably against the ground a degree of variation emerges which suggests above all inadequate instruments of mensuration, especially in respect of angles in the horizontal plane.[44] Thus even supposing that Livy had sought geographical accuracy, which his readers would certainly not have appreciated, not only was the conception absent from the sources available to him, but the technology capable of translating a desire for accuracy into precise mensuration was—which is perhaps even more important—not yet extant. Nor, to complete the circularity of the argument, did the desire for accuracy exist in the absence of the means to achieve it.

We have finally to contend with the veil of language, which is nowhere more opaque than in Virgil, as the topographical implications of the debate on the precise meaning of 7.82–3 should make amply clear. It is immensely difficult to describe a place in Latin, for there exists a sort of lexical 'black hole', on which far too little work has been done.[45] It is well known that Diodorus transferred the stream and battle of the Allia to the wrong or west bank of the Tiber;[46] Heinrich Sturenburg's 'Bezeichnung des Flussufer'[47] shows how very easily such confusion could have arisen. Horace writes that the flooding Tiber (*Carm.* 1.2.18) *uagus et sinistra labitur ripa*. The east bank (that is, the Campus Martius and Forum) is meant; it is *sinistra* to one looking down from the *caput amnis*. But were one unfamiliar with the terrain or with the linguistic conventions, were the river winding or sluggish, then the genesis of confusion is easy to imagine. Thus, to quote Walbank's comment on Polybius' account of the battle of the Trebia (3.66.74, vol. 1, 399), 'Polybius' account of the battle best fits a site on the left bank, but Livy locates the battle clearly on the right bank'. Likewise Polybius and [204/205]
Livy between them entirely failed to make it clear on which bank of the river Aufidus the battle of Cannae was fought (Walbank on Polyb. 3.107). But in the absence of a precise and universally accepted system of orientation, of the means to measure height, distance, or angles with exactitude, of any serious

[43] From the Rhine to China: A. Klotz, *Klio* 24 (1931) 424ff., 434ff. P. A. Brunt, *JRS* 53 (1963) 175; cf. R. MacMullen, *Roman Government's Response to Crisis* (New Haven, 1976) 52f.

[44] J. O. Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge 1948) 336ff.; M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (Harmondsworth, 1963) 225f. On the variable accuracy of the marble plan, cf. H. Bloch, *JRS* 51 (1961) 146 7; G. Gatti, in G. Carettoni et al., *La pianta marmorea* (Rome 1955) 228ff.; E. Rodriguez Almeida, *MÉFRA* 89 (1977) 222 and *Forma Urbis marmorea. Aggiornamento generale* 1980 (Rome 1981) 44ff., 52.

[45] To the references to Stürenburg (cf. n. 47) and Wistrand, *Nach innen oder nach aussen?*, made at Horsfall *PBSR* 50 (1982) 50 n. 25 [ch. 14, 178n. 25], nothing further is as yet to be added.

[46] Diod. Sic. 14.114; cf. Ogilvie (n. 34) 718.

[47] In *Relative Ortsbezeichnung* (Leipzig 1934) 31ff.

cartography,[48] and, lastly, of the vocabulary which would have enabled historians of the Roman world to describe places at all coherently, even had they the science and technology to comprehend their outlines accurately—for it is to be suspected that there exists a conceptual and causal link between the abilities to measure accurately and to describe coherently—then we should perhaps rather marvel that Roman authors preserved any exact topographical indications which we can today relate to our precisely arithmeticized world-view.

There remains the question of artistic representation: there is much work still to be done on ancient representations of surviving buildings, and when they have been collected and analysed, then some inferences might be drawn about fidelity to the objective world and the artistic reasons for its abandonment. Little usable material is as yet at our disposal; we must leave aside for the moment the fact that artists of all kinds in the Roman world were overwhelmingly of Greek origin,[49] and likewise the crucial questions of tradition, training, convention, and intention. There survives a very large corpus of potentially relevant representations, but the largest single element in that corpus, the coins, has to be excluded, since the limiting factor of their dimensions means that it is altogether unreasonable to expect accuracy in detail; the latest full study by Price and Trell has done much to illuminate the conventions by which the designers of coins reach a compromise between the limits of metalworking and recognizability.[50] The picture of Hadrian's Wall on the Amiens patera is merely schematic.[51] The harbours of Puteoli and Alexandria do not survive for comparison with the representations on glass and the medium and scale would anyway preclude detailed comparison.[52] Wiseman has recently analysed in great detail a Pompeian landscape clearly suggestive of the Palatine Hill, but equally clearly it is very much compressed for narrative effect.[53] Further, the considerable range of sculptural representations of Roman buildings often found as background to scenes of cult or imperial munificence tallies disappointingly little with the surviving remains.[54] Granted, provisionally, these limitations, a mere three examples invite comment.

The temple of Jupiter in the Forum at Pompeii has clearly been reduced from hexastyle to tetrastyle in the miniature reliefs from the house of Caecilius Jucundus commemorating the earthquake of 62, evidently in the interests of

[48] On 'compass points', cf. G. Kaibel, *Hermes* 20.4 (1885) 579ff.; on cartography, see most recently, P. Arnaud, *MÉFRA* 95 (1983) 677ff.

[49] J. Griffin, *JRS* 66 (1976) 91; R. R. R. Smith, *JRS* 71 (1981) 28f.

[50] M. J. Price and B. L. Trell, *Coins and their Cities* (London 1977).

[51] J. Heurgon, *JRS* 41 (1951) 22ff.; cf. R. K. Sherk, *ANRW* 2.1, 560, 562.

[52] Puteoli: S. E. Ostrow, *Puteoli* 3 (1979) 77ff., a reference for which I am indebted to Mr N. Purcell; Alexandria: C. Picard, *Latomus* 18 (1959) 46f.; P. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 2 (Oxford 1972) 45ff.

[53] T. P. Wiseman, *Antiquaries Journal* 61 (1981) 36f.

[54] At least all those reproduced in (i) I. S. Ryberg, 'Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art', *MAAR* 22 (1955), (ii) E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London 1961), and (iii) D. R. Dudley, *Urbs Roma* (London 1967) have been considered.

scale and simplicity.[55] The representation of the Colosseum on the tomb of the Haterii is highly problematic and its value as a representation of an intermediate stage between the work of Vespasian and that of Titus has long since been challenged by, for example, Ferdinando Castagnoli.[56] Lastly, something much simpler and more striking: the Pompeian amphitheatre, shown during the riot there in 59. There are six arches in reality, eleven in the painting.[57] The artist has made his task harder, his amphitheatre less grandiose, perhaps even, we might think, less recognizable. He was in fact working near the theatre, less than a kilometre away. He did not go to look. Neither he nor his public cared. Evidently he enjoyed drawing arches. The number did not matter. [205/206]

What students of topographic texts should more often bear in mind is that between the objectively real world and the written word there operate considerations of language and thought quite as productive of illusion and indeterminacy as those which came between the Pompeian painter and the amphitheatre he portrayed.[58]

[55] J. B. Ward Perkins and A. Claridge, *Pompeii AD 79* (London 1979) nos. 16, 17; M. Grant, *Cities of Vesuvius* (London 1971) 26, *et saepe*.

[56] G. Lugli, *Il centro monumentale* (Rome 1946) 320; W. Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klass. Altertümer in Rom* 1[4] no. 1076; F. Castagnoli, *BCAR* 69 (1941) 59ff.

[57] The painting: K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* (Berlin 1957) 12. 1.3.23; Grant (n. 55) 73; the amphitheatre: see e.g. Grant 70 1.

[58] E. H. Gombrich, *Art and Illusion* (London 1977) 58ff., a reference for which I am grateful to Miss Marie Leahy.

16

The Aeneas-legend and the *Aeneid*

In view of the minute re-examination of the Aeneas-legend prompted above all by the excavations at Lavinium, and of the huge volume of recent work on innumerable aspects of the *Aeneid* more or less inspired by the bimillenary of Virgil's death, it is curious that Virgil's own perception of the history and transmission of the story of Aeneas has been almost completely ignored, though, given the general neglect into which the question of Virgil's prose sources has sunk,[1] that becomes a little more easily understandable. This paper does not seek to weigh anew Virgil's debts in detail to Cato, the annalists, and Varro, for example,[2] but rather to explore how the development of the Aeneas-legend and the various strands and stages within that development are reflected within the epic.

Two sharply contrasting examples may illustrate the way in which diverse elements can cohabit, often uneasily, in the poem.

A theme almost continuously present in the history of the story is Aeneas' special relationship with his father and with the gods: his offerings to the gods are singled out in Homer, his concern for both Anchises and the ancestral images in Hellanicus' *Troica* and his *eusebeia* towards both in the prologue to Xenophon's *Cynegetica*, which may after all belong to 392 BC.[3] The rescue of Anchises on his son's shoulder was known in Greek archaic art and is first narrated, in surviving texts, in Sophocles' *Laocoon* (fr. 373). The rescue of the gods is depicted once only before the Roman period, on an Etruscan gem, that of Anchises, frequently, notably on vases found in Etruria, though we do not of course know how the Etruscans characterized the virtues displayed by the two rescues. No more can we determine just when the Romans first applied the adjective *pius* to Aeneas. Our first explicit evidence is, it is well known, in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, of the

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[1] Cf. Horsfall, *Antichthon* 15 (1981) 141–50 [ch. 12, 153–63]; id., 'Varrone (e l'Eneide)', *Enc. Virg.* 5.447–50; cf. id. 'Enea (La leggenda di Enea)', *Enc. Virg.* 2.221–9 for a survey in Italian of the current state of research on the Aeneas legend; a fuller and updated version appears (in English) in *RMM* 12–25 [cf. chs 7 and 16]. But there appears to be no study of how the history of the legend is reflected in the poem.

[2] Cf. G. D'Anna, 'Virgilio e le antiche tradizioni italiche', *Atti del Convegno Virgiliano di Brindisi* (Perugia 1983) 323ff.; W. Suerbaum, 'Und der Stern zog ihnen voraus', in *Et scholae et uitae* (München 1985) 22ff.

[3] Cf. V. J. Gray, 'Xenophon's *Cynegeticus*', *Hermes* 113.2 (1985) 156ff. for powerful arguments in favour of the long neglected traditional date of 392 BC.

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early 80s BC. Yet Virgil's portrayal of Aeneas' *pietas*, both *erga patrem* and *erga deos* remains solidly based.[4]

We may contrast the divine guidance vouchsafed to the Trojans on their journey westwards: in Virgil, we note the role assigned to Venus at 1.382, the star of 2.801, Anchises (retrospectively) at 7.123, and the role of Apollo in Book 3, *passim*. The 'inconsistency' is well known, but it is perhaps time to put an end to the drawing of complex conclusions for the development of the poem and rather to recognize that here as often a shifting picture in Virgil reflects a detail in the story not firmly and unvaryingly transmitted. The poet, that is, declines to choose between variants and his text is left to reflect the uncertain picture given by his [8/9] sources.[5] I have discussed elsewhere (*Antichthon* 15 (1981), 145–7 [ch. 12, 158–9]) some of the other classic inconsistencies to be explained thus (e.g. the eating of the tables and the portent of the sow). Indeed a distinction may be drawn between those elements in the story which do not vary (when Aeneas meets his end in Latium, he does so at the river Numicus, *Aen.* 4.620, 7.242, 12.794)[6] and those which do (where does Anchises die?). Examination of the episodes of the sow and the tables shows further how fixed and movable elements can coexist within the same story (the sow always had thirty piglets but their significance was explained variously). Nor need 'fixed' necessarily imply 'old': the piglets serve to link Aeneas with the founding of Alba or of Lavinium and it would be hazardous, on present evidence, to date that link earlier than the late fourth or (better) early third century BC.[7] Details that remained open to variation were clearly the best suited to exploitation in the name of aetiology or propaganda: Aeneas' landing-places in the course of his journey constitute an extreme example; contrast the limited possibilities offered by Aeneas' progeny;[8] the claim of the Iulii and their kin (Marius) to descent from Venus might be contested but could not easily or widely be shared.[9]

Let us then look first at some details in the *Aeneid* which can securely be identified as reflecting recent developments in the Aeneas-legend: the contested

[4] The attempts of G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton 1969) 3ff. to demolish the antecedents of *pietas* are taken much too far: cf. A. Drummond, rev. of Galinsky, *JRS* 62 (1972) 218f. and Horsfall (n. 1, 1985) *passim* and 'Some Problems in the Aeneas Legend', *CQ* 29 (1979) 383ff. [ch. 7, 91 5].

[5] Compare Varro *ap.* Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 2.801 (the star Venus visible to Aeneas all the way to the *Laurens ager*); Naevius *BP* fr. 9 Strzelecki (Venus gave books *futura continentes* to Anchises); for Mercury as the Trojans' guide, cf. Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979) 41f. (in painting, 40s BC, in poetry, late second century AD). Cf. further, Suerbaum (n. 2) 5.

[6] I do not know a version of the Roman period which departs from this site, which is stabilized by Aeneas' identification with the old local *pater indiges*. But the circumstances, and even, as Prof. P. Casciano reminds me, the fate of Aeneas' body (Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.620, 7.150, 797) vary.

[7] F. Castagnoli, *Studi Romani* 30 (1982) 1ff.; T. J. Cornell, *LCM* 2 (1977) 77ff.; J. Poucet, *Revue Belge de Philol. et d'Hist.* 61 (1983) 144ff.; id., *Les origines de Rome* (Bruxelles 1985) 285; Horsfall (n. 1, 1985) 226f.

[8] Cf. *Aen.* 1.267ff., 6.70ff.; Liv. 1.1.11, 1.3.2 (with Ogilvie's note).

[9] K. W. Weeber, 'Troiae lusus', *Anc. Soc.* 5 (1974) 190 suggests that Sulla would not have been sorry to enjoy a share in the same forbears.

geneaology of the Iulii prompts mention of the Cluentii, Sergii, Memmii, Atii, and, by implication, Geganii in Book 5 (116ff., 568), derived from Varro's *De familiis Troianis*, the bible of late republican genealogical pretentiousness. The Atii, as Augustus' mother's family, are clearly of special importance; Atys' role as commander of one of the divisions of boys in the *lusus Troiae* is especially appropriate in view of the repeated Augustan revivals of the (?) Sullan *lusus*.[10] Comparably (3.280, cf. 505), Virgil associates Aeneas' route westwards with Augustus' foundation of the *ludi Actiaci* at Nicopolis.

The more educated readers of the *Aeneid* will in general, we may suppose, have recognized the frequent and often distinctive adornments supplied by Varro's erudition, especially in the later books of the *Aeneid*: Varro had after all collected and organized a huge mass of material on the Aeneas-legend proper and Dionysius
[9/10] of Halicarnassus' Book 1 still in places gives a fair impression of how he is likely to have gone about it. It is also, for example, at least worth suggesting, on the basis of Servius' note on 3.167, that the strange story of the Trojans' origin at Corythus[11] was known to Virgil through having been mentioned by Varro only to be rejected. But Varro's clearly and demonstrably identifiable impact went much further than this: Virgil gratefully borrowed (e.g.) the foundation stories of many central Italian towns, etymologies of their names and of many Latin words, details of armour, rituals, and *mores*: for example, the Teutonic manner of throwing the boomerang and the archaic custom of sitting, not reclining at table.[12] Virgil's reconstruction of the Italy of 1200 BC, or thereabouts, is the product not of archaeology or imagination, but of educated reading; the result is a tension, at times unresolved and productive of inconsistencies, between Homer and Varro. Reconstructions of primitive Italian society were pervasive and influential in the first century BC, notably when they could be used to furnish 'precedents' for consular or senatorial authority or for the right to declare war and Virgil's narrative, especially in Book 7, is rich in details deriving from this sort of polemic reconstruction.[13] Though we cannot yet determine quite what Varro did for the Aeneas legend, and how Virgil made use of Varro's version, for the detailed analysis of Dionysius, the first book of Ovid's *Fasti*, and the *Origo gentis Romanae* that the topic requires, has not been seriously attempted since the First World War, yet Varro's account clearly represented the climax of a long process of narrative elaboration which had begun with Cato[14] and he bequeathed to Virgil the need for a drastic and revolutionary simplification such as we find in Books 7–12 in the interests of rapid and coherent

[10] Weeber's account of the origins of the *lusus* (n. 9) is a model of sober common sense.
[11] Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973) 68ff. and *CQ* 26 (1976) 296f., completely revised in *RMM* (n. 1) 89 104.
[12] Boomerangs: *Aen.* 7.730f., with Horsfall, *C&M* 30 (1969) 297ff.; sitting at table: *Aen.* 7.176, with Varro *De gente* cited by Servius in his note there.
[13] With 7.617, cf. Dion. Hal. 2.14.3, Liv. 1.32.13, for example.
[14] The classic discussion remains R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*[3] (Leipzig 1915) 171ff. summarized in H. W. Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (New York 1963) 428ff.

narrative. Much of the pervasive erudition of the *Aeneid*, then, will have been recognizable to informed contemporary readers as reflecting the most modern research on Aeneas' travels, his Italy, his physical world in general: sometimes Virgil leaves his readers to recognize the allusion unaided, at other times the debt is signalled almost flamboyantly.[15]

In one important respect, the implications of how the Aeneas-legend was presented in the first century BC have perhaps not been pursued far enough: in a famous paper in 1901, Eduard Norden established the coexistence of 'Augustan-courtly' and 'Roman-national' elements in the *Aeneid*,[16] but perhaps devoted not enough attention to the way the Aeneas-legend itself had been presented over the century before the 'publication' of the epic.

When a Julian moneyer placed the head of Venus on coins of 129 BC, he alluded to a legend which had at the time no special significance for his *gens*. One might even wonder just how important Aeneas then was in the *res publica* at large. [10/11] Though of course he featured in both the *Annales* of Ennius and the *Origines* of Cato, the Trojan element seems—understandably, given the pace of Roman conquest—to have been far less prominent in the language of Roman diplomacy, for example, in the years 190–130 than it had been in the years 240–190. Only *c.*130 were the antiquarian interests of the annalists of Piso's generation creating an intellectual climate in which the more extravagant pretensions of the Roman *gentes* to mythological ancestry might flourish.[17] Scholarship had begun to transform the remote founding hero into a figure of whom individual *gentes* might be able to take some practical advantage. The transformation of the Aeneas-legend between 129 and Actium then represents the initiative of a single *gens*: the Iulii (though these remarks do at times also apply to their kin and supporters) find a descent from Venus, Aeneas, and Iulus etymologically justifiable, intellectually congenial, and advantageous politically; from L. Iulius Caesar, censor in 89, who exempted Ilium from tax, they became increasingly strident. The decisive initiative came from Julius Caesar himself; beginning with his funeral oration on his aunt Julia in 68 BC, the claim to Trojan origins is diffused ever more widely. As the family which, above all others, asserted these origins rose to ever greater power, it drew up the story likewise to share in unprecedented publicity. On the initiative of Julius and Octavian,[18] knowledge of the story spread ever more widely: the group of Aeneas and Anchises appeared in great public sculptural groups and on numerous coin-issues; thence it passed to the decoration of private houses.[19]

[15] Cf. 7.601, 777 *uersoque ubi nomine*, underscoring the characteristic *metonomasia*.

[16] *Vergils Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit: Kleine Schriften* (Berlin 1966) 358ff.

[17] T. P. Wiseman, *G&R* 21 (1974) 153ff., with the criticisms of F. Castagnoli (n. 7) 8, n. 42; Poucet (n. 7, 1985) 267ff.; Horsfall (n. 1, 1985) 227; E. D. Rawson, *Latomus* 35 (1976) 689ff. On Cassius Hemina, see now W. Suerbaum, 'Die Suche nach der *antiqua mater*', in *Festschr. G. Radke* (Münster 1986) 269ff.

[18] Details: S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford 1971) *passim*; S. Farron, *AC* 23 (1980) 53ff.

[19] Horsfall, *Atti del Convegno . . . su Virgilio, Mantova, Roma, Napoli* (Milano 1984) 2.52f.; W. Fuchs, *ANRW* 1.4 (1973) 615ff.

Though the patriotic element in the *Aeneid* is of course in some sense national and not merely courtly, the legend of Aeneas must have seemed, nevertheless, to Virgil a story tightly and visibly bound for as long as he could remember to the rise of Octavian's own family. It was the *Aeneid* itself, far more than Caesar or Augustus, who transformed Aeneas into a national hero, though Virgil could never have written an Aeneas-epic without Julius' previous propaganda initiatives.[20]

But that is only the last stage in a long development: the *Aeneid* also reflected earlier and less strident phases in the story's growth. Both Naevius and Ennius, like Eratosthenes, narrated the foundation of Rome by Romulus, a grandson of Aeneas, and thus follow a chronology which must have seemed eccentric to those readers who had taken heed of Timaeus' exposition of the chronology of the myth and legend.[21] The substantial gap between the fall of Troy and the foundation of
[11/12] Rome was already recognized by Fabius Pictor, as the summary recently found at Taormina confirms,[22] and Fabius began to fill it with the kings of Alba. Though Virgil clearly acknowledges the progression Troy–Lavinium–Alba–Rome (1.267ff., 6.760ff.), his own chronology is as eccentric as any:[23] 333 years from Aeneas' arrival in Italy to Romulus' birth (1.265ff.): a piece of unidentified numerological play has displaced the near-consensus of historians and antiquarians. Servius' note on *Buc.* 6.3 amusingly tells us that (and we should be unwise to take the information too literally) when Virgil wrote *cum canerem reges et proelia*, he referred to a *gesta regum Albanorum* which he began but abandoned *nominum asperitate deterritus.* No one, in truth, seems to have been much excited by the kings of Alba who had after all, in the main if not exclusively, been coaxed into existence to meet the implications of Timaeus' researches; seventeen lines of the *Aeneid* record this phase of Rome's prehistory and Virgil is unable, forgivably, to fix Alba's shadowy monarchs in our hearts or memories.[24]

The role of Lavinium is a good deal more substantial. Though in Virgil's historical perspective, Aeneas will soon move from Lavinium to Alba (1.270), Lavinium will be the Trojans' first durable urban settlement after their flight from Troy (1.258f.)[25] and is the city whose foundation will symbolize the permanent union between Trojans and Latins (12.194). The modern Pratica di Mare, Lavinium lay near the traditional site of Aeneas' landing at the mouth of the Numicus (at least as early as Cato) and retained in Virgil's time temples, shrines, cults, and abundant historical associations. The exceedingly controversial question of the development of Aeneas' connexions with the cults and legends of

[20] Norden (n. 16) 360; Horsfall (n. 1, 1985) 228, (n. 19) 47ff. 53; A. Petrucci, *Virgilio e noi* (Genova 1981) 51ff.
[21] Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 154; Horsfall, *CQ* 24 (1974) 111ff. [ch. 4, 34 9].
[22] G. Manganaro, *PP* 29 (1974) 389ff.
[23] Horsfall (n. 21); H. A. Sanders, *CPhil.* 3 (1908) 317ff. is still very useful.
[24] Poucet (n. 7, 1985) 259; R. A. Laroche, *Hist.* 31 (1982) 112ff.
[25] 1.258f., 2.293ff.; F. Castagnoli, *Lavinium* 1 (Roma 1972) 59f.; but cf. of course (e.g.) 9.48, 473, 639 for the urban character of the Trojans' camp.

Lavinium fortunately needs no further discussion here:[26] indisputably, to Virgil and his contemporaries, Aeneas' sojourn at Lavinium appeared no less real and ancient than his escape from blazing Troy: a Trojan element in the cults of Lavinium is attested at least as far back as Timaeus (*FGrH* 566 F 36, citing a local claim, not autopsy), and the Romans well knew[27] that Aeneas belonged to Lavinium and Alba before Rome.

Virgil of course transfers the Trojans' arrival from the seashore to the mouth of the Tiber, yet when telling his Muse of his intentions retains the Trojans' traditional goal (1.2–3):[28] *Lauiniaque uenit litora*. His relocation of the Trojans' landing is perhaps too innovative, too disconcerting, yet symbolically enriching, to be revealed in a prooemium and we may wonder whether the site of Lavinium meant much to Virgil; students of the *Aeneid* are perhaps less eager than once they were to convert Virgil into an eager backpacker who had explored the Roman [12/13] Campagna in minute detail.[29] Rightly so: the evidence tells against a pedestrian Virgil and the ancient commentaries quite eschew such problems, in sharpest contrast to those on the *Iliad*. But a case—though not a strong one—could be made for the Lavinium that Virgil might have known personally contributing some visual details to Latinus' city, so carefully neither named nor located by the poet.[30] It would not be in the least surprising if excavations at or near Pratica di Mare yielded up firm evidence to demonstrate that the Aeneas-legend reached Lavinium from Etruria in the sixth century BC, but that evidence does not yet exist. Its absence is in a sense paradoxical, for in Etruria, not far off across the Tiber, the story of Aeneas was well known by 500.[31]

Given that Virgil was himself a Mantuan (once a city of the northern Etruscan dodecapolis) and that the poet's names were clearly of Etruscan origin, there has been much eager speculation about ancient and esoteric Etruscan elements in the *Aeneid*. That was probably unwise.[32]

It is surprising how little Virgil tells us about the origins of Mantua (10.200–3) and the foundation story he gives is one that, on the basis of Plin. *HN* 3.115–16 and Sil. *Pun.* 8.592ff., was probably available to him in Varro's *Res humanae*. The story of Corythus is likewise, though bristling with difficulties, unlikely to be old; its origins probably lay in the widespread quasi-scholarly, quasi-romantic interest

[26] Cf. T. J. Cornell, *Arch. Reports* 1979 80 (n. 7) 79; J. Poucet (n. 7, 1985) 123f.; id., *Ant. Class.* 48 (1979) 181, (n. 7, 1984) and notably, 'Un culte d' Enée dans la region lavinate', *Mél. R. Schilling* (Paris 1983) 298f.; Castagnoli (n. 7) 8ff.; Horsfall (n. 1, 1985) 223f.

[27] Varr. *Ling.* 5, 144, though this is not confirmed by the archaeological evidence; Poucet (n. 7, 1985) 133f.

[28] Cf. also 6.84, 7.229.

[29] Cf. the arguments gathered in Horsfall, *G&R* 32 (1985) 197ff. [ch. 15, 181 91].

[30] J. Carcopino, *Vergile et les origins d'Ostie*[2] (Paris 1986) 279ff.; Horsfall, 'Laurentes (Laurentum)', *Enc. Virg.* 3.141 4.

[31] Cf. Horsfall, rev. of G. Dury Moyaers, *Enée et Lavinium*, *JRS* 73 (1983) 202f.

[32] Cf. Horsfall (n. 11, *JRS*) 76 for bibliography; J. Hall, *Vergilius* 28 (1982) 44ff. writes on Virgil's Etruscans in a long tradition of enthusiastic partiality.

in the Etruscans so prevalent in the late Republic.[33] *Aeneid* 11.581 reflects a supposed Etruscan domination over the Volsci (cf. Cato, *Orig.* fr. 62P); archaeologists now question whether the remains do indeed reflect a long period of Etruscan domination.[34] Perhaps more significant is the role Virgil assigns to the Etruscans in the narrative: with the exception of the exile Mezentius, they fight beside Aeneas and against Turnus. This role they had previously played only in the *Alexandra* of Lycophron. Virgil knew that poem intimately, though it was not necessarily his source for the pattern of alliances that operates in the *Aeneid*.[35] It would therefore be rash to argue that the *Aeneid* reflects directly any interpretation of the legend of Aeneas which derives directly from the heyday of Etruscan interest in him in the sixth to fifth centuries.[36]

[13/14] It used to be claimed that there was a 'Campanian phase' in the story's spread, but the extreme weakness of the evidence has now been generally recognized: the trumpeter Misenus, eponym of the Capo di Miseno (6.164–5) did not, in all probability, feature in the *Iliou Persis* of Stesichorus;[37] to Virgil, he is a companion of Aeneas, whereas in Greek authors he had been a companion of Odysseus; Virgil here clearly follows the (recent) Roman antiquarian tradition about Misenus (*OGR* 9.6, Dion. Hal. 1.53.3). The foundation of Capua by Capys (10.145) might appear to have been attested in Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F 62), but this fragment too has long been under suspicion.[38] Until Italian place-names are linked with companions of Aeneas in mass-produced late Hellenistic aetiologies,[39] that is all the evidence there is and clearly it is not enough.

It is not improbable that the considerable interest in Aeneas which excavations in Etruria have revealed[40] was transmitted through Sicily. Neither in Virgil nor anywhere else is there the least connexion between Aeneas and any site in northern Sicily, though just why that should be is not altogether clear. In *Aeneid* 3, the Trojans, after rescuing Achaemenides, sail down the eastern coast (688ff., 694ff.), round Cape Pachynus (699f.), and continue their almost touristic vision of the south coast's chief attractions (700–5) until Anchises is made to die at Drepanum (Trapani) at the island's western end. It is exclusively with that western end that Aeneas is connected, both in Virgil and before. Though it is quite possible

[33] Cf. Horsfall (n. 31); E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Republic* (London 1985) 27ff.

[34] G. Colonna, *Gli Etruschi e Roma* (Roma 1981) 165f.; M. Cancellieri, *Enea nel Lazio* (Roma 1981) 78f.

[35] Cf. Horsfall, *Prudentia* 8 (1976) 86f. [ch. 6, 74]; S. West, *CQ* 33 (1983) 114ff.; ead., *JHS* 104 (1984) 130ff.

[36] Cf. my incautious remarks at *JRS* (n. 11) 77f.; T. J. Cornell, *PCPS* 21 (1975) 18ff. has shown decisively how unwise it was to erect vast mythological speculations based upon little fragments of Hellenistic pseudo scholarship.

[37] Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979) 39f.

[38] J. Heurgon, *Capoue préromaine* (Rome 1942) 42, 144.

[39] Palinurus, Misenus, Caieta in Virgil; cf. too Prochyta, Baiae, and many others, listed in H. Boas, *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium* (Amsterdam 1938) 27. Their very number reveals the trite intellectual spirit in which they were fabricated.

[40] Horsfall (n. 4) 386ff.; id. (n. 1, 1985) 225f.; Castagnoli (n. 7) 4ff.

that Stesichorus (of Himera) in the sixth century brought Aeneas to Sicily in his *Iliou Persis,* that must remain pure speculation: the Greek inscription (Augustan, from near Bovillae) which assigns to that poem a reference to 'Aeneas and his companions setting sail for Hesperia' does not necessarily refer to Sicily and clearly contains very many details which can have nothing to do with Stesichorus' poem.[41] In the fifth century BC Segesta claimed Trojan origins in her diplomatic negotiations with Athens and Thucydides refers to the part-Trojan origin of the Elymians (6.2.3; no word of Aeneas). Three centuries later, Segesta (to which Virgil alludes through the name of the Trojans' host Acestes, 5.38, etc.) went over to the Roman side in the first Punic War because of her kinship with the Romans, that is to say, because of their shared Trojan ancestry. The location of Anchises' funeral games therefore reflects at a distance several chapters of western Sicilian diplomatic history.

The 'historical' origins of Aeneas' encounter with Dido should arguably be viewed in the same way. Niebuhr's famous and seductive hypothesis[42] that in some way the relations of Aeneas and Dido in Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* served as an *aition* of the Punic Wars (cf. *Aen.* 4.622ff.) remains exceptionally attractive and our improved understanding of Hellenistic mythographic and chronological writing serves only to confirm the persuasiveness of his arguments.[43] When Virgil describes the Trojans as *omnium egenos* (1.599), he intends primarily a [14/15]
contract with the wealthy Dido, but we may also suspect a deliberate rejection of those stories (Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F 31 = Dion. Hal. 1.46.4, (Xen.) *Cyn.* 1.15) in which Aeneas was permitted to carry off property and treasure from Troy, incurring thereby the suspicion of treason.

The numerous stages of Aeneas' voyage west across the Aegean and Adriatic are likewise best understood if considered each in isolation and always in historical and antiquarian terms. Details in the *Aeneid* itself reflect this origin of the story of Aeneas' wanderings as a stringing together of numerous individual scholarly localizations in a sequence imposed by geography, given the fixed termini of Troy and central Italy. Individual localizations are to be explained as originally prompted by similarities in toponymy (3.18, 105—Cretan and Trojan Ida—334f.—perhaps innovative), by the desire to account for local cults (3.280, 531) and dedications (3.286ff., 552) in familiar mythological terms and by a wish to personalize and identify uncertain local origins in terms of renowned mythological heroes.

[41] Horsfall (n. 37) 35ff.

[42] The English translation of vol. 4 of his *History of Rome* is dated 1844; see M. Wigdosky, *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry, Hermes* Supplbd. 24 (1972) 29ff.; Horsfall, *PVS* 13 (1973 4) 10ff. [ch. 2, 22 4].

[43] Wigdosky (n. 42) 29. Horsfall (n. 42) 9 [ch. 2, 21]; Books 1 and 4 are on any interpretation mythologically innovative, but it is quite clear that Virgil knew and used the foundation story of Carthage as narrated by (e.g.) Timaeus, *Aen.* 4, ed. A. S. Pease, 16f.

The bloodbaths of the *Iliad*, the sack of Troy, and the *Nostoi* had left few heroes to serve as founders, and to almost all of their travels (excepting those of Epeius, founder of Pisa, mentioned at 2.264) Virgil with almost systematic erudition alludes in the course of the poem: Antenor (1.242ff.), Philoctetes (3.398ff.), Idomeneus (3.400f., 11.265), Diomedes (8.9 etc.), Helenus (3.294ff.), and most notably Ulysses, himself a source of central Italian eponyms (cf. Circeii) and even a (joint-) founder of Rome in some accounts: the *Aeneid*, from *Troiae qui PRIMUS ab oris* and *FATO profugus* on is rich in covert and learned polemic at the expense of Ulysses' credibility as hero, traveller, and founder,[44] and the developed Virgilian Aeneas annexes some of his rival's greatest virtues.

Virgil's efficient reduction and simplification of Aeneas' stopping places have been well surveyed:[45] they were not hallowed by antiquity, individually sacrosanct, or canonical in number. Only a passing reference to Salius reminds the alert and learned reader of *Aeneid* 5 (298–9) that in many versions Aeneas paid a visit to Arcadia; similarly his visit to Samothrace is abandoned,[46] but that island does not utterly lose its Trojan links (7.208). Two episodes in particular are not securely anchored:[47] the burning of the Trojan ships and the death of Anchises, both of which Virgil of course locates in western Sicily. Even in antiquity there
[15/16] were complaints that the story of the ships was excessively movable (Strab. 5. p. 264) and it was not even consistently their own ships that the Trojan women burned;[48] the episode, as Timaeus clearly found, was a godsend to the aetiologist: it is perhaps as old as the fifth century BC (Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F 84, but see *CQ* 29 (1979), 381f. [ch. 7, 89–90]) and could in effect be used anywhere. Anchises' death is similarly attested for Trojan Ida, the peninsula of Pallene, Aeneia in north-western Chalcidice, Arcadia, Anchisos in Epirus and Latium.[49] Virgil himself makes Dido allude to the story (in Varro) that Diomedes dug up and carried off the bones (4.427 with Servius' note). Clearly the burial, like the burning, could be shifted at will; again, it looks as though, by the time the story of Aeneas' wanderings began to be related in circumstantial detail (that is, the third century BC), no canonical version existed (or had survived).

[44] F. R. Bliss, '*Fato profugus*', *Studies in Honor of B. L. Ullmann* (Roma 1964) 99ff.; G. K. Galinsky, *Latomus* 28 (1969) 3ff., *AJPhil.* 89 (1968) 164, and *ANRW* 2.31.2 (1981) 1003.

[45] Notably, R. B. Lloyd, *AJPhil.* 77 (1957) 382ff.

[46] Cf. Lloyd (n. 45) 390f. On Samothrace, see now Suerbaum (n. 2).

[47] For a similar argument, which applies to the giver of the oracle of the tables cf. Horsfall (n. 1, 1981) 146 [ch. 12, 158]. The content of both this oracle and that concerning the sow is altogether in keeping with the oracles of the great age of Greek colonization: cf. A. S. Pease, *CPhil.* (1917) 8ff.; that does not for one moment demonstrate that either of the oracles, as narrated by Virgil, dates back to an epoch of Greek expansion. Just how old were the sow and piglets preserved in brine (Varr. *Rust.* 2.4.18)?

[48] Horsfall, (n. 4, 1979) 382 [ch. 7, 89 90]; J. Geffcken, *Timaios' Geographie des Westens* (Berlin 1892) 2.

[49] Horsfall (n. 1, 1981) 144 [ch. 12, 157].

We reach finally the oldest and therefore the most complex stage of this survey: Aeneas' departure from Troy (and, in most versions, from the Troad), already narrated in the *Iliou Persis* of Arctinus and implied in Homer (*Il.* 20.307f.). That, in several accounts, Aeneas left Troy with the Greeks' permission has already been noted. As early as the *Iliou Persis*,[50] he is represented as having left Troy before the sack and indeed Poseidon's promise (*Il.* 20.307f.) that Aeneas will rule over the Trojans does presuppose that in some way he must survive the sack. In Hellanicus' *Troica*,[51] he fights with exceptional bravery, but also enters into negotiations with the Greeks. It was to prove easy for sensationalist prose writers who had also read their Homer attentively and had noted traces of hostility between Anchisiadae and Priamidae (*Il.* 13.461, 20.178ff.; cf. Acusilaus *FGrH* 2 F 39) to claim that Aeneas had, like Antenor, betrayed Troy. The allegation remained alive in annalistic polemic (Sisenna fr. 1P against Lutatius Catulus ap. *OGR* 9.2) and indeed Livy (1.1.1), though he does not speak of actual treason, links Aeneas with Antenor as enjoying a special relationship with the Greeks which earned them both the right to depart (cf. Austin's excellent note on *Aen.* 1.242). In the accounts of the Trojan War by Dictys (second to third century AD original; fourth-century Latin translation survives) and Dares (first-century AD original; fifth–sixth century AD translation survives) allegations against Aeneas (Dares 37ff., Dictys 4.18ff.) are elaborated and were clearly widespread at Rome when Servius' commentary to the *Aeneid* and Tiberius Donatus' rhetorical paraphrase were compiled. Our ancient interpreters are therefore very much inclined to exaggerate Virgil's awareness of and reactions to these charges in the *Aeneid*.

In the poem, Aeneas leaves Troy as *fato profugus* (1.2, cf. 2.434), instructed to go by a vision of the admirable Hector (2.289ff.) and by his father, encouraged by the *augurium* of a shooting star, by the ghost of his wife and by his divine mother; that is to say, Virgil takes the greatest pains to justify Aeneas' survival by flight: his courage and motives must be above question and Troy falls by treachery (2.195ff.) and divine hostility (601ff.). The fault is not, in the narrative of Book 2, the defenders'; both Hector (2.291) and Deiphobus (6.509f.) make it clear that Aeneas did all that could have been asked of him and allegations to the contrary by Aeneas' opponents in the poem (e.g. 12.15) reflect rather upon the speakers. The narrative and characterization of Book 2 are not intended primarily as
[16/17] polemic, but Virgil's account of Aeneas' motivation does in passing answer very carefully the charges made by the hero's detractors, which it is clear enough that Virgil must have known, though the polemic element in the epic is not nearly so widespread as Servius suggests, even in a note such as that on 1.488, where Virgil rather pays tribute to the wide fame of Aeneas' martial valour.

[50] See Proclus' summary, Loeb ed. Hesiod, etc., 521.
[51] *FGrH* 4 F 31; for Aeneas' treason, cf. *Aen.* 2, ed. Austin, xv, and ed. Ussani (Roma 1961) xvi.

The Aeneas of the *Iliad* and the Epic Cycle had left Virgil with numerous difficulties; the conception of Aeneas *proditor* is merely the one involving the longest and most complex literary tradition. The Homeric Aeneas is curiously unmemorable, though detailed examination of the texts[52] reveals that he was godfearing, wise, respected by the demos and by Hector. And so forth. None of it specially exciting or interesting. But it is the way in which he alters and reinforces the Homeric Aeneas that reveals Virgil's recognition of the Iliadic hero's deficiencies. We may for example note that while Homer may in passing (*Il.* 6.77, 16.536, 17.513, 758, etc.) mention Aeneas and Hector in the same breath, the *Aeneid* studiedly and repeatedly tries to bring Aeneas up to parity with Hector in a rich variety of consistently significant contexts. We may note the words of Andromache (3.343) on Hector and Aeneas as joint models for Ascanius (taken up by Aeneas himself at 12.440)[53] of Virgil on Misenus, Hector's trumpeter who, after his leader's death, followed Aeneas, *non inferiora secutus* (6.166; cf. perhaps 5.190), and of Diomedes, their great opponent, who says that it was by the valour (*manus*) of Hector and Aeneas that victory over the Trojans was delayed by ten years; both were outstanding in courage and in the distinction of their warlike deeds (*animis . . . praestantibus armis*), but Aeneas came first in *pietas* (11.291f.; contrast 9.155 where Turnus says that it was Hector who kept the Greeks out for so long). Hector's death, in pathetic contrast to Aeneas' survival, leaves Virgil with the junior cousin to establish as very nearly the elder's equal, a task requiring prodigious rhetorical and mythological ingenuity. Just as significantly, in tones of respectful reminiscence, Diomedes tells the Latins that he had fought Aeneas (*stetimus tela aspera contra, contulimusque manus*) and knows (*experto credite*, 11.283) Aeneas' prowess with both shield and spear. If the Trojans had had two warriors like him, they would have invaded the Argolid. This testimonial bears no relation to Aeneas' comprehensive humiliation at Diomedes' hands in *Il.* 5.297ff., of which Turnus (12.52f.) and Juno (10.81f.; cf. 4.228) speak more plainly. The very 'facts' of the record have to be re-written in order to rehabilitate Aeneas: even one isolated extra-Homeric victory and battle-trophy (5.260). He has at all costs to be turned into a fit ktistic hero for Augustan Rome; the development of the legend of Aeneas, so heavily politicized from a very early date, had left Virgil with prodigious problems of reorganization and justification.

[52] Galinsky (n. 4 above) 11ff., Horsfall (n. 48) 372f. [ch. 7, 78 9].

[53] *Avunculus*: mother's brother: Creusa was thought to be, like Hector, a child of Priam (Austin on 2.795). For the role of the uncle in myth, cf. J. N. Bremmer, *ZPE* 50 (1983) 178ff.

17

Non uiribus aequis

Some problems in Virgil's battle-scenes

Little of the 'Iliadic' *Aeneid* is devoted to actual combat: two-fifths of Books 7–12, on a generous count. Modern scholarship largely avoids the topic;[1] certainly, Virgil has not yet found his Fenik.[2] This paper grew from a desire to know just what determined victory in Virgilian combat, and though the actual answer may prove simple and unexciting, the question itself sheds new light upon the structure and personalities of the later books. The issue is vastly more complex in Homer's huge battle-scenes: there the 'serious and grim Achaeans'[3] are more frequent victors and it is clear that the outcome of many duels will have pre-existed the creation of the *Iliad* and could not be altered. In Homer too, the vastly greater number of heroes developed into figures of individual interest results in the establishment of what is in effect an unofficial 'rating' system: not only is 'The minor warriors of the *Iliad*' a substantial and valuable study,[4] but within that group, further clear discriminations of ranking apply: Idomeneus, Antilochus, Helenus, Deiphobus, for example, stand in mid-scale[5] and Homer's system of 'seeding' excludes unexpected or improbable winners: thus when Aeneas meets Diomedes in *Il.* 5, he is clearly outclassed, but also, traditionally, survives the battles against the Achaeans. An honourably drawn fight would be too good a result for Aeneas' talents and a divine rescue is an alternative fortunately open to Homer. What then happens in the *Aeneid*?

Virgil, it has long been recognized, radically alters the sequence, schedule, participants, and alliances in the battles fought between Aeneas' landing and the founding of Lavinium; they are above all drastically simplified in structure and shortened in time.[6] Nothing, however, suggests that Virgil's source material, so far

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[1] Cf. H. Raabe, *Plurima Mortis Imago* (München 1974); M. M. Willcock, *PCPS* 29 (1983) 87ff.; R. G. M. Nisbet, *PVS* 17 (1978 80) 55ff.

[2] B. Fenik, *Typical Battle scenes in the Iliad*, *Hermes* Einzelschr. 21 (1968).

[3] J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford 1980) 4; cf. M. Mueller, *The Iliad* (London 1984) 82 and 89.

[4] G. Strasburger, *Die kleinen Kämpfer des Ilias* (diss. Frankfurt 1954); 130ff., some valuable remarks on minor warriors in the *Aeneid*.

[5] Strasburger's 'mittlere Helden' (n. 4) 106ff.; cf. Fenik (n. 2) 15.

[6] The classic exposition remains R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* (repr. Stuttgart 1965) 171ff.

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as we can judge from parallel accounts, notably that of his Greek contemporary, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, before streamlining, contained the inherited names of numerous participants, the extended male kin or the palace guard of Turnus or of Mezentius, as it might be, name after name; one or two there may have been, as the case of Tyrrhus (7.484–5), whom the royal flocks (those of Latinus) obey: he had been foreman of Ascanius' swineherds (cf. Dion. Hal. 1.70.2). Much therefore had to be invented; that in itself was nothing new, given that the story of Aeneas in Latium had been enriched by additions of circumstantial detail from Cato's
[48/49] *Origines* on. Much too might be borrowed from other sequences of myth and legend, even if chronological improbabilities in the result might worry the pedantic;[7] the *Iliad* draws far less upon the *Thebaid*.

Thus Mezentius probably belongs in origin to the aetiological story of the *Vinalia priora* (23 April; see Plin. *HN* 14.88) and Evander (see below) to the supporting cast of the stories about Hercules' visit to central Italy, and therefore to a generation earlier than the Trojan War.[8] Clausus, leader of the Sabines, bore the name of the leader of the *gens Claudia* when they came to Rome in 504 BC (Liv. 2.16.4), Aventinus is better-known as a king of Alba Longa,[9] and Camilla looks ever more likely to be a Virgilian invention.[10]

Against this array, Aeneas has to be reinforced: this was suggested not only by the Homeric model,[11] but by Lycophron's account in the *Alexandra* (1238ff.): Aeneas shall come to Etruria (Pisa and Agylla) and will there be met by Odysseus and by Tarchon and Tyrsenus, sons of Telephus. Virgil clearly knew Lycophron's poem well, but may also have been influenced himself by the earlier poet's own prose source, be it Timaeus or Theopompus.[12] Above all, sheer credibility required that Aeneas be reinforced, by Arcadians, Etruscans, and a lonely Sicilian (9.58lff.). He had after all to face all Italy from the Gran Sasso to Vesuvius. The narrative is therefore chronologically compacted but geographically expanded and the limitations of space in the *Aeneid* itself entail serious difficulties not encountered in the *Iliad*.

There is, first of all, a marked shortage of major heroes of warrior age inherited by Virgil from his prose sources, and this shortage is further exacerbated by the demands of Virgil's own characterization and plotting. Virgil makes Latinus too old to fight (7.594ff., e.g.) and his weakness in the face of demands for war is essential both to Virgil's version of the story and to his studied refusal to assign individual human responsibility for the outbreak of hostilities; but this was not so in Virgil's sources,[13] and he is therefore left with one major combatant the fewer.

[7] C. Saunders, *TAPA* 71 (1940) 538ff.
[8] See now J. Poucet, *Les Origines de Rome* (Bruxelles 1985) 287ff.
[9] Varr. *Ling.* 5.30, 43; *Aen.* 6.763ff. shows Virgil knew his Alban king lists.
[10] A. Brill, *Die Gestalt der Camilla bei Vergil* (diss. Heidelberg 1972) 11ff.; Horsfall, *CR* 34 (1984) 61f.
[11] Catalogues of Trojan allies and Myrmidons: G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen 1964) 297.
[12] Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973) 75f.; S. West, *JHS* 104 (1984) 125ff., etc.
[13] Cf. Cato *Orig.* fr. 9 P; Liv. 1.1.6, etc.

Evander is also too old (8.560ff.), but Virgil has relocated him and Pallas among Aeneas' contemporaries from an earlier generation of secondary myth (cf. Dion. Hal. 1.31.1, 32.1). Ascanius is still, in principle, too young to fight.[14] Mezentius (and possibly his son Lausus too) had been brought into the world of Aeneas' contacts at least as early as the elder Cato (see above; fr. 9 Peter). So the number of inherited major warriors is severely restricted and that paucity itself entails problems of narrative development: given that Virgil's tragic vision of victory renders essential a great sacrifice on the Trojan side at some stage before their position is established, and that Ascanius cannot be spared for this role for, genealogically, the future of Rome depends on him (1.267ff.; 9.641lff.), the introduction of Pallas into the story of Aeneas is not only an Homeric legacy,[15] but is essential, equally, on purely structural grounds. Aeneas, therefore, is literally peerless, sadly and splendidly isolated.[16] [49/50]

The careful reader of *Aeneid* 9–12 will also be greatly struck by the almost total absence of 'major minor warriors' in whom the reader may take a growing interest (in contrast to Homer). Clearly, within a lone, glorious episode, Nisus and Euryalus have that status.[17] So too, two books later and equally detached from the main narrative, does Camilla. But the contrast is overwhelming between them and, for example, the 'heroes' of the Italian catalogue in *Aeneid* 7 who largely remain grey, undeveloped, essentially boring lay figures; there are fifteen leaders of thirteen contingents and that number does include Mezentius, Turnus, and Camilla. But Aventinus, Oebalus, and Virbius never reappear. Clausus (10.345ff.) kills Dryops. Caeculus and Umbro, paired (10.544) *instaurant acies*, renew the battle. Catillus, co-founder of Tibur, kills (11.640ff.) two Trojans.[18] Twice (11.465, 604) Coras joins with his brother in minor tactical manoeuvres. Ufens is disposed of in two words (12.460), a victim of Gyas; those same two words represent Gyas' only achievement on Italian soil, yet he was active on the journey west from Troy (1.222, 612), and, notably, in the boat race; his timorous steersman Menoetes never reappears in the Italian narrative at all.

From the Etruscan catalogue, only Abas, Aulestes, and Asilas recur: Abas is Lausus' only victim (see below); thrice Asilas' name is employed merely to particularize a group activity;[19] Aulestes, as we shall see, is more significant. The dissociation of catalogue and narrative was already noted and criticized in

[14] W. Warde Fowler, *Death of Turnus* (Oxford 1919) remains valuable (pp. 86ff.).

[15] Cf. Knauer, *GRBS* 5 (1964) 79ff.

[16] In all senses: cf. G. Lieberg, in *Vergiliana*, ed. H. Bardon, R. Verdière (Leiden, 1971) 185ff.; D. Feeney, *CQ* 33 (1983) 214. At 1.210ff. it is not clear that Aeneas joins his men for vintage wine and barbecued venison.

[17] On the first appearance of Nisus and Euryalus in the foot race in Book 5, cf. T. Berres, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis*, *Hermes* Einzelschr. 45 (1982) 189ff.; also P. Lennox, *Hermes* 105 (1977) 333 n. 19.

[18] So Mynors in his index, but, to judge from his name, can Herminius be thought of as anything other than an indigenous ally (cf. 11.465, 604)?

[19] 11.620, 12.127, 550; the same suits a Rutulian (9.571) just as well.

antiquity:[20] the catalogues are products of Homeric imitation and Italian nationalism; Virgil assembles from antiquarian sources, or invents names, parades them, and then, generally, makes little or no further use of his creations, though clearly the chance to do otherwise existed. Choice, disinclination, or the pressure of space might all be invoked.

Of the Italian chiefs, Messapus and Halaesus are of course rather more prominent, yet their characterization and activity are developed with marked lack of enthusiasm: Halaesus (7.723ff.) kills five minor victims[21] before falling to Pallas. Virgil with great delicacy enhances the pathos of Halaesus' death (10.417–25) and thereby lends interest to Pallas' victory, but Halaesus features only in the Catalogue and in his last fight and does not gain our interest through regular, even if minor, participation in the narrative: the contrast with the generous and absorbing Homeric technique with minor characters is very striking.

[50/51] Messapus is repeatedly presented as a senior Italian commander (7.691ff.; 8.6; 9.27, 160; 10.354, etc.) in gorgeous apparel (12.128; cf. 365, 458). Turnus himself calls his assistance valuable in Diomedes' absence (11.429; cf. 464, 520) and his confidence is perhaps justified when only he and Atinas hold fast before the gate of Latinus' city (12.661). But he is fearful of the supernatural (9.123f.), and keeps a casual watch by night (9.365, 458). He is active in the attack on the Trojan camp (9.523) and has some success in combat (10.749; 12.289, 550). He is also one of the leaders of the intended ambush of the Trojans (11.518). It is he, *auidus confundere foedus* at 12.289, who hurls Aulestes from his horse, gallops up to him *feruidus*, spears him, and boasts brutally over his body. It is he too who shaves the plumes from Aeneas' helmet with one of his *hastilia* at 12.488, enraging the Trojan thereby. That represents the most extensively developed minor character of the battle-scenes: the sum of the details suggests a disagreeable figure, but not one deliberately or consistently developed; the reader is hardly expected to collect the details as has been done here. Messapus' encounter with Aulestes (12.289ff.) is short enough, but perhaps unique, for only here, I suspect, do we have an encounter between second-rank figures of substance who have attracted some notice before (Aulestes in the Etruscan catalogue, 10.207ff.); they are evenly matched and it is apparently the demands of the narrative context which ensure that it is Aulestes who loses.

Of Aeneas' companions on the voyage from Troy, Ilioneus and Achates are modestly active in 7–12: the former, a sort of representative Trojan, as his name indicates, carries messages (7.212ff.), advises assistance to Euryalus' grief-stricken mother (9.501), and kills Lucetius (9.569f.); the latter serves ever as the automated ADC (8.466, 521, 586; 10.332), is wounded at 10.344, and finally kills an otherwise

[20] Macr. 5.15.6f.; Serv. *ad Aen.* 7.647.

[21] 10.411ff.; cf. Willcock (n. 1) 92. Halaesus' death corresponds structurally to Sarpedon's: Knauer (n. 11) 298; the contrast of characterization requires no further comment.

unknown Epulo at 12.459.[22] Cloanthus does not proceed beyond Sicily. Antheus passes fleetingly through Books 1 and 12 (1.181, 510; 12.443). Capys, sensible in Book 2 (35–37), lost and found in Book 1, kills Privernus (9.576), and gives his name to Capua (10.145). Caicus survives the storm in 1 (183), to give the alarm of Turnus' attack in 9 (35). The elderly Aletes likewise survives, does not get left behind in Sicily, and contributes to the Nisus and Euryalus episode (1.121, 9.246, 307). Gyas' role we have already considered. Sergestus and Serestus feature during Aeneas' travels (1.510; 4.288) and take active roles in the games; the former barely reappears (12.561 = 4.288); the latter (9.171, 779; 12.549, 561) to particularize group activity and to carry off the arms of Aeneas' victim Haemonides to dedicate them (10.541). Patron and Salius never feature outside Book 5; the runner Diores (5.297) is killed, without recollection of his antecedents, by Turnus (12.509), as are [51/52] Dares, possibly the boxer (12.363),[23] Amycus (12.509 again), and Lycus (9.546ff.), both (1.221f.) survivors of the storm. The bowmen Hippocoon and Eurytion (5.492, 495) do not surface again. Pandarus (5.596ff.) is not the Pandarus of 9.672ff. (died *Il.* 5). The Bitias who is brother to the Pandarus of Book 9 is clearly not the hard-drinking Carthaginian admiral of 1.738 (see Servius' note there). In Book 9 therefore, Pandarus and Bitias march on stage as two unknowns, fight briefly and valiantly, if injudiciously,[24] die, and pass from our minds and hearts. Presumably Epytides (?), Polites, and Atys (5.547ff.) are thought, like Ascanius, to be too young to take full part in the action (with 5.546, contrast 9.171ff.). Mnestheus, ancestor of the *gens Memmia* (5.117), helped the Trojans escape from Carthage (4.288) and took an active part in the games; he becomes (cf. 9.799, 781, 812; 10.143 *fulmineus*!) one of the leading warriors on the Trojan side, though his role in 12 is notably less interesting than in 9–10 (12.459 kills Arcetius; 127, 384, 443, 549 used as at 9.171 for routine particularization). Aeneas' sailor companions are therefore unsystematically redeployed as warriors on land: Virgil is as ready to discard Trojan seamen wholly unused or fleetingly exploited as we have seen him with Italian or Etruscan soldier-chieftains. Perhaps only Ilioneus, Achates, and Mnestheus acquire any substance in our memory. We might be tempted to conclude that Virgil's *modus operandi* was both wasteful and tedious, for his epitaphic vignettes[25] are consistently of exceptional pathos and brilliance, and lend great momentary interest to characters previously unknown, while some of Aeneas' major companions can barely raise a flicker of interest, however

[22] Achates at 3.523 is interesting: Aeneas' cardboard companions are otherwise strikingly absent from Book 3; Palinurus (3.513, 562) of course dies before the Trojans reach Italy. This minimal role for Aeneas' followers is a generally unrecognized oddity in Book 3; the special function assigned to Anchises in that book perhaps reduces the room available: cf. R. B. Lloyd, *AJPhil.* 78 (1957) 143f.

[23] Cf. G. S. West, *Vergilius* 31 (1985) 27f. Contrast Chloreus distinguished as priest of Cybele (11.768) and here likewise killed by Turnus; one might have expected him to play some role in the journey west.

[24] Cf. R. P. Winnington Ingram, *PVS* 11 (1971 2) 66f.

[25] Cf. Griffin (n. 3) 140ff.; in Virgil see e.g. 7.535ff., 10.388f., 390ff. 12.517ff.

often they may march across the stage. It is death that stirs Virgil's genius most powerfully.

Normally, given our understanding of the poet's consistently melancholy outlook, the result of a combat when either one or both participants are figures of note is predictable. In the six *aristeiai*,[26] the pace is not to be stayed by the quite different, retardatory excitement of an evenly matched duel, which we shall see is something avoided in the *Aeneid*. Nor is Virgil's heavily theological and philosophical conception of what the outcome should and must be to be weakened by the sort of glorious but frightening uncertainty which duels not of predetermined result can entail; the unfolding of destiny is vastly more important than mere narrative excitement. Divine rescues from unequal combat (as we have seen the Homeric Aeneas enjoyed) are excluded by Virgil's conception of the limits of divine participation in the action;[27] Turnus' disappearance in 10.621ff., thanks to Juno's intervention, though he is removed to avoid a premature clash with Aeneas
[52/53] (514–15), is something quite different: he is not at that time facing the risk of battle. The stages of Aeneas' killing of Mezentius eliminate an initial appearance of equality (10.769–71): Aeneas' spear-cast wounds Mezentius and he returns to fight not only thus handicapped but shattered by his son's death. The advantage of his being on horseback (*pugna . . . iniqua*, 889) is swiftly countered by Aeneas.[28] Inconclusive fights Virgil appears simply to prefer to avoid, though the outcome, as at e.g. 9.566, is not always made brutally explicit. The nearest he comes to an unexpected combat and death is perhaps the odious Arruns' killing of Camilla: before 11.759 Arruns has not existed. But who else was to kill the valiant and romantic Camilla? Clearly Aeneas could never have done and here at least an insignificant Etruscan ally has a positive advantage. One doomed youth cannot meet another (10.433: Pallas and Lausus). Years and experience, whether brutal (Turnus) or sorrowful (Aeneas), will win; likewise, the ferocious and efficient Volcens (9.370, 375, 420) is more than a match for the youthful and incautious Nisus and Euryalus.[29] Lausus wins only a single encounter, against *toruus Abas* (10.427ff.; cf. 170ff.), before his own death, in sharp contrast to Pallas.

In the narrative, Turnus slays roughly 50 per cent more victims than Aeneas; they include Pallas and a bastard son of Sarpedon (9.696ff.; a victim of such distinguished ancestry lends some lustre to the slayer: cf. 10.125). Turnus has no inherited poetic standing as an epic warrior, though Virgil suggests (7.425–6) that he does not confront the Trojans as a mere novice; his many easy victories in battle contribute mightily to the character of headstrong, bloodthirsty, and ultimately

[26] Summarized, Willcock (n. 1) 90f.

[27] G. Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid* (New Haven and London 1983) 17ff. should be viewed with extreme caution.

[28] Oversimplified in A. Barchiesi's interesting discussion in *Lecturae Vergilianae*, ed. M. Gigante, 3 (*L'Eneide*) (Napoli 1983) 352f.

[29] Cf. Lennox (n. 17) 335ff.

unavailing bellicosity which Virgil so steadily builds up. He is never, as is made explicit,[30] a match for Aeneas (12.218), exactly as Aeneas himself had never been a match for Achilles (5.809f.); not only is their inequality essential to the tragic element in the book, but there hardly existed the narrative means of establishing Turnus' standing as a serious warrior (as against a capacity for the swift butchery of his martial inferiors) in the reader's anticipation and in his own eyes (cf. 12.219f. for his lack of self-confidence; contrast 10.334–5), for it is most unlikely that Virgil's sources contained earlier victories achieved by Turnus and he arguably lacked the room to invent on any significant scale, as he had done for Evander.[31] Victory over Pallas had not established Turnus as Aeneas' martial equal and there existed no other warrior on the Trojan side whose death at Turnus' hands might have elevated his standing as a warrior. The multitude of his minor victims if anything achieves the reverse. Even Turnus' inherited sword, made by Vulcan (12.90), avails him not at all.[32] Aeneas, on the other hand, has his military credentials established in Homer:[33] the 'published record' contained [53/54]
sufficient victories,[34] while the less valorous moments[35] could be glossed over or (11.282ff.) discreetly re-written. Indeed the *Aeneid* bears frequent witness to Virgil's unflagging campaign to augment Aeneas' military standing. I select only some examples from the first book:[36] his own men unprompted admire his valour (1.545); even the artists of Carthage had depicted him before his arrival there fighting in the midst of the Achaeans (1.488; cf. 505, 623f.); and, as repeatedly happens, sometimes through the display of great rhetorical ingenuity, he is associated (1.273) with the vastly greater glory of his cousin Hector. There is no need, then, to extend the catalogue of his Italian victims, not least as he is to be the Italians' future ruler (cf. 11.111; 12.503–4).

Virgil labours under a self-imposed problem: how to write an epic of war in four books, given a tiny cast of major figures; the number and scale of the *aristeiai* are severely limited, as are the boundaries within which individual characters attractive and memorable to the reader may be developed, though the capacity to miniaturize battle-narrative and to establish tersely characterization both pathetic and heroic certainly did exist, as we see, for example, from the story of Coroebus (2.385ff.). The contrast between figures to whom Virgil is committed and those whom, from a sense of economy or from disinclination, he preferred not to

[30] On Virgil's tragic foreshadowing and unequal duels, cf. T. Krischer, *PLLS* 2 (1979) 147f.; E. A. MacDermott, *CJ* 75 (1978 80) 153ff. on the 'unfair fight' is inadequate.

[31] 8.560ff. But see 12.93ff. for Actor the Auruncan; but could the spear be thought of as an inherited trophy, as the sword had been made for his father?

[32] Cf. D. West, *G&R* 21 (1974) 28f.

[33] Aeneas in Homer: Horsfall, *CQ* 29 (1979) 372f. [ch. 7, 78 9]; G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton 1969) 11ff.

[34] At his best in *Il.* 13, 14, 15, 17. But the victory related by Virgil at 5.260ff. looks invented.

[35] Cf. 10.82, 12.52; Austin on 1.752; note the spectre of his defeat by Diomedes: e.g. 1.96, 4.228.

[36] Cf., more fully, my remarks in *Vergilius* 32 (1986) 16f. [ch. 16, 202].

develop is stark; certainly he was never going to distribute plangent epitaphs as liberally as mere epithets and patronymics. His unwillingness to re-use figures who have already begun to engage our sympathy in *Aeneid* 5 perhaps suggests that conscious pursuit of economy in small-scale characterization is less important as an explanation than a certain slackening of interest. Not one of the major duels (Turnus–Pallas; Aeneas–Lausus; Aeneas–Mezentius; Aeneas–Turnus) is evenly matched. There are of course moments of high excitement (Turnus in the Trojan camp; Nisus and Euryalus; Aeneas' return to battle after first-aid in 12), but Virgil lacks the space to invent or develop enough major participants to sustain and vary a complex battle-narrative, and, it has further been suspected, perhaps not unfairly, that the desire was also lacking.[37]

[37] I am most grateful to Robert Peden and Stephen Harrison for attempting to moderate some of my excesses and for contributing much of value. Malcolm Willcock read the text with painstaking attention.

18
Camilla, or the limits of invention[1]

Virgil wrote an epic poem in hexameters and has thus been considered as the almost exclusive preserve of 'specialists in poetry', often with disastrous results. Students of myth, legend, and ancient religion who use the *Aeneid* as a source without taking account of its intricate literary texture and the innumerable interpretative problems which this involves are unlikely to meet with success. Eduard Fraenkel, however, a man, as I recall, openly and justifiably intolerant of the fragmentation found in classical studies, recognized *en passant* historiographic elements in Virgil's narrative of the outbreak of war in *Aeneid* 7.[2] He did not, unfortunately, take this observation further, and few others have advanced it: Virgil, as a rule, is studied without awareness of analogous or preceding prose texts.[3]

We can therefore begin here by noting that Camilla is introduced to the readers as the final element in a catalogue that is neither exclusively epic in origin nor completely antiquarian in content,[4] but rather owes something to the military muster before a great conflict which is found in ancient historical narratives. Virgil knew the *parados* of Aeschylus' *Persae*[5] and equally, like other educated Romans, Herodotus' *Histories*: I have long suspected that Book 7 of the *Histories* contributed in some measure to *Aeneid* 7.[6] Less speculatively, the catalogue is introduced by a prooemium of which the climax is a commonplace in historical writing from Herodotus to Livy and beyond:[7] *ad nos uix tenuis famae perlabitur aura* (7.646).

Camilla arrives at the muster to be acclaimed by a crowd issuing forth from houses and in from the fields; this scene is clearly inspired both by

[Translated from: *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 31 51, 'Camilla o i limiti dell invenzione'.]

[1] I was first asked to talk on the subject of Camilla by the Oxford branch of the Classical Association.

[2] *JRS* 34 (1945) 3 *Kleine Beiträge* 2 (Roma 1964) 149.

[3] Cf., for example, E. Norden, *Aen.* 6[4], 341f.; F. Klingner, *Virgil* (Zürich 1967) 499f.; A. M. Guillemin, *L'Originalité de Virgile* (Paris 1931) 29ff.; W. A. Camps, *An Introduction to Virgil's Aeneid* (Oxford 1969) 95ff., 137ff.

[4] R. D. Williams, *CQ* 11 (1961) 146ff., and R. Scarcia, 'catalogo', *Enc. Virg.* 1.700 4, are concerned with other aspects.

[5] In my unpublished doctoral thesis, *Aeneid 7, Notes on Selected Passages* (Oxford 1971) I suggested, p. 160, that Virgil's variation of movement and time was influenced by Aeschylus, albeit the suggestion cannot be proved.

[6] Herodotus at Rome: cf. Schmid Stählin 1.2, 666 7; O. Murray, *CQ* 22 (1972) 210; E. N. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity* 2 (Uppsala 1974) 432, n. 456.

[7] E. Herkommer, *Die Topoi in den Proöemien röm. Geschichtswerke* (Diss. Tübingen 1968) 86f.; Thuc. 1.1.3; Hdt. 2.291; Liv. *praef.* 6, 6.1.2., etc.

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[31/32] literary memory and experience of the *aduentus* of great republican figures at Rome, a public ritual that was then greatly extended under the Empire.[8] No surprise then to discover hints of further historical and, less unexpectedly, antiquarian elements in Virgil's portrayal of Camilla. After David West's reinterpretation[9] of Agnes Michel's theory that the golden bough in *Aeneid* 6 had the function, at least for readers familiar with the opening poem of Meleager's *Garland*,[10] to indicate that much of what followed was of Platonic origin, as indeed it is, we should be aware of the *poeta doctus*' ability to indicate through allusion the precise identity or general character of his sources for certain passages of the poem.[11]

This is not to say that we should abandon a degree of cautious scepticism—*res ardua uetustis nouitatem dare, nouis auctoritatem* (Plin. *praef.* 12); the poets, as we shall see, pour new wine into old bottles and old wine into new.[12] Poetic variations on the theme *ut fama est* are especially misleading.[13] I begin with an extreme example: Latinus tells Ilioneus to remember, *fama est obscurior annis*, that the Auruncan elders once told how Dardanus, the Trojans' founding father, came from Corythus (7.205ff.). Most probably this is not a Virgilian invention,[14] but rather, it seems to me, comes from a mythographical development from the
[32/33] beginning of the first century BC[15] which was, moreover, known to Varro,[16] though this argument is complicated: in general we should not expect from Varro a homogenous and authoritative version of this legend but rather a summary of the various current opinions.[17] It was also an erudite, even arcane, narrative, which

[8] T. E. V. Pearce, *CQ* 20 (1970) 313; S.Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford 1971) 290; Horsfall, *CR* 39 (1979) 223.

[9] I am grateful to Prof. David West for his oral summary in a lecture given to the Oxford Classical Association: see D. West, *The Bough and the Gate* (Exeter 1987); A. K. L. Michels, *AJP* 66 (1945) 55ff.

[10] Gow Page, *HE* 2, 3972 3.

[11] V. F. Cupaiuolo, *Tra poesia e poetica* (Napoli 1966) 131; G. Pasquali, *Stravaganze quarte e supreme* (Venezia 1951) 11ff.; G. B. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation* (Ithaca 1986) 32ff.; R. Kassel, *ZPE* 42 (1981) 11ff.; O. Lyne, *Ciris* (Cambridge 1978) 54 91; G. C. Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace* (Madison 1920) 33f.; Callim. *Hymn* 5.56 with Bulloch's notes; Aratus *Phaen.* 637; Ap. Rhod. 4.984f.

[12] Cf. Fiske (n. 11) 39f.; R. Syme, *Entretiens Hardt* 19 (1972) 16, quotes Quint. 1.8.21: 'it is not easy to refute what never existed.' See also *infra* n. 31.

[13] Norden on *Aen.* 6.14; E. Stemplinger, *Das Plagiat* (Leipzig 1912) 126, 128; R. Heinze, 'Ovids elegische Erzählung', *Ber. Verh. Sächs. Ak. Wiss. Phil. Hist. Kl.* 71.7 (1919) 18f. (*Von Geist des Römertums* (Leipzig Berlin 1938, repr. Stuttgart 1960[3])); E. Rohde, *Der griech. Roman* (Leipzig 1914) 104, n. 3; F. Bömer on Ov. *F.* 2.203; F. Leo, *Ausgew. kl. Schr.* 2 (Roma 1960) 103ff.; Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.23; Pease on Virg. *Aen.* 4.179; Austin on *Aen.* 1.15; Horsfall, *G&R* 32 (1985) 201f. [ch. 15, 186 7]; and above all T. C. W. Stinton, *PCPS* 22 (1976) 65f.

[14] Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973) 74ff. (reprinted with many alterations in *RMM* 89ff.). My detailed arguments for the non originality of Virgilian Corythus in that article were subsequently collected and quoted with surprising generosity: G. Colonna, *Arch. Class.* 30 (1982) 2, and D. Briquel, *Les Pelasges en Italie* (Rome 1984) 163, n. 124.

[15] V. J. Heurgon, *Rev. Ét. Lat.* 47 (1969) 286ff.; *CR Acad. Inscr.* 1969, 526ff.; Horsfall (n. 14, 1987) 98ff.

[16] Serv. Auct. *ad Aen.* 3, 167; Horsfall (n. 14, 1987) 102.

[17] Horsfall (n. 14, 1987) 103 with n. 110; id., *Antichton* 15 (1981) 142 [ch. 12, 154 5]; id., 'Varrone (e l'Eneide)', *Enc. Virg.* 5.447 50.

clearly lends itself to expansion in patriotic terms and was accepted with some enthusiasm by the poet. That Virgil 'cites' an oral testimony endowed with the *auctoritas* of *senes* is in itself significant: Ovid does almost exactly the same.[18] For the Augustan poets the quoting of oral sources and the use of formulas such as *ipse uidi* represented a double legacy, from Callimachus and from antiquarian writers at Rome. Ovid thus claimed to have heard of the wolves of Carseoli from an *antiquus hospes*, but as we finally begin to recognize, the story is none other than an elegant invention, as with so many others in the *Fasti*.[19] The extreme old age of the witnesses, in Virgil as in Ovid, clearly serves the function of increasing their credibility. The prophet Daniel saw the *antiquus dierum* whose clothing was white as snow (*Daniel* 7:9; cf. Speyer (n. 18), *loc. cit.*). The quoting of oral sources, often, we must think, invented, intensifies the poet's search for traditional colouring and enticing allusion with which to clothe his material.[20] At the same time, when Latinus refers to the traditional account given by the elders of another people, he absolves the poet of any responsibility to this account. To me it does not seem at all obvious—and never has done—that the poet felt bound by duty to transmit what had been transmitted to him, as Richard Heinze, for example, argues.[21]

To sing ἀμάρτυρον οὐδέν was not in the mouth of a Virgil or a Callimachus an authoritative statement of a factual process, but rather a boast claimed for the *poeta doctus*. We need to recognize an equivalent for poetry to the [33/34] historiographic situation where 'late Republican authors strove for an atmosphere of documentary authority, and also the illusion of documentation where none existed'.[22]

We also draw close here to the manner and technique of the *Schwindelautoren*, who satisfied themselves with travesties of techniques of inquiry in the fields of,

[18] F. 2.584, 4.378, 6.399; cf. Lucian *Philops.* 11; W. Speyer, *Die lit. Fälschung* (München 1971) 72; C. Habicht, *Pausanius' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley 1985) 144ff.; *infra* n. 19.

[19] Autopsy and oral sources: Horsfall, *G&R* 21 (1974) 196; *G&R* 32 (1985) 201 [ch. 15, 186 7]; *EMC/CNV* 29 (1985) 400 *RMM* 6f. (n. 14, 1987); G. Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.* (München 1904) 274ff.; Ov. *Fast.*, ed. G. Frazer, 1.12 13; Rohde (n. 13) 106, n. 3; W. Kraus, 'Ovidius', *RE* 18.2:1957.19ff.; H. Herter, 'Kallimachos' *RE* Suppl. 5:408.47ff; L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge 1955) 244ff.; J. F. Miller, *ANRW* 2.30.1.401ff.; C. P. Jones, *Culture and Society in Lucian* (Harvard 1986) 50f. Invention and the Carseoli wolves (Ov. *Fast.* 4.6.79ff.): D. Porte, *L'étiologie religieuse dans les Fastes d'Ovide* (Paris 1985) 125ff. and particularly 150ff.; Heinze (n. 13) 21 n. 1, 60; Wissowa (*supra*) 138ff.; Rohe (n. 13) 105; W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1924, repr. 1964) 49ff.; K. H. Tomberg, *Die Kaine Historia des Ptolemaios Chennos* (Bonn 1968) 63ff.; G. Anderson, *Studies in Lucian's Comic Fiction* (Leiden 1976) 24ff.; id., *Lucian, Theme and Variation* (Leiden 1976) 34f.

[20] E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London 1985) 239 n. 33; J. E. Skydsgaar, *Varro the Scholar* (Copenhagen 1968) 101ff.; C. Cichorius, *Röm. Studien* (Berlin 1922) 191ff.; Horsfall, *EMC/CNV* (n. 19) 402 *RMM* 7 (n. 14).

[21] *Virgils epische Technik*[3] (Leipzig 1928) 239; followed by, for example, D. A. Russell, *G&R* 14 (1967) 135; see also Guillemin (n. 3) 43; Fiske (n. 11) 38; Hor. *Ars P.*, ed. Brink, 197f.

[22] B. W. Frier, *Libri annales Pontificum Maximorum: The Origins of the Annalistic Tradition* (*MAAR* 27, 1979) p. 151; see also R. E. A. Palmer, *Archaic Community* (Cambridge 1970) 234ff.; J. Linderski, *Harv. Stud.* 89 (1985) 207ff.; T. J. Cornell, *JRS* 62 (1982) 205; T. P. Wiseman, *LCM* 8 (1983) 20ff.

for example, mythography, literary history, and, notoriously in the case of *SHA*, biography.[23] This might seem far from Virgil, but it was Virgil's, often unconvincing, invention of names for his Etruscan wars that Sir Ronald Syme cited as a parallel for the onomastic inventiveness of the author of the *SHA*.[24] The falsified sources with which so many *Schwindelautoren* amused themselves are clearly comparable to, for example, Virgil's Auruncan elders. Through the travesties of the *Schwindelautoren* we often arrive at a clearer—and more entertaining—understanding of the methods of ancient learned scholars.[25]

But Virgil's Auruncan elders are an extreme case, or rather, an elaboration *sui generis*. The only generalization that can be made is that passages of the *ut fama est* type occur when the poet intends to give his material a tone which is superficially and openly traditional. Often, but not always, these passages imply the existence of a tradition where none such exists. To complicate the problem, even this modest conceptual sophistication escaped the ancient Virgilian com-
[34/35] mentators' understanding. Servius, as Donald Russell observes,[26] attempts to 'minimize' Virgil's inventions (I shall return to this point); in general terms both Servius and Macrobius lead us astray—even dangerously—in discussion of the *Aeneid*'s sources,[27] not so much through ignorance or incompetence as through haste or ingenuousness in believing that Virgil never used more than one source for each passage. They offer us almost no help in penetrating the 'mysteries' of the *ut fama* type of passage; they only show how they were interpreted in late antiquity.[28]

[23] H. Peter, *Wahrheit u. Kunst* (Leipzig 1911) 54ff.; P. von der Mühll, *Klio* 35 (1942) 91, 94; R. Syme, *Ammianus and the H.A.* (Oxford 1968) 98ff. *et passim*; id., *Emperors and Biography* (Oxford 1971) 263 4; id., *Entretiens Hardt* 18 (1972, 3ff. *Historia Augusta Papers* (Oxford 1983) 1ff.; id., *Bonner Historia Augusta Colloqium* 1972/4 (1976) 311ff. *Hist. Aug. Pps.*, 98ff.; Speyer (n. 18) 21ff.; E. Gabba, *JRS* 61 (1981) 53f.; and in (ed. M. Crawford) *Sources for Ancient History* (Cambridge 1983) 48ff. See *infra* n. 24.

[24] Syme, *Ammianus* (n. 23) 165; cf. Macr. 5.15.4f. Invention of sources: see also: Speyer (n. 18) 65ff. and id., *Bücherfünde in der Glaubenswerbung der Antike* (Göttingen 1970) 125ff.; Peter (n. 23) 426ff.; id., *Die geschichtliche Litteratur über die römische Kaiserzeit bis Theodosius I und ihre Quellen* 2 (Leipzig 1897) 185f.; P. G. Walsh, *The Roman Novel* (Cambridge 1970) 14.

[25] For this approach, I owe much to a suggestion by Donald Russell. Notwithstanding Sebastiano Timpanaro's reactions to many of the examples of Gellius' credulity given by J. E. G. Zetzel, in *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity* (New York 1981), in T.'s book, *Per la storia della filologia virgiliana antica* (Roma 1986) see my review *CR* 37 (1987) 177 80 it is clear how much inherited and unverified material there is in Gellius which at a certain point in its development is not conceived as the honest product of serious erudition: cf. L. Holford Strevens, *LCM* 7 (1982) 65ff.; H. D. Jocelyn, in *Vir bonus discendi peritus*, *BICS* suppl. 51 (1988). On scholarly levity, see also W. McLeod, *TAPA* 115 (1985) 163ff.; Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979) 34f., 43; Jones (n. 19) 54f.; Porte (n. 19) 499ff.; Speyer (n. 18) 65ff.

[26] *G&R* 14 (1967) 135.

[27] One can note, for example, the element of misleading ingenuity in expressions of the type *omnis hic liber/locus translatus est*: Macr. 5.2.4 with Austin's note on *Aen.* 2.211; Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.1 with Macr. 5.17.4; Serv. Auct. *ad Aen.* 5.426 (cf. Macr. 5.7.5); Serv. *ad Aen.* 5.517, 9.483 (cf. Macr. 5.3.10). The ancient commentators' information is indispensable but untrustworthy. On Varro (e.g.), Serv. and Macr. (see Horsfall, 'Varrone (e l'Eneide)', *Enc. Virg.* 5.447 50) offer only very limited clarification.

[28] Cf. M. Squillante Saccone, *Le interpretationes Vergilianae di Tiberio Claudio Donato* (Napoli 1985) 110ff.

Perhaps simply because he was a great epic poet, Virgil seems to have enjoyed a degree of critical sanctity, and this immunity from minute and sceptical analysis has seriously delayed the development of our understanding of his techniques of creation and composition.[29] There is no cause to think that he should have been more 'honest', more 'scrupulous', more 'diligent' in his use of traditional, and even invented material than all other ancient authors, who are currently analysed in these and similar terms. How much there is to learn from Ovid's cunning, and even from an exuberant and inventive counterfeiter like Ptolemy Chennus (late first century AD),[30] will surprise the Virgilian scholar. Intelligent readers in the Roman world have repeatedly shown how well able they were not to take too seriously every allusion to a source they encountered. Whoever would demand, asked Seneca with an ironic laugh, sworn confirmation from an historian? But if we had to flaunt an *auctor*, it would always of course be the one who saw Drusilla ascend to heaven.[31]

There are many motives for fraud or invention,[32] and we shall find some of [35/36]
them in Virgil: for which he will undoubtedly be acquitted of the charge of recreating through spite or a conscious wish to mislead or perhaps rather a taste for amusement or because it seemed less tedious. But we need to examine carefully the wider question of Virgil's invention of mythological material. I can add to Heinze's short list[33] several examples[34] and by avoiding all contumaceous points can do so briefly.

The range and depth of my examples are very varied, but it will perhaps be useful to keep some of them in mind: the narrative link between Aristaeus and Eurydice;[35] the enrichment of the story of Polydorus (obscure but not invented) by the horror of the bleeding bush;[36] the figure of Achaemenides in *Aeneid* 3, created by Virgil's narrative dilemma, obliged for geographical reasons to include

[29] The discussions on Virgilian *Erfindung* (bibliography, Knauer, *Die Aeneis u. Homer*, 38, n. 5; Suerbaum *ANRW* 2.31.1.258) have in general avoided a detailed analysis, with usage adopted and extended from that of the tradition of prose fragments. The terms *invenzione* and *originalità* are unfortunately absent in the *Enc. Virg.* The scholarly discussion, increasingly more intense and fascinating, on Virgilian studies in antiquity (see, as the most recent contribution, Timpanaro (n. 25)) have in general avoided the question of how the Romans read and interpreted the *Aeneid*. W. Kroll, *NJahrb.* 21 (1908) 513ff. (for a wonderfully inaccessible English version) *Bollettino dell'Associazione internazionale per gli Studi Mediterranei* 1, 4 (1930) 11ff., is unexpectedly disappoint ing. Guillemin (n. 3) only rarely discusses originality, notwithstanding her title.

[30] On Ptolemy Chennus, see Tomberg (n. 19); Horsfall, *Augustus' Table Talk* in *Anc. Soc.* 17 (1987) 16ff.

[31] Sen. *Apocol.* 5, cited by Peter (n. 23) 426ff.; together with Sen. *QNat.* 4.3.1; Plin. *HN* 8.82; Quint. 1.8.21 (n. 12); see also Guillemin (n. 3) 43; Peter (n. 24) 2.185; A. Scobie, *Aspects of the Ancient Romance* (Meisenheim 1969) 11f.

[32] Syme, *Entretiens Hardt* 18 (1972) 7ff.; Speyer (n. 18) 21ff.

[33] I find myself in much disagreement with Heinze's observations (n. 21, 243 5) in particular with (245): *von Nebenfiguren hat Virgil eine Anzahl frei erfunden* . . . ; now *frei* seems to me very incautious: Virgil was never free from his reading and memory, see Conte (n. 11) 69, n. 35.

[34] Horsfall, *Enc.Virg.* s.v. 'Temi mitologici greci'.

[35] *G.* 4.457; L. P. Wilkinson, *Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge 1969) 116, etc.

[36] *Aen.* 3.22 48, with Williams' note on 19f.

the Cyclops, even though Ulysses' preceding voyage had already rendered impossible any meeting with Aeneas;[37] all the details in Nisus and Euryalus which do not depend on *Iliad* 10, certainly all that Virgil tells us here—in a manner sometimes sparse and confused—of their family and ancestors;[38] the same goes for Numanus Remulus and Drances; in the case of the latter there is much that comes from Homer (Thersites), and much from a different source. Affinities have been suggested with the figure of Cicero.[39] Certainly the name of Drances and his role in the story of Aeneas are new.[40]

The list continues along similar lines.[41] And so we come to Camilla. What is there to say about her? Above all we need to avoid the danger of a simplistic polarization between 'invention' and 'tradition'[42] in the analysis of a figure
[36/37] presented in such rich and impassioned detail. We should arrive at Camilla with the presupposition that we shall probably find invented and traditional elements coexisting, and with the awareness that both these aspects will probably be elusive and nuanced because the final creations of both Virgilian inventiveness and his debt to tradition are transformed into 'seamless clothing', in which hardly an underlying stitch is visible.[43] Virgil will probably offer us a number of clues as to how he would prefer his readers to understand what he is doing; but such indications should be regarded with extreme caution; and we should not be influenced by either the ancient commentators' views of Virgil's inventive and imaginative capacities or the judgements to which these have in turn led in the romantic era and more recent times.[44] Our possible findings, we should realize, will be neither 'good' nor 'bad', but we may well find some confirmation of the value of detailed source analysis as a tool of criticism. Unfortunately, much of earlier discussion on Virgil's originality has not been founded on sufficiently deep analysis of very complex details. A sample of such analysis, applied to this single character, is now offered.

[37] See P. V. Cova, 'Achemenide', *Enc. Virg.* 1.22 3; Heinze (n. 21) 112f.

[38] Cf. 5.492, 503; 9.406, 234, 319; T. Berres, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (*Hermes Einzelschr.* 45, Wiesbaden 1982) 181.

[39] Antonio La Penna, in *Fra teatro, poesia e politica romana* (Torino 1979) 158f. has probed, enthrallingly, into the story (which dates back to Turnèbe) of the supposed link between Drances and Cicero.

[40] Cf. La Penna (n. 39).

[41] Cf. Androgeus, Volcens; for Aventinus, Ufens, and Umbro cf. 224, 225 above.

[42] Cf. n. 33; in spite of the reservations I have expressed (*CR* 34 (1984) 61f.), G. Arrigoni's book, *Camilla, Amazzone e Sacerdotessa di Diana* (Milano 1982) adds much to a deeper investigation of Camilla. Note for example 16 n. 7 (cf. 68, 72) which summarizes the bibliography on 'invented/inherited' Camilla. A. Brill, in his cautious discussion, *Die Gestalt der Camilla* (diss. Heidelberg 1972) 11ff. does not recognize the complexity of the context in which we need to look at the originality of the Virgilian Camilla.

[43] Cf. Horsfall, *Antichthon* 15, 1981, 141ff. [ch. 12, 153 63]; Guillemin (n. 3) *sparsim*; W. Suerbaum, in *Et Scholae et Vitae* (*Beiträge . . . K. Bayer*) (München 1985) 22ff.

[44] See the bibliography cited in n. 29; W. F. Jackson Knight, *Roman Vergil* (Harmondsworth 1966) 99f.; note the diverting report in R. D. Williams, in *Virgil*, ed. D. R. Dudley (London 1969) 123ff.

In the case of Camilla there existed—or so it was once believed[45]—a witness in art, a Praenestine *cista*, now in the British Museum. Both its cover and body are subjects of controversy, and in both cases there is a variety of possible interpretations. The metal could be ancient or modern; likewise the engravings could be ancient or modern,[46] and indeed may belong only to the nineteenth century. We shall leave the cover out of the discussion; it does not involve Camilla and, after Carl Robert's masterly discussion in 1919, no one has seriously maintained that the scene portrayed could be other than a modern representation of a scene from the *Aeneid*.[47] Attempts to deny this are not to be taken seriously.[48] The identification of a warlike figure on horseback as Camilla (Brunn, 1864)[49] depends on [37/38] personal conviction and imagination. A link between a scene on a cover and one on a *cista*'s body does not find analogies elsewhere.[50] The 'dying Turnus' of the body has been provisionally identified as Penthesilea;[51] the figure is of indeterminate gender and importance. Whatever the results of whatever possible scientific tests on the *cista*, they can have no importance, either negative or positive, for the story of Camilla.

Metabus called his daughter Camilla after the name of her mother, Casmilla, *mutata parte* (11.543). Before throwing the infant across the river Amasenus, bound to a spear, he dedicated her to Diana, *ipse pater famulam uoueo* (558). Virgil invites us here, as Servius saw, to make an etymological connexion between Camilla, the heroine, and *camilla*, the assistant at religious ceremonies,[52] a linguistic link also suggested by Plutarch in the case of the famous Marcus Furius Camillus.[53] There are, however, no indications that the story of Camilla was born as an *etymon* of the *gens Furia*, and, besides, this *gens* does not have its roots in Volscian lands. We need therefore to search elsewhere for resonances of the name.[54] There are many and Virgil here gives us forewarning of some elements of onomastic erudition in the text by using the expression *mutata parte*, the significant change of name to which poets and learned Hellenists were so

[45] Cf. Arrigoni (n. 42) 73ff.; Brill (n. 42) 12f.; and G. Bordenache Battaglia, *Le ciste prenestine* 1.1 (Roma 1979) 126ff. with ample bibliography. Cf. also M. Guarducci, *Mem. dei Lincei* 8.24 (1980) 525ff.

[46] E. Formigli and W. D. Heilmeyer, *Archäologischer Anzeiger* 1986, fasc.1, 113ff., on the possibility that the engravings on the cista are of even more recent date.

[47] C. Robert, *Archaeologische Hermeneutik* (Berlin 1919) 327ff.; cf. G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton 1969) 126f.; and Bordenache Battaglia (n. 45) 127f.

[48] Above all, A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor 1965) 257, n. 2; cf. L. Rocchetti, *EAA* 4.498.

[49] *Ann. Ist.* 31 (1864) 356ff. [50] Bordenache Battaglia (n. 45) 127.

[51] Robert (n. 47) 73f.; Bordenache Battaglia (n. 45) 128. [52] Cf. n. 59; Arrigoni (n. 42) 77ff.

[53] Plut. *Vit. Cam.* 5.4 131D.

[54] Arrigoni (n. 42) 72; against, Horsfall, *CR* 29 (1979) 222; repudiated, Horsfall, *EMC/CNV* (n. 19) 410 *RMM* 9 (n. 14); the absence of a link between Caecilius Metellus and Praeneste did not stop them from asserting Praenestean Caeculus as an ancestor.

partial.[55] Even though the Latin *camillus* could be a word of Etruscan origin,[56] it is extremely likely that Virgil would know that the Greek meant 'assistant of the gods': Varro himself says (*Ling.* 7.34) *hinc Casmilus nominatur Samothraces mysteriis dius quidam amminister diis magnis. Verbum esse Graecum arbitror quod apud Callimachum in poematibus eius inueni* (fr. 723Pf.). It is probable therefore that Virgil knew the pertinent Greek texts and that Callimachus had said *Camillus* was an Etruscan name for Mercury.[57] We are therefore perhaps disposed to conclude[58] that the Virgilian passages on Camilla's devotion to Diana are in
[38/39] some way *aition*, her name explained in narrative terms, and that the associations and narrative potentialities of these words, *casmilla* and *camilla*, and the erudite explanations that they had provoked were in effect able to suggest to the poet the name of the heroine and perhaps also something of the way in which the figure of Camilla could be developed.[59]

The capacity of a name, or rather of a name's meaning, to generate a narrative development should not surprise us. This is the foundation of many aetiological narratives; in the *Aeneid* we can for instance cite Amata, the wife of Latinus; *amata* is primarily a cult-title for the Vestals at Lavinium and the 'chosen of the gods' is invaded by the demon of Allecto in *Aeneid* 7.[60] The mother of Evander, the nymph Carmentis—a name which clearly implies prophetic powers—uttered some *monita* which led Evander to plant himself on the soil of Rome.[61] Opis, the assistant of Diana (11.836 etc.), carried a name which was in origin a cult-title for Diana herself, which we know from Callimachus and the antiquarian Latin authors.[62] The name bestows its function on the figure who carries it, at least to a certain extent.[63] Finally, perhaps, it is worth underlining that while Camilla has a link both with Etruria and the Samothrace mysteries, these links are transmitted through erudite writings in both prose and poetry. The legacy of erudition serves as a spur to poetic inventiveness, and at least in his portrayal of Camilla, Virgil does not seem to demonstrate any particular taste for the arcane and esoteric.

[55] Cf. *Aen.* 3.693; 7.777; 8.329, 332, 358; 12.823; D. Ferrante, *Rend. Ist. Lomb.* C (1966) 473ff.; L. Deroy, *AION* 1 (1959) 23ff.; J. Poucet, *Les origines de Rome* (Bruxelles 1985) 204ff.; J. Collart, *Varron grammarien* (Paris 1954) 299.

[56] W. Schulze, *Gesch. lat. Eigennamen* (Berlin 1933) 290; P. Flobert, in *Mél Heurgon* 1 (Roma 1976) 304f.

[57] Serv. Auct. *ad Aen.* 11.543; Macr. 3.8.6, who cites the grammarian Statius Tullianus, on whom see G. Funaioli, 'St. Tull.' *RE* 6A:2223 (29); see also M. Pallottino, *Test. Ling. Etr.* (Firenze 1954) n. 819.

[58] *Aen.* 6[4], ed. Norden, 197f.; Arrigoni (n. 42) 77f., 87f.

[59] I follow Wissowa, 'Camilla', Roscher *Lex.* 1.1:848f.; Arrigoni (n. 42) 77f. quite rightly observes that Camilla is not a *camilla*, but Virgil is undoubtedly playing on the etymological link.

[60] Gell. 1.12.14; and see La Penna, 'Amata', *Enc. Virg.* 1.125 8.

[61] *Aen.* 8.335f.; S. Fasce, 'Carmenta', *Enc. Virg.* 1.666 8.

[62] Opis: Arrigoni (n. 42) 60ff.; Höfer, 'Opis', Roscher *Lex.* 3.1:927.35ff.; etc.

[63] On the Virgilian aetiology, cf. Norden *loc. cit.* (n. 58); Poucet (n. 55) 257ff.; P. Fedeli, 'aition', *Enc. Virg.* 1.73 4; E. V. George, *Aeneid VIII and the Aetia of Callimachus* (Leiden 1974) sheds little light on the problem see my review, *JRS* 60 (1975) 228f.

We pass then to Camilla's father. On *Aen.* 11.567, Servius comments: *non mirum a nulla hunc ciuitate susceptum: nam licet Priuernas esset, tamen quia in Tuscorum iure paene omnis Italia fuerat, generaliter in Metabum omnium odio ferebantur. nam pulsus fuerat a gente Volcorum, quae etiam ipsa Etruscorum potestate regebatur: quod Cato plenissime exsecutus est.* Servius' words only allow us to conclude that Cato wrote of the supposed Etruscan domination over the Volsci; the passage does not allow the conclusion that Cato mentioned Metabus, far less Camilla. It is indeed possible that he mentioned Metabus, but that goes far beyond what we know with certainty; I shall shortly show why it is improbable that the connexion between Metabus and Privernum was very ancient. The role of Metabus as father of Camilla was not necessarily an essential [39/40] element for either of the two figures, and could well have been a conventional invention of a genealogical type on Virgil's part. There is no reason that this particular paternity, not attested other than in the *Aeneid*, should be preferred.

On the subject of Metabus, Servius observes (*ad Aen.* 11.540): *nomen sumptum de historia: Metabus enim fuit dux Graeci agminis qui iuxta Hadriaticum mare urbem Metapontum condidit*; the passage is well able to lead ingenuous readers astray.[64] Metabus, Servius tells us, bore a name already attested (*de historia*),[65] and an identity as *ktistes* of Metapontum.[66] In many cases Virgil uses names with an incongruous geographical slant for his heroes:[67] Oebalus of Capreae suggests in this way the founder of Tarentum;[68] the father of Turnus is Daunus, which again points to the south-east of Italy.[69] This could lead the critic to the conclusion that Virgil uses, without respect for the details but for his own convenience, names that traditionally have links with completely different areas. Such names are at least Italic and high-sounding—even if Louise Adams Holland is not necessarily right in claiming for Virgil the intention of creating an onomastic evocation for the whole of Italy.[70] Virgil's repeated *modus operandi* makes the hypothesis that the

[64] Margherita Cancellieri, in *Enea nel Lazio* (Roma 1981) 78, was the first to suggest the clearly correct interpretation of Servius' note, a sober and excellent discussion. For the traditional interpret ation of Metabus, Camilla, and Cato, see Arrigoni (n. 42) 66f. and ead., 'Camilla', *Enc. Virg.* 1.628 31.

[65] Cf. H. Georgii, *Die ant. Aeneiskritik* (Stuttgart 1891) 566, on *contra historiam*. C. Lazzarini, *MD* 12 (1984) 117f. and particularly 126ff.

[66] Kroll, 'Metabos', *RE* 15.2:1316.60f.; Stoll, 'Metabos', Roscher *Lex.* 2.2:2846; the article in the *Enc. Virg.* (S. Rocca, 'Metabo', 3.499 500) does not, unfortunately, contribute much. See Strab. 6.1.15, who cites Antiochus, *FGrH* 555 F 12. On Metapontum and the story of Camilla see T. T. Duke, *Vergilius* 23 (1977) 34. But such complications are not necessary.

[67] L. A. Holland, *AJPhil.* 56 (1935) 209; S. Timpanaro, *Contr. di Filologia* (Roma 1978) 292.

[68] Holland (n. 69) 202f. is clearly correct in interpreting the presence of Oebalus of Capreae in terms of a transfer from Tarentum; on the *Oebalia arx*, see Horsfall, *CR* 34 (1984) 134. R. Ritter's discussion, *Diss. Phil. Hal.* 13 (1901) 395ff. is an example of the difficulty that follows an over rigorous attempt to impose strict mythological and geographical consistency on the role of Oebalus as founder of Capri. Modern scholars of Italic myth (Briquel and Altheim, unlike Cancellieri (n. 64)) who are unaware of Virgil's *modus operandi* are led to offer improbable hypotheses.

[69] Cf. A. Russi, 'Dauno', *Enc. Virg.* 1.1002 5; for further examples (such as Iapyx) see Holland (n. 67) 208f.

[70] (n. 67) 202ff.

name has been effortlessly transferred from the Lucanians to the Volsci more attractive; and in its turn the transfer supports Cancellieri's interpretation of Servius *ad* 11.567 and the denial, advanced above, that Cato knew of any link between Metabus and Privernum. The theoretical possibility of two homonymous *ktistai* heroes, one at Privernum, the other at Metapontum, is both uneconomical and unconvincing, above all because we are not justified by either the sound or sense to believe in the existence of a fundamental link between Metabus and Privernum. Our uncertainty over Metabus is not lessened by the Virgilian account of his unexplained flight from Privernum. Servius only refers to the passage in the
[40/41] *Aeneid*, and clearly has no information independent of Virgil. Virgil,[71] we suspect, will simply have built the account on the analogous basis of Mezentius' flight from Etruria.[72]

When Metabus flees from Privernum with the Volsci at his heels, he wraps Camilla in cork, binds her to his massive spear and throws this, and her, over the Amasenus.[73] An emergency bridge was built for King Pyrrhus, when he was an infant, in response to a message written upon a piece of oak bark, tied to a stone and thrown across a river.[74] The analogies, such as they are, between the two accounts have excited Virgilian commentators and modern students of mythology.[75] This is only to sow confusion: nothing suggests to me that Virgil used, or even necessarily knew the story told in Plutarch. It is possible that the textual critic Probus described the Virgilian version as an improbable invention.[76] The source that Virgil follows here—if indeed there were a definite source for the story—has simply been lost; but if his account is broken down into its constitutive components (flight, use of cork, river in full spate, massive spear, dedicatory prayer) approximately recognizable elements appear: the flight is a motif already adopted by Virgil in the story, more important from a structural viewpoint, of Mezentius (nn. 71, 72); the Italian rivers are an important motif in geographical and ethnographical texts;[77] the use of cork is familiar not so much from religious contexts but from the *Aeneid* itself, in a passage (7.742) of heavy Varronian stamp, which describes primitive helmets;[78] Metabus' massive spear recalls the antiquarian curiosity in the bizarre weapons of primitive Italy which Virgil periodically displays. From a strictly antiquarian point of view, it is perhaps not as interesting as the *phalarica* (9.705), but is described with several specific details (11.553, *solidum nodis et robore cocto*); and Metabus' spear-throw after a dedicatory prayer, which I have already discussed in terms of aetiological erudition could

[71] Duke (n. 66) 35, notes the analogy but does not draw a convincing conclusion from it.
[72] *Pace* Duke *loc. cit.* (n. 71) it is not the reverse of Turnus' flight from Mezentius in Cato.
[73] *Aen.* 11.544ff.; cf. Arrigoni (n. 42) 81, 88. [74] Plut. *Pyrrhus* 2.2 7.
[75] Arrigoni (n. 42) 88 n. 203: even sceptical readers will find this fine discussion useful.
[76] Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 11.554.
[77] *G.* 2.157; Strab. 6.4.1; B. Rehm, *Das geogr. Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis*, *Philol.* Suppl. 24 (1932) 104f.; R. Thomas, *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry*, *PCPS* Suppl. 7 (1982) 42.
[78] Cf. Horsfall, *C&M* 30 (1969) 269.

be likened to Turnus' spear-throw at the start of his attack on the Trojan camp in *Aeneid* 9, which in its turn has for some time suggested to me the rite of *fetiales* for the declaration of war.[79]

We can therefore conceive a creative process in which Virgil knew, if [41/42] not the story of the infant Pyrrhus, at least another of the same type and was attracted by the narrative possibilities which it opened up, if connected to a goddess who could herself be involved by the use of the name Camilla; the narrative details were then easily supplied from the antiquarian texts which we have just discussed.

In passing we should notice (11.570–2) that Camilla was nourished among the thickets and lairs by mares' milk and that of wild animals; it is clear that her story shares such details with the widespread Indo-european motif of the exposed royal offspring, such as Romulus and Remus, even though Camilla herself was not exposed.[80]

Many mothers, *Tyrrhena per oppida*, aspired in vain to have Camilla as their daughter-in-law. Cato the Elder dealt very fully with the Etruscan domination of the Volsci (*plenissime exsecutus est*),[81] but we have seen how it is extremely uncertain, if not indeed improbable that this coverage included a discussion of Metabus, far less Camilla. Nowhere in the *Aeneid*, I would say, is there evidence, free of all reasonable doubt, that Virgil took the *Origines* into account;[82] and certainly from Servius' comment *ad Aen.* 11.567 we cannot conclude that Virgil had necessarily followed Cato for stories on the foundation of Privernum. The Etruscan domination over the Volsci of which Virgil speaks is, for the heroic period, clearly anachronistic;[83] Italian archaeologists are no longer sure that the evidence indicates a long period of Etruscan domination over Volscian territory.[84] From the *Tyrrhena oppida*, therefore, it is not possible to deduce much.

Diana tells us (11.593–4) that she will carry Camilla's body and weapons to a resting place in her own country: *corpus et arma inspoliata feram tumulo patriaeque reponam*. The city of Rome in Virgil's time, and indeed the whole of central Italy was full of apparently ancient monuments, either unidentified or difficult to identify, which had acquired an importance and interest with the attribution of a mythological identity or association: the heroōn of Aeneas at Lavinium;[85] the altar

[79] Horsfall, *Latomus* 33 (1974) 80ff. [ch. 3, 27 33].

[80] Arrigoni (n. 42) 18; H. D. Jocelyn, *PCPS* 17 (1971) 52; G. Binder, *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes* (Meisenheim 1964) 154f.; M. Dickie, *PLLS* 5 (1985) 182ff.

[81] Cato fr. 62 P and Serv. *ad Aen.* 11.567 (cf. n. 64).

[82] 'Attentamente studiato', Timpanaro (n. 25) 62; in similar terms, N. Criniti, 'Catone', *Enc. Virg.* 1.706 10. None of the parallels cited seem to me in the least decisive; for a fuller expression of my scepticism cf. 'Varrone (e l'Eneide)', *Enc. Virg.* 5.447 50.

[83] C. Saunders, *Virgil's Primitive Italy* (New York 1930) 93f.

[84] Cancellieri (n. 64) 78f.; G. Colonna, in *Gli Etruschi e Roma* (Rome 1981) 165f.; against, A. Alföldi (n. 48) 365.

[85] Dion. Hal. 1.64.5; Horsfall, 'Enea (la leggenda)', *Enc. Virg.* 2.224.

of Evander;[86] the Argiletum identified from Virgil and Varro as the grave
[42/43] of Argus, the guest of Evander;[87] the graves of Palinurus, Misenus and Caieta, to all of which Virgil alludes;[88] the other 'graves' produced from the legend of Aeneas: those of his comrade Cinetus, his father Anchises, his relatives Leucosia and Procita and Baia, the wet-nurse of one of his comrades.[89] Of a following generation we have the grave of Titus Tatius[90] or the *sepulchrum Romuli*.[91] Finally we can note the interesting 'grave of Dercennus', to which Virgil himself makes an allusion.[92]

Monuments can stimulate developments in a legend and a legend can give rise to explanations of a monument.[93] The text of the *Aeneid* does not guarantee as a topographical fact the existence in the first century BC of a monument known to Virgil either in person or from his sources as 'the grave of Camilla'.[94] It is much simpler, more economic, and more consistent with the way in which Virgil deals with similar antiquarian arguments elsewhere, to explain the text with the hypothesis that Virgil was encouraged by the many analogies which he found to invent the tomb that was promised to Camilla; he always had in mind the burial of Sarpedon (*Il.* 16.665–75) and turned to invention without the least embarrassment. There is no need to suggest that a funeral monument known to Virgil as that of Camilla existed; however, even such a hypothetical identification could well have been a recent antiquarian explanation of an ancient and anonymous monument. It becomes clear that in the absence of a prose tradition on Camilla, it is highly improbable that Virgil could have found any indication in his sources of her pre-existing monuments.

Not a word survives, outside Virgil, of what could have been understood as an antiquarian account, credibly recreated, of the origins of the Volsci. Nor does Virgil say anything—as he says, for example, in the case of Corythus—to encourage us to think of Camilla, however unjustifiably, as a type of indigenous heroine well rooted among the Volsci or at Privernum itself.[95] If Camilla really has no pre-Virgilian existence, we could ask why Virgil made her Volscian. There is no definitive answer to offer, but the closeness of Volscian territory to the point of
[43/44] the muster and their long bellicose tradition no doubt encouraged Virgil to include them whereas their exclusion from the narrative would have seemed very strange. By contrast, Caeculus: not only had local tradition in Praeneste taken him seriously for several centuries, but both Cato and Varro had written on him; Virgil himself said that all the generations believed in his birth from

[86] Dion. Hal. 1.32; F. Pfister, *Der Reliquienkult i. Altertum*, *RVV* 5 (Giessen 1909 12) 595.
[87] *Aen.* 8.345; Varr. *Ling.* 5.157; Pfister (n. 86) 596f.
[88] *Aen.* 6.234f., 380f.; 7.3f. Pfister (n. 86) 158. [89] Pfister (n. 86) 158.
[90] Varr. *Ling.* 5.152; Pfister (n. 86) 600.
[91] Porph. *ad* Hor. *Epod.* 16.13, *ossa Quirini*; Pfister (n. 86) 598.
[92] *Aen.* 11.850; cf. Th. Köves Zulauf, *Gymnasium* 85 (1978) 412ff.; Horsfall (n. 19) 397 *RMM* 4.
[93] Horsfall (n. 19) 408f. *RMM* 10; Poucet (n. 55) 257ff. [94] Arrigoni (n. 42) 63, 65, 68.
[95] Arrigoni (n. 42) 65f.

Vulcan, the discovery of the infant beside the fire, and the pastoral origins of his kingdom.[96] Certainly, at least in this case, the Virgilian expression *omnis quem credidit aetas* (7.680) is perfectly justified. Camilla, by contrast, is born from nowhere; and efforts to unravel the 'Volscian' and 'Roman' stories show a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature and character of the evidence.[97] Metabus does not help us. We cannot show that he was mentioned as Camilla's father in any pre-Virgilian author nor that he was traditionally a Volscian or Privernian, of any kind. The only apparent mention of him in Volscian territory that comes to us is uncertain, if not illusory. Both common sense and the onomastic detail seem to push him decisively towards Lucania. In texts independent of Virgil there is no reference to Camilla and in Latin texts, both prose and verse, from Cato's fragments to the fifth century AD, in legends related to Italy, there is not the slightest trace of her, as one can quickly establish from the *Onomasticon* of the *TLL*: let us be clear, I speak here of independent writers of authority and not those at all indebted to Virgil.

Once Camilla is admitted to be an exclusively and wholly Virgilian figure, the only legitimate way to study her antecedents is, I maintain, in the wider context of Virgil's sources for other Italic warriors, and the poet's abilities and limits in invention, as are shown in other cases.[98] Were we to conclude that there *were* specific sources to be identified for the figure of Camilla, we could reasonably expect such sources to be analogous to the sources already established for other comparable figures in the *Aeneid*, and Virgil to be capable, ready, and well disposed to using them.

The argument on the poet's use of the sources is fundamental. A wave of protest will inevitably arise here: students of the *Aeneid* attempt, heedless of interruption, to impose their own tastes for the mysterious and mystical in their reading of the poem, even though it has been repeatedly observed in reviews how, for example, a reading of *Aeneid* 6 as an account of initiation into the mysteries is both dangerous and misleading.[99] The fact that the poet had read widely, indeed very widely, does not necessarily also imply a prevailing taste for the arcane or [44/45] esoteric. Nor should we be ready to accept an interpretation of Camilla's origins which suggests that Virgil had intimate familiarity with the most intimate details of the cult of Diana at Nemi.[100]

[96] Horsfall, 'Preneste', *Enc. Virg.* 4.256; J. N. Bremmer, *RMM* 49ff.

[97] Cf. Arrigoni (n. 42) 65ff.

[98] *Expliquer Virgile par Virgile* still remains the best technique, 1600 years after Servius: E. Thomas, *Essai sur Servius* (Paris 1880) 234; for Servius' antecedents, see Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 1.225ff.

[99] R. J. Quiter, *Aeneas und die Sibylle* (Meisenheim 1984) reviewed by F. Graf, *Gnomon* 58 (1986) 360ff.; R. J. Clark, *Catabasis* (Amsterdam 1979) reviewed by Horsfall, *JRS* 71 (1981) 220f. and by F. Graf, *Gnomon* 53 (1981) 545ff.

[100] Arrigoni (n. 42) 92ff.; for complete details, see T. F. C. Blagg, in Henig and King, *Pagan Gods and Shrines of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1986) 211ff.

The modern scholar, furthermore, is all too often disposed to find in Virgil's text traces of her or his own interests and scholarly activities, as for example in travels in central Italy, visits to remote locations of archaeological interest, and the examination of inscriptions. Polybius had already made fun of Timaeus' epigraphic excesses (12.10) and Virgil never revealed himself as a deutero-Timaeus. His erudition was—irremovably—that of the book and the study, of the written tradition, of research developed by others. I have already discussed this argument at some length elsewhere; we can recall how very inaccurately the poet describes a place—the river Ufens—which he, obviously, will often have crossed on the Via Appia.[101] Even that most loyal follower, Silius Italicus, deemed that a correction was appropriate. Quite simply, it does not fit our knowledge of the poet's method of working to compare his familiarity with the cult of Nemi to ours, or to base a reconstruction of Camilla's origins on our archaeological and mythological insights.[102]

Camilla is presented as the last of the leaders in Virgil's Italic catalogue. We can there once again return to the discussion on the sources which I have offered elsewhere: Mezentius and Turnus are already well established in the Aeneas legend;[103] Aventinus, a toponym, is borrowed from the list of kings of Alba Longa; Virbius is in Callimachus; the twins from the Tibur, Tiburtus Catillus and Coras, like Oebalus, Messapus, and Halaesus, belong to the widespread list of migrants from Greece laboriously linked to Italic toponyms, in Varro, Timaeus, and earlier. Virgil, as we have already seen, shows little scruple in relocating Oebalus; Messapus and Halaesus are treated even more casually.[104] Umbro and Ufens are probably Virgilian inventions,[105] whereas Caeculus is an authentic and ancient figure in the local legend of Praeneste, discussed in Cato's *Origines*.

[45/46] So there is no lack of various types of figure to compare with Camilla: after long consideration, it is clear to me that when Virgil is inventing, an entire sequence of parallel texts maintain a unified silence, whereas when the poet uses material he has inherited, even recently, at least one or two among Varro, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, the *origo gentis romanae*, Solinus, Pliny the Elder, or Festus, provide a glimmer of information, often not identical to the Virgilian narrative, but highly comparable.[106]

[101] Horsfall, *G&R* 32 (1985) 197ff. [ch. 15, 181 2]; id., 'Varrone (e l'Eneide)', *Enc. Virg.* 5.447 50; on Virgil as *Stubengelehrter* in geography I follow Rehm (n. 77); on the Ufens, *Aen.* 7.801ff.; Sil. 8.380f.; Rehm 97.

[102] Cf. Horsfall, *CR* 34 (1984) 61f. on Arrigoni (n. 42) 88ff.

[103] In my thesis (n. 5) I followed Rehm (n. 77) quite closely (166ff.); on my more recent doubts, see *Enc. Virg.* (n. 101).

[104] Oebalus: see (n. 68); on Messapus and Halaesus: see Rehm (n. 77) 85; Ritter (n. 68) 313ff.; J. Perret, *Mél . . . P. Boyancé* (Roma 1974) 557ff.; Horsfall, 'Messapo', *Enc. Virg.* 3.495.

[105] Umbro and Ufens: Rehm (n. 77) 92; Horsfall (n. 19) 404 *RMM* 8.

[106] Horsfall (n. 19) 403f. *RMM* 8 (n. 14); id., *CR* 37 (1987) 193 (review of *OGR* ed. J. C. Richard, Coll. Budé) on the complex question of the connexions of the *OGR* with Virgil.

In the case of Camilla, not a word. From this we can deduce that Camilla, like Ufens, Umbro, and Aventinus, at least in her role in the catalogue, was an invented figure, or, to take a step backwards, that she is not found in Varro, *Res humanae* 11, which is, as should have been clear from Bernhard Rehm's exemplary discussion in 1932, Virgil's main source for such material (cf. n. 101). I am tempted to suggest the possibility that with the apparent absence of Volscian legends, whether ancient or more recently 'restored', Virgil felt much more free to invent.

I come finally to the last important element of inheritance in the Virgilian creation of Camilla, whom he explicitly terms an Amazon (11.648). Through his choice of the mythological parallel (11.659–63) Virgil invites his reader to think of Camilla in terms of Penthesilea (or Hippolyte) and therefore, in the final line, in terms of the *Aethiopis* of the Epic Cycle. Penthesilea was clearly of first importance to Virgil in his creation of the complex figure of Camilla, even if we can only reach a detailed analysis with difficulty, given the very fragmentary character of our information on Penthesilea, and our unresolved uncertainty over the question of whether Virgil could have used, and in fact did use, the *Aethiopis*, the classical text for her story.[107]

In the parallel, at 11.661–2 Virgil combines Penthesilea with Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, whose girdle Hercules had to win as one of his labours; we can say nothing of her importance for Camilla with any confidence (Arrigoni (n. 42) 16, etc).

This is not the place to return[108] to the fascinating question of Virgil's use of the Epic Cycle. I do not find it *inconceivable* that Virgil could have put his hands on a copy, perhaps even in the room of rarities at Pergamum or Alexandria, but it is much more probable that he knew the text by way of epitomes, works of art, and adaptations.[109] So we cannot establish the precise level of debt the Virgilian narrative of Camilla owes to that of Penthesilea—or even Hippolyte.[110] There [46/47]
has been talk in general terms of 'aristeia' and 'tragic death'.[111] And for some time suspected affinities with Atalanta.[112] In terms of 'general inspiration' I would prefer not to raise any doubt over the importance of Penthesilea, though we also need to remember that in terms of narrative structure Camilla does hold, in Homeric terms, something of the role played by Patroclus in the account of Sarpedon.[113]

[107] E. C. Kopff, *ANRW* 2.31.2, 942f. with ample bibliography; id., *Acta Ist. Ath. Reg. Suec.* 30 (1983) 57f.

[108] Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979) 46f.

[109] Kopff (n. 107) 920f.; Horsfall (n. 108); U. von Wilamowitz Moellendorff (n. 116) 497ff. Fraenkel (*Kl. Beitr.* (Roma 1964) 2.173ff. *Phil.* 87 (1932) 242ff.) does not offer an incontrovertible defence of V.'s use of a complete text of the *Aethiopis*; see rather Wilamowitz.

[110] Koppf (n. 107) 943; Arrigoni *Enc. Virg.* s.v. 'Ippolita'.

[111] Koppf *loc. cit.* (n. 110); Arrigoni (n. 42) 33 63 *passim.*

[112] Arrigoni (n. 42) 117.

[113] Kopff (n. 107) 943; Arrigoni (n. 42) 56, n. 107.

In *Aeneid* 1, Virgil compares Venus in her disguise as a huntress to the Thracian Harpalyce (316–17), clearly identifying her too as another Amazon. We have long recognized[114] that Harpalyce is otherwise only known to us from post-Virgilian texts (Servius and Hyginus)[115] and that these texts are enriched with material derived from the Virgilian Camilla. I wonder whether any single aspect of the Virgilian Camilla—and only her infant consumption of the milk of wild beasts and her hunting activities in her adult life should enter the discussion at this point—might with a degree of confidence be attributed to a pre-Virgilian characterization of Harpalyce.[116]

In the end, what have we found in Camilla? Homer and the Epic Cycle, a significant name derived from Roman cult, a trace—even if an inexact one—of early Italic history, a father apparently both transplanted and inappropriate from a geographical viewpoint, an unconfirmed funeral mound, a spear-throw that seems to have been influenced by ethnographic and antiquarian material, a scene derived directly from Roman public life and conventional elements of stories of exposed infants.

Horace observes, unenthusiastically (*Ars P.* 125–7), that if one dares *personam formare nouam* on the stage, the figure has to be above all consistent;[117] and from this melting-pot of sources Virgil has created one of his most successful and unforgettable characters. Though elements of formal conflict between the 'warrior' and the 'huntress' were once noted and criticized,[118] this conflict, in terms of Camilla's Greek mythological antecedents, is illusory and unproductive (as Arrigoni (n. 42) rightly observes, *loc. cit.*).

[47/48] We have found no evidence that the Virgilian Camilla is other than an invention of exceptional elegance and complexity; and from other observations on Virgil's sources it seems highly likely that Virgil could and did invent new characters freely.

Elsewhere I have discussed details on the circumstances of such inventions and the practical difficulties in composition imposed on an author by a lack of material inherited from the tradition (that is, above all, the absence of secondary figures in previous accounts of events after Aeneas' arrival in Italy).[119] However, neither the texture of the Camilla narrative nor the various hints that Virgil gives us to the character of the material he uses explicitly indicate that this is an invention; while on the one hand therefore it seems that we know less than we once could believe about the Volscian legend, and while on the other Camilla seems most probably to

[114] Arrigoni (n. 42) 16, n. 7, 41. [115] Hyg. *Fab.* 193; Serv. Auct. *ad Aen* 1.317.
[116] G. Knaack, *Rh. Mus.* 49 (1894) 526ff.; U. von Wilamowitz Moellendorff, *Kl. Schr.* 5.2 (Berlin 1937) 106ff.
[117] Hor. *Ars P.* 125 6; see A. Rostagni, *Orazio, Ars Poetica*, *ad loc.*; C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry 2: The Ars Poetica* (Cambridge 1971) *ad loc.*, cf. 197f.; Kroll (n. 19) 52. The contrast between Hor. and Arist. *Poet.* 9.7 is illuminating.
[118] Arrigoni (n. 42) 16f. [119] *G&R* 34 (1987) 49ff. [ch. 17, 205 7]; cf. Macr. 5.17.1.

be an invented character—at least as a figure of an epic or legendary account—much of the Virgilian Camilla clearly derives, in a varied and complex way, from a wide spectrum of sources. Virgil would never have allowed a figure's novelty to break the smooth texture of the narrative, and stylistic–narrative cohesion requires the invention to be disguised.

For this reason it does not seem that there is a fundamental distinction in terms of creative activity between Virgil, who invented the figure of Camilla for structural, creative, or imaginative reasons, and Ptolemy Chennus or the Ps.-Plutarch (*Parallela minora*), apart from the scale of their inventive competence. In the case of the Ps.-Plutarch, as Felix Jacoby observed,[120] all the incidental details were normally invented, and many familiar stories ingeniously disguised, but not beyond the possibility of identifying them: a Gallic invasion of Asia Minor without parallels, a betrayal of the city of Ephesus based on the story of Tarpeia, an equally isolated version of the foundation of Praeneste, where invented sources are cited; and, or so it seems, an Arcadian parallel for the story of the exposed Romulus and Remus which might convince the reader until realization that the Greek version was based on the Roman one and has no independent value as evidence.[121] The *Parallela minora* are not, it seems to me, dated with any certainty.[122] In general it can be said that the entanglements of the *Schwindelautoren* are not found before the first century AD, but we should not imagine that they were born from [48/49] nothing: we find mythological inventiveness even in Callimachus, Euphorion, and Ovid, in whom the sense of 'erudition as an amusement' is particularly obvious and contributes greatly to the skill with which the invented and the traditional are combined.[123] Ovid, however, unlike the *Schwindelautoren*, does not make a career out of invention, falsification, and systematic deception.

On the other hand, should we necessarily consider Virgil as more scrupulous, more correct, more honest? The concerns of the ancient commentators are basically unimportant. Servius' reactions to Virgil's inventiveness are still being cited because they rescue the modern scholar from the harsh necessity of long and painstaking labour; they are sometimes interesting, they can sometimes preserve the best of the erudition of the first century AD, but they are never binding. In view of the extreme poverty of Virgil's sources for secondary characters for the events in Italy in the age of heroes, it is in the end too easy to see why he had to invent and where his position is in the sequence of inventors from Callimachus to the *SHA*.

[120] *Mnemos.* 3.7 (1940) 73ff.

[121] Ps. Plut. *Parall. min.* 15, 36, 41; on the Gauls and Ephesus: see Horsfall, *CJ* 76 (1981) 304 *RMM* 69; on Praeneste: id., 'Preneste', *Enc. Virg.* 4.256 and *RMM* 61 with n. 59 (n. 14); on the Arcadian equivalents to Romulus and Remus: see Bremmer, *RMM* 31 (n. 14); Binder (n. 80) 148 seems unaware of the problem's existence.

[122] K. Ziegler, 'Plutarchos, Parall. min.', *RE* 21.1:870.20ff.

[123] Cf. n. 19 and Tomberg (n. 19) 68 for details.

I would like to end with some observations on ancient reactions to the story of Camilla and the problems discussed in this article.

Servius makes several comments, not all of which are illuminating; but even his silences can be important. We have already examined the meaning of the name Camilla, Cato's hint at Etruscan domination over Volscian territory, and the origins of Metabus *De historia* (that is, as Metapontine, not Volscian). We can also note, even if it does not directly concern Camilla, *Aeneid* 11.740ff.: Tarchon hurls Venulus[124] from his horse and carries him off, clutched to his chest. Tiberius Donatus observes: *hoc factum quoniam non admittebat fidem et incredibile fuit.*[125] Much better known and more directly important here is another hint in similar terms. At 11.554 (Metabus' spear-throw) Servius Auctos,[126] citing a not necessarily genuine observation by the critic Probus (second century AD), comments ἀπίθανον πλάσμα.[127] These words fit well into both a long tradition in ancient literary criticism and a string of unfavourable observations on invention
[49/50] ('*plasma*') in the Virgilian commentators. The critical vein dates back to the Alexandrine attacks on Homer;[128] from the first century AD onwards an entire catalogue of censured passages was also developed for the *Aeneid*: it seems that Cornutus complained of the novelty of lines 4.698–9, where Iris severs a lock of hair from the dying Dido; but later a response came as support, with the help of a parallel passage from Euripides' *Alcestis*,[129] just as Polydorus and the bleeding bush were justified with help from a similar story about Romulus.[130] The novelty of the golden bough was also partly criticized, as we have seen, unjustifiably; the innovative transformation of ships into nymphs, where Virgil himself wrote (9.79), so as to confuse, *prisca fides facto*,[131] was criticized as *incredibile* or *monstruosissimum*.

Probus' criticism of the spear-throw is twofold: not only is the throw not credible, but it is invented: a transgression of Aristotle's rules (*Poet.* 9) for legitimate and successful *inventio*. On the other hand, Probus' *plasma* belongs to a post-Aristotelian distinction, in particular associated with Asclepiades 'of

[124] Venulus, according to Servius, was a king at Lavinium; I am not convinced that this information is ancient or important; see E. Buchner, 'Venulus', *RE* 15A:827.35f.

[125] Squillante Saccone (n. 28) 110f.; Helen de Witt and Donald Russell have afforded me much assistance in my searches into ancient reactions to the invention.

[126] H. D. Jocelyn, *CQ* 35 (1985) 473; Timpanaro (n. 25) 18ff.

[127] Timpanaro (n. 25) 119f.; Squillante Saccone (n. 28) 110, n. 23; Heinze (n. 21) 246, n. 1; Nettleship, in *Virgil*, ed. Conington, 1[4], 41; Georgii (n. 65) 179; Stemplinger (n. 13) 102, n. 3; Lazzarini (n. 65) 125f.

[128] Brink (n. 117) on Hor. *Ars P.* 126; Lazzarini (n. 65) 134; Kroll (n. 19) 55, n. 26.

[129] Cornutus *ap.* Macr. 5.19.1; Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.46; Timpanaro (n. 25) 71ff.

[130] Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.46; Norden, *Aen* 6[4], 169.

[131] On the golden bough see Norden, *loc. cit.* (n. 130); Serv. *loc. cit.* (n. 130); Macr. 5.19.2. See also n. 9. On the transformation of the ships into nymphs, known as the Virgilian '*fertur*: seen from afar', see Serv. Auctus *ad loc.*, who cites both favourable and unfavourable reactions; for the terms used, cf. also Macr. 5.17.1, 4; Serv. *ad Aen.* 12.83.

Myrlea'(?) (second century BC)[132] between (i) *historia* or *fama*, (ii) *uerisimile*, and (iii) *fictum*, *falsum*, or *fabula.*[133] It is clear, above all from the way in which Ovid and Virgil so often and so confidently pass off the new as old, that among Augustan poets such rules were, in practice, not taken over-seriously.

We should not suppose that the ancient criticisms (for example) of the details in the Camilla episode were necessarily just or appropriate. Neither the bough nor the bush were as new as it seems the scholiasts thought; we have seen how Metabus' spear-throw is a complex amalgam of pre-existing elements, whatever influence we should like to attribute to the story of the infancy of Pyrrhus. Neither ancient nor modern scholars of Virgil have reached a clear perception of the rules of erudite invention, and the commentaries—ancient and modern—constitute an interesting but not authoritative monument to traditionalism, to prejudices, and often to the readers' ignorance of Virgil.

Longinus recognized the role of the *episteme*[134] and of erudition, in contrast with [50/51]
ἀμαθεῖ τόλμῃ in the support of greatness. But the critics of the *Aeneid* have always, when it comes to the study of creative techniques, been slow to recognize the invented episodes, the cloaked invention, the absence of a frontier between epic and historiography[135] and above all the position of the gifted epic poet for whom there simply lacks a legacy of sources and antecedents.[136]

We have lost a great part of the ancient literature available to Virgil and we cannot consult the lending records of the Palatine Library, as Livingstone Lowes could do with Coleridge's at Bristol for the sources of the *Ancient Mariner*;[137] we do, notwithstanding, have adequate means of research available to us and are not constrained to wear the blinkers of critical dogmas, ancient or modern. The students of the *Aeneid* have been notably slow in their reactions to Virgil's creative erudition. Servius very often provides us with information that helps us uncover some details of the poet's creative process, but his commentary does not do justice to the subtlety with which Virgil will adopt his sources, to the delicacy with which he alludes to them and to the great complexity of the antecedents of the *Aeneid*.

[132] W. J. Slater, *GRBS* 13 (1972) 317ff.; consulted by E. Gabba, *JRS* 71 (1981) 54, but not by F. W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 3 (Oxford 1979) on Polyb. 34.4.1. See also J. H. Waszink, in *Letterature comparate* (*Studi . . . Paratore*) 1 (Bologna 1981) 199f.

[133] C. O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry* 1 (Cambridge 1963) 103, n. 3; id. ed., Hor. *Ars P.* (n. 117) 197f., 223, 354; Hor. *Ars P.*, ed. Rostagni, (n. 117) lvii; Kroll (n. 19) 60.

[134] [Longinus] *Subl.* 2.2; D. A. Russell (n. 21) 135.

[135] Peter (n. 24) 1.12f.; Kroll (n. 19) 60; Gabba (n. 132) 53; B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances* (Berkeley 1967) 78; A. Momigliano, *Sesto Contributo* (Roma 1980) 375.

[136] Kroll (n. 19) 59, n. 34; Macr. 5.17.1.

[137] Cf. *CR* 29 (1979) 222f.; W. F. Jackson Knight, *Humanitas* 3 (1950 1) 2.

19
The Uses of Literacy and the *Cena Trimalchionis*[1]

Part I

Richard Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy*, published in 1957, is subtitled 'Aspects of working-class life with special reference to publications and entertainments'.[2] He writes of industrial west Yorkshire before and after the last war. If we look for progress on similar topics elsewhere, in Italy Armando Petrucci—whose stimulus I gratefully acknowledge—has undertaken notably stimulating analyses of popular publications and low-level education, for instance in his exhibition catalogue *Scrittura e popolo nella Roma barocca*.[3] For the Roman Empire—where some at least of the necessary evidence does exist—not only very little progress, but, I suspect, several steps in the wrong direction.

The evidence from Pompeii is for the most part evaluated as praiseworthy, interesting, and worthy of attention as and when it most clearly reflects surviving literary texts and myths in their correct handbook form.[4] At the same time, the evidence of Petronius' *Cena Trimalchionis* is treated with amused condescension: the world of Trimalchio is peopled by self-made, ignorant, rich, vulgar freedmen and therefore their interests and horizons can only have been an object of

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[1] In 1986 7 I was at last able to teach Petr. at an advanced level at University College London. James Kerr did a B.A. thesis with me that year and I learned a lot from him. In the winter of 1987 8, thanks to Scevola Mariotti and Piergiorgio Parroni, I lectured on Petronius and popular culture at the University of Cassino. I am most grateful to Leopoldo Gamberale and Tonino Pecere for some more inaccessible Petronian bibliography and to Ann Scott and Ann Hanson for the stimulus to summarize my conclusions in English.

[2] R. Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy* (London 1957, often reprinted). Cf. also e.g. V. E. Neuburg, *Popular Literature* (Harmondsworth, 1977).

[3] Ediz. Quasar (Roma 1982); cf. also his anthology, *Libri, editori e pubblico nell'Europa moderna*, Bari Roma 1977 (Univ. Laterza 383).

[4] The material is most fully collected by M. Gigante, *Civiltà delle forme letterarie nell' antica Pompeii* (Napoli 1979) 163 83; H. Solin, 'epigrafia', *Enc. Virg.* 2.333 4; A. Petrucci, in *Virgilio e noi* (Genova 1981, *Pubbl. Ist. Fil. Class. Med.*, 74) 53 4; Horsfall, *Atti del Convegno mondiale scientifico di Studi su Virgilio* 1982, 2 (Milano 1984) 50 9.

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supercilious mirth to Petronius' cultivated readers, or so runs the argument.[5] But I want to suggest in this paper that a good deal can be done towards re-creating the mental and cultural world of Trimalchio and his friends, much as John D'Arms and John Bodel have studied its economic workings.[6] Such a study, supported by other literary texts where possible, and by epigraphic and artistic evidence where appropriate, will turn out to shed further light on just those questions of realism, narrative technique, and characterization which are so much in fashion in Petronian studies,[7] and will serve to complement the conclusions of Bodel and D'Arms both about Petronius' value as a source to social historians and about the difficulties and dangers that such a reading of the *Cena* presents.

For, literally and metaphorically, it is a long way from Pudsey to Puteoli[8] and the evidence of the *Cena*, if it is evidence for the intellectual outlook of arriviste freedmen that we are seeking, is only to be used with very great caution and circumspection. Why? Petronius recounts the *Cena* not *in propria persona* but through the mouth of Encolpius, a participant-observer, who gazes and guzzles, swills and sneers, mocks, marvels, and munches. The satiric novelist, that is, filters his account through a narrator who is both appalled and amazed; the narrator's [74/75] perception is often clearly not Petronius'. We are, that is, doubly distanced from the social realities: both by the novelist's vision and by his narrator's ambiguous position between Petronius and ourselves.[9] Yet more delicate and complex is the question of realism and the satirist:[10] how far, that is, can we assume that an incidental detail, relevant to a character's cultural outlook, is likely, or unlikely, to be historically exact.[11] 'Realism and the novelist' is a vast morass into which we need not here stumble, but I offer a very few general observations: Petronius writes a novel, not a demographic survey, literature not sociology. The diners in the *Cena* talk various sorts of bad Latin, are money-mad businessmen, at varying levels, from stonecutter (Habinnas), to large-scale diversified entrepreneur

[5] Cf. M. Coffey, *Roman Satire* (London 1976) 197f.; P. G. Walsh, *The Roman Novel* (Cambridge 1970) 114 17, 125 8; J. P. Sullivan, *ANRW* 2.32.3, 1669; J. D'Arms, 'The Typicality of Trimalchio', in *Commerce and Social Standing in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge Mass. 1981) 97 120, 113.

[6] John D'Arms's chapter (n. 5) breaks much new ground, by the application of sobriety and good sense. His pupil J. P. Bodel (diss. Ann Arbor 1984) has refined numerous details in his thesis on 'Freedmen and the "Satyricon" of Petronius'. Bodel gave me generous encouragement when this paper was at a formative stage. I therefore leave questions of economic, social, and political outlook aside; they have been covered recently and well.

[7] Realism: Bodel (n. 6) 1 39, esp. 27 n. 4, citing, e.g., E. Auerbach, *Mimesis* (Eng. tr. Princeton 1971) 24 33; J. P. Sullivan, *The Satyricon of Petronius* (London 1968) 97 106. Narrative: cf., e.g., Coffey (n. 5) 197 8; characterization: cf. part 2 of this study on Trimalchio and music.

[8] Puteoli: D'Arms (n. 6) 105 6, Bodel (n. 6) 224 32. I am rarely inclined to criticize M. S. Smith's comm. on the *Cena* (Oxford 1975) for over caution, but xviii xix understate a good, sound case.

[9] Walsh (n. 5) 81; Coffey (n. 5) 186 7; Smith (n. 8) xx; P. A. George, *Arion* 5 (1966) 349 56.

[10] J. P. Sullivan, 'Satire and Realism in Petronius', in *Critical Essays on Roman Literature, Satire* (London 1963) 73 92 does not view 'realism' in the historical and archaeological terms with which I am here concerned.

[11] Cf. E. J. Kenney, *Latomus* 22 (1963) 704 20 for Juv.

(Trimalchio himself);[12] many are of Eastern origin.[13] Such features, Bodel has rightly insisted, are not typical of all freedmen, but all such features are well calculated to rouse the reader's disdain, at least from the traditional Roman aristocratic perspective.[14] Such detail is, therefore, in no way unrealistic but reflects the novelist's selection for satiric impact, in expectation of the reader sharing his reactions of superiority.

Petronius' narrative, in Encolpius' mouth, is couched in exceptionally cultivated Latin, informal, but, so far as we can make allowance for the misdemeanours of the scribe of H, altogether correct; when the freedmen talk, however, they butcher the rules in varied and hilarious ways.[15] But these vulgarisms are neither boring nor incomprehensible (barring a few cases where our knowledge simply fails).[16] Not pure, crude, raw street talk therefore, but a novelist's perception of the way he thought freedmen might be represented as talking. Modern novels, films, and television will suggest many analogies for such humorously polished barbarisms, and their practice has changed vastly and illuminatingly over the last twenty years. The reader of Petronius is not bored, baffled, or disgusted; the unbroken and authentic talk of the semi-educated, extended over many pages, like the conversation in the *Cena*, would necessarily be deeply tedious, and that the *Cena* is not for a moment. Petronius gives us a taste, a deft impression of street Latin, but stops far short of drowning the reader in deep vats of tiresomely unedited argot.[17] A comparable compromise exists in respect of the details of economic life. Petronius is neither historian nor economist; as novelist, he revels in comic excess and Trimalchio himself repeatedly aspires to grotesquely vast business empires[18] and unattainable civil status; his carefully designed epitaph and tomb are to serve as the permanent emblems of these pretentious dreams.[19] But
[75/76] the closer we examine the particulars, the more impressed we should be by Petronius' honest attention to realistic detail. He mocks, exaggerates, smiles, inflates,[20] but he does not talk nonsense. Epigraphic and archaeological evidence

[12] Diogenes (38.7) and Phileros (46.8) begin as porters; cf. (38.14) Iulius Proculus the undertaker, Echion *centonarius* (45.2, rag dealer/fireman), Plocamus (singer, 64.2), Agatho (perfumier, 74.15). Phileros has become a *causidicus*; Habinnas' job is unclear. Chrysanthus is a small scale entrepreneur no one, even allowing for Trimalchio's exaggerations, undertakes business on his sort of scale.

[13] For Greek names, cf. 77; for names of Eastern origins, cf. Trimalchio (with J. N. Bremmer, *Mnemos.* 34 (1981) 395 6), Massa (69.5), Habinnas (65.5), Seleucus (42.1), Bargates (69.4). See Bodel (n. 6) 47, 78; the detail is repeatedly underlined by Petr. himself.

[14] J. P. Bodel (n. 6) 40 71 and *Petronian Society Newsletter* 18 (1986) 10 on contrasts between Trimalchio and Hermeros.

[15] Smith (n. 8) 220 4; Walsh (n. 5) 112 14; H. Petersmann, *ANRW* 2.32.3, 1692 1705; M. von Albrecht, *Meister römischer Prosa* (Heidelberg 1983) 152 63. Cf. also the notes of E. Fraenkel on the Widow of Ephesus, posthumously reprinted in *Belfagor* 27 (1974) 687 90.

[16] Cf. J. N. Adams, *Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London 1982) 215 on Petr.'s restraint.

[17] Smith (n. 8) xx xxi.

[18] Not so much 29.3ff. as 48.2, 77.3 and esp. 75.10ff. Cf. Walsh (n. 5) 128 and D'Arms (n. 6) 98 9 for the history of interpretations of Trimalchio's economic activity.

[19] 71.55ff.; D'Arms (n. 6) 108 16. [20] D'Arms (n. 6) 117 19.

serves to confirm not to confound; study of the new material from Puteoli and Pompeii has helped us greatly in our study of Petronius' techniques as novelist both satiric and realistic. Unparalleled detail[21] may reflect a textual uncertainty or a deliberate oddity perpetrated for characterization's sake. I know of no single detail or attitude in the *Cena* authoritatively condemned as false or wrong, or clearly in conflict with the very abundant (and increasing) archaeological and inscriptional evidence. On the contrary, a great deal in the text is amply confirmed on the ground.[22] That does not mean that I propose to reconstruct the cultural life of the richer freedmen of Puteoli—for Puteoli it pretty clearly is—*c.*60 or 65 AD,[23] but we may fairly expect the picture we gain from the *Cena* to find confirmation from other sources and it is legitimate to explore the world of the *Cena* as representing a novelist's reconstruction of an environment that actually did exist. Realism is essential to Petronius' impact. The cultural world of Trimalchio must, therefore, rest on realistically conceived detail and cannot be mere invented fantasy. Petronius, we shall expect, mocks, caricatures, but does not fundamentally misrepresent a largely unknown and unexplored underworld of Roman cultural life.

This paper is concerned with the freedmen's cultural life and only incidentally with their language[24] itself, though, for example, their proverbs, grecisms, and wordplays will all be considered more fully; the freedmen's modes of expression are determined by Petronius' desire to convey an artistic impression of 'authenticity', and perhaps also by his reluctance to study precisely the speech habits of his social inferiors! The freedmen's speeches show numerous analogies with the language of the Pompeian graffiti[25] and with vulgarisms explained in the *Corpus glossarum*,[26] but 'vulgarisms' in Petronius' hands are a delicate stylistic instrument,[27] used, we have noted, sparingly. Trimalchio's friends are differentiated stylistically, as has often been observed;[28] language becomes unsurprisingly an instrument of characterization and this very diversity rules out generalizations

[21] Did Petr. write *unam* (sc. *amphoram*) (thus the MS) or *urnam* (thus Gronovius' emendation)? The sundial is unparalleled on a Roman tomb, as James Kerr (n. 1) noted, after S. Gibbs, *Greek and Roman Sundials* (Yale, 1976). It is not even clear whether Petr. wrote *fingas* or *pingas* to introduce all these details. J. Delz, at *Gnomon* 34 (1962) 683, is not the last word.

[22] Walsh (n. 5) 115 20; Maiuri's commentary (Naples 1945) remains much the most convenient place to find archaeological and epigraphic analogies.

[23] On the date and identity of the author, the acute and prudent remarks of Smith (n. 8) xii xiv are very much to be preferred to the oft repeated speculations of J. P. Sullivan, *ANRW* 2.32.3, 1666 8 and *Literature and Politics in the Age of Nero* (Ithaca 1985) 153 79, etc. No uninformed reader could ever guess that we have still neither dated exactly the *Sat.* nor identified precisely its author. Nor, on the present evidence, can we. On the Murecine tablets, see D'Arms (n. 6) 106 7; Bodel (n. 6) 138 and 172 n. 70; W. V. Harris, *ZPE* 52 (1983) 108.

[24] Amply discussed elsewhere: see refs. in n. 15.

[25] Smith (n. 8) 220 4; Maiuri (n. 22) 227 35.

[26] W. Heraeus, *Kleine Schriften* (Heidelberg 1937) 52 150 is indispensable.

[27] von Albrecht (n. 15) 155, 163; Petersmann (n. 15) 1695 6.

[28] Bodel (n. 6) 75, 100 1; Smith (n. 8) xxi; George (n. 9) 336 58; U. Knoche, *Roman Satire* (Bloomington 1975) 122 3; A. Dell'Era, *Problemi di lingua e stile in Petronio* (Roma 1970) 25 51; *Cena*, ed. P. Perrochat (Paris 1952) xv xvi.

about the 'vulgarisms of the freedmen'. Which freedmen, we should ask, and just what level of vulgarisms? The classic points of differentiation, often noted, are that Hermeros suffers from the linguistic 'tic' of beginning many sentences with 'ad summam' and that Echion's abuse of the rhetor Agamemnon (46.1) and pride in the education of his *cicaro* (46.7) rouse him to an exceptional concentration of breaches—highly deliberate on the author's part—of the classical 'rules' of grammar, syntax, and morphology.

[76/77] Just as deliberately concentrated are the guests' use of proverbs. The index of A. Otto's *Sprichwörter der Römer* (Leipzig 1890, repr. Hildesheim, 1965) lists about 200 in all of Petronius, but Hermeros (37–8) and Trimalchio (74–5) himself are made to use them with special intensity and their frequent use is an element which recurs with notable emphasis in the world of Richard Hoggart ((n. 2) 72–101): limited education imposes the traditional or conventional expression of opinion/wisdom/sentiment. Those historical or literary sayings which have acquired proverbial status (*Hannibal ad portas*, for example) and are called (and there is no English equivalent) 'Geflügelte Worte' (see G. Büchmann's remarkable polyglot collection, often reprinted under that title) are perhaps by comparison predictably rare in Trimalchio's world, for their use would seem to presuppose a degree of real education. We might, however, note Niceros at 61.9: *in angustiis amici apparent*, which depends on Enn. *Trag.* fr. 388 Ribb. (351 Joc.): *amicus certus in re incerta cernitur*; Daedalus is the name used for an inventive cook (see n. 65), and Encolpius uses *labyrinthus* of an inextricably complex situation (73.1), though the whole passage is coloured heavily not so much with social verism as with allusion to Virgil's Underworld.[29]

But when we turn to the freedmen's partial bilingualism,[30] we are already on slightly less familiar territory: the events of the *Cena* and its immediate sequel take place in a *graeca urbs* (81.3); the participants come either from the widely Hellenized Levant or bear Greek names, which can of course indicate either a Greek or a South Italian origin: Encolpius, Agamemnon, Ascyltos, Echion, Giton, Ganymedes, Hermeros, Phileros, Niceros, Plocamus. They live in 'Puteoli' and thus are supposed to trade actively with the eastern Mediterranean. And even in the freedmen's world, where formal education is severely limited, it looks very much as though education—at least for the generation of their sons or little boyfriends—began, conventionally, with Greek as in the more familiar aristocratic and educated world, if, that is, *Graeculis calcem impingit* does indeed mean that Echion's *cicaro* has already 'given Greek the boot' (46.5).[31] Grecisms pervade

[29] Bodel (n. 6) 53f.; on 72.10; A. Cameron, *Latomus* 29 (1970) 405 6.

[30] Trilingualism, even; much ingenuity has been devoted to the pursuit of semitic elements in the language of the *Cena*; cf. esp. M. Hades, *AJPhil.* 50 (1929) 378 85; ample bibliography in Bodel (n. 6) 103 n. 25 and in the bibliography of G. L. Schmeling and J. Stuckey (Leiden, 1977) s.v. 'Oriental and Jewish references'.

[31] Commentators all cite *CIL* 6.33929, epitaph of a child of 7, *qui studens litteras Graecas, non monstratas sibi Latinas adripuit*. See S. F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (London 1977) 44 5.

Petronius' language, in prose and verse, in conversation and in narrative; it has been calculated that, overall, some 10 per cent of Petronius' entire lexicon is of Greek origin;[32] some Greek words are recent imports, others had been introduced centuries earlier. Perhaps most striking are the trivial expressions of everyday communication, βαβαῖ, μάλιστα, σοφῶς, εὖγε, δεῦρο δή.[33] In contrast, Väänänen's list of Greek words in the Pompeian graffiti—Greek inscriptions, that is, apart—is notably short: a mere 24 items.[34] However, it has often been noted that the vocabulary of high living at Rome, like so many of the slaves who served it, was Greek, and had been so, since the elder Cato first thundered against the Aegean Peril:[35] clothing, tableware, gastronomy, perfumery, educated endearments, art, [77/78] architecture, and rhetoric all to a great degree retain the distinctive vocabulary of their country of origin and this goes some way towards explaining the statistical disproportion of Grecisms between Petronius and the graffiti. Petronius' use of Greek is exactly in keeping with the localization of the *Cena* and with the servile, Eastern origin of the participants: a necessary and realistic element, that is, in their representation—and a striking contrast with, for example, the use of Greek in Cicero's letters.[36]

But the freedmen's easy use of numerous Grecisms implies no corresponding familiarity with Greek authors, ideals, myths, history. In his representation of their fragmented acquaintance with the values and details of conventional higher culture, both Greek and Latin, Petronius dwells with loving malice and in the desert of their ignorance we may be tempted to overvalue the occasional allusion as an oasis of learning.

At 39.3 Trimalchio quotes three words of Virgil, *sic notus Ulixes* (*Aen.* 2.44): significant, perhaps, that the citation is from the second book, one of those mostly intensely studied in Roman schools,[37] but interesting also that the words are not from the initial line of a book, as are so very many of the Virgil citations among the Pompeii graffiti,[38] and as is indeed the other citation of Virgil in the *Cena*, by a slave of Habinnas' at 68.4, *interea medium Aeneas iam classe tenebat* (5.1), which he follows up with a medley of Virgil and Atellan farce, execrably executed, so that Encolpius admits that this was the first time he could not stand Virgil. Habinnas

[32] Smith (n. 8) 223; Coffey (n. 5) 199; A. Ernout, *Aspects du vocabulaire latin* (Paris 1954) 81 4.

[33] J. B. Hoffmann, *La lingua d'uso Latina* (Bologna, 1980) 127 34; this Italian translation (by L. Ricottilli) greatly expands and updates the original (*Lateinische Umgangssprache*, 1926).

[34] *Le Latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompéiennes*, Helsinki 1937 (Ann. Acad. Scient. Fenn. B.XL.2) 187 90.

[35] J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London 1985) 9 10 *et passim*; N. Petrochilos, *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks* (Athens 1974) 69 87; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (London 1979) 33 8.

[36] Horsfall, *EMC/CNV* 23 (1979) 84 8 [ch. 8, 106 11]; J. Kaimio, *Romans and the Greek Language* (Helsinki 1979) 309 11; W. Kroll, *Kultur der cic. Zeit* (1933, repr. Darmstadt 1963) 240 1.

[37] R. Marichal, *Rev. Ét. Lat.* 35 (1957) 82; Horsfall (n. 4) 51.

[38] Horsfall, ibid.; M. Gigante (n. 4) *loc. cit.* and *Virgilio e la Campania* (Napoli 1984) 83 5; Petrucci (n. 4) 52.

has sent his slave to be educated by the *circulatores*, street-performers; it looks as though he had memorized parts of *Aeneid* 5 for performance as a popular entertainment and there are indeed moments in that book tinged with farce (172–82, 327–33, 357–8, 443–9).[39] But Trimalchio had had no formal education in Italy; when Augustus, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian are represented as citing Virgil in their conversation,[40] much as an earlier generation of Roman aristocrats seemed always to have a line of Greek to hand at crucial moments,[41] that should not occasion surprise, for Augustus was close to the poet himself and his successors had studied him minutely with their *grammatici*. When Trimalchio quotes those three words, Petronius implies that even a rich freedman knows that he too should be able to quote from the 'bible' of Julio-Claudian ideology and education:[42] Trimalchio, that is, apes his betters even in the cultural ornamentation of his dinner-table talk (and indeed gets the three words right!). Many of the Virgil quotations on the walls of Pompeii are direct echoes of the schoolroom, as the
[78/79] relatively educated script and the concentration in the porticoes of the Great Palaestra, where the local youth could be supposed to have met, might suggest.[43] But we should not forget Virgil graffiti also in a brothel, an ironmonger's, and in the gladiatorial barracks;[44] nor should we lose sight of the seemingly obvious fact that some knowledge of Virgil could be acquired outside the schoolroom: there are public readings or performances of Virgil,[45] pantomimes on Virgilian themes,[46] and (which Petronius will not have failed to recall) a fashion for discussing Virgilian topics across serious dinner-tables.[47] Similarly, when Trimalchio confuses Mopsus and Orpheus (55.4) Petronius may be seeking to imply that he is aping learned conversations about the origins of literature[48] and certainly when Trimalchio compares Cicero and Publilius Syrus, it is clear that a mocking contrast is intended with serious comparisons of the attested 'Homer and Virgil'

[39] Plin. *Ep.* 4.7.6 does not of itself prove that *circulatores* declaimed literary works in public places; but see A. D. Booth, *G&R* 27 (1980) 166 9.

[40] Horsfall (n. 4) 49; Suet. *Aug.* 40, *Cal.* 45, *Ner.* 47.1, *Dom.* 91.

[41] Horsfall (n. 4) 60 n. 36; id. (n. 36) 87 [ch. 8, 109 10]; Kroll (n. 36) 240; Kaimio (n. 36) 191; H. D. Jocelyn, *YCIS* 23 (1973) 64, 76.

[42] Though Tiberius (Suet. *Tib.* 70.2) had no taste and Caligula (id. *Cal.* 34.2) no love for Virgil, and though Lucan, under Nero, inverts and subverts so much of the *Aen.*, Virg. had cast in definitive form the foundation legend of Rome and the *gens Iulia*; Horsfall, *Vergilius* 32 (1986) 10 11 [ch. 16, 194 6] *RMM* 24.

[43] Petrucci (n. 38) 53 4; cf. Harris (n. 23) 109 10 on the lack of real evidence for Pompeian schools.

[44] *CIL* 4.1527, 9987; Horsfall (n. 4) 50; D. Joly, in *Présence de Virgil* (Paris 1978) (*Caesarodunum* 13bis) 95, 97.

[45] From Virgil's lifetime to the sixth century AD; Horsfall (n. 4) 47, 49; Bonner (n. 31) 123; K. Quinn, *ANRW* 2.30.1, 152 3; Tac. *Dial.* 13; Don. *Vit. Verg.* 11.

[46] Horsfall (n. 4) 49; Macr. 5.17.5; Suet. *Ner.* 54; Owen on Ov. *Tr.* 2.519; Annius Flor. *Verg. orat. an poet.* 1.6; Aug. *Serm.* 241.5 (Migne *PL* 38.1136); Hier. *Ep.* 21.13.9; G. Wille, *Musica romana* (Amsterdam 1967) 226.

[47] Juv. 6.434 7; J. Marquardt, A. Mau, *Privatleben der Römer* (Leipzig 2nd ed. 1886) 338.

[48] Diod. Sic. 3.67, 4.25 should give some idea of the flavour of such talk; cf. Lucr. 3.1036 8; Thraede, *RAC* s.v. 'Erfinder'.

or 'Cicero and Demosthenes'.[49] Trimalchio leads up to his *sic notus Ulixes* with the assertion that *oportet enim inter cenandum philologiam nosse*. The fashion was widely mocked, which suggests that it was very widely practised, even to excess![50] At Trimalchio's dinner, there are no readings: the farcical Virgil of Habinnas' slave (p. 78), the verses recited by Trimalchio himself (55.6), and the performance by the Homeristae (58.3; cf. 80–1) come nearest.

At 55.1 Trimalchio observes: 'this occasion should not pass *sine inscriptione*' and calls for his *codicillos*, does not hesitate too long in thought and produces, as at 34.10, two hexameters and a pentameter ('occurs occasionally in Greek and Latin epitaphs', Smith). It seems as though Trimalchio here is striving to imitate the cultivated art of extemporizing verses, *de ipsis rebus quae tum agerentur*, as Cicero said of Archias' improvisations (*Arch.* 18). Certainly under Domitian, such displays were much in fashion.[51] It is not quite clear whether Trimalchio is in fact meant to be thought able to improvise verse, modestly, or whether a hint had been dropped by shrewd slave or neighbour (even inserted in his *codicilli*!) or whether he is relying on vaguely relevant verses already committed to memory. I note, after Hardie (n. 51, 84), that Antipater of Sidon, Archias of Antioch, and the poets of Tarsus (Strab. 14.5.14) were all noted improvisers. Also Publilius Syrus.[52] And now, Trimalchio, another Syrian—can this be coincidence?—tries his best (cf. n. 30).

The literary readings, so popular in cultivated society and so absent from the *Cena* are liable to misunderstanding, for not all references to *acroamata* in good society refer to 'readings';[53] the word can refer to any sort of performance executed to entertain the ears and it is not clear that Augustus and Trajan (cf. n. 53) necessarily employed *lectores* to elevate their guests' intellects. We shall return to the wide range of entertainments at dinner covered by the term of *acroama*.

Trimalchio lays proud claim to twin libraries, as Caesar intended, as Pollio achieved, as Augustus then magnificently installed in the temple of Palatine Apollo.[54] The detail is one of those characteristically 'imperial' touches so characteristic of Trimalchio.[55] But whereas at Pompeii, for example, there are ample [79/80]

[49] Cf. Quint. 10.1.106; Macr. 5.1; Juv. *loc. cit.* (n. 47) with Courtney's note; Smith on Petr. 55.5.

[50] Mocked at Sen. *Apoc.* 5.4; cf. Nero's liking for philosophical disputes after dinner.

[51] Dessau, *ILS* 5177; A. Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae* (Liverpool 1983) (*ARCA* 9) 22, 82 8; K. Coleman, *ANRW* 2.32.4, 3098 9. For the fashion, cf. Cat. 50; Mart. 10.19.18ff.; Hardie 52, 85 with n. 53; Plin. 4.14.2, 7.4, 7.9.9f.; Suet. *Tit.* 3.2, *Gramm.* 23.3.

[52] E. J. Jory, in *Vir bonus discendi peritus. Studies . . . O. Skutsch*, *BICS* Suppl. 51 (1988) 80f.; Macr. 2.7.6 7; Tac. *Ann.* 14.16; Suet. *Tib.* 70.2 3; and on Aug., Horsfall, *Ancient Society* (Macquarie) 17 (1987) 16 18, adducing Ptolemaeus Chennus *ap.* Phot. 151a27.

[53] Nep. *Att.* 13.1; Varr. *ap.* Gell. 1.22.5; Juv. 11.179 81; Suet. *Aug.* 74; Plin. *Ep.* 6.31.13; Plut. *Q. Conv.* 711V. But Pliny, referring to Trajan, and Suet. do not specify that 'reading' is meant; cf. Petr. 53.12, 78.5, for the flexibility of *acroama*. For readers, cf. S. Treggiari, *AJAH* 1 (1976) 90; ead., *PBSR* 30 (1975) 56, 74; ead., *Roman Freedmen* (Oxford 1969) 148; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure . . .* (London 1969) 44 5; E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life . . .* (London 1985) 51.

[54] R. J. Starr, *Hermes* 115 (1987) 252 3; Rawson (n. 53) 42; A. J. Marshall, *Phoenix* 30 (1976) 261 2; Suet. *Iul.* 44 with *BICS* 19 (1972) 122.

[55] Walsh (n. 5) 137 9.

quotations from Virgil, *Bucolica*, from the elegiac poets, even a little from Ennius and Lucretius,[56] it is perhaps significant that down to Trimalchio's world there percolates not a whisper of such texts. The verses Trimalchio quotes as though Publilius cannot be anything of the sort,[57] though the very fact that he can be represented as quoting 'poetry' (three lines at 34.10, three at 55.3, sixteen at 55.6) is suggestive. The verses are all Petronian pastiche, but though Trimalchio is wondrously ignorant of serious literature, it is obviously not out of character for such a figure to be able to quote a substantial passage of verse and we shall find elsewhere later that the role of memory, trained, but not normally applied to 'educated' ends is something that we tend to undervalue. Moreover, given his rhetor friends, it is no surprise (48.5) that he has mastered the opening of a declamation, *pauper et diues inimici erant. quid est pauper*? (characteristically turning to definition), and knows the technical term *peristasis* (48.5; Greek, too!).

I pass to the other, Greek, half of Trimalchio's unread library. His guests compare him as an astrologer—a skill in which he is in truth—and credibly—not utterly incompetent—to the astronomer Aratus and Hipparchus (40.1). Trimalchio claims to have read the story of Ulysses and the Cyclops' thumb in Homer as a boy (48.7). The story, *de Ulixe fabulam, quemadmodum illi* (that is, Ul.) *Cyclops pollicem poricino extorsit* is not only an unhomeric fantasy, but is in part lost to us through textual corruption.[58] The *haec* by which Trimalchio defines the object of his schoolboy studies might even permit us to think (and the Latin is suggestively ambiguous) that Trimalchio supposed there to be an account of the labours of Hercules in Homer. He calls for Homeristae to perform—Homeric travesty, with costumes and knockabout heroic warfare—and when they do, he follows them, reading aloud from a book not in Greek but in Latin: a Greek version of such stuff, with comic-strip illustrations, actually survives.[59] It may also be a social gaffe on Trimalchio's part to have Homeristae performing in his house; at least in the Greek world, they belong not to the dining-room, with its range of conventional *acroamata*, but the world of public entertainment.[60] Trimalchio also has bought *comoedos* (53.13), comic actors; it is not unknown for a rich man to own a troupe of actors or for *comoedi* to perform an *acroama* at dinner;[61] however, he prefers them to perform Atellan farce and with consistent and

[56] Gigante (n. 4) 153 7.

[57] Cf. Smith *ad loc.* with many strong arguments against, e.g., F. Giancotti, *Mimo e Gnome* (Messina 1967) 231 74.

[58] Horsfall, *Aegyptus* 63 (1983) 210; M. Coccia *RCCM* 20 (1978) 799 804. But Trimalchio's travesty need conceal no lost or misunderstood version of the story. Cf. Gigante (n. 4) 55 68 for Homer at Pompeii.

[59] M. L. West, *POxy.* 42.3001; Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979) 45.

[60] R. J. Starr, *Latomus* 46 (1987) 199 200. H. Blümner, *Sitz. Bay. Ak.* 1918.6 ('Fahrendes Volk in Altertum') is delightful and fundamental.

[61] Plin. *Ep.* 7.24.4 with Sherwin White's note; Suet. *Aug.* 74; *SHA Hadr.* 26.4; Plut. *Q. Conv.* 711Eff.; Treggiari (n. 53, 1975) 56 and n. 115; Balsdon (n. 53) 282; Blümner (n. 60) 6 7. For performances of Greek and Roman comedy under the early Empire, cf. E. J. Jory, in *Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster* 1 (Bristol 1987) 149 50, n. 2.

comical chauvinism has ordered his *choraules* (the flute-player who leads the chorus) to perform in Latin, *Latine cantare.*[62] [80/81]

That Trimalchio is not only no reader, but has mis-digested many familiar stories of Greek mythology is well known, but the rush of glee felt at his ignorance has led to some neglect of comic detail and authorial technique. Thus when he explains the Trojan War (59.4), Diomedes and Ganymede (not another Argive) were brothers (i.e. Helen had two brothers, Castor and Pollux); their sister was Helen; Agamemnon carried her off (no, Paris did); Agamemnon sacrificed a hind in her stead (no, he did that for Iphigeneia). There followed a battle between Trojans and Tarentines (not Greeks!).[63] Agamemnon wins (yes!) and gives his daughter Iphigeneia to Achilles as wife (no, he had her come to Aulis with the promise that she should marry Achilles; by the time Ag. has won, Ach. is dead!). For that reason, Ajax went mad (no, that was because the arms of Achilles were offered to Ulysses not to him). Whatever, we may wonder, was in that little Latin book? We might also suspect that the Homeristae themselves on occasion travestied the 'orthodox' version. On his silverware, Trimalchio has mythological scenes which he explains. Bactrian imitation of such (Greek) silver cups do in fact survive.[64] Trimalchio's clearly did not have labelled figures, as many of the surviving mould-made imitations of such lost silver originals in fact do. It was not (52.1) Cassandra who killed her sons but Medea. On a silver bowl Daedalus[65] (52.3) shuts Niobe in the Trojan Horse. This error stands alone: a scene composed in Trimalchio's 'mind' out of three quite unrelated elements. Parenthetically, we may compare 50.2–6, Trimalchio's account of the origins of Corinthian bronze, conventionally created first by accident during the sack of Corinth in 146. Trimalchio thinks of the wrong city, and of Hannibal in place of Mummius, but I suspect that that is because Petronius attributes to him a garbled memory of the fact that Corinth and Carthage were destroyed in the same year. We may also note—to turn back to Troy—that Trimalchio has scenes from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* on his walls, quite after the manner of Pompeii,[66] but they are described before the guests enter the triclinium and do not bear on the events of the *Cena*. It is too often assumed that Petronius simply borrows (or parodies) the details of Trimalchio's glorious ignorance from the younger Seneca.[67]

[62] Cf. Wille (n. 46) 24, 179.

[63] But is Trimalchio thinking of the Spartan Menelaus and the Spartan founding of Tarentum, through his usual distorting lens? Other examples of Trimalchionean garbling follow, of a similar and consistent pattern.

[64] K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge Mass. 1959) 69 71; on Megarian bowls: cf. S. Rotroff, *Hesp.* 51 (1982) 332; id., *Current Anthropology* 19 (1978) 387; Horsfall (n. 59) 47; id., (n. 58) 207 8 n.

[65] Note 70.2: 'Daedalus' for an exceptionally inventive cook! Cf. L. Vidman, *Anc. Soc.* 2 (1971) 162 73.

[66] 29.9; cf. Horsfall (n. 59) 43 4; id., (n. 58) 213.

[67] Smith (n. 8) 217 19 is full of good sense; see too Coffey (n. 5) 187 8; Walsh (n. 5) 136 7. For another view of the relations of Sen. and Petr., see K. F. C. Rose, *The Date and Author of the 'Sat.'* (Leiden 1971, *Mnemos.* Suppl. 16) 69 74; Sullivan (n. 23, *ANRW*) 1681 4; id., (n. 23, 1985) 172 6.

In the *Tranq. An.* (9.5) Seneca talks of those innocent even of a schoolboy's education who buy books not to use in their studies but to ornament their dining rooms, and at *Ep.* 27.6 he describes Calvisius Sabinus, who forgot the names of Ulysses, Achilles, and Priam and had a trained slave who had memorized Homer
[81/82] and ten others—Hesiod and the nine lyric poets. 'He was rich and had both the estate and the character of a freedman. I never saw a man more unbefittingly prosperous.' Nevertheless, he bought the slaves, wanting to appear learned, and persecuted his guests though he could not cite a verse of poetry correctly. Lucian (Loeb ed. 3, pp. 174–211) wrote a pamphlet 'Against the uneducated man who buys many books'. Trimalchio's ignorance is not therefore simply Calvisius' transposed. His double library is clearly the imperially pointed echo of a satiric commonplace, but Petronius, Seneca, and Lucian severally made fun of a familiar reality. I suggested some years ago[68] that the miniature reliefs called 'Tabulae Iliacae'—a group of twenty-two miniature reliefs, almost all Augustan or slightly later, belonged to this world. They are worked microscopically and will, therefore, of necessity have been very costly; many of the reliefs are so small that the sculptor can add little or nothing of feeling or characterization; many contain summaries, always trite and sometimes plain wrong, of *Iliad*, *Odyssey*, and the Epic Cycle. Yet at the same time they contain delightful oddities: 126 lines of Homer written in a tiny script round the outside of a representation of the Iliadic shield, a palindromic inscription; the (Egyptian) artist's signature set within a 'magic' square, so that it can be read vertically, horizontally, or diagonally. I suggested that these reliefs were 'bibelots' for the rich ignoramus, showy but inadequate prompts for the culturally pretentious, and was delighted when W. McLeod analysed the information about the Epic Cycle provided by the 'Tabula Borgia' as belonging to the tradition of learned fantasy and invention; detail, that is, 'cooked up' to sound good and no more reliable than the mention of Stesichorus as the author behind the 'Fall of Troy' in the centre of the 'Tabula Iliaca Capitolina'—or than Trimalchio's accounts of the Trojan War.[69] The case for Petronius' use of Seneca should not be thought conclusive, or decisive, and is anyway, I would suggest, unnecessary.

That, however, is not quite the end of mythology in the *Cena*:[70] Trimalchio claims to have seen the Sibyl (endowed with immortality but not with eternal youth) at Cumae hanging in a bottle; she and the boys who teased her exchanged,

[68] Horsfall (n. 58) 208 14; id. (n. 59) 26 48; cf. id., *JHS* 103 (1983) 144 7. Note esp. (n. 59) 28 9, for word and letter plays on the walls of Pompeii and Ostia: e.g. SUILIMEA and ROMA MILO OLIM AMOR.

[69] W. McLeod, *TAPA* 115 (1985) 153 65; cf. further refs. at Horsfall, *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 24 n. 25 [ch. 18, 214, n. 25] on 'invention' in Roman scholarship.

[70] Cf. p. 234 for mythological allusions in semi proverbial expressions and Gigante (n. 4) *passim* for mythological references on the walls of Pompeii; see e.g. *CIL* 4.2331 (Labyrinth) with M. Della Corte, *Case ed abitanti de Pompeii*[2] (Pompeii 1954) 425 6; E. Diehl, *Pompeianische Wandinschriften* (Bonn 1910, *Kl. Texte* 56) 5 6.

we note, Greek. Again, Trimalchio travesties an unfamiliar story: apart from the urns attested as containing her ashes, there was at Bargylia in Caria a round iron cage containing an ancient Sibyl.[71] And Echion, in passing, hints at knowledge of a widespread and delightful tale, neglected by classicists (which, literally, I heard from my grandmother): if, he said, you lived anywhere else, you would say that here pigs walked about ready-cooked. This is Schlaraffenland, Cockayne, Cuccagna, a projection of hope and gluttony, reflected in the fragments of Greek New Comedy and in Lucian's *Vera Historia*.[72] It is also tempting to suggest [82/83] that a fair number of the very many proverbs used by Petronius' freedmen appear to presuppose an animal-fable,[73] though that does not prove that such fables necessarily circulated among them, whether in the nursery or at school or at dinner.[74] At 56.4–6 Trimalchio compares the services of various animals to man in a manner distantly suggestive of popular pythagoreanism.[75]

For all their ignorance, it is very important to realize that Petronius represents the freedmen as relishing their own language, as using it with a certain suggestion of pleasure and gusto. They joke, occasionally, about the literal meaning of proper names, in a way that might seem simple-minded (41.7, 36.7, 50.4); Encolpius distances himself with suspicion from the 'urbanitas' of the Carpus-joke, and both Tacitus and Quintilian found such jesting rather rough and old-fashioned,[76] though Cicero had loved it. Unsurprisingly, Petronius also attributes to the freedmen a taste for occasional puns (35.7, 68.1); Trimalchio produces *apophoreta* presents for his guests to take home and a slave-boy recites descriptions, in some cases clearly punning (56.8–10); that was an old and hallowed context; Augustus himself had enjoyed making similar gifts 'under misleading names of double meaning' (Suet. *Aug.* 75, Loeb tr.), though Petronius' allusion here is not necessarily therefore 'Imperial'.[77] Hermeros offers riddles (58.8), which probably have double solutions, clean and dirty; they represent an ancient element of oral culture which survives to surface in literary texts of the most varied dates and levels,[78] and

[71] Smith's note is full and useful. Cf. too Frazer on Ov. *Fast.* 3.535 and Ov. *Met.* 14.130ff., for the Sibyl's misfortune.

[72] Cf. Sedgwick's note on 45.4 (he is rarely so helpful); J. Ferguson, *Utopias of the Classical World* (London 1975) 174 5; A. Graf, *Miti, leggende e superstizioni del medio evo* (repr. Bologna 1980) 1.230 8. Does *lacte gallinaceum* (38.1) belong in the same sphere of ideas? O. Crusius, *Verhandl. 40. Samml. Deut. Philol.* (Görlitz) (1890) 37f., thought so.

[73] Four instances where a proverb clearly does correspond quite closely to a fable surviving in an ancient form are: 63.2, *asinus in tegulis* (Babrius 125); 56.9 *murem cum rana alligata* (Perry appx. 384); *mus in matella* (Babrius 60); 74.12; *inflat se tamquam rana* (Phaedr. 1.2). Cf. A. Otto, *Sprichwörter de Römer* (Leipzig 1890, repr. Hildesheim 1965) xxix xxv; Smith on 56.9; Crusius (n. 73) 37 47.

[74] Note that a number of the terms of abuse applied to women in Petr. belong to a tradition (woman as beast) that goes back to the seventh century BC (Semonides of Amorgos; see H. Lloyd Jones, *Females of the Species* (Park Ridge 1975)): 37.6, *lupatria*; 37.6, *pica pulvinaris*; 74.10, *canis*; 74.4, *vipera*; cf. 57.2, *vervex* of a man.

[75] Cf. Ov. *Met.* 15.11ff. with Bömer's note; Varr. *Rust.* 2.1.4 7, cf. 43.1, 76.8, *crescit tamquam favus.*

[76] *Philol.* 117 (1973) 138; T. Ritti, *Mem. dei Lincei* 21 (1977) 255.

[77] H. D. Rankin, *C&M* 23 (1962) 134 42.

[78] *Il.* 6.179; Virg. *Buc.* 3.104ff.; W. Schultz, 'Rätsel' *RE* 1A:111.32.ff.

indeed on the walls of Pompeii, in a contest between the aged Homer and the boys of Ios.[79] Plutarch comments (*Mor.* 673A) that after dinner 'common unlettered people' (that is, exactly Trimalchio and his guests, φορτικοὶ καὶ ἀφιλόλογοι) turn to αἰνίγματα καὶ γρῖφοι and to correspondences between letters and numbers.[80] Plutarch's remarks do lend some support also to the suggestion that the letter-plays of the 'Tabulae Iliacae' would have been much appreciated by Trimalchio and his friends.

But parody, I suspect, we must eliminate from the argument: there is a great deal of it in Petronius in the *Satyricon* at large and in the *Cena* in particular,[81] and yet it is Petronius/Eumolpus who parodies; the freedmen appear not to. Petronius may have thought such intellectual and verbal sophistication inappropriate to their *personae*, and yet there are excellent examples of parody both verbal and visual on the walls of Pompeii.[82]

I pass to the various forms of entertainment at dinner: four games are played: indeed Trimalchio is first seen playing 'trigon' (27.1–3),[83] very much to his own
[83/84] version of the rules;[84] the clownish clothing, imperious incontinence, and self-indulgent cheating are typical of the bold emphasis with which Trimalchio is characterized at the opening of the *Cena*. He has a luxury set of *duodecim scripta* (33.2), a precursor of backgammon, brought in by a *puer* before dinner and appears for a while to play (*inter lusum*).[85] There are also two references to a 'finger-flashing' game. One is in proverbial form (cf. Cic. *Off.* 3.77, *Fin.* 2.52). Ganymedes says of his old friend Safinius (44.7), *cum quo audacter posses in tenebris micare*. You could have guessed how many fingers he had held up even in the dark, without fear of him cheating you. Trimalchio himself plays a more energetic version with his horrid pet Croesus (64.12), *bucca, bucca quot sunt hic?*[86] Petronius also attributes to the guests a marked and well-diffused passion for mimicry and imitation: there is the pretty boy, garlanded with vine-leaves and ivy, who imitates Bacchus in three of his capacities;[87] Trimalchio imitates the actor Syrus (52.9), as Daedalus the cook takes off Ephesus the *tragoedus* (70.13). Trimalchio also (64.6) mimics the trumpeters he loves, and one of his slaves (68.3) does the song of the nightingale, an old, old turn.[88] Habinnas' slave, holding down his lip, 'for more than half an hour' does trumpets (69.4), then goes on to

[79] *CIL* 4.3407 with Gigante (n. 4) 50 1.

[80] Individual letters were thought to carry numerical values, thus καίσαρα 666! On the mathem atics of *Apoc.* 13.18, cf. Horsfall, *CQ* 24 (1974) 111 [ch. 4, 34, n. 2].

[81] J. P. Cèbe, *La caricature et la parodie* (Paris 1966) 264 5, 273, 280 2, 313 20, 331 4. Note e.g. 47.4, which looks like a parody of Claudius' intended edict, Suet. *Claud.* 32.

[82] Cèbe (n. 81) 172 4, 369 70; Horsfall (n. 37) 50.

[83] Which Hor. might well have played with Maecenas and Augustus, *Sat.* 2.1.49; Suet. *Aug.* 73; Horsfall *Anc. Soc.* (Macquarie) 13 (1983) 163.

[84] As Smith notes *ad loc.*; Balsdon (n. 53) 165 misses the fun.

[85] R. Pack, *CPhil.* 69 (1974) 214 15; Horsfall, *BICS* 30 (1983) 96 n. 1 for further refs.

[86] Details remain unclear, despite the fascinating material gathered by B. L. Ullmann and P. G. Brewster, *CPhil.* 38 (1943) 94 102.

[87] Bromius, Lyaeus, Euhius, 41.6. [88] Plut. *Mor.* 191B (Agesilaus); Blümner (n. 60) 24.

mimic the *choraules* and finally muleteers.[89] His owner had after all sent him to the mountebanks to learn, *ad circulatores eum mittendo erudibam*, in the hope that he would be unmatched 'whether he wanted to imitate muleteers or mountebanks' (68.7).[90]

To entertain his guests, Trimalchio has, as we have seen, Homeristae and *comoedi*; apart from 36.1 (which suggests waiters cavorting, not ballet professionals), he seems not to have dancers, Gaditanae, but there are acrobats, *petauristarii*,[91] a boy and a 'heavy' (53.11), who do turns which involve dancing at the top of a ladder, jumping through burning hoops, and carrying an amphora with the teeth. Only Trimalchio enjoys the act and says that in all the world what he most appreciates are acrobats and trumpeters; other *acroamata* are mere junk. At 60.1 Encolpius fears that an acrobat is about to descend through the roof, while at 47.9 he had thought that acrobats were about to perform turns with three white pigs, *sicut in circulis mos est* (cf. Blümner (n. 60) 21). A *circulus* is a group of spectators and a *circulator* an entertainer who gathers such a group round him by various means: turns with animals (*supra*), snake-charming (*Dig.* 47.11.11), imitations (*supra*), swallowing swords and spears (at Athens, Apul. *Met.* 1.4; Blümner (n. 60) 20).[92] But he can also read a book, recite an imperial edict or even *leuia carmina*; at this point he seems to shade into the *fabulator*.[93]

Gladiators, unsurprisingly, loom large (cf. the fleeting reference to betting on [84/85]
the races, 70.13): in painting (29.9), on embossed cups (52.3), on lamps (45.11), and in Trimalchio's plans for the reliefs in his tomb.[94] Echion talks at length with a good deal of technical language about an imminent show (45.5–8) and condemns with energy one just past (45.11–12). Petronius perhaps gives a sharp hint of just how tedious an arena-bore could be[95] and we may note also the artistic (and unrealistic) disposition and organization of the topics of conversation:[96] gladiators, that is, are present in innumerable and widely diverse contexts at Pompeii;[97] in the

[89] His props, a cloak and a whip (cf. 69.5, boots) seem to guarantee *mulionum* against *molionum* (MS), possibly even *flagra* for the perplexing *fata*; Smith seems to forget we are talking about imitations.

[90] The slave Massa is thus, though not himself a *circulator*, able to imitate them and with that training can likewise imitate a muleteer. For imitators in general, cf. Blümner (n. 60) 24. Note *CIL* 6.4886 a slave of Tiberius, apparently both a silent and a speaking mime, and the first man to imitate court pleaders, *causidici*. See too *CIL* 6.10129 (with Cic. *De or.* 2.242, 244); on the history of the pantomime, cf. E. J. Jory, *BICS* 28 (1981) 147 61 and (n. 61) 147f.

[91] Cf. Blümner (n. 60) 12, 33 4, 47.

[92] Blümner (n. 60) 20; Booth (n. 39); A. Scobie, *Rh. Mus.* 122 (1979) 233 *Aspects of the Ancient Romance* (Meisenheim 1969) 27 9 *Apuleius and Folklore* (London 1983) 11.

[93] Cf. Plin. *Ep.* 3.7.6; Schol. Pers. 1.134; Scobie (n. 92, 1983) 11.

[94] 72.6, the same gladiator as on his cups, Petraites.

[95] Cf. Bodel (n. 6) 199. M. Grant, *Gladiators* (London 1967) and R. Auguet, *Cruelty and Civilization* (London 1972) explain some of the allusions. F. Savi, *I gladiatori* (Roma 1980) has exceptional illustrations.

[96] Bodel (n. 6) 180 209; Walsh (n. 5) 121 2.

[97] P. Sabbatini Tumolesi, *Gladiatorum Paria* (Roma 1980); J. Ward Perkins and A. Claridge, *Pompeii AD* 79 (London 1976) 62 3 and catal. 299 311; M. Grant, *Cities of Vesuvius* (London 1974) 72 5; R. Etienne, *La vie quotidienne à Pompéi* (Paris 1977) 379 93.

Cena, they have been reduced to order and only the numerous references to their visual presence indicate their actual importance in first-century AD Campania.

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Part II

Trimalchio's whole household and way of life is presented to us as though it were a stage-show, or so Petronius implies through Encolpius' remarks, strategically and thematically placed at the opening. Still marvelling at the musicality of Trimalchio's household, he comments 'you'd think it was the chorus of a pantomime, not the dining room of a paterfamilias' (31.7); a page later (33.5) a basket of straw with a wooden hen is brought in and while two slaves search the straw for 'eggs' (to music) Trimalchio turns to look at his 'show' (*hanc scaenam*). Trimalchio himself sings a number from the mime *Laserpiciarius* (35.6) and mangles the songs of Menecrates (73.3). He claims (55.5) to recite verses by Publilius Syrus, composer of mimes; his *comoedi* perform Atellan farce (53.13) and Habinnas' slave executes a horrid medley of Atellana and Virgil (68.5). If we compare these references with those to music simply in terms of bulk and scale, the theatre appears substantially less important, though we may note that all the references except the last (68.5) do refer to Trimalchio himself or to his slaves, thus perhaps serving as a deliberate element on Petronius' part to characterize and distinguish him. One reads a good deal in general terms[98] about the theatricality of Petronius as a whole and of the *Cena* in particular. The text of the *Satyricon* does elsewhere lend some explicit support to the interpretation of Petronius' world as a stage[99] and that certainly was how John of Salisbury, whose text of Petronius was (n. 111) clearly at some points fuller and better than ours, read him.[100] It is harder, though, to define in detail Petronius' debt, especially in the *Cena* and one might suspect that 'the stage' is one of those keys which has been used at times to unlock the mysteries of the *Satyricon*, but which tends in practice to bend in the hand. The evidence for what was actually performed at Pompeii in the twenty years before the eruption is ambiguous and 'theatre' for Trimalchio and his guests

[Part II continues from *G&R* 36.2, pages 194 209. The original footnote numbering for these pages is shown in square brackets; internal references to footnotes are to the present numbering.]

[98] [1] K. Preston, *CPhil.* 10 (1915) 260 9; Walsh (n. 5) 24; Coffey (n. 5) 186, 268, n. 44; F. F. Abbott, *Common People of Ancient Rome* (New York 1911) 138 9.

[99] [2] 19.1 *omnia mimico risu exsonuerant*; 80.9; 94.15; 106.1; 117.4, 10; cf. 69.5 *tanto melior* 'bravo'.

[100] [3] John of Salisbury (n. 111), *Policraticus* 3.8: *fere totus mundus ex Arbitri nostri sententia mimum uidetur implere*; cf. Walsh (n. 5) 24.

means, unsurprisingly, mime and Atellena, though clearly the possibility for a wider range of performances existed with the *comoedi*.[101]

It is essential to remember that Trimalchio's is still a world in which the ancient art of the storyteller is alive and healthy.[102] Trimalchio (51) tells the story of the unbreakable glass, Niceros (61.6–2) the story of the werewolf, and then at once Trimalchio that of the witches (63); Eumolpus elsewhere, without context, [194/195] relates 'the Ephebe of Pergamum' (85–6) and, in the course of a sea-voyage,[103] 'the Widow of Ephesus' (111–12). The storyteller at the dinner table has a very long history, from Demodocus and Odysseus himself at dinner with Alcinous on; Juvenal (15.13f.) indeed speaks of the time when Ulysses told the astonished Alcinous of his travels *super cenam*, like a *mendax aretalogus*, and turned some to laughter, some perhaps to anger. Suetonius (*Aug.* 74) records that Augustus enjoyed at dinner[104] *acroamata* and actors, *aut etiam triuiales ex circo ludios*[105] *ac frequentius aretalogos*, tellers of wondrous tales like Odysseus (*supra*)[106]—and also (*Aug.* 78) *fabulatores*[107] when he could not sleep. We are slowly beginning to appreciate that even cultivated Romans had a great appetite for the marvellous[108] and relished the telling of (tall) stories at dinner. Thus the younger Pliny, himself a believer in ghosts, introduces a contemporary anecdote with 'have your copper ready and hear an *auream fabulam*' (2.20.1);[109] he prefaces his famous dolphin story by saying that he had heard a true story which sounded very much like an invention 'while various marvellous tales were being circulated' (9.33.1). In this sort of context,

[101] [4] For the theatre at Pompeii, cf. Gigante (n. 4) 113 52; Etienne (n. 97) 386 99; Ward Perkins (n. 97) 63. For moral maxims of dramatic origin on Pompeian walls, cf. E. Rawson, in *Homo viator* ed. M. Whitby etc. (Bristol 1987) 87 8. Artistic conventions and conservatism and the possibility that at least some graffiti from dramatic texts are of schoolroom origin make it very hard to determine just what was performed there. In the later first century AD comedy and tragedy are anyway, in general terms, unlikely; cf. Jory *loc. cit.* (n. 61).

[102] [5] Scobie (n. 92, 1979) 234 9 (1969) 20 7 (1983) 11 16; Balsdon (n. 53) 287 8; L. Friedlaender, *Roman Life and Manners* (Engl. tr.) 4 (London 1913) 90; for Greece, cf. S. Trenkner, *The Greek Novella* (Cambridge 1958) 17f.

[103] [6] G. Sandy, *TAPA* 101 (1970) 474 5; one of the unrecognized reasons (but see Horsfall (n. 83) 163 4) why distinguished Romans welcomed poets as *comites* on long journeys is that they must surely have made entertaining companions during the many hours of slow tedium.

[104] [7] Sulla on the other hand enjoyed mimes and professional joke tellers, *gelotopoioi* (who had prompt books, Plaut. *Stich.* 450, 454) *FGrH* 90 F 75; cf. Trenkner *loc. cit.* (n. 102); in Greece, guests who could not pay at a subscription dinner had to tell stories. Cf. also Persius, ed. O. Jahn, lxxxiv.

[105] [8] *triviales*, at cross roads; *ex circo*, from near the circus, to catch the crowds; *ludios TLL* (7.2.1769.15f.) takes as 'actors'; here rather, as in some later texts (*TLL* 7.2.1769.41 51) *ludius* is used of performers in general; here some sort of 'circulator'. See Horsfall (n. 52), the passage is usually misunderstood.

[106] [9] Renowned for garrulity; Porph. *ad* Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.20; Scobie (n. 92, 1979) 238 9, (1983) 15 16.

[107] [10] Non technical; Scobie (n. 92, 1979) 238 9, (1983) 12 13. Uses of Aesop (Gell. 2.29.1) and Herodotus (3.10.11) and of a man who simply told stories well (Sen. *Ep.* 122.15).

[108] [11] E. Gabba, *JRS* 71 (1981) 50 62 and in *Sources for the Ancient Historian*, ed. M. Crawford (Cambridge 1983) 15 16.

[109] [12] Again I quote the Loeb translation. Betty Radice was a skilled translator, an editor of genius and a dear friend. The opening is clearly an itinerant storyteller's cry, the definition offered above of a *circulator* fits well enough and Scobie's objections (n. 92, 1969) 27 8 rest on too limited a definition of his range.

the 'fabula' is not a 'fable', or fabulous (as at Petr. 48.7, 59.3, 76.4, *factum non fabula*); to teller and hearers, it must be *true*,[110] just as the widow's grief was *una . . . in tota ciuitate fabula* (111.5). Niceros (and to hell with the *scholastici*, 61.4!) begins his werewolf story, *talem fabulam; quia scio nil nugarum narrare* comments Trimalchio (63.1); *immo certus est et minime linguosus*. He goes on to tell himself a *rem horribilem* from his own experience (63.2). The story of the Ephebe of Pergamum is told by Eumolpus as an autobiographical reminiscence. He likewise presents the Widow of Ephesus (110.8) as *rem sua memoria factam* and the sailors are delighted (113.1).

The first story told at the *Cena* (ch. 51) illustrates precisely the absence of fixed barriers between the historical and the fabulous (n. 108); according to the elder Pliny (*HN* 36.195) a new method of making flexible glass was invented under Tiberius; the workshop was destroyed in order to stop a fall in the value of gold, silver, and bronze; *eaque fama crebrior diu quam certior fuit*. According to Dio Cassius (57.21), again under Tiberius an architect, exiled, dropped a crystal goblet; it was in some way damaged, but he touched it and was able to display it intact as though new. He was immediately executed. This is quite clearly the story that Trimalchio tells in ch. 51. 'But there was a craftsman who made a glass cup, which was unbreakable. So he was admitted to Caesar's presence with his offering . . . (6) when he said that no one (else knew how to make them), Caesar ordered him to be
[195/196] executed.' Trimalchio's story has a distant historical basis, at least in the sense that it was a story that 'got around' under Tiberius sufficiently for it to be recorded twice. The story in its full form had been cast by Petronius in classic folktale mould;[111] for artistic impact, in Trimalchio's mouth is placed a flawlessly structured elaboration of an improbable sub-historical episode. It stands in the same relation to the Milesian tale as do 'geflügelte Worte' to ordinary proverbs, and it seems extraordinarily appropriate that Trimalchio should tell at dinner a 'souped-up' version of a story that actually was current as a seriously conceived rumour in the Italy of his younger years. Clearly he and the younger Pliny relished equally the tall tale at dinner.

The stories placed by Petronius in the guests' mouths are not his inventions; in every case there survives one (or more) parallel versions and it is a fair assumption that Petronius recreates versions he has read or heard in a form that is at once acceptable to his sophisticated readers and recognizably of popular (and even sometimes sub-literary) origin and character. Thus in the case of Niceros' werewolf there exists a parallel and independent version now only available in a

[110] [13] Walsh (n. 5) 10; Scobie (n. 92, 1979) 244.

[111] [14] Full form: John of Salisbury, *Policraticus* 4.5, conveniently printed in Smith xxvi xxvii; see M. D. Reeve, in *Tests and Transmission* (Oxford 1983) 299. Folk tale mould: cf. n. 123; in particular, C. Santini, ibid. 117 24.

Byzantine recension.[112] It is eminently credible that a freedman should tell a werewolf-story at dinner: belief in them was widespread in the Roman world[113] and is closely linked to discussion of lupine rabies in medical authors.[114] Varro[115] told the story of an Arcadian turned into a wolf for ten years and werewolves also existed, according to Pomponius Mela, among the Neuri of SW Russia (2.1.14). Niceros' story therefore rests on a solid and widespread foundation of popular belief attested frequently in 'higher' literary texts. As it is presented in Petronius, it has also clear affinities with the ghost story, again widespread and popular at Rome at all levels, from Plaut. *Most*. Act 3 Sc. 2 to Plin. *Ep.* 7.27; Pliny writes to Licinius Sura: 'I'd like to know whether you think that ghosts exist.... For my part, I am disposed to believe that they do, especially after what I heard had happened to Curtius Rufus.' That is not enough; he goes on with a story *magis terribile... quod exponam ut accepi*. At its end he comments (12): 'for these details I can rely on the evidence of others, but here is a story I can vouch for myself....' There is a similar accumulation of ghost stories in Lucian, *Philopseudes* 31.[116] Thirdly, the witches of Trimalchio's own story, presented as an experience of his youth; at the end the consistently superstitious and credulous guests kiss the table in terror, praying that the Nocturnae stay at home when they return from dinner (64.1). Petronius' witches are conceived of (63.4–5), it seems, in the shape of owls, rather than bats,[117] and the story is of a widespread type.[118] Witches were not altogether a joking matter, in the sense that there was an entry *strigae* in [196/197]
Verrius Flaccus' dictionary (Festus p. 414.20L) and Q. Serenus Sammonicus (ch. 58) lists remedies for children frightened by them. Again, therefore, Petronius credibly sets in a diner's mouth an artistic version of a familiar type of popular tale.

The two other stories we meet in the *Cena* are of a decidedly different character: when the Parthians looted the Roman baggage train after the battle of Carrhae, they found in the baggage of Roscius, an officer, 'the licentious books of the *Milesiaca* of Aristides' (Plut. *Crassus* 31.2, 32.3); the Parthians affected shock

[112] [15] Conveniently available in Babrius and Phaedrus, ed. B. E. Perry (Loeb ed. 1965) no. 419, 500 1, 'the thief and the innkeeper', the latter serves to explain Petr.'s phrase (62.12) *copo compilatus*, for the Byzantine innkeeper does indeed lose his cloak. No commentary on the three tales within the *Cena*, by a scholar interested also in folktale, yet exists, but cf. n. 123.

[113] [16] Cf. Virg. *Buc.* 8.97f.; Prop. 4.5.13f.; Plin. *HN* 8.80f.; K. F. Smith, *PMLA* 9 (1894) 1 42; M. Schuster, *Wien. Stud.* 48 (1930) 144 65.

[114] [17] The key text is available in Galen, ed. Kühn 19.719 *Phys. Graec.* 2.281 Foerster *CMG* 8.2.151; cf. further Richter, 'Wolf (G) in Rel. u. Myth.' *RE* Suppl. 15:975.18ff.; W. H. Roscher, *Abhandlungen der Sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* 17 (1897) 11 12. See T. Pàroli (n. 26) 288 94.

[115] [18] Cf. August. *De civ. D.* 18.17; Plin. *HN* 8.81.

[116] [19] L. Collison Morley, *Greek and Roman Ghost Stories* (Oxford 1912). I have yet to find a serious discussion. For ghosts, cf. K. Latte, *Röm. Relig.* 327; F. Cumont, *After life in Roman Paganism* (Eng. tr., repr. New York 1959) 62f., 67f.; Friedlaender (n. 102) 3.307.

[117] [20] But see S. G. Oliphant, *TAPA* 44 (1913) 133 49.

[118] [21] Cf. Scobie (n. 92, 1983) 29. Schuster (n. 113) 165 78.

(32.4). Aristides was translated into Latin by one Sisenna, probably not the historian, and probably in the triumviral period, which meant that Roscius had had to read his lecherous tales in the Greek;[119] in such stories, 'no man's honesty and no woman's virtue are unassailable'.[120] Neither of Petronius' *Milesiaca* is an invention of his;[121] for the Ephebe of Pergamum there exists a parallel version, about 150 years later (Ael. fr. 69) and for the Widow of Ephesus there is a version actually earlier than Petronius.[122] Eumolpus, as we saw, typically presented the novella as *rem sua memoria factam* (110.8), but here at least it is certain that Petronius is re-telling an old story, possibly from Aristides/Sisenna. The story of Roscius demonstrates a diffused readership in antiquity, the rigorous formal structure of both stories in Petronius is characteristic of much folktale,[123] and the flawless, limpid, elegant Latin of both is Petronian narrative at its very best.

Whereas the inset stories in Petronius have attracted a vast amount of scholarly attention, the importance of art and music in the world of Trimalchio has been largely neglected: on 28.6, Smith observes: 'throughout the *Cena*, fondness of slaves and freedmen for music is emphasized', citing nine passages. That is rather to misplace and understate Petronius' accent: Trimalchio himself, married to a retired chorus-girl (52.8, 70.10, 74.13), loves the sound of trumpets,[124] has decided instructions to give his *choraules* (53.13), and sings old hits by Menecrates, possibly the *citharoedus* of Nero's reign (Suet. *Nero* 30.2). He has also given clearly exceptional instructions to his slave household to provide continuous 'background music'.[125] The entire banquet is articulated and 'orchestrated'; one notes again the intense concentration of musical performances in the opening pages and Petronius underscores heavily the exceptional character of the household: Encolpius is so surprised at the display of musical nail-cleaning that he wants to find out *an tota familia cantaret*. He asks for a drink and it is brought, with a song (31.4–7). Trimalchio enters his triclinium to music (28.5, 32.1) and leaves to the
[197/198] Dead March (78.5). Under Tiberius, Pacuvius, once governor of Syria, 'used to hold a regular burial sacrifice in his own honour, with wine and the usual funeral feasting and then would have himself carried from the dining room to his

[119] [22] E. D. Rawson, *CQ* 29 (1979) 332 3. Real pornography existed, elsewhere, for those who wanted it: Mart. 12.95.2; Mart. 11, ed. N. M. Kay, 101.

[120] [23] Abbott (n. 98) 134. On *Milesia*, cf. Walsh (n. 5) 10 11; Scobie (n. 92, 1969) 33 7; B. E. Perry, *The Ancient Romances* (Berkeley 1967) 94; R. Beck, *Phoenix* 33 (1979) 245 6, 249 51.

[121] [24] On the Widow, O. Pecere, *Petronio, La novella della matrona di Efeso* (Padova 1975), is extremely interesting; M. Pacchiena, *La novella Milesia in Petr.* (Lecce 1978) offers slender notes on the Widow and Ephebe.

[122] [25] Phaedr. Appx. 15; cf. also Perry (n. 112) no. 388, 493. Cf. M. Massaro, in *Atti del convegno intern. 'Letterature classiche e narratologia'* (Perugia 1981) 217 37.

[123] [26] *Atti del seminario interdisciplinare 'La novella Latina'* (Perugia 1985) (Roma 1986) offers various structuralist analyses, many most interesting, of all the stories inset in Petr. except for the Witches.

[124] [27] 53.12; cf. p. 242 for imitations. Note he has a *bucinator* sound the hours (26.9) and is carried out of dinner to funeral fanfares (78.5).

[125] [28] 26.9, 28.5, 31.4 5, 6 7, 32.1, 33.4, 34.1 (*bis*), 35.6, 36.1, 36.6, 47.8, 52.8, 70.7, 78.5.

chamber while eunuchs applauded and sang in Greek to a musical accompaniment βεβίωται, he has lived his life'.[126] Prof. Dunbabin's engrossing collection of material now shows clearly just how common mock funerals were and renders irrelevant repeated discussion of Petronius' debt to or mockery of Seneca. Guests and servants sing hits old and perhaps contemporary.[127] Music at dinner was altogether normal in early imperial Rome[128] and large slave households regularly contained specialist musicians.[129] But Petronius has disposed his material with extreme deliberation: apart from Trimalchio and his slaves, only Niceros sings to ward off fear (64.2), Plocamus has a musical past (64.2), and Habinnas' slave (69.4–5) imitates musicians as Trimalchio has done. Many of Trimalchio's slaves clearly double as musical performers; some (31.6, 35.6, 70.7; cf. 64.5) are explicitly incompetent. All T. Pomponius Atticus' slaves (Nep. *Att.* 13.3) could work at the preparation of books, though such 'doubling' was regarded as tight-fisted;[130] in Trimalchio's case, the position is less clear, but it seems certain that some of his servants do in fact 'double' (70.7, 36.6, 35.6, 31.4–7).

I have recently written at some length about Trimalchio as a patron of art (*Prudentia* 20 (1988), 9f.) and therefore keep my remarks here to a minimum: a rich man, such as Trimalchio, inevitably provided work and wages for numerous craftsmen and though some of the pieces in his household are presented as obviously vulgar and absurd,[131] much is clearly not[132] and may be paralleled clearly enough from the surviving remains. Some pieces were obviously to be bought outright, and some as clearly had been created on commission. Only one 'signed' piece is attested (50.4); Trimalchio's guests are clearly likely to be impressed by the weight of the silver they handle[133] and the weight is recorded on twelve items in the Boscoreale treasure;[134] the donkey bearing dishes carries its owner's name too, like eight of the Boscoreale pieces. We may notice, lastly, that Petronius uses the medium of art to underline the obsessive character of some of Trimalchio's tastes and interests, repeating themes (gladiators, his own career, dogs), in different art forms.

[126] [29] Sen. *Ep.* 12.8; cf. *Brev. Vit.* 20.3; Smith (n. 8) 271; Plut. *Ant.* 71.3 5; K. M. D. Dunbabin, *JDAI* 101 (1986) 194 5; Dio Cass. 67.9.

[127] [30] 35.6, 73.3; cf. 64.2 with Suet. *Cal.* 33.

[128] [31] Cf. Balsdon (n. 53) 45 and 365 n. 174; Friedlaender (n. 102) 2. 350; Marquardt (n. 47) 337; *SHA Hadr.* 26. 4; Plut. *Conv.* 712F.

[129] [32] Treggiari (n. 53, 1975) 56, (1969) 148.

[130] [33] Cic. *Pis.* 67; Treggiari (n. 53, 1976) 93, (1975) 71, n. 137.

[131] [34] 27.3, 29.8 (contrast Tib. 1.10.17) 35.1.

[132] [35] 50.2 6: it is clear that to collect 'Corinthian bronze' was no longer necessarily by Trimalchio's time a sign of luxury or vulgarity: Plin. *Ep.* 3.1.9, 3.6.1; against Sen. *Brev. Vit.* 12.1 (cf. Smith on 50.1) and Mart 9.59.11 (though Mart. is not consistently condemnatory, 14.42, 172, 177, 9.57.2). See B. Baldwin, *CPhil.* 68 (1973) 46 7. Mythological scenes on silverware, 'Homeric' paintings (n. 66), and representations of guard dogs (29.2, cf. Smith's note) were perfectly 'normal'.

[133] [36] 31.10, 33.7; cf. Smith on 52.1.

[134] [37] D. E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (London 1966) 19 *et passim*; I. Calabi Limentani, *Studi sulla società romana* (Milano 1958) 64, 74.

Religion and superstition in the *Cena* have been studied with minute attention and readers specially interested will generally find ampler discussion of detail elsewhere.[135]

Of religion in the traditional Roman sense, there is little enough to say, predictably, given the socio-economic context. The only passage where the ancient state religion is mentioned at any length is rendered deeply comical by its context:
[198/199] the speaker is Ganymedes, an oriental ex-slave, bearing the name of Jupiter's catamite. On his lips, the praises on traditional piety—the gods have left the colony for the citizens have left the gods—and the ritual of the *nudipedalia*, executed in pursuit of rain, ring passing droll.[136] Ganymedes' traditionalist grumbling apart, Rome's conventional deities are not absent from the *Cena*: Trimalchio has vulgar silver statues of the *lares* (cf. n. 131), a pastry figure of Priapus, and a marble statue of Venus, still (just) ancestor of the ruling Julio-Claudian house; the guests also still make libation to 'Augustus'.[137] Minerva accompanies Trimalchio kindly on his arrival at Rome (29.3), as do, at various stages, Fortuna, the three Parcae, and Mercury, patron deity of commerce (29.5, cf. 77.4). Pursuit of the twelve Olympians in the *index uerborum* to Petronius does yield some curiosities: at 59.6 Hermeros uses the Greek name and Doric form Athana; we learn that an euphemism for 'AC/DC' is *omnis mineruae homo* (43.8); not even Jupiter can stop a man with a full bladder relieving himself (47.4; cf. 44.5, 58.2, 55.5); 'holding Jupiter's throne'[138] is proverbial (cf. Smith's note) for 'being at the apogee of good fortune'. But the pantheon of Puteoli contains some far odder inhabitants: Petronius' *lares* bear names, Cerdo, Felicio, and Lucro (all names of course which allude to profit). Occupo (58.11) is clearly a deity of favourable opportunity and Incubo (38.8) is a guardian gnome of hidden treasure.[139]

Trimalchio is obsessed with death but does not believe in an afterlife,[140] though he and his guests use the word 'Orcus' often enough (34.10, 45.9, 46.7, 62.2) and are duly afraid of the semi-divine Nocturnae (64.1). The connexions between banquets and death is an old familiar theme and we have seen that the regular and premature celebration of funeral banquets was a widespread obsession; beside Domitian's (Dio Cass. 67.9), Trimalchio's is positively modest. His famous silver

[135] [38] M. Grondona, *La religione e la superstizione nella Cena Trimalchio* (Bruxelles 1980, *Coll. Latomus* 171) with numerous defects; cf. M. S. Smith, *CR* 32 (1982) 97 8; W. Deonna and M. Renard, *Croyances et superstitions de la table* (Bruxelles 1961, *Col. Latomus* 46); Schmeling and Stuckey (n. 30) s.v. 'Religion'; Smith (n. 8) index s.v. 'superstitions'.

[136] [39] 44.17, cf. Bodel (n. 6) 200.

[137] [40] Possibly to 'the Augustus', i.e. Nero, but probably not; Smith *ad loc.*; Grondona (n. 135) 84 5; Deonna (n. 135) 16.

[138] [41] If 'throne' (Heinsius' emendation) is what Petr. wrote; our one MS gives *coleum*, to which Smith offers serious objections.

[139] [42] Crusius (n. 73) 44 5; cf. Phaedr. 1.27, 4.21; Theocr. 17.106; Hor. *Sat.* 1.1.41 2; Suet. *Ner.* 31.4: buried treasure was taken seriously.

[140] [43] Cf. Bodel (n. 6) 217f. n. 32, Trimalchio is not wholly consistent: with 34.10 and 71.6 contrast 71.7 and 78.3.

skeleton, brought to table (34.7f.), Prof. Dunbabin has shown to fit admirably in a context familiar from literary sources and to have numerous archaeological parallels.[141] Trimalchio recites his will (71.1–5), makes dispositions for his tomb (71.5–11) and epitaph (71.12), and even carries out some elements of his funeral banquet (77.7–78.6). Trimalchio's sentiments about death are the same whether he is sober or drunk (34.7–10; 72.2–3). Petronius presents the freedman—in literary terms—as living in some kind of Underworld.[142] After Trimalchio reads his epitaph, he weeps; so do his wife, his great friend Habinnas, who will (71.5) execute his tomb, and indeed his whole *familia* (72.1). Seleucus (42.2), Phileros (43.1), Habinnas (72.4), and Dama (41.10) share Trimalchio's attitude of melancholy but trivialized hedonism;[143] this attitude is neither unusual nor unparalleled.[144] It would be seriously misleading for us to dismiss the 'carpe diem' outlook [199/200]
of the freedman as merely slight and irresponsible. The epigraphic parallels collected show that it is realistic and appropriate for Petronius to attribute such an outlook to his diners; realism only becomes comic when carried to excess or when expressed in inappropriate contexts or language. Religion, whether imported from the East or imitated from the native Puteolans, is clearly not presented as a significant element in private life and talk.

There is nothing incongruous in topics of popular philosophy surfacing at the banqueting-table, even at Trimalchio's level: philosophical themes occur with perhaps unexpected frequency on the popular stage—in the Atellana, there was the *Philosophia* on Pomponius;[145] among mimes, the anonymous *Faba*, perhaps against the Pythagoreans, and in particular the (again anonymous) *conuiuia poetarum et philosophorum*, in which the non-contemporary Euripides, Menander, Socrates, and Epicurus all took part. Both author and public were illiterate, snorts Cicero, *litteras non didicerunt*.[146] Among the fragments of the mime, there are numerous philosophical allusions; and a widespread tendency towards moralizing, clearly long and generally appreciated by the Roman public, has recently been analysed in detail.[147] When Seleucus laments his friend Chrysanthus, killed by a *malus fatus* (42.5), this is epitaphic language (*CLE* 148.2). When Ganymedes reminisces, *illud erat uiuere* (44.5), that recalls the *uenari, lauari, ludere, occ est uiuere* of a *xii scripta* board from Timgad.[148]

[141] [44] Deonna (n. 135) 99 102 and above all Dunbabin (n. 126) 194 5, 196 212.
[142] [45] Bodel (n. 6) 53 61; Cameron *loc. cit.* (n. 29).
[143] [46] Bodel (n. 6) 191 7; Grondona (n. 38) 25 32; contrast instances where Trimalchio's attitudes are markedly not shared by his guests, 198, 202.
[144] [47] Smith on 44.5; Bodel (n. 6) 197, with numerous epigraphic parallels; Grondona (n. 38) 24 32 (with fewer); Deonna (n. 38) 99 104 (cf. Lucr. 3.912 15); Dunbabin *loc. cit.* (n. 141); R. Lattimore, *Themes in Greek and Latin Epitaphs* (Urbana 1962) 260 3.
[145] [48] Ribbeck *CRF*, 241 3.
[146] [49] *Faba:* cf. *Romani mimi*, ed. Bonaria (Roma 1965) 36; *conuiuia*: Giancotti (n. 57) 119 28; Rawson (n. 53) 53; Cic. quoted by Jerome, *Ep.* 52.8.3 (Migne *PL* 22.534).
[147] [50] Rawson *loc. cit.* (n. 146); ead., *loc. cit.* (n. 101).
[148] [51] *ILS* 8626f.; cf. *BICS* 30 (1983) 86.

When Seleucus says that we are not more than a bubble, the proverb appears in Varro (*Rust.* 1.1.1) and Lucian (Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer* (Leipzig 1890, repr. Hildesheim, 1965) s.v. *bulla*); we are, he observes, no more than flies—and similar remarks appear in Herondas and Suetonius (cf. Otto s.v. *musca*, Smith *ad loc.*); we walk about, he remarks, like inflated bladders—and that appears not only in Sophron and Epicharmus but on the walls of Pompeii.[149] We observe a continuity in 'popular wisdom' transmitted, if we really do need a precise channel, through Sicilian comedy and the Roman popular stage, from the fifth century BC, to the walls of Pompeii, into which Petronius fits securely. When Trimalchio observes in verse *ergo uiuamus dum licet* (34.10), we think inevitably of the inscription on the Boscoreale cup ζῶν μετάλαβε τὸ γὰρ αὔριον ἄδηλον ἔστι.[150] When Trimalchio begins to wax wise about the miraculous powers of bees, Encolpius observes sourly (56.6) *iam etiam philosophos de negotio deiciebat*; it is only fair to remember that we have already found traces (n. 75) of popularized, trivialized Pythogoreanism in the passage—and in Roman popular culture. It is the context and manner of Trimalchio's remarks rather than the very fact that he makes them that rouses
[200/201] Encolpius' bile. Trimalchio lastly wishes it inscribed on his epitaph (71.12) that *nec umquam philosophos audiuit* (cf. D'Arms (n. 6), 110, 113): Trimalchio despite echoing snippets of popular wisdom is clearly no thinker. Wits, not wisdom, brought him wealth. He had had no formal education, no year of philosophy in Athens, but had nevertheless become the financial equal of any overeducated aristocrat. And in his disdain for Thought he not only mocks the pretensions of his 'betters' (cf. Hoggart (n. 2) 84–6), but also—since Petronius is well able to tease us with multiple allusions—pretentiously lays claim to an old Roman aristocratic prejudice against philosophers, which surfaces also in Tacitus' embarrassed remarks on Agricola's juvenile intellectualism.[151] But clearly alongside scraps of traditional wisdom and snippets of Greek philosophy, the mental world of the freedmen, who are after all presented in ample detail as barely educated oriental ex-slaves, is dominated, as we would expect, by astrology and superstition.[152]

The importance of astrology is indeed, as is so much else, signalled to the reader at the very beginning, by the presence[153] of the tablet of the moon and seven planets with indications of days astrologically lucky and unlucky. The great silver dish (35), bearing the twelve signs and food appropriate to each is, though, a trap to the unwary. *Nouitas tamen omnium conuertit oculos* exclaims Encolpius (35.1); commentators have however noted that such dishes, elaborately described, already

[149] [52] *CIL* 4.8492; cf. Gigante (n. 4) 106, n. 49.
[150] [53] Gigante (n. 4) pl. xiii with 101; Dunbabin (n. 126) figs. 37 8, 224 6.
[151] [54] Tac. *Agr.* 4.2 with Ogilvie/Richmond's note; cf. Smith's note here.
[152] [55] Cf. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Continuity and Change in Roman Religion* (Oxford 1979) 155 66.
[153] [56] 30.4; cf. S. Eriksson, *Wochentagsgötter, Mond und Tierkreis*, Stockholm 1956 (Stud. Gr. Lat. Gothob. 3) 40 2.

appear in later Greek comedy (Alexis fr. 261 Kock). With the aid of this dish, Trimalchio describes the correspondences between signs and characters in some detail (39.5ff.); formally, *scholastici* are misplaced, for they belong with *rhetores* in §13, but Trimalchio wants a dig at Agamemnon, which the guests appreciate, *laudamus urbanitatem mathematici*. At the end the guests all shout *Sophos* and Trimalchio is compared to the astronomers Hipparchus and Aratus. But the most detailed recent study of the dish[154] concluded most emphatically that Petronius does not attribute to Trimalchio serious prognoses *à la* Manilius, in the manner of orthodox recent astrology (indeed Petr. studiously avoids any echo of Manilius); rather Petronius rings changes on the literal, verbal interpretation of the signs—for instance (§12) *in aquario copones*—who notoriously water their wine—and *cucurbitae*, notoriously symbols of stupidity and watery inside. The 'literal' method is itself ancient, but Petronius takes it to comic extremes and thereby pokes fun at the entire art (Eriksson 74–5). Trimalchio's approach, though ridiculous, is at least orderly and consistent—and that is a great contrast to his mythology! Notably interesting is 76.10f.; when Trimalchio begins to carry on business through agents, he is reluctant at the outset, *sane nolentem me negotium* [201/202] *meum agere*, but *exhortauit mathematicus*, who turned up in the *colonia* by chance, a *Graeculio* by name Sarapa. There seems no escape from the conclusion that in this coherent and subtle account (d'Arms (n. 6) 103), Petronius thinks it not implausible to add the detail that the hugely successful financier Trimalchio consults an astrologer on his business affairs.[155]

That Trimalchio and his guests are also acutely superstitious is a commonplace.[156] We may note the concentration of significant examples at 74.1: Trimalchio is worried by the time at which the cock crows (Deonna 91–5), splashes wine round a table-lamp and pours more under the table (Deonna 32–3, 60–2) and changes a ring from one hand to the other (Deonna 73–5).[157] The language of the *Cena* likewise reflects superstitious obsessions: *Gaio feliciter* (50.1), *praefiscini* (73.6), 'so help me', to avert the evil eye when praising a slave warmly, *melius loquere* (55.1), *saluum sit quod tango* (63.6: where *did* the *baro* wound the witch?), *ita crescam—patrimonio non corpore* 70.1 (Trim. is concerned that his wish shall not be taken in the wrong sense). Many of the most striking examples of such language concern Trimalchio himself (though cf. 64.1); it would have been easy for Petronius to spread such detail more evenly over several characters; as it is, he has not done so, and we conclude that he wishes the host to be thought of as perceptibly more superstitious than the guests.

[154] [57] Eriksson (n. 153) 38 84: excellent (see Riedinger, *Gnomon* 1958, 256 7) but ignored by Petronian studies; de Vreese, so often cited, is idle fantasy. On the dish see too K. F. C. Rose and J. P. Sullivan, *CQ* 18 (1968) 180 4.

[155] [58] Cf. R. MacMullen, *Anc. Soc.* 2 (1971) 109 10.

[156] [59] Grondona (n. 135) 77 94; Deonna (n. 135) *passim*; Smith (n. 8) index s.v.

[157] [60] Cf. spitting on one's chest, 74.13, with Mayor's n. on Juv. 7.112 and K. F. Smith on Tib. 1.2, 54, 96.

We come lastly to the central problem of literacy, numeracy, and education: as emerges repeatedly (cf. also Walsh (n. 5), 118f.), the opening chapters of the *Cena* carry a concentration of notably important motifs, and Trimalchio's house strikes Encolpius as full of labels: 28.6–7: *in cuius poste libellus erat cum hac inscriptione fixus, quisquis seruus sine dominico iussu foras exierit, accipiet plagas centum*. So too, there is *caue canem, quadrata littera*, in capitals (29.2); the picture of the young Trimalchio, as goods in the slave-market (labelled with *titulus*), has an explanatory inscription (29.3–4); on the door of the triclinium, there is a dedication to Trimalchio by his *dispensator* Cinnamus; below, to one side there is a notice of the days when the master is dining out; to the other a calendar of days lucky and unlucky (30.2–4); the silver donkey bears Trimalchio's name (31.10). In all the rest of the *Cena* I have to hand only another five examples. In the opening pages, therefore, Petronius sets out to create a concentrated and calculated impression: the abundant references to inscriptions in the opening chapters only become apparent on a detailed analytical reading of the passage. Nor are the individual inscriptions especially comical or noteworthy, save perhaps for the typically 'imperial' tone of the first. Petronius therefore presents Trimalchio as
[202/203] laboriously literal-minded, determined that no detail shall escape the notice of his *familia* or visitors. Complaints of trivial and unnecessary labelling of paintings are widespread in Greek writing of the second Sophistic.[158] But Trimalchio, the triumphantly successful ex-accountant, lets no detail pass unrecorded. His pride is intensely fussy; throughout the *Cena*, he is preoccupied with minutiae. The inscriptions[159] therefore have limited relevance to any debate about the levels of literacy in first-century AD Campania.[160] Rather, they draw attention to an aspect of Trimalchio himself as perceived by Encolpius. But they do suggest that Trimalchio is, if you will, bewitched, or entranced by the power of the written word, by the binding, almost magical effect of durable communication. We may note in particular the climactic delivery by Trimalchio, on the verge of tears, of his own epitaph (71.11–12). It will shortly become clear that Trimalchio's guests are 'functionally literate'. That goes hand-in-hand with their economic success.[161] Illiteracy was not an insuperable impediment to prosperity, but Harris's conclusion that there was an economic level above which inability to write was unusual is confirmed by Petronius' text. The topics of conversation at the *Cena* have been analysed with some care,[162] but we should also recognize a particular emphasis laid upon the importance of education, literacy, and numeracy. In the world of

[158] [61] Unnecessary labels: Horsfall (n. 58) 206; inscriptions: 34.6, 34.7, 38.10, 16 (mentioned in conversation), 71.11 12; E. E. Best, *CJ* 61 (1965) 72 6.

[159] [62] Best (n. 158) 73; G. Cavallo, in *Alfabetismo e cultura scritta. Atti del seminario* (Perugia 1978) 126.

[160] [63] Bodel (n. 6) 139 42; Harris (n. 23) 102 11.

[161] [64] Bodel (n. 6) 77; Harris (n. 23) 107 8.

[162] [65] Cf. (n. 96); Walsh (n. 5) 121; Bodel (n. 6) 180 4.

Petronius' readers, these abilities had long been taken for granted; in that of Trimalchio's guests reading, writing and arithmetic were, rather, exciting novelties, keys to success, prosperity, advancement. The *Cena*, I suggest, portrays a world of first-generation literates or semi-literates. Elementary education is novel and important: the level at which it is discussed is crucial. Little wonder that Trimalchio wants to live surrounded by words—in Large Letters, too, some of them (29.2, 58.7).

Hermeros, according to S. F. Bonner,[163] declared (58.7) that he could divide money, or weights, by a hundred 'in which case his arithmetic must have far outstripped his reading and writing'. Hermeros' actual words are *non didici geometrias, critica et alogias nenias* (cf. 46.4) *sed lapidaries litteras scio, partes centum dico ad aes ad pondus ad nummum.*[164] *Partes centum* refers to the calculation of 1 per cent; that is 1 per cent monthly or 12 per cent p. a., while *ILS* 7753 commemorates a boy of 20 who could calculate 300 *partes*, i.e. 1/3 of 1 per cent pcm, i.e. 4 per cent p. a., the rate of the interest current at the time.[165] Interest is calculated decimally but paid monthly; the parts of the *as* and the divisions of an inheritance are calculated duodecimally and the Roman system of numerals does not appear well suited to advanced arithmetic![166] However, the abacus, in expert hands, is an extremely efficient instrument (cf. Bonner (n. 31) 187–8 for systems of calculating with the fingers, surprisingly advanced); secondly, much of the difficulty, apparently so great to us, was diminished by early and insistent memorization, as Horace reveals: 5/12–1/12 = 1/3, that is *quincunx* less *uncia* makes *triens.*[167] The same terminology is applicable to parts of the *aes*, *pondus*, and *pes*, to parts of an inheritance, and to monthly interest payments! To veterans of traditional school arithmetic and of English pre-metric coinage, weights, and measures ('if you pay a man 3s 9½d to carry sixteen bushels of coal for 1 mile and 4⅔ furlongs, how much . . . ?'), that appears neither arcane nor especially difficult; the age of the calculator inspires fear, ignorance, and the death of the memory! In the case of Hermeros, *aes* refers to the *as*, *nummus* to the *sesterius*, and *pondus* to the pound, a unit of weight divided duodecimally into *unciae*. I am not at all convinced that his numbers far outstripped his letters (see below). [203/204]

Echion has a *cicaro*, a little pet, who, he declares proudly, *iam quattuor partes dicit* (46.3); Trimalchio talks of kissing *his* boy not because of his beauty, but

[163] [66] (n. 31) 183.

[164] [67] R. W. Daniel, *ZPE* 40 (1980) 153 9 emends grandiosely; it is utterly improbable that Hermeros should speak in terms of the *quadriuium* and the terminology is anyway, it seems, anachronistic; E. D. Rawson, *JRS* 77 (1987) 214 15.

[165] [68] F. Hultsch, *NJahrb.* 139 (1889) 335 43 is fundamental; cf. Bonner (n. 31) 180 on the abacus and Bodel (n. 6) 136 7.

[166] [69] Cf. G. E. M. de Ste Croix, in (ed. Littleton) *Studies in the History of Accounting* (London 1956) 50 82, 60 1; W. F. Anderson, *CPhil.* 51 (1956) 145 50.

[167] [70] Hor. *Ars P.* 325 30, with Brink's notes; Bonner (n. 31) 183.

because he is so good, because he can divide by ten and read a book at sight (75.3), *librum ab oculo legit*. Book and script are not specified; again, we might suspect a possible disparity of achievement in literacy and numeracy; clearly division by 4 and by 10 represents an early stage. At the opposite extreme, we recall the tantalizingly inexplicit picture of the young Trimalchio learning accountancy (29.4). In our impatient pursuit of 'progress', we have forgotten all our forbears ever knew about the indelible value to the memory of slow, early, mechanical repetitious absorption of material; fraction-tables survive on Egyptian papyrus.[168]

Trimalchio's favourite, we saw, *ab oculo legit*. Echion's *cicaro* is unwilling to work, but has learned his letters, *scit quidem litteras* (46.5); he has already given Greek the boot and is making good progress with Latin (*et Latinas coepit non male appetere*). Trimalchio himself proclaims to the rhetor Agamemnon, butt of the freedmen's disdain for cultural refinements:[169] *etiam si causas non ago, in domusionem tamen litteras didici* (48.4); I am, that is, literate enough for everyday needs, for household purposes; he had found *litterae* the hardest skill of all to acquire (56.1): becoming a doctor or a moneychanger were lesser *artificia*. Echion's *cicaro*, similarly, has been bought *aliquot libra rubricata, quia uolo illum ad domusionem aliquid de iure gustare. habet haec res panem. nam litteris satis inquinatus est* (46.7). Echion thus well knew that as far as reading, writing, and grammar were concerned, there existed in his world a limit of utility, soon reached. *Satis inquinatus*, he says: *in domusionem*, declares Trimalchio. But Trimalchio went on and learned accountancy—to be made a dispensator or
[204/205] steward. And Echion's little friend (Primigenius) is to learn a bit of law: enough to get by, clearly a great advantage in the world of Trimalchio and Caecilius Jucundus.[170] He thinks in passing of sending him to Agamemnon (*iam tibi discipulus crescit cicaro meus*), for, that is, the next, rhetorical stage of the classic literary education, but then thinks of his friend the ex-street-porter Phileros, now a *causidicus*.[171] Primigenius may rebel against his at-home legal studies; if so, he will learn an *artificium* and become a barber (very low), and auctioneer (no better)[172]—or a *causidicus*. Clearly, not much law was required. But for Echion, the essential point is that literacy is a treasure, *litterae thesaurum est* and a skill is something permanent, *et artificium numquam moritur*. As in Trimalchio's own case, that is, literacy alone is not quite enough; some sort of 'professional training', however simple, is required to transform literacy into

[168] [71] Conveniently summarized, Bonner (n. 31) 180 1; cf. R. MacMullen, *Roman Government's Response to Crisis* (New Haven 1976) 578.

[169] [72] Cf. 48.4, 46.1, *non es nostrae fasciae et ideo pauperorum uerba derides, scimus te prae litteras fatuum esse* 58.7 with Bodel (n. 6) 190; cf. 3 for the riot of linguistic error inspired in the freedmen by the presence of an 'educated' person.

[170] [73] J. Andreau, *Les affaires de Monsieur Jucundus* (Rome 1974, *CÉFR* 17).

[171] [74] Bodel (n. 6) 107 n. 45, 219, n. 43; Juv. 10.121, 7.113 (where cf. Mayor's note); F. Schulz, *Roman Legal Science* (Oxford 1946) 108; W. Kunkel, *Herkunft . . . röm. Juristen* (Graz 1967) 148.

[172] [75] R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations* (New Haven 1974) 140 s.v. *praeco, tonsor.*

earning capacity. That is equally true in a third, more modest case, that of Hermeros: unlike Echion, he appears robustly and unequivocally opposed to any sort of further literary studies, though the text of Petronius lures us on to the thinnest ice at a key moment, 58.7.[173] He knows only *lapidarias litteras*, but can calculate his 1 per cent pcm. Even school arithmetic turns out to be some help in the real world. He had an *artificium* for which he gives thanks to the gods; what it is is not clear even from Bodel's meticulous study.[174] He may mean enough literacy, numeracy, even law to make a good businessman (cf. Booth (n. 173) 16). The *lapidariae litterae* he knows have caused much perplexity.[175] Harris[176] compares him to P. Annius Seleucus, attested on a Pompeian wax tablet, whose slave Nardus writes for him because he *negaret se litteras scire*. Not at all: Seleucus is greatly Hermeros' inferior, for the latter can read capitals, that is, one supposes, notices and inscriptions, and Petronius' phrasing does not exclude that he can sign his name, tracing it laboriously letter by letter: a 'slow writer' in the terminology of the papyri.[177] He was[178] trained at an elementary school, not within the slave household, and clearly a little went a long way. Bodel (n. 6) thinks Hermeros literate enough to have worked as an agent or clerk; that may be optimistic; even an illiterate master would surely have realized that there were better scribes to be found than the young Hermeros:[179] it is no surprise to find functional literacy widespread among freedmen, since slave-owners were so easily able to augment the utility and commercial value of their slaves by training them within, or outside the household, in basic literacy and in other skills.[180] The latest epigraphic discoveries, only now undergoing detailed analysis, go far to confirm the general realism of the *Cena* and to explain some of the problems which Petronius' text presents in respect of the engrossing question of popular literacy in the Roman [205/206] world, currently the object of heated debate. At the same time, detailed analysis of popular culture in the world of Trimalchio has served also to shed light on problems and techniques of narrative and characterization: Trimalchio is unique among his friends also, it emerges, in certain 'cultural' preferences!

[173] [76] Cf. n. 164 for Daniel's imprudences; Hermeros' education is well analysed by A. D. Booth, *TAPA* 109 (1979) 16 17.

[174] [77] (n. 6) 111 79, see esp. 144.

[175] [78] Cf. 29.1 *quadrata littera scriptum*; Bodel (n. 6) 171, n. 65 for bibliography; see e.g. G. Susini, *The Roman Stonecutter* (Oxford Blackwell, 1973) 52.

[176] [79] Harris (n. 23) 108, n. 26; cf. id., *Quaderni di Storia* 27 (1988) 16; he still fails to take into account the many possibilities the expression opens up; cf. Cavallo (n. 159) 122, n. 10.

[177] [80] Cf. Daniel (n. 164) 157f., quite rightly, with ample references.

[178] [81] Cf. n. 173, 58.13 with Bodel (n. 6) 135 6.

[179] [82] Cf. M. Corbier, in *L'urbs* (Rome 1987, *CÉFR* 98) 58 9.

[180] [83] Booth (n. 173) 11 19; C. Forbes, *TAPA* 86 (1955) 321 60; S. L. Mohler, *TAPA* 71 (1940) 262 80.

20
Chloreus' trousers

In his portrayal of Augustus' triumph (13–15 August 29 BC) on Aeneas' shield, Virgil describes (*Aen.* 8.722f.) part of the procession:

> incedunt uictae longo ordine gentes
> quam uariae linguis, habitu tam uestis et armis.

In the historical procession there were placards with depictions of countries, battles, rivers, and non-present captured enemies etc., but there also filed past small 'symbolic' groups of real, living prisoners (in addition to the kings and military leaders—*in triumphis meis ducti sunt ante currum meum reges aut regum liberi nouem* (*RGDA* 4.3)—often already condemned to death), each preceded by a placard to indicate the country of origin, as can still be clearly seen on the Arch of Trajan at Benevento.[1] Virgil chose seven national groups and three rivers. The number and variety of the groups in the actual procession of 29 BC served as a living symbol, impressive and unforgettable,[2] of the vast range of conquered
[57/58] countries (see also *Aen.* 8.685–8, 705f.), displaying differences in language,[3] clothing, and the arms they normally carried (see also *Aen.* 8.685 *uarris Antonius armis*), for the procession included carts full of captured weapons. Propertius, as well as admiring the *cara . . . puella*, gazed in wonder at the *bracati militis arcus* (3.4.18). For him the enemies' barbarism was symbolized by their trousers, a characteristic of Persians (and also of Medes, Armenians, etc.; Ov. *Tr.* 5.10.34; Juv. 2.169) and well suited to rousing racial prejudice in the heart of a Roman: *Galli bracas deposuerunt, latum clauum sumpserunt.*[4] But, as we should

[Translated from: *Rivista di Filologia* 117 (1989) 47–61: 'I pantaloni di Cloreo'.]

[1] [57.1] M. Rotili, *L'Arco di Traiano a Benevento* (Roma 1972) 101–11; I. S. Ryberg, *Rites of the State Religion in Roman Art*, *MAAR* 22 (1955) 147 n. 18, 155; J. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung* 2[2] (Leipzig 1884) 584ff.; R. Cagnat, in Dar.–Sag. 5.489; W. Ehlers, 'Triumphus' in *RE* 13A:503.

[2] [57.2] As I well remember of the military forces and heads of the Commonwealth in the procession for the coronation of Queen Elizabeth in 1953. For similar processions, but infinitely more imposing, see J. E. C. Bodley, *The Coronation of Edward the Seventh* (London 1903), 454–79 and, for Queen Victoria's splendid jubilee in 1897, the brilliant description by J. Morris in *Pax Britannica* (Harmondsworth 1979) 31–3.

[3] [57.3] Cf. Plin. *HN* 3.39 and 7.7; Philo *Leg.* 147; Aelius Aristides *Or.* 26, 29, and 94. A linguistic uniformity, in reality illusory, proclaimed by the panegyrists as an advantage of the Roman Empire.

[4] [58.1] *Carm. triumph. ap*. Suet. *Iul.* 80.2 (*FPR* ed. Büchner, p. 120 n. 3, 2); R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations* (New Haven 1974) 193f. n. 55; A. N. Sherwin-White, *Racial Prejudice in Imperial Rome* (Cambridge 1970) 58f.; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (London 1979) 219–22. Tacitus says of

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expect, in the *Aeneid* Virgil offers us a rather more complex attitude towards languages, clothing, arms, and customs.

In Homer, the details of daily life in the epic world follow no tidy rules: the Trojans were 'gorgeous, frivolous and noisy', the Achaeans 'serious and grim';[5] nor did they even share total linguistic unity.[6] The linguistic differences are continued in the *Homeric Hymns*, and were accentuated, after the Persian Wars, by the tragic poets[7] in the context of a more general Asia/Europe, them/us polarization; from the fourth century another cause for condemnation had devel- [58/59]
oped,[8] of the Trojans as cult-followers of the Magna Mater. But only if we combine *Phrygiis . . . armis* of *Aen.* 11.769 with *barbara tegmina crurum* of 11.777[9] do we find in the *Aeneid* an allusion to the possible identification of Trojans as barbarians (still in the context of trousers!), specifically with reference to a particular character, Chloreus, *sacer Cybelae . . . olimque sacerdos* (11.768), clearly defined as foreign and exotic in the bellicose world of the final books.

Aen. 2.423 *ora sono discordia* can be interpreted as a reference to a true linguistic distinction between Greeks and Trojans: usually in the epic world no linguistic barrier appears to prevent exchanges between different groups, but Virgil makes use of differences to provoke, for example, the crisis in the episode of Trojans disguised as Greeks. *mutemus clipeos Danaumque insignia nobis* at 2.389 and then their *mentita . . . tela* at 422 presuppose two different styles of weaponry, and Achaemenides explicitly recognizes *Dardanios habitus et Troia . . . arma* (3.596f.) even from afar. And much later in the narrative Latinus' messenger *ingentes ignota in ueste reportat aduenisse uiros* (7.167f.): terms often

Britain under Agricola (21.2), *inde etiam habitus nostri honor et frequens toga*; improbable; J. P. Wild, *ANRW* 2 12.3.409.

[5] [58.2] J. Griffin, *Homer on Life and Death* (Oxford 1980) 4; a contrast already observed by the *scholia Townleiana* (*ad Il.* 3.2).

[6] [58.3] See, still, the old and excellent discussion in T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age* (New York 1907) 25 7; H. C. Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind* (Cambridge 1965) 8f.

[7] [58.4] *Hom. Hymn Ven.* 113 16; Pind. *Isthm.* 6.24; Fraenkel's notes *ad* Aesch. *Ag.* 1050, 1061, and those of Thomson *ad* Aesch. *Ag.* 1043 5; Soph. *Trach.* 1060, *Ant.* 1002; Eur. *Or.* 1387, 1394 with Willink's notes; P. Walcot, *Greek Drama in its Theatrical and Social Context* (Cardiff 1976) 69f.; H. H. Bacon, *Barbarians in Greek Tragedy* (New Haven 1961) 64 73; E. Hall, *ZPE* 73 (1988) 15 18. For the polarization in general, vd. Aesch. *Pers.* 182 3; Hdt. 1.4.4; T. J. Haarhoff, *The Stranger at the Gate* (London 1938) 28f.; W. Suerbaum, *Poetica* 1 (1967) 197; V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms*, *Gymnasium* 3 (1963) 167 (with ample bibl.); see also H. Diller, *Hellenen Barbaren* in *Grecs et barbares* (Genève 1962, *Entretiens Hardt* 8) 39 68; A. Momigliano, *Terzo contributo* (Roma 1966) 491; N. Loraux, *L'invention d'Athènes* (Paris 1981) 66 9.

[8] [59.1] H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* (Paris 1912) 21; H. Herter, *RAC* s.v. 'effeminatus', 622f. In Virgil, vd. *Aen.* 4.215 17, 261 3; 9.141f., 616 20; 12.99f.; on these passages, not always studied in their rhetorical context or with historiographical attention, see Horsfall, *Latomus* 30 (1971) 1113 14 [ch. 1, 6 7], and 'Numano Remulo', *Enc. Virg.* 3.778 9; (to the bibl. collected there should be added that in M. Dickie, *PLLS* 5 (1985) 165 221, in particular 166, and in M. Pani, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere Fil. dell'Univ. di Bari* 18 (1975) 68).

[9] [59.2] V. G. Walser, 'Barbarus', *Enc. Virg* 1.455 7; Chloreus' trousers are not considered by Buchheit (n. 7) 167, or by Suerbaum (n. 7) 197f.

used by the Romans to describe barbarians are applied here to the Trojans.[10] There has been much, indeed too much,[11] discussion of how the Trojans in the *Aeneid* are often condemned by their rivals and enemies as luxurious orientals (e.g. 4.216 (Iarbas); 9.614–16 (Numanus Remulus); 12.99ff. (Turnus)). Iarbas' accusation is confirmed in the narrative (4.261–4), an exception that serves to
[59/60] underline a moment of extreme moral weakness on Aeneas' part. The Trojan Chloreus on the other hand is a priest of Cybele and his exotic clothes serve a dramatic function—they distract Camilla's attention, and cause her to be struck down by Arruns. But the Virgilian narrative avoids the anti-Trojan prejudice which we find in Homer: in general the Trojans are no more luxurious nor less valiant than the Italic characters portrayed. On the contrary.[12]

Jupiter (1.282) promises Venus that Juno, together with Jupiter himself, will hold dear the *Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam*: a lapidary formulation used by the emperor Augustus, exasperated by the Romans' reluctance to wear the toga in the forum.[13] Clearly, neither Augustan Romans nor Latins were yet *togatae gentes* even although the antiquarian authors spoke of statues of Romulus and Titus Tatius wearing the toga.[14] This was a delicate subject to discuss in a passage.

Juno asks Jupiter that, after the peace and union between Trojans and Latins:

> ne uetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos . . . (iubeas) . . .
> aut uocem mutare uiros aut uertere uestem.
>
> (12.823 5)

To which Jupiter replies:

> sermonem Ausonii patrium moresque tenebunt,
> utque est nomen erit;
>
> (834ff.)

I shall reduce both the citations and discussion of a much-debated passage[15] to the minimum. In the lines cited there are three arguments to be distinguished:

[10] [59.3] Sherwin White (n. 4) 57 9; Balsdon (n. 4) 214 16, 219 22. On the use of clothing in Virgil, very few agree with the excellent, and provocative, observations of M. Griffith, *CPhil.* 80 (1985) 312.

[11] [59.4] See the bibliography here at n. 4.

[12] [60.1] See the very intelligent discussion by R. P. Winnington Ingram, *PVS* 11 (1971) 61 74; see also Dickie (n. 8) 166; Suerbaum (n. 7) 196f.; Horsfall in *Enc. Virg.* (n. 8).

[13] [60.2] Suet. *Aug.* 40.

[14] [60.3] Plin. *HN* 34, 23; Dickie (n. 8) 171; E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London 1985) 243.

[15] [60.4] Always useful: W. Warde Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (Oxford 1919) 137f.; Buchheit (n. 7) 139 43; Suerbaum (n. 7) 194 7; D. West, *G&R* 21 (1974) 24; T. P. Wiseman, in *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, ed. T. Woodman and D. West (Cambridge 1984) 120; Pani (n. 8) 66f.

(i) Juno shows her fear that the Trojans will exercise their rights as victors to impose their name on the Latins.[16] But the historical facts and her consort's words offer her comfort: the people will bear (and in fact will always bear) the name of 'Latins', not of 'Trojans' (explicitly, 12.836f.; cf. 12.189–91, 826f.; 6.756f.; Warde Fowler (n. 15) 137; Buchheit (n. 7) 143). [60/61]

(ii) The Latins will speak Latin (12.837 *omnes uno ore Latinos*) and not a dialect of Asia Minor; that is, on this occasion the victors will lose yet another characteristic of their national identity, their language (Suerbaum (n. 7) 195–6). In a certain sense (at least at a propaganda level) this is a victory for Latin (but also, paradoxically, for Greek, as the panegyricists observed, cf. n. 3) against the danger of having Mediterraneanean civilization transformed into a Babel of linguistic diversity.

(iii) The Trojans must also abandon—as in fact they already have, with a few exceptions—the luxurious clothing of their ancestors. At least after the foundation of Rome, their descendants will wear the Roman toga. Virgil only risks mentioning Chloreus' trousers, or deems them worthy of a mention, through the grim and dismissive[17] *barbara tegmina crurum*. But even if they leave aside their *bracae*, they will retain their religious identity (for example, 3.408f.; 5.596–602; 12.192; Aeneas' words repeated by Jupiter himself, 12.836).[18] A more than adequate compensation.

[16] [61.1] Buchheit (n. 7) 143; Suerbaum (n. 7) 185f.; A. Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus in Vergils Aeneis* (Heidelberg 1967) 39 with n. 62; vd. *Aen.* 1.277; 12.194, 823; 11.247; also 10.145; 3.18; 10.200; 7.63; 8.358; 3.166 1.533; 8.54.

[17] [61.2] W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der röm Lit.* (Stuttgart 1924, repr. 1964) 267, and in *La lingua poetica latina*, ed. A. Lunelli (Bologna 1980) 43; Nisbet Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.7 *olentis uxoris mariti*; R. Syme, *Tacitus 1* (Oxford 1958) 342 4.

[18] [61.3] I am not therefore prepared to agree with the idea of a Virgilian devaluation of the Trojan element in the Roman state, as had been done ten years before the *Aeneid* in Horace, *Carm.* 3.3; vd. A. La Penna, *Orazio e l'ideologia del principato* (Torino 1963) 61 72; Horsfall (n. 8), *Latomus*, 1116 [ch. 1, 9]; Buchheit (n. 7) 145 50; Pani (n. 8) 65 85.

21
Barbara tegmina crurum

A definition from the grammarian Sacerdos (third century AD), *cum res humiles subleuantur tumore aliquo dictionis*, is a perfect fit for the stylistic phenomenon which I discuss in this short study; but, unfortunately, neither the term so defined (*anasceua*), nor the preceding definition in the grammarian's text, that of *cacozelia* (*aut magnarum rerum humilis dictio, aut minimarum oratio tumens*), of which the second part would also serve as a general definition of my phenomenon here, follow the normal usage of the ancient grammatical texts;[1] Jocelyn's ample study makes it clear that Sacerdos' entire passage is both anomalous and truly misleading.

Some months ago I began with the trousers of the Phrygian priest, Chloreus, described by Virgil as *barbara tegmina crurum* (*Aeneid* 11.777); at that point I was more interested in the clothing[2] than in the style of the phrase, but the use in the epic of a mannered and possibly also lightly humorous expression for an object both—let us say—banal and not per se highly heroic left me curious: and so I began to look systematically for other examples of this phenomenon, and for possible explanations in terms of antiquarian stylistic criticism.[3]

I start with a list of several examples, chosen with wide criteria, with the aim of defining more exactly the origins of Virgil's use, which I have found in him and elsewhere, adding some parallel passages and the scholiasts' observations:

Buc. 1.21: *ouium teneros depellere fetus* with Serv. *periphrasis agnorum*.[4]

G. 1.295: *aut dulcis musti Volcano decoquit umorem* (vd. *Moretum* 37, *infra*).

[Translated from: *Maia* 41 (1989) 251 4. 'For the seventieth birthday of Scevola Mariotti'.]

[1] Keil, *Gramm. Lat.* 6, 455, 12 21; discussed by H. D. Jocelyn, 'Vergilius Cacozelus', *PLLS* 2 (1979) 95 6, 107; Quintilian, 2.4.18, offers a conventional definition of ἀνασκευή.

[2] See now, 'I pantaloni di Cloreo', *Riv. Fil.* 117 (1989) 57 61 [ch. 20, 258 61] where I refer to several old and somewhat inadequate discussions of Virgilian periphrasis.

[3] Helen de Witt, an elegant connoisseur of ancient *decorum*, replied to my questions with her customary generosity.

[4] I offer here an incomplete list of passages where Serv. observes *periphrasis* or *circumlocutio* (vd. ad *Aen.* 1.65). Cf. in general H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* 2.1 (München 1973) 305 6; Serv. Dan. *ad G.* 1.2 *terram uertere* περιφραστιχῶς (*arare*); Serv. *ad G.* 1.134; Serv. *ad G.* 1.134; Serv. Dan. *ad G.* 1.162; Serv. *ad G.* 2.26; 3.127; 4.463; *ad Aen.* 1.65; 1.297 (divine names); 1.310 *sub rupe cauata* for *spelunca*; 3.134 *arcemque attollere tectis* with the note *poetica periphrasis, id domos aedificare*; 3.191; 448; 573 *candente fauilla, id est scintillis et bona periphrasis*; 591; 4.6; 514 *dicunt autem per periphrasin agreste papauer significari*; 5.595; Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 6.22; Serv. *ad Aen.* 7.120 *fatis mihi debita tellus: bona periphrasis est, ne 'fatalis' diceret, quod est medium* (cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.165 τῶν μέσων *est*); 7.561; 740; Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 9.342 *periphrasis est ne uerbo humili stertentem diceret*; Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 10.377; Serv. *ad Aen.* 11.786; vd. Macr. *Sat.* 6.6 on *G.* 4.44.

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1.391f.: vd. *ad Aen.* 1.177 and *Aen.* 4.254, *infra.*

2.320 (the stork): *candida uenit auis longis inuisa colubris.*

Aen. 1.122f.: *laxis laterum compagibus omnes accipiunt inimicum imbrem rimisque fatiscunt.*

1.174–9: *ac primum silici scintillam excudit Achates succepitque ignem foliis atque* [251/252]
arida circum nutrimenta dedit rapuitque in fomite flammam. tum Cererem corruptam undis Cerealiaque arma expediunt fessi rerum, frugesque receptas et torrere parant flammis et frangere saxo. (vd. *Aen.* 6.7f., *infra*, and *Moretum* 8–9, 19–27). At *Cerealiaque arma* Servius observes (177) *fugiens uilia ad generalitatem transiit propter carminis dignitatem et rem uilem auxit honestate sermonis, ut alibi, ne lucernam diceret, ait*:—(*G.* 1.391) *testa cum ardente uiderent scintillare oleum*, where Servius observes, *propter uilitatem lucernam noluit dicere, nec iterum lychnum, sicut in heroo carmine, ut*:—(*Aen*. 1.726) *dependent lychni*: and continues, *medius enim in his libris est stilus.*

1.211f.: *tergora diripiunt costis et uiscera nudant; pars in frustra secant ueribusque trementia figunt* (cf. 726f.).

1.634f.: *magnorum horrentia centum terga suum.*

1.701f.: *dant manibus famuli lymphas Cereremque canistris expediunt tonsisque ferunt mantelia uillis*. Servius observes *humilis character, qui ἰσχνός dicitur; uilia enim describuntur*. The two groups of servants are also worthy of notice: *quibus ordine longo cura penum struere et flammis adolere penates* (703f.) and *qui dapibus mensas onerent et pocula ponant* (706).

4.254: *aui similis, quae circum litora, circum piscosos scopulos humilis uolat aequora iuxta* (vd. *G.* 2.320 above).

6.7f.: *quaerit pars semina flammae abstrusa in uenis silicis.*

6.179: *antiquam siluam, stabula alta ferarum.*

7.109: *adorea liba per herbam subiciunt epulis* . . . (111) *et cereale solum pomis agrestibus augent* . . . (114) *orbem fatalis crusti patulis nec parcere quadris.*

7.462–4: *magno ueluti cum flamma sonore uirgea suggeritur costis undantis aeni exsultantque aestu latices.* M. Coffey, *BICS* 8 (1961) 71, correctly notes, 'expresses the everyday occurrence with intensified poetical language'.

7.485f.: *cui regia parent armenta et lati custodia credita campi.* The poet, observes Servius, *magistrum hunc pecoris uult fuisse et saltuarium.*

8.22: *sicut aquae tremulum labris ubi lumen aënis sole repercussum.*

8.180f.: *uiscera tosta ferunt taurorum, onerantque canistris dona laborate Cereris, Bacchumque ministrant* (grilled liver with bread and wine!).

9.326: *toto proflabat pectore somnum*, with Serv. Dan. *periphrasis est ne uerbo humili stertentem diceret.*

336f.: *multoque iacebat membra deo uictus.*

11.777: *barbara tegmina crurum* (see above).

12.170: *saetigeri fetum suis*, where Serv. Dan. observes *sed poetam periphrasi usum propter nominis humilitatem.*

417: (*dictamnum*) *fusum labris splendentibus amnem inficit occulte medicans.*

To this list I add a small collection of non-Virgilian examples:

Call. *Hymni* 6.106: τετράποδες (cattle); 110: Θηρία μικκά (rodents); at 5.19 and 21 a mirror is termed ὀρείχαλκος or χαλκός; Arat. *Phaen.* 947: πατέρες . . . γυρίνων (where, in contrast, cf. Ps.-Theophr. *De signis* 15, who speaks simply of βάτραχοι; Cic. *Arat.* 946, uses *aquai dulcis alumnos*, while Virgil, *G.* 1.378, speaks of *ranae*!).

Hor. *Carm.* 1.17.7: *olentis uxores mariti* (goats); 1.25.14: *matres . . . equorum*; 3.27.10 *imbrium diuina auis imminentum* (the raven). Nor should we forget the 'classic' contrast between *Epod.* 9.13f. *spadonibus . . . rugosis* and *Carm.* 1.37.9f. *contaminato cum grege turpium, morbo uirorum* (so Shackleton Bailey!): in certain cases the literary genre imposes the lexical choices made. At Colum. 10.124–6, the cabbage is described, but not named; at 251–2 the *beta* is described first through riddles: cf. 417, an allusive reference to the fig tree. *Culex* 151–2, *hac querulae refouent uoces quis nantia limo corpora lympha fouet*; 183, *paruulus . . . umoris . . . alumnus* (cf. 413 *parue culex*, and Cic. *Arat.* 946 cited above). *Moretum* 2, *excubitor . . . ales*; 22, *uillosae tergore caprae*; 37, *flamma gelidos adolere liquores*; 44, *fontes atque farinas*.

[252/253] Servius (*ad Aen.* 1.244) observes, *amant poetae rem unius sermonis circumlocutionibus dicere*;[5] he notes, pertinently, on two occasions that Virgil uses periphrasis to avoid *uerba humilia—stertentem* at 9.324[6] and *porcum* at 12.170,[7] as we have already seen. The general rule is stated well by Quintilian (8.2.2) *nam et obscena uitabimus et sordida et humilia. sunt autem humilia infra dignitatem rerum aut ordinis.*

But the opposite is equally to be avoided: *in quo uitio cauendo non mediocriter errare quidem solent, qui omnia, quae sunt in usu, etiam si causae necessitas postulet, reformidant: ut ille, qui in actione Hibericas herbas, se solo nequiquam intellegente, dicebat, nisi inridens hanc uanitatem Cassius Seuerus spartum dicere eum uelle indicasset.*[8]

[5] See Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.65; Lausberg (n. 4) 305.

[6] Just as Tacitus prefers not to speak of drunkeness or its consequences: cf. R. Syme, *Tacitus* 1 (Oxford 1958) 342 3; he likewise avoids explicit reference to shoemakers and bald men, while he uses elevated terms to express his disdain towards *saeculum* and *mores* (for example, *Ann.* 14.16.3; cf. Syme 349).

[7] 12.170; the word *sus*, in spite of its small dimensions, belongs to high poetry: Enn. *Ann.* 96; Virgil, Ovid; see Horsfall, 'Epic and Burlesque in Ovid, *Met.* 8.260ff.', *CJ* 74 (1978 9) 319 n. 3; cf. Boileau, *Oeuvres* 2, ed. M. Daunou (Paris 1829) 307, '*sus*, qui est fort noble en grec'.

[8] Quintilian continues with the example of *duratos muria pisces* in place of *salsamenta*; for him always using the explicit term *nulla uirtus est*, whereas the contrary *uitium est*. Cf. Lausberg (n. 4) 306.

We arrive here at one of the principal elements of the solution: the epic poet adopts periphasis to avoid *uerba humilia* precisely when it is impossible to evade some acknowledgement of the more humble aspects of life: cooking, eating, snoring, etc. The stylistic problem has a long history, which has frequently attracted the attention of the critics: I am thinking above all of the observations of Dionysus of Halicarnassus on *Od.* 16.6.[9] Homer does not avoid either life's banalities or the horrors of violent death; he is therefore compelled to restrict not the discussion but the lexicon. In the *Odyssey*, his choice of many words, even if ἰδιωτικαί, εὐτελεῖς, κοιναί, or really ταπειναί, is praiseworthy; it all depends on the selection and combination in which the 'humble' words are used. On this the rhetor Albucius, *splendidissimus erat; idem res dicebat sordidissimas . . . nihil putabat esse quod dici in declamatione non possent* (Sen. *Contr.* 7. *praef.* 3).

According to his commentators, Virgil avoided excessive specifics; he preferred not to use certain words that were too ugly and explicit,[10] and where the argument was *uilis*, he carried the tone to a decorous level with high-sounding words. He was sometimes criticized by the pedantic for the opposite effect, known as *tapeinosis, rei magnae humilis expositio*,[11] and, more intelligently, sometimes energetically defended.[12] Virgil was writing in an age of renewed formality and a return to classicism; besides, *sane uitae et ore et animo tam probum constat, ut Neapoli Parthenias uulgo appellatus sit*;[13] but, as we have seen, he did not escape [253/254]
criticism, indeed obsessive criticism, of his defective sense of *decorum*.[14] To add further examples, in the spirit of the red pen, to antiquity's evidence could be entertaining, not to say fascinating, but does not help us much. For Virgil, there was a problem: his deeply admired Homer had spoken of everything, evoking both admiration for the perfect simplicity of his descriptions (Dion. Hal. above) and criticisms of his violations of the rules of *decorum*. How could Virgil imitate his model while taking the criticisms into account and respecting the increasingly

[9] *De comp. uerb.* 3.14; cf. 14.70; Philodemus *Perì Poiem.* 2.275.9 Hausrath: see the comments by F. Marx, 'M. Agrippa und die zeitgenössische röm. Dichtkunst', *Rh. Mus.* 74 (1925) 183; for other general discussions, see Arist. *Rhet.* 3.6.7; *Poet.* 22; Hor. *Ars P.* 89 98; *Epist.* 2.2.111 25; Jocelyn (n. 1) 71 4; the famous words *nouae cacozeliae repertorem*, according to Jocelyn, are part of another discourse and his conclusion here, amply justified, saves me the thankless task of entering into an endlessly difficult discussion of this term.

[10] For lexical modesty, see Jocelyn (n. 1) 93 4, n. 177; M. Coffey, *BICS* 8 (1961) 64, 71; J. N. Adams, *Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London 1982) 14ff.; for Servius' observations, see Jocelyn 139, n. 250, Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.254; Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 3.217; 11.723. The commentators are very well aware of the different rules for *Buc.*, *G.*, and *Aen.*; Jocelyn 73, 114 16; Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.177; 4.254; *ad G.* 1.391; *ad Buc.* 4.49.

[11] Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.118; cf. *ad Aen.* 1.465: *largoque umectat flumine uultum, tapeinosis est quia dixit 'umectat'*; Jocelyn (n. 1) 140, n. 253, 139, n. 250.

[12] Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.118 continues *prudenter tamen Vergilius humilitatem sermonis epitheto subleuat*; cf. Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 9.399: *sed honestatem dicto additam per uarietatem*; Jocelyn (n. 1); Coffey (n. 10) 71; for similar criticisms of Homer, E. Norden, comm. *ad Aen.* 6[4] (repr. Stuttgart 1957) 115 16, n. 1.

[13] Don. *Vita* 11; cf. J. Aubrey, *Brief Lives* (ed. O. Lawson Dick, Harmondsworth 1962) 275, with reference to Milton at Cambridge: 'they called him *the Lady of Christ's College*.'

[14] *Ad Aen.* 10.547, *dixerat ille aliquid*, we read in Serv. Dan. *Cornutus ut sordidum improbat*; see S. Timpanaro, *Per la storia della filologia virgiliana antica* (Roma 1986) 71.

strict norms for the *decorum* of an epic poet in a formally moralistic age? On *blando labori* (*G.* 3.127) Servius comments, *periphrasis coitus*! Virgil was able, with an extraordinarily sensitive touch, to speak of everything, even to a theoretically reserved Augustan public, while at the same time respecting his own sense of decency. The problem of describing in Augustan epic language a dinner of grilled liver (with bread and wine) is analogous: the history of literary periphrasis for objects, plants, and animals is long and complicated.[15] By making use of it, Virgil can keep, at least partially, the simplicity of the life and customs of Homer's heroic world while respecting the rules of *decorum* and, I would say, gently entertaining both himself and his readers with his lexical skill and agility. Between the notions—heroic but also domestic and ordinary—of 'grilled liver' or 'skewered venison', and the lofty language of *Aen.* 1.210–15 and 8.180 there exists a not displeasing incongruence. What could well be an element of humour in this *uanitas* (the word used by Quintilian 8.2.2. in the passage cited above) seems indicated by the frequent use, in the footsteps of Virgil, of stylistic phenomena of the same type, with an aim much more mannered and obviously humorous, in the authors of the *Appendix Virgiliana*, and above all in the *Moretum*.[16]

[15] For the history of periphrasis, or 'kenning', for example, the use of *Φερέοικος* for 'snail', see Cic. *Div.* 2.133; M. L. West, comm. *Hesiod Theog.* (Oxford 1966) 89; id. comm., *Hesiod Works and Days* (Oxford 1978) on vv. 524, 525; G. P. Edwards, *The Language of Hesiod in its Traditional Context* (Oxford 1971) 111 13; and see K. M. Coleman, comm. *Statius Silvae 4* (Oxford 1988) note on 4.9.32 3 (p. 233), for confirmation that the taste for the mannered periphrasis has deep and primitive roots.

[16] [See now ch. 36.]

22
Aeneas the colonist[1]

The contrast between Odysseus, explorer and adventurer, and Aeneas, settler and administrator, here deliberately offered in exaggerated and provocative form, is in essence familiar and recognized. But it has not at the same time been sufficiently acknowledged that Virgil repeatedly, even systematically, presents Aeneas in the characteristic and unmistakable guise of a Greek oecist. And not Aeneas alone: Acestes, Oilean Ajax and his Locrians, Antenor, Ascanius, Caeculus, Capys, Danae, Dido, Diomedes, Helenus, Idomeneus, Latinus, Neoptolemus, Philoctetes, Romulus, Saturn, and Salaminian Teucer are likewise explicitly presented as being, for varied reasons and motives, founders of new (usually colonial) settlements in the *Aeneid*; one could spread the definition a little and extend the list a good deal, by means of—e.g.—Telon and the princes of Tibur. (See Appendix 2.)

So ponderous a catalogue might seem inflated; that is not so and the *Aeneid* is, amongst much else, very much an epic of urban settlement and colonization. A solid, undramatic, unromantic aspect of the poem which has attracted, we shall see, virtually no attention. That the *Nostoi*, the homecomings of the heroes after the fall of Troy, are recounted and developed in the wake of actual Greek colonization, is an entirely familiar notion,[2] but the impact of the ideals and practice of Greek colonization upon the Aeneas-story and the *Aeneid* has failed, amid all the vast Virgilian bibliography, to raise a spark. No *colonia* or *colonus* in the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, a few words to the point under *fundo*. The last chapter of Father B. Schmid's Fribourg dissertation on Greek foundation stories (1947), excellent but not easily or often consulted, is indeed entitled *Griechische Ktisissagen und Vergils Aeneis* (189–98); he has an exceptional mastery of the Greek material but unfortunately does no more than skim Virgil's text; I am therefore duly grateful to him for his ample survey of the historical evidence, but

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[1] Dr Michael Paschalis, of the University of Ionnina, whose devotion to the serious study of the *Aeneid* in the unsupportive environment of NW Greece is warmly to be admired, most kindly invited me to speak there on Virgil and the *Nostoi*. That visit had to be cancelled on account of an ecological protest which blocked the harbour of Igoumenitsa, but I offer my friends in Epirus grateful thanks for provoking this paper.

[2] The *Nostoi* stories have provoked hallucinatory speculations about the history of colonization. See however, for what I take to be the plain distinction between chicken and egg, Horsfall, *Vergilius* 32 (1986) 15 [ch. 16, 198 9], and *RMM* 13; R. Ross Holloway, *Italy and the Aegean* (Louvain 1981) 97 102; and J. Poucet, *Les origines de Rome* (Bruxelles 1985) 184 8.

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its application to Virgil is almost entirely my own, and, except where otherwise indicated, surprisingly new.[3]

[8/9] Just how Virgil came to know so much about Greek colonization is not entirely clear to me: though Plinio Fraccaro showed that Varro catalogued exiles and foundations in the West, and though there are clear traces of Varronian influence in Diomedes' speech about the *Nostoi* (*Aen.* 11.252–93),[4] it is only in the case of Diomedes himself that Virgil did demonstrably make use of Varro.[5] The role of Timaeus is likely, but formally unprovable.[6] It looks ever more solidly probable that Virgil, like many other educated Romans, read Herodotus,[7] and it is in the *Histories* that we find some of the classic colonization narratives. I shall point to some close similarities and certainly Virgil will not have worried, as modern scholars do, about the 'authenticity' of the material used. But it should not be thought that the theme was in any sense a preserve of prose authors (cf. Schmid, 64–83): thus Callimachus fr. 43 is on the Sicilian cities and his *Hymn to Apollo* 65ff. recounts Battus' foundation of Cyrene, while Apollonius of Rhodes[8] wrote on the foundations, *ktiseis*, of Alexandria, Caunus, Cnidus, Naucratis, Rhodes and Lesbos. That is but to scratch the surface; further indications of widespread Hellenistic interest in the topic, in prose and verse, will emerge.[9]

How best to organize the rather copious and varied material? Perhaps best neither by colonist founded,[10] nor by founder-heroes, but rather thematically:

The *Aeneid* is rich in non-epic registers of language; if they are not identified
[9/10] and appreciated, we lose something fundamental in our reading. One of those registers is clearly and unmistakably from *Bucolic* 4[11] on the oracular: thus the promise of Aeneas' gratitude to Dido echoes the prophetic epitaph of Midas;[12]

[3] R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*[3] (1915, repr. Stuttgart 1965) 85 touches lightly on the topic. E. D. Carney, 'City Founding in the *Aeneid*', in *Studies in Lat. Lit.* etc. (Bruxelles 1986, *Coll. Latomus* 196) 422 30 is quite inadequate. No help is to be found in McKay, 'Apollo', *Enc. Virg.* 1.220 2. On the history of colonization I cite below by author only: A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (New York 1964); J. Seibert, *Metropolis und Apoikie* (diss. Würzberg 1963); F. Prinz, *Gründungsmythen und Sagenchronologie* (München 1979, *Zetemata* 72); T. J. Cornell, *RAC* 12 (1983), s.v. 'Gründer', 1108 45.

[4] *De gente* fr. 29 Fraccaro fr. 17 Peter fr. 776 Cardauns *ap.* Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics* (Göteberg 1967).

[5] See P. Fraccaro, ed., Varro *De gente* (Padova 1907) 184 97. A. Russi, 'Diomede', *Enc. Virg.* 2.81 (cf. id., *Athenaeum* 64 (1986) 226 30) is notably superficial and misleading.

[6] R. Ritter, *De Timaei fabulis per Varronem Vergilio traditis* (diss. Halle 1901) repr. in his *De Varrone Vergiliique in narrandis urbium populorumque Italiae originibus*, Halle 1901 (*Diss. Phil. Hal.* 14.4) 291 328; T. J. Cornell, *PCPS* 21 (1975) 22 sounded a welcome note of deep scepticism; cf. Horsfall, *RMM* 20.

[7] Horsfall, *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 31 [ch. 18, 211]; E. Courtney, *Vergilius* 34 (1988) 3 8.

[8] These fragments are still only to be consulted in J. U. Powell, *Collectanea Alexandrina* (Oxford 1925) 5 8.

[9] P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1 (Oxford 1968) 135, 144; Schmid Stählin, *Gesch. Griech. Lit.* 2.1.141; F. Susemihl, *Gesch. der gr. lit. i. d. Alexandrinerzeit* 1 (Leipzig 1891) 392; F. Cairns, *Tibullus* (Cambridge 1979) 68 70.

[10] For Virgil's terminology, cf. Appendix 1.

[11] See above all R. G. M. Nisbet, *BICS* 25 (1978).

[12] See R. Janko, *CQ* 38 (1988) 259 60; for the Greek, see Homer, OCT edn. vol. 5, 198 9.

thus too, we have all learned to acknowledge that with the *Romane* of *Aen.* 6.851 Anchises assumes recognizably the language of Sibylline prophesy;[13] less familiar is the notion that 'Thybris', used of the Tiber by Virgil in narrative, is likewise, most probably, a form of 'Sibylline' origin;[14] *Aen.* 3.97, *cunctis dominabitur oris* renders a pro-Roman expansion of Poseidon's promise in *Il.* 20.[15] We should therefore be reading Virgil's account of divinely commanded journeys and oracularly promised goals in the positive expectation that themes and language shall turn out to reflect Greek usage in precisely this field; it is not clear why Heinze (n. 3) and Schmid had so little enthusiasm for this rich topic.

When the Delian Apollo tells Aeneas and his men *Antiquam exquirite matrem* (3.96), that is, Italy, the ancient homeland of the Trojans, it might be, as W. Suerbaum[16] has recently suggested, on the basis of the last words of Servius' note on *Aen.* 7.207, that an oracle in similar terms might first have linked Aeneas with Samothrace in the *Annales* of Cassius Hemina. Suerbaum is a truly learned man, who has done a great deal to advance intelligent study of Virgil's use of his prose sources in Germany, but I hesitate to follow all the steps of this particular argument. That Italy was the Trojan's original homeland is clearly not a Virgilian invention;[17] the language of 'homeland' is familiar elsewhere, for, for example, the Aenianian maidens sang, to their menfolk and to a bull, 'Never may ye return to the well loved soil of your homeland' *φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν*: a mercy; after long wanderings they had found rustic prosperity.[18] Better still, Delphi told the Heraclidae to 'seek the country of their fathers' *ἐπὶ τὴν πατρῴαν ἰέναι χώραν*.[19] [10/11]
An oracular commonplace, I conclude, is grafted on to a rare development of the Aeneas-story, the 'return,' so well suited to some aspects of Virgil's purpose.[20]

It is a commonplace of Virgil-scholarship that the Trojans receive a progressive revelation of the whereabouts of their ultimate goal,[21] but it has not been at the same time recognized that the stages and manner of this revelation are characteristically Greek and oracular.

[13] Noted by E. Norden, etc.; for the Greek, see v. 3 of the oracle quoted (1) by Zos. 2.6 and (2) by Phlegon of Tralles, *Peri Macrobion*, *FGrH* 257 F 36. The verses quoted are normally thought to be second century BC, but the possibility of an Hadrianic antiquarian reconstruction should be borne in mind. Cf. however, Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.2; Norden's point remains valid.

[14] Cf. v. 5 of the oracle quoted, n. 13 above, and cf. Horsfall, 'Tevere', *Enc. Virg.* 5.156 7.

[15] Cf. Strab. 13.1.53; note the suspicion of Aristophanes of Byzantium *ap.* schol. Eur. *Tro.* 47; cf. Horsfall *RMM* 12.

[16] Suerbaum, *Festchr. G. Radke* (Münster 1984) 280 4.

[17] The arguments I advanced in *JRS* 63 (1973) 74 9 have been accepted even by scholars who reject the identification of Corythus that I proposed (*RMM* 99, n. 88), see *RMM* 99 104 for an updated restatement of the matter.

[18] Plut. *Mor.* 297B, *Q.Gr.* 26.

[19] Isocr. *Archid.* 17; cf. Pindar *Pyth.* 5.69 72; the analogy with Virgil was noted by A. S. Pease, *CPhil.* 12 (1917) 10, n. 8.

[20] Cf. Horsfall, *Riv. Fil.* 119 (1991) [ch. 24, 298 301] for some thoughts on the *externus* motif.

[21] See especially R. B. Lloyd, *AJPhil.* 88 (1957) 136 8; C. Saunders, *CQ* 19 (1925) 85 91 *Vergil's Primitive Italy* (New York 1930) 194 209.

Thus Creusa's ghost tells Aeneas (2.781–2):

> et terram Hesperiam uenies ubi Lydius arua
> inter opima uirum leni fluit agmine Thybris.

Neither the land, Hesperia, nor the river, Thybris, are immediately identifiable to the recipient of the information. This is however quite typical (Pease (n. 19), 7): we may compare the oracle which told Aeneas to build a city by the river Numicus (Zonar. 7.1) or the oracle given to Antiphemus and Entimus to build a city 'Gela by the mouth of the sacred river of the same name'.[22] And where might Hesperia, or Italia (*Aen.* 4.345) be? No more did Myscellus understand the oracle's reference to Croton (Diod. Sic. 8.17), or the Athenians Dodona's reference to Sicelia (Paus. 8.11.2). Better still, the people of Thera 'neglected to obey the oracle seeing that they knew not where Libya was and feared to send a colony out to an uncertain goal' (Hdt. 4.150, Loeb tr.).[23]

One oracle was not enough: *Aeneid* 3, we all know, is full of false starts, error, mishap, misinterpretation; over and over again the gods must be consulted for further clarification of the obscure and ambiguous information they have given, and the Trojans' depression[24] is intensified by this ever-present uncertainty. Typical, again: thus the Therans settle first on an island off the African coast; nothing goes well for them (cf. notably *Aen.* 3.141–2) and they return again to
[11/12] Delphi to seek clarification (Hdt. 4.157). The motif is a notably common one.[25] The very existence of oracular advice vouchsafed to the Trojans in versions of the story earlier than Virgil[26] has been strangely underplayed, as we shall see, and divine instructions normally entail uncertainty, perplexity, and troubled interpretation. Suerbaum ((n. 16) 272–3) plausibly refers Cassius Hemina's words *et tum quo irent nesciebant* (fr. 9P) to a (Sicilian) phase of perplexity in the Trojans' voyage.

Virgil has perhaps rejected, very deliberately and consciously, as artistically boring, those versions of the story in which Aeneas has a clear and steady supernatural guide: thus Varro[27] *ait hanc stellam Luciferi, quae Venus dicitur, ab Aenea, donec ad Laurentem agrum ueniret, semper uisum*; or Naevius:[28] Venus

[22] Diod. Sic. 8.23.1; cf. 8.23.2; Dion. Hal. 19.1.3; Paus. 7.5.3.

[23] Italy at 4.345 6 is represented as a remote, oracularly ordained goal; at 3.396 it had been just over the water; that is a just and subtle alteration of perspective.

[24] Mishaps, misunderstandings: 3.60, 100 1, 143 46, 189 91, etc.; depression: 3.493 7, 5.629, 5.636, 3.364, 6.692.

[25] Cf. Liv. 8.22.6 (Neapolis); Diod. Sic.8.17 (Croton); *FGrH* 270 F 6 (Menecles on the story of Cyrene); Strab. 6.2.2 (Theocles gets to Sicily by accident). See H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* 1 (Oxford 1956) 73 7.

[26] Cf. Dion. Hal. 1.51.1, 1.52.1; *OGR* 9.1, 4, 5, 10.1: the *OGR* is unassailably based on solid scholarship of the Augustan period; cf. J. C. Richard's admirably rich introduction to his 1983 edn. Budé, 38 48, with my remarks at *CR* 37 (1987) 192 4.

[27] *Res. Div.* 2, fr. K Cardauns Serv. *ad. Aen.* 1.382; cf. Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 2.801.

[28] Fr. 9 Strzelecki; cf. H. T. Rowell, *AJPhil.* 78 (1957) 2.

gave Anchises *libros futura continentes*. Both versions disclose devastatingly undramatic possibilities.[29]

Celaeno warns the Trojans that they will reach Italy and make harbour, but will not fortify a city before hunger drives them to devour their tables (*Aen.* 3.253–7); that warning finds agreeable fulfillment on the banks of the Tiber.[30] This warning and its happy resolution had long been present in the Aeneas-legend.[31] As narrated by Virgil, it reflects with particular clarity various characteristic features of the oracular manner, as has in this case been duly noted:[32]

(i) the oracle lays down an improbable and inexplicable term to the Trojans' wanderings (cf. Pease (n. 19) 9); compare the founding of Thurii, 'where there was water to drink in due measure, but bread to eat without measure' (Diod. Sic. 12.10.5; cf. St. Byz. s.v. *βούνειμα*, *βίεννος*), and the oracle given to the Teucrians: on [12/13]
reaching the Troad from Crete they should settle on the spot where the earth-born (i.e. mice) should attack them (Strab. 13.1.48); cf. too St. Byz. s.v. *Γαλεῶται*: they should settle where an eagle seizes the sacrifice.[33]

E. L. Harrison's analysis of the portent of the horse's head found on the site of Carthage is typically thorough and prudent ((n. 30) 131–5), but the three passages which preserve the story drawn upon by Virgil (1.443–9) are curiously flat and unhelpful, as Harrison himself recognizes:[34] the discovery of both a horse's head (Carthage would be warlike) and an ox's (fertile too) is simplified by Virgil. I wondered indeed if we had lost the original, riddling version of the portent, no longer anomalous and dull, but more along the lines of: 'where the plough shall uncover a war-horse, where a spear-butt shall strike upon a farm-animal.'

I return to the portent of the eating of the tables:

(ii) the Trojans' very hunger is itself the key to the solution of the riddle; that motif is similarly present in the story of the Aenianians, as told by Plutarch (cf. n. 18), and Polemo of Ilium writes of a temple of Voracity in Sicily;[35]

(iii) the solution to the 'eating of tables' is, well, unlikely and comical and rests above all on physical ambiguity: tables not of wood (but of bread, or parsley, or celery, in other versions). Thus Locrus was to settle, for example (and Pease has

[29] *quaerenti Aeneae, 'fatorum' iam pater inquit 'explicui libros, quae nos ad litora ponti detulerint, dicam*... is not an opening that throbs with drama. More seriously, cf. the fine analysis by W. Suerbaum in 'Und der Stern zog ihnen voraus', in *Et scholae et uitae* (*Beitr*.... *K. Bayer*) (München 1985) 25 6.

[30] I suggested some time ago (*Antichthon* 15 (1981) 145 6 [ch. 12, 158]) that the 'inconsistency' simply reflected Virgil's unwillingness to decide between pre existing versions of the story, but serious attempts continue to be made to unravel the knots I so blithely dismiss: cf. E. L. Harrison, *PLLS* 5 (1985) 135 61, with my remarks in *CR* 39 (1989) 73 and T. Berres, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (Weisbaden 1982, *Hermes Einzelschr.* 45) 189 239, with my remarks at *CR* 37 (1987) 15 17.

[31] Lycoph. 1250 4; Dion. Hal. 1.55.2 3; Conon, *FGrH* 26 ch. 46.5, etc.

[32] Heinze (n. 3) 84f.; H. Boas, *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium* (Amsterdam 1938) 228.

[33] Cf. too *Od.* 11.126f.

[34] Harrison (n. 30) 133; Justin 18.5.15f.; Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.443; Eust. *ad Dion. Perieg.* 195.

[35] *FHG* 3, p. 126, fr. 39.

collected many instances of this type of oracle) where he was bitten by a wooden dog, that is to say, pricked by a briar, κυνόσβατος.[36]

It might at first sight appear that Virgil had decided consciously to avoid, perhaps because beneath the dignity of the Trojans' mission, those stories in which the colonists are led by an animal or bird;[37] in particular we may note that the sedentary *sus* of *Aeneid* 3 and 8 becomes in other versions a nimble long-distance trotter.[38] But the motif is in the end irresistibly attractive, though Virgil makes notably dignified and discreet use of it: the two doves, Venus' birds, who lead Aeneas to the discovery of the Golden Bough are widely familiar in other contexts, associated with *ktisis*-stories, as Eduard Norden noted.[39]

[13/14] Acestes' arrow-shot (5.519–40) is of a very different and explicitly identifiable Roman character,[40] but it does portend the foundation of Segesta (with etymological play on the name of the archer Acestes), just as Heracles foretold to the natives of the place (Croton) that also in after times a famous city would arise which should bear the name of the man 'who had died' (accidentally killed by Heracles) (Diod. Sic. 4.24.7).

On their voyage west, the Trojans receive information about present whereabouts and future destiny from (and this will have been normal in detailed accounts of colonization-voyages) a variety of sources: notably, Apollo. Not a word (or perhaps just one, *OGR* 12.3, where the *Delphici* of our MSS is inexplicably corrected to *Deliaci*, by Richard, but not by Puccioni, the previous editor) of Pythian Apollo,[41] inspirer of so many colonial ventures,[42] but numerous other seats and localizations are specified:

Celaeno inspired by Apollo (3.251); Delos (3.73–120, 162, cf. 6.12); Helenus in Apollo's temple at Buthrotum (3.370–1); Claros (3.360; cf. Paus. 7.5.3); Grynean Apollo (4.345; a clear case of literary allusion, to Euphorion via Gallus, Euph. fr. 97 Powell, Gallus *ap.* Serv. *ad Buc.* 6.72); the *Lyciae sortes* (again 4.345; cf. 12.516; they cannot in truth be identified); lastly the Sibyl, whom we find in the Aeneas-story outside Virgil at *OGR* 10.2 (Cumae) and Dion. Hal. 1.55.4 (? Erythrae). We might add the prophetic role of Cassandra, as recalled by Helenus (3.183–5; note the prophetess who spoke to Evander at Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 1.273).

[36] Plut. *Mor.* 294E *Q.Gr.* 15; cf. Parke and Wormell (n. 25) 60 1; Pease (n. 19) 9; Boas (n. 32) 231.

[37] Pease (n. 19) 7 8; Frazer on Paus. 10.6.2; Parke and Wormell (n. 25) 61; J. Heurgon, *Trois études sur le 'ver sacrum'* (Bruxelles 1957, *Coll. Latomus* 26) 6.

[38] Fab. Pict. fr. 4 P; Dion. Hal. 55.3 4; *OGR* 11.1.

[39] Norden, *Aen.* 6[4], 173 4; cf. Vell. 1.4.1 (Cumae); Hdt. 2.55 (Dodona); Stat. *Silv.* 3.5.78 9 (Naples); cf. Clitophon of Rhodes *FGrH* 293 F 3: a *Schwindelautor* or faker of stories, who is particularly revealing, because his novelties are relatively undramatic.

[40] B. Grassmann Fischer, *Die Prodigien in Vergils Aeneis* (München 1966) 86 91.

[41] But cf. *Aen.* 6.21, with M. Paschalis, *Philologus* 130 (1986) 46, 64.

[42] J. Fontenrose, *The Delphic Oracle* (Berkeley 1978) 137 44; Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1.3; Parke and Wormell (n. 25) 49 81; Cornell (n. 3) 1129 30; O. Murray, *Early Greece* (Brighton 1980) 117; P. Boyancé, *La religion de Virgile* (Paris 1963) 110 11; C. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil* (Oxford 1935) 163 7.

It is most unfortunate that in the days when no trust was placed in the authenticity of the citations in *OGR*,[43] it was concluded that Apollo's guidance had no place in the Aeneas-legend outside Virgil and this dogma has survived,[44] though its theoretical basis (cf. n. 43) has quite disappeared; the curious story of the daughter of King Anius of Delos, told by 'some of the Greek mythographers' as reported by Dionysius[45] even points to an (indirect) role of Apollo outside Virgil and the *OGR*.

Virgil's Aeneas does not travel to Dodona (though he does in Dion. Hal. 1.51.1, 55.4) and Dodona has a modest role in other colonization stories;[46] journeys inland are eschewed by Virgil as distracting and retardatory and anyway Helenus at Buthrotum has oracular powers enough. But Aeneas does receive information through dreams,[47] as is the case elsewhere in the Aeneas-legend[48] and in several other foundation-stories,[49] from his mother Venus, and from his father Anchises. In *Aeneid* 3, Apollo is inevitably foremost (Suerbaum (n. 29) 23); that is appropriate, indeed unavoidable: it is *the* book of Aeneas' voyages, par excellence, and it would be hard to think of him under any other guidance: certainly Virgil's sources would not have encouraged him to place a colonizing wanderer under the patronage of Jupiter and Venus; Virgil preserves the due priority of Apollo and places the role of dreams, of Venus and (vd. *infra*) of Anchises, in appropriate subordination. No inconsistency, then, (pace Saunders (n. 21) 199–200) but rather variations in emphasis and another indication of Virgil's ability to select the version that is appropriate to the passage and to the moment at hand.[50] Anchises becomes ever more assertive in counsel as his death approaches;[51] that accounts for his son's practical despair, on top of emotional grief. But at least in Virgil Anchises does not have in life exact knowledge of the future; Ennius[52] seems in this respect to have gone further than both Naevius (n. 28) and Virgil. [14/15]

We may now turn to consider in detail Aeneas' activities as colonist: he has first to build ships (3.5–6, 9.80); an indispensable preliminary, recorded both in other

[43] See now Richard's ed., 22 8, following a remarkable paper by Momigliano, 'Some Observations on the *Origo Gentis Romanae*', *JRS* 48 (1958) 56 73 *Secondo Contr.* 145 76. See 9.1, *oraculi admonitu* (after Alexander of Ephesus), 9.5 (Delos), 12 (Delos, following Domitius). Cf. Suerbaum (n. 29) 27.

[44] Paschalis (n. 41) 46, n. 13, citing e.g. Heinze (n. 3) 84. [45] Cf. Suerbaum (n. 29) 27.

[46] Cornell (n. 3) 1131; Pease (n. 19) 4, and on Cic. *Div.* 1.3. For Dodona and Virgil, cf. Lloyd (n. 21) 392 and Paschalis (n. 41) 49, n. 31.

[47] 2.268 97; 3.147 71; 4.553 70; 5.722 45; 6.695 6.

[48] Fab. Pict. fr. 3 P, Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 3.148; Diod. Sic. 7.5.5.

[49] Cornell (n. 3) 1132; Pease (n. 19) 4 5.

[50] Cf. my remarks referred to in n. 30, followed with enthusiasm by Suerbaum (n. 29) 24 5.

[51] Cf. Lloyd (n. 21) 143; Rowell (n. 28) 15 16.

[52] *doctusque Anchisesque Venus quem pulchra dearum fari donauit, diuinum pectus habere* (Skutsch 15). Cf. Rowell (n. 28) 19 20; his whole article is a warning against making too much of the scholium on *Aen.* 7.123 (Anchises *qui ubique diuinus dicitur*). *OGR* 11.1 may be of independent value (Rowell, 22) or may simply garble *Aen.* 7.122 3.

versions of the Aeneas-story[53] and from the very first records that we have of Greek colonial ventures.[54] Virgil's Aeneas also starts, clearly, with a substantial
[15/16] number of followers (2.794–8, 3.8); other narratives of his departure become, as is to be expected, increasingly and improbably specific.[55] On the question of number, the colonization narratives are tantalizingly imprecise, but nowhere does the scale seem to be markedly larger than in the epic. At the outset, Aeneas has twenty ships (1.381); Dido's generosity largely makes good the damage and loss caused by the storm that brings them to Carthage.[56] But the losses caused by the fire in Sicily are not, cannot be made good and Aeneas is forced to leave behind the women (most of them) and the old men. The (sorely confused) motif of the burning of the ships is well attested in a wide variety of texts;[57] it is a counter freely movable on the board of mythological geography and aetiological invention. The implication and consequence, that Aeneas now sails on to Latium with picked fighting men, is not new.[58] It was most unusual but not quite unknown for Greek colonists to sail without their womenfolk; Cyrene is the great exception, which here as in many respects, as we shall see, closely parallels Virgil's narrative.[59] Unsurprisingly, it was quite common for Greek female colonists to protest, like Beroe, against the rigours of the voyage.[60]

We might also note that en route the Trojans acquire a small number of allies;[61] the notion of a joint, or at least a reinforced, band of colonists is widely familiar.[62]

On the one occasion when there might have seemed to be 'democratic consultation' in the classical Greek manner about what is next to be done, the text of Virgil proves engagingly misleading: after the repulsive and alarming portent of Polydorus and the bleeding bush *delectos populi ad proceres primumque parentum monstra deum refero et quae sint sententia posco* (3.58–9). The narrative of the
[16/17] Aeneid helps the patient reader to identify a number of 'senior' Trojans,[63] the

[53] Naev. fr. 7 Strzelecki: one ship, or possibly, one ship built by Mercury out of a larger number, *OGR* 9.1 *navibus fabricatis*, Dion. Hal. 1.47.6 (after Hellanicus).

[54] Tlepolemus' colonization of Rhodes: *Il.* 2.653 70, implied at *Od.* 6.7 8; cf. the Therans at Hdt. 4.153.

[55] Cass. Hem. fr. 7 P: not more than 600 *socii*; *multi alii e Troia*, Naev. fr. 6.2 Strzelecki; Dares 43, 44: twenty two ships and 3400 men, Ov. *Met.* 14.8 *manu magna*: cf. Dion. Hal. 1.47.2.

[56] 1.281 (started with twenty ships); 1.108 (three ground); 1.383 (Aeneas himself arrives with seven on the North African coast); 1.583 (*classem sociosque receptos*).

[57] *Aen.* 5.713, 754: loss of ships. For discussion of the motif, cf. E. Bickerman, '*Origines Gentium*', *CPhil.* 47 (1952) 66; T. J. Cornell (n. 6) 18; Horsfall, *CQ* 29 (1979) 381 2 [ch. 7, 89]; Dion. Hal. 1.52.3 (cf. 1.51.1 the most vigorous follow Aeneas to Dodona).

[58] Suerbaum (n. 16) 272 3 makes a good case for Cass. Hem. fr. 9 P referring to a stay in Sicily, after which Aeneas continues with a small and select band.

[59] Cyrene: cf. Murray (n. 42) 110 11.

[60] Hdt. 1.166.3: sailing with families (cf. 1.165.3, longing for homeland); discontent: Diod. Sic. 8.21.3; Strab. 6.3.3; Arist. fr. 554 R (Melos): those who stayed behind said their wives were sickly or their ships leaked!

[61] 3.470 1: from Helenus, 5.298: an Arcadian and an Acarnanian; 12.518 an Arcadian killed (a real Arcadian, not one of Evander's men, it seems).

[62] Hdt. 1.146.1, 1.166.1; Paus. 7.4, (Chios); Strab. 6.2.2; Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Chalcis'; Thuc. 6.2.3, 6.4.2, 6.

[63] Horsfall, *G&R* 34 (1987) 51 2 [ch. 17, 206 7].

primi duces of 7.107, but Aeneas does not here assemble a Greek *gerousia*: at Ithaca the assembly had met once in twenty years and heroic society was only in a very limited sense democratic;[64] Aeneas is here rather a Roman magistrate who refers a portent to the Senate for discussion.[65]

Above all, Aeneas carries with him the Penates of Troy. They are, as we shall see, fundamental, and I shall discuss their role in Aeneas' final settlement in Italy below. It is amply attested that the oecist of a Greek colony shall carry cult-objects with him from the mother-city;[66] religious continuity between homeland and colony is essential;[67] the oecist has full ritual responsibilities in the foundation of the new city[68] and may furthermore expect ultimate deification,[69] as we know will befall Aeneas (1.259–60, 12.794–5).

The goal of Aeneas' wanderings, of Dido's, Antenor's, Helenus', Diomedes', etc. (see Appendix 2) is expressed as the 'foundation of a city', and the city, whenever Virgil offers detail (and he quite often does; see Appendix 3) is described in classical, urban terms—with walls, forum, temple, and the like. We would do well to remember that such details reflect the historical perception and poetic imagination (nourished by sources in both verse and prose), of how a city might actually have been founded in heroic (or regal) times.[70] Dido's foundation of Carthage is particularly full of realistic but improbable and anachronistic detail (1.421–9).

One fundamental preliminary is characteristically Roman: the emphasis on the digging of the *primigenius sulcus*, the furrow which encloses the city's territory:[71] 1.425–6 *pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco* (Dido), 5.755 *urbem designat aratro* (Aeneas in Sicily), 7.157 *humili designat moenia fossa* (Aeneas at the Tiber-mouth), just as Romulus was later to do, with such fatal consequences for his brother.

Walls, homes, forum, court-house, temples are built (see Appendix 3); the need [17/18]
for the swift establishment, in however rudimentary form, of the recognizable social, administrative, and religious structures, the essential skeleton of the *polis* in the new land, is similarly, clearly visible in our very earliest accounts of colonial

[64] Cf. E. S. Staveley, *Greek and Roman Voting and Elections* (London 1972) 15–18; T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age* (New York 1914) 101–6; M. I. Finley, *World of Odysseus* (London 1956) 84–9.

[65] R. G. M. Nisbet, *PVS* 17 (1978–80) 51.

[66] Horsfall (n. 57) 389 [ch. 7, 97]; S. Weinstock, 'Penates (Lavinium)' *RE* 19.1:435.6; Hdt. 1.164; Paus. 7.2.11; cf. Plut. *Camill.* 21.2; Hor. *Carm.* 2.18, 26–7.

[67] Graham (n. 3) 15. [68] Cf. Graham, 30 and Cornell, 1136 (both n. 3).

[69] Graham, 29–30, Seibert, 129 (both n. 3).

[70] T. J. Cornell, in *Papers in Italian Archaeology*, *BAR* Suppl. Ser. 41 (1978) 132–3; the image of 'foundation' in Pl. *Leg.* is notably suggestive: 740a, 741c, 745b, 778d, 848d.

[71] 1.425–6, *pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco* (Dido); 5.755 *urbem designat aratro* (Aen. in Sicily); 7.157 *humili designat moenia fossa*; cf. Cornell (n. 3) 1137–38; J. Carcopino, *Virgile et les origines d'Ostie* (Paris 1968) 368; J. N. Bremmer, *RMM* 35–6; W. F. Jackson Knight, *Vergil's Troy* (Oxford 1932) 114–20.

settlement.[72] The acquisition of new land to farm and its fair distribution is another essential element both in the Greco-Roman conception of the proper nature of a colony[73] and in Virgil's narrative of the Trojans' undertaking: 2.781–2: *et terram Hesperiam uenies ubi Lydius ARVA inter OPIMA uirum leni fluit agmine Thybris*; 3.136 (in Crete) *aruisque nouis operata iuuentus*; 141 *tum sterilis exurere Sirius agros*; 7.261–2 *non uobis rege Latino diuitis uber agri Troiaeue opulentia deerit*; 7.290 (Juno's dismay that the Trojans) *iam fidere terrae*; 11.316 (Latinus' abortive peace-offer to the Trojans) *est antiquus ager . . . mihi*; 12.185 (if Turnus wins) *cedet Iulus agris*; cf. too 4.311. Nor should it be forgotten that the Italians themselves are often described as 'ploughing a straight furrow with a rifle on their backs' (7.539, 748, 9.608, 11.319). The words *sortiturque domos* (5.756, Sicily) contain a further refinement, an historical reference lightly passed by by all the commentators I have to hand: Aeneas is here following exactly the procedure appropriate to a Greek oecist, the distribution of property (land or accommodation) by lot.[74]

Lastly, the founder's central role is symbolized by his ability to confer a name, sometimes but not always his own, upon the new settlement:[75] his wife, says Aeneas, will bestow her name upon the new settlement in Italy (12.194): inevitably, for it was, as a matter of geographical fact, called Lavinium. Usage in the *Aeneid* in the matter of naming is once again, we discover, entirely in keeping with Greek historical practice,[76] and it was also common practice for nomenclature to evoke—just in the manner of the various Troys and Pergamas that we find attested[77]—memories of the homeland.[78]

[18/19] That so much of the political or public matter of the *Aeneid* (I am careful not to say 'message or even 'content') seems to be clarified when studied in terms of Greek colonial history is perhaps a surprise. Certainly, colonial settlement, as E. D. Carney (n. 3) rightly recognized, is a major thread in the texture of the poem, and a great deal still remains to be done towards elucidating the refinements and complexities of Virgil's political argumentation. For the moment, let us take three

[72] *Il.* 2.668, *Od.* 6.9f.

[73] Cornell (n. 3) 1121 5; *Od.* 6.10; Arist. *Pol.* 5.1319a, 7 19; Pl. *Leg.* 740a, 741c; Diod. Sic. 8.23; Murray *loc. cit.* (n. 59); Schmid, 76 8.

[74] Hdt. 4.153; Pl. *Leg.* 741b; Thuc. 3.50.2; Plut. Per. 34; G. Glotz, Dar. Sag. 4.2.1416a; Graham (n. 3) 59; G. Busolt, *Griech. Staatskunde* 2 (München 1926) 1268.

[75] 1.277, 12.194, 12.823, 10.145, 3.18, 10.200, 7.63, 8.358, 3.166 1.533, 8.54, 11.246; V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sending Roms* (Heidelberg 1963, *Gymnasium* 3) 143; A. Wlosok, *Die Göttin Venus* (Heidelberg 1967) 36, n. 62; W. Suerbaum, 'Aeneas zwischen Troia und Rom', *Poetica* 1 (1967) 185 7 (76); Strab. 5.4.4 (cf. Seibert (n. 3) 137); Paus. 7.4.8, cf. *FGrH* 392 F 1; Arist. fr. 611.68 R; Ov. *Met.* 15.57 (with Bömer's note).

[76] Strab., Paus., Aris., Ov. (all as n. 75).

[77] 3.133, 334 6, 350; 5.637, 756; 9.644. Strab. 13.1.53 4; Liv. 1.1.3 5; Cato *Orig.* fr. 4 P (with Schroder's note); Dion. Hal. 1.51.1; Varr. *ap.* Serv. *ad Aen.* 3.349; D. Musti, *Arch. Class.* 33 (1981) 1 5; Carcopino (n. 71) 356.

[78] Cf. Graham (n. 3) 14 15; for sentimental or evocative naming of colonies, cf. Cumae, Locri, Megara, Phocis Phocaea, Paros Parium, Rhodes Rhode.

further steps, two small, one rather large, and try to clarify, similarly, in terms of conventional Greek political practice and language (i) the motif of kinship, *συγγένεια*, (ii) the settlement of Carthage proposed by Dido and (iii) the final settlement outlined between Latinus and the Trojans.

(i) Kinship. There shall, first, be special ties of kinship (3.502) between the Romans and the very recent Augustan foundation of Nicopolis.[79] Secondly, the tie of kinship[80] encourages Aeneas to propose peace and goodwill to Evander (8.132), though Evander is also related (and it is really not clear just how) to the Atridae (8.130). Thirdly, Acestes (5.24, 771) is kin to the Trojans; the Trojan origins of Segesta are indeed of real and vivid historical significance (v. *infra*). Lastly, 7.366 and 12.40: Turnus and Lavinia are first cousins; that is a factor of weight behind Amata's support for the Turnus–Lavinia marriage. 'Kinship' founded upon the Romans' supposed Trojan ancestry becomes the basis for claims, pleas, and pretexts in the diplomatic manoeuvrings of the third to second centuries BC.[81] This use of genealogical argumentation (which I hope shortly to discuss more fully elsewhere), these appeals to kinship, *συγγένεια* or *οἰκείωσις*, are an extremely common feature of Greek diplomatic language and activity, as reflected both in the historians and in the documents.[82]

(ii) Dido's proposal to the Trojans (1.572–4): *uultis et his mecum pariter*[83] *considere regnis? urbem quem statuo uestra est; subducite nauis; Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur*. Venus cautiously inquired (4.112) whether Jupiter would approve *misceri … populos … aut foedera iungi*; Dido excitably assumes that a Union of Peoples has already taken place (4.374 *et regni demens in parte locaui*), and Ilioneus, speaking to Latinus, refers proudly but perhaps with a hint of relief that nothing of the kind had ever actually happened, to the many peoples [19/20] who *et petiere sibi et uoluere adiungere gentes* (7.238). Dido does not propose a joint Trojan–Tyrian foundation of Carthage (v. *infra*); certainly she does not acquire reinforcements from the mother city.[84] What she proposes resembles rather in some ways *sympoliteia*, the sharing of council, magistrates, citizenship, etc. that occurred e.g. when Theseus achieved the synoecism of Attica.[85] More to the point, there is one famous case of a colonial settlement, precisely in North

[79] M. Paschalis, *Nicopolis* I (Preveza 1987) 68.

[80] As presented, a notably remote and fanciful one: an element of literary reminiscence, cf. W. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid and the Traditions of Hellenistic Poetry* (Berkeley 1987) 119 20, does little to redeem its slender credibility.

[81] Freshly analyzed by Horsfall, *RMM* 21 2.

[82] Thuc. 1.6.3, 95.1, 7.57.1; H. Bengtson, etc. *Staatsverträge des Altertums* 3 (München 1969) 523.57 8, 537.4, 9, 552.2, 585.1.

[83] *ἐπὶ ταῖς ἴσαις* cf. 7.256, 12.190.

[84] Graham (n. 3) 64 7; Thuc. 1.23.3 etc.; *ἔποικοι* to reinforce the original *ἄποικοι*.

[85] J. A. O. Larsen, *Greek Federal States* (Oxford 1967) xv; C. Phillipson, *The International Law and Custom of Greece and Rome* 1 (London 1911) 141 5; Thuc. 2.15; Isocr., *Helen* 35.

Africa, warmly welcoming reinforcements: Cyrene, under Battus II.[86] It is again, we shall see (n. 95), Cyrene that provides a striking example of intermarriage between colonists and indigenes,[87] like that anticipated between Trojans and Latins. The stories of Lamis at Leontini and of the Chalcidians and other Euboeans at Zancle[88] may be compared.

(iii) Thirdly, then, we come to the settlement which Aeneas proposes to Latinus in the case of his eventual victory (12.189–94; cf. Latinus at 11.322, 12.202), which is anxiously assessed by Juno (12.821–5) and resolved definitively by Jupiter himself (12.834–7). Aspects of this settlement have attracted a good deal of attention recently,[89] but not enough thought has hitherto been given to how Virgil may have come to his ideas of the issues to be resolved: name, language, dress, worship, and the throne; Suerbaum (n. 89) correctly identified the first four as indicators of nationhood in ethnographic writing, but that was not quite the end of the matter. We need to see a little more clearly how these ideas might fit into an Augustan author's concepts of an agreed diplomatic settlement. Certainly, historians found the analysis of assimilation between two groups of colonists or between colonists and indigenes an extremely interesting topic:

Hdt. 4.186 (cf.1.172): analysis of the penetration of Libyan customs at Cyrene.

Vell. Pat. 1.4.2 Neapolis founded from Cumae: *sed illis* (the Neapolitans) *diligentior ritus patrii mansit custodia, Cumanos Osca mutauit uicinia.*

[20/21] Thuc. 6.5.1–2 (cf. 1.6.3) (of Himera): 'their language was a mixture of Chalcidic and Doric, but Chalcidic institutions prevailed.'

Antenor (1.248–9) and Helenus (3.493–7) have achieved, notably, programmatically peaceful settlements; the Locrians (3.400) hold theirs by the sword; Diomedes rules at Argyripa after a military victory (11.247) in the Iapygian territory of Mt Gargano;[90] there are (1.549) Trojan *arma* (i.e. the wary settlers of Acestes) in Sicily; Dido, lastly, makes war, not love with her African neighbours,

[86] Hdt. 4.159; cf. F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades*, Paris 1953 (*BEFRA* 177) 134–5.

[87] 4.112 strictly speaking refers to intermarriage between successive waves of colonists!

[88] Thuc. 6.4.1, 5, but Zancle was itself a Cumaean, i.e. originally Chalcidian, foundation, so the parallel is less close.

[89] D. A. West, *G&R* 21 (1974) 24; T. P. Wiseman, in *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, ed. T. Woodman and D. West (Cambridge 1984) 120; M. Pani, *Ann. Fac. Lett. Fil Bari* 18 (1975) 66–7; Suerbaum (n. 75) 1947; Buchheit (n. 75) 139–43; it is still worthwhile to consult W. Warde Fowler, *Death of Turnus* (Oxford 1919) 137–8; cf. Horsfall, *Riv. Fil.* 117.1 (1989) [ch. 20, 258–61]; H. J. Schweizer, *Vergil und Italien* (Aarau 1967) 7ff.

[90] *Iapygis* is lightly archaizing in usage: cf. Ps. Scyl. 14–15; Dion. Perieg. 379; App. *Hann.* 45; Polyb. 3.88.3 with Walbank's note (1967); cf. A. Small, *Class. Views* 5 (1986) 87–8; the distortions perpetrated by A. Russi (n. 4) lose all justification once it is realized that V. is not using a rigorously up to date terminology!

whom she has already cheated in the best Carthaginian manner.[91] Such bad relations between colonists and indigenes are amply attested in the texts.[92] The Trojans have not come on a piratical raid, they protest both to Dido (1.525–8; cf. 1.300, 540, 567, 571) and to Latinus (7.229–33), but their unexpected arrival in both places was, in the ethics and practice of the heroic age, open to interpretation as piracy (Thuc. 1.5.1–2) and their conduct remained likely to be viewed as piratical by their enemies (7.362, 10.774, 11.484) particularly in versions of the Aeneas-story less favourable to the Trojans than Virgil's.[93] In the repeated emphasis on Dido's instructions to her people to treat strangers roughly, there may be reflected the notorious Carthaginian hostility towards shipwrecked mariners (Strab.17.19.1); the Lucanians' treatments of Palinurus (6.359–61) clearly reflects an experience familiar in those parts in the early days of Greek colonization (cf. Strab. 6.1.5; F. Brenk, *Latomus* 46 (1987), 571–4).

There is nothing odd or unprecedented in the very notion of large-scale cooperation between colonists and indigenes (Dido–Trojans; Latinus–Trojans).[94] It is not clear with whom the Trojans intermarry at 3.136; Crete (3.122) is said to be deserted. Do the Trojans begin to marry among themselves? Or with the few natives they can find? This intermarriage, suggested, as we have seen, by Dido, did in fact often occur[95] and what she envisages will have been called by the technically minded, *epigamia*, the right of intermarriage between two peoples.[96] Such large-scale intermarriage becomes a central theme of *Aen.* 6–12: the marriage [21/22] between Aeneas and Lavinia serves as key example and symbol of a general pattern to be adopted of intermarriage between the (exclusively male) Trojan settlers and the local girls.[97]

I turn finally to the details of the settlement between Trojans and Latins.

Virgil has very little room for manoeuvre: his resolution of the negotiations is to a large extent predetermined by the known facts of history and ethnography. There are, if you will, five clauses to the treaty:

(i) Juno asks Jupiter to let the Latins retain their language (*ne . . . iubeas . . . aut uocem mutare*, 12.825); Jupiter agrees (834 *sermonem Ausonii . . . tenebunt*; 837 *faciamque omnes uno ore Latinos*). Indeed, an historical fact: the inhabitants of Latium spoke Latin, not Phrygian; in the *Aeneid*, the 'unity of the epic world,' not complete even in Homer, and decidedly weakened in tragedy, is, as we shall see,

[91] 1.339, 368; cf. 4.36 8, 211 14, 320 1, 534 5.
[92] Cornell (n. 3) 1122; Strab. 6.2.2; Thuc. 6.3; Hdt. 1.166.2, for example.
[93] Cato frr. 9a, l0aP; Liv. 1.1.5; cf. J. C. Richard, *Hommages R. Schilling* (Paris 1983) 403 12.
[94] Cornell (n. 3) 1117, 1122.
[95] Arist. fr. 549 R; Ath. 13.576A (Massilia); Hdt. 1.163.2 (Tartessus); Hdt. 4.186, Call. *H.* 2.85 (Cyrene).
[96] On the right of intermarriage, cf. index s.v. 'epigamia' in Bengtson (n. 82); Larsen (n. 85) 56.
[97] 6.93; 7.96, 253, 271 2, 333; 9.600; 12.42, 821, 827, 835 6.

broken at several points.[98] In the case of language, at 2.423, the Greeks recognize the disguised Trojans, *atque ora sono discordia signant*. Latin has taken over most of Italy by Virgil's time, and has already spread to large areas of the Western Mediterranean; the Romans did very little, nothing even, to impose their language on their subjects, but as the language of power, it acquired an inherent advantage.[99]

(ii) Yet more fundamental than the Latins' language is their very name. Juno asks: *ne uetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque uocari* (12.823–4), . . . *sit Latium* (826), . . . *occidit occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia* (828); and Jupiter replies: *utque est nomen erit* (12.836). We have seen already how important, both in practice and in the text of the *Aeneid*, is the right to bestow a name. It is a conventional privilege of victory and Virgil, in keeping with standard ethnographical and historical practice, uses, within the *Aeneid*, changes of name, *metonomasiai*, as indicators and evidence of historical change,
[22/23] in the normal historical and poetic manner of his contemporaries.[100] Lavinia, Aeneas' wife, and at least according to the version in book 6 (763–6)[101] by him ancestor of the kings of Alba, will give her name to the *polis* of the joint people (Aeneas, 12.193–4). Again, Virgil's hands are tied: historically, the inhabitants of the territory south and east of Rome are called Latins and the land Latium; the region and the football team are still 'Lazio'. Latinus rules, not as in earlier versions of the narrative, over Aborigines,[102] but over either Latini or Laurentes: the name of the joint people, that is, pre-exists the settlement, and the Trojans (12.836) are explicitly absorbed into a tribal structure already in being.[103]

(iii) Clothing. Juno requests: *ne iubeas . . . Latinos . . . aut uertere uestem* and Jupiter replies more generally *Ausonii . . . moresque tenebunt* (834). I have recently discussed the ideological importance of clothing in the *Aeneid* in some detail[104] and it has attracted a good deal of attention in the endless studies of Numanus Remulus' programmatic speech, 9.598–620.[105] Virgil's Trojans do on occasion wear strange oriental garb, worthy of Roman opprobrium: at Aen. 4.261–4, Aeneas has been dolled up by Dido at a time of deepest moral weakness;

[98] Cf. Horsfall (n. 89) (concentrating on clothing).

[99] H. Homeyer, 'Observations on Bilingualism and Language Shift in Italy', *Word* 13 (1957) 431 2; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (London 1979) 118; E. T. Salmon, *The Making of Roman Italy* (London 1982) 121 5; J. Kaimio, *The Romans and the Greek Language* (Helsinki 1979) 94 7; N. Petrochilos, *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks* (Athens 1974) 30 1.

[100] 1.267, 1.532, 7.777, 8.329, 331 2, cf. my remarks (with bibl.) (n. 7) 36, a topic treated by Callimachus, cf. Pfeiffer (n. 9) 135.

[101] With 6.760 6, cf. Liv. 1.1.11, with 1.267 71, cf. Liv. 1.3.2, see Horsfall, *Antichthon* (n. 30) 146.

[102] Though cf. the etymological hint at 7.181.

[103] Cf. Maddoli, 'Latini', *Enc. Virg.* 3.129 31; Horsfall, 'Laurentes', *Enc. Virg.* 3.141 4; Carcopino (n. 71) 536; Boas (n. 32) 96 7.

[104] *Riv. Fil.* 117.1 (1989) [ch. 20, 258 61]. I am most grateful to Larissa Bonfante for suggesting I look more closely at the wardrobe of the *Aeneid*.

[105] Summarized, Horsfall, 'Numano Remulo', *Enc. Virg.* 3.778 9; cf. most recently M. Dickie, *PLLS* 5 (1985) 165 221, not in all respects satisfactory; cf. Horsfall, *CR* 38.2 (1988) 273 4.

Chloreus is a priest of Cybele and dresses exotically even in battle (11.769–77); though that fatally attracts Camilla's attention, it is not fatal to Chloreus whom Turnus slaughters casually in the next book (12.363). Numanus Remulus' accusations of effete oriental garb against the Trojans are heavily anachronistic; they reflect the actual dress of the priests of Cybele[106] and the prejudice those priests attracted at Rome. Salamis and Actium, as portrayed by Aeschylus (*Pers.* 14–58, 396, 406) and Virgil (8.685), are victories for sensible uniform over exotic and variegated panoplies. Not so, in practice, *Aen.* 7–12: the Latins retain yet another distinguishing feature of nationhood. But Virgil's silences suggest that the Trojans do not lose much thereby (cf. 278, n. 89 above for historians' interest in survivals of distinguishing features of dress in a joint population).

(iv) Latinus, already an old man (7.46; Aeneas himself lives only three years after his victory, 1.265–6) may keep his throne and army intact so far as Aeneas [23/24]
is concerned. Aeneas emphasizes that this is a settlement ἐπὶ ταῖς ἴσαις (12.190, cf. n. 83); the concession is therefore, formally at least, considerable. Latinus' position is to become quite closely comparable to that of a *strategos* of a league established on a basis of *isopoliteia*, mutual exchange of rights.[107] Virgil does not invite us to dwell on Latinus' position after Turnus' death; he has, indeed, no historical significance beyond the end of Book 12, but if we wish to define his position as proposed by Aeneas, we are, unsurprisingly, able to do so in Greek diplomatic terms.

(v) Lastly, however, religion. Aeneas is very clear: 12.192 *sacra deosque dabo*. Juno says not a word, and Virgil perhaps thereby conveys that the matter indeed *fati . . . lege tenetur*, unlike the other matters she requests (12.819). Jupiter is as explicit as Aeneas: *morem ritusque sacrorum adiciam* (836–7) and he assures his consort *supra homines supra ire deos pietate uidebis* (839). The entire *Aeneid* is an *aition*, an explanation in mythological terms for the presence at Lavinium of objects venerated and the Trojan Penates.[108] Aeneas does not seek to impose Trojan religion in Italy. That would be most deeply and implausibly un-Roman.[109] Aeneas, like many other colonists has brought his gods with him, and this is the religious purpose of his journey, most explicitly (cf. 1.5 *inferretque deos Latio*). The Roman *pietas* which Jupiter promises to Juno retains as its example and model the *pietas* of *pater Aeneas*, saviour of his father and gods.[110] Callimachus[111] had already explored some of the poetic possibilities of aetiological explanations of the religious practices in Greek colonies. Virgil executes a vast and unprecedented

[106] M. J. Vermaseren, *Corpus Cultis Cybelae Attidisque* (Leiden 1977, *EPRO* 50), 1 9.
[107] Larsen (n. 85) xv, *Staatsverträge* (n. 82) 3.480.29 30 on the Aetolian Acarnanian treaty of 263 2.
[108] Tim. *FGrH* 566 F 36; Horsfall, *RMM* 19; F. Castagnoli, *Lavinium* 1 (Roma 1972) 109.
[109] T. J. Haarhoff, *The Stranger at the Gate* (London 1938) 316; E. T. Salmon, *Samnium and the Samnites* (Cambridge 1967) 175 6; W. H. C. Frend, *Martyrdom and Persecution in the Early Church* (Oxford 1965) 104 26.
[110] D. Feeney, *CQ* 34 (1984) 179 94; Horsfall, *RMM* 13 14.
[111] Call. *H.* 2.71, *Aet.* 43.78, 86 91, *Iambi* fr. 200a.

expansion of this motif. The Aeneas-legend at the outset was one *nostos*-story among many; the curious chances and vicissitudes by which it acquired dominant political importance I have too often discussed elsewhere:[112] in the form it had reached by the time Virgil came to write (that is to say, in its fullest prose version as retailed by Varro, of whose narrative we can form some idea both from Ovid and from Dionysius of Halicarnassus) it inevitably already displayed many char-
[24/25] acteristic features of historical Greek colonization and had much in common with numerous other foundation stories (that much will be clear simply from the numerous citations from the *OGR* and from Dionysius): Virgil has turned his version of Aeneas' story into *the* foundation-story (of Lavinium/Rome) par excellence, and at the same time into the *aition* of the Roman cult of the Penates, and of her piety in general. To do this, it has, I think, become clear that he immersed himself to a degree far greater than hitherto realized in the vast literature of Greek *ktiseis*: Apollonius, Callimachus, and, as I think will now have become as good as certain, Herodotus too.

Appendix 1: Terminology Used of the Settlers

(i) *coloni* (not in *Enc. Virg.*!): 1.12, *Tyrii tenuere coloni* (Dido's followers settling Carthage); 7.63 *Laurentesque ab ea nomen posuisse colonis* (Latinus' followers at the foundation of their (nameless) city); 7.410 *Acrisioneis Danae fundasse colonis* (the Argive foundation of Ardea); 7.422 *et tua Dardaniis transcribi sceptra colonis* (Allecto/Calybe to Turnus; does he want his (future) royal powers made over to Trojan *coloni*?); 4.626 *qui face Dardanios ferroque sequare colonos* (Dido on the future Hannibal, scourge of the Trojan *coloni*, now settled on Italian soil).

(ii) *Profugi*: a term very well discussed by F. R. Bliss, in 'Fato Profugus', in *Classical . . . Studies in Honor of B. L. Ullmann 1* (Rome 1964), 99 105; 1.2 *fato profugos* (Trojans; cf. Bliss 102 of *profugus*: 'by itself little more than nomadic'; *fato profugos* therefore a virtual oxymoron); 7.300 *profugis toto me opponere ponto* (Juno of her persecution of the wandering Trojans); 8.118 *quos illi bello profugos egere superbos* (Aeneas of the Trojans driven off (not very far) by the Latins under Allecto's impulse); 10.158 *profugis gratissima Teucris* (of Mt Ida, figurehead of Aeneas' ship; see P. Hardie, 'Ships and Ship names in the *Aeneid*', in *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble* (Bristol 1987) 168); cf. Liv. 1.1.5 *Aenean ab simili clade domo profugum, sed ad maiora rerum initia ducentibus fatis*; 1.1.8 *cremata patria, domo profugos sedem condendaeque urbi locum quaerere*; Sall. Cat. 6.1 *Troiani Aenea duce profugi sedibus incertis uagabantur*. The word, that is, can, if the context does not help, carry a pejorative or hostile connotation, as 'refugee' could do in Europe in the summer of 1940.

[112] Horsfall, *RMM* 20 2; id., 'Enea (la leggenda)', *Enc. Virg.* 2.221 9.

(iii) *exsilium* and *exsul*: of the Trojans: 2.638 Anchises unwilling *exsilium . . . pati*; 2.780 (Creusa speaking) *longa tibi exsilia et uastum maris aequor arandum*; 3.4 *diuersa exsilia et desertas quaerere terras auguriis agimur diuom*; 3.11 *feror exsul in altum cum sociis natoque penatibus et magnis dis*; 5.51 Aeneas would celebrate the anniversary of [25/26]
his father's death even if he were an exile on the coast of North Africa; 7.359 Allecto asks Amata *exsulibusne datur ducenda Lauinia Teucris*. Cf. 8.320 of Saturn, 8.492 of Mezentius, 11.542 of Metabus, 11.263 of Menelaus in Egypt. There is some discussion of the terms in *Enc. Virg.*

Appendix 2: Urban Foundations

1.5 *dum conderet urbem* (Aeneas); 1.247–8 *hic tamen ille* (Antenor) *urbem Pataui sedesque locauit Teucrorum et genti nomen dedit armaque fixit Troia*; 1.270–1 *regnum que ab sede Lauini transferet et Longam multa ui muniet Albam* (Ascanius); 1.276–7 *et Mauortia condet moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet* (Romulus); 1.549–50 *sunt et Siculis regionibus urbes armaque* (Acestes); 1.620 *noua regna petentem* (Salaminian Teucer); for Dido, see (e.g.) 1.421–9, 446–9; *ergo auidus muros optatae molior urbis Pergameamque uoco, et aetam cognomine gentem hortor amare focos . . .* (3.132–4, Aeneas in Crete); 3.334–6 (Helenus) *qui Chaonios cognomine campos Chaoniamque omnem Troiano a Chaone dixit, Pergamaque Iliacamque iugis hanc addidit arcem*; 3.399 *Narycii posuerunt moenia Locri*; 3.400–1 *Sallentinos obsedit milite campos Lyctius Idomeneus*; 3.401–2 *hic illa ducis Meliboei parua Philoctetae subnixa Petelia muro*; 6.773–4 *hic tibi Nomentum et Gabios urbemque Fidenam, hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces* (Alban colonies); 7.61–3 *primas cum conderet arces . . .* (Latinus) *. . . Laurentisque ab ea nomen posuisse colonis*; 7.409–10 *urbem. fundasse colonis* (Danae; Ardea); 7.670–1 (Tibur); 7.678 (Praeneste); 8.321–2 *is genus indocile et dispersum montibus altis composuit* (Synoecism; cf. n. 14 above!) *legesque dedit* (Saturn); 11.246–7 *ille urbem Argyripam condebat Iapygis agris* (Diomedes).

Appendix 3: Elements Involved in an Urban Foundation

(i) walls: 1.264 (Aeneas in Italy, with *mores*); 1.267 (Romulus); 1.423 (Dido); 3.17 (Aeneas in Thrace); 3.132 (Aeneas in Crete); 3.399 (Narycian Locrians; 5.631 (Trojans in Sicily); 5.717–19, 9.218 (Acestes); 7.157 (Aeneas on Tiber bank). Note the symbolic function of Dido's building programme (1.366, 419–37, 4.74, 86–9, 260, 266).

(ii) citadel (*arx*): 1.424 (Dido); 3.336 (Helenus); 3.134 (Aeneas in Crete); 6.783 (Rome; 7.61 (Latinus); 8.313 (Evander); 8.357 (Saturn).

(iii) naming the settlement: 3.133 (Aeneas), 5.756 (Aeneas) and cf. further n. 77.

(iv) *fundamenta*: 1.428, 4.266 (Carthage).

(v) *foci*: 3.133 (Aeneas), 5.756 (Aeneas in Sicily). [26/27]

(vi) *tecta* and *domi*: 1.425 (Dido); 3.134, 137 (Aeneas), 4.260 (Aeneas for Dido); 4.311 (sought by Aen.), 7.126,7 (Aeneas), 7.290 (Aeneas).

(vii) *mores*: 1.264 (Aeneas); contrast 12.834.
(viii) *forum* and *iura*: 1.293 (Romulus and Remus); 1.426, 507, 522 (Dido); 3.137 (Aeneas), 4.231 (Rome), 5.758 (Acestes), 8.322 (Saturn), cf. G. 4.562 (Augustus).
(ix) *urbs*: 1.5 (Aeneas in Italy), 1.522 (Dido), 3.387 (Aeneas in Italy), 11.247 (Diomedes); note that Aeneas' camp by the Tiber can be called *urbs* (9.8 etc.).
(x) *gens*: 1.33 (Aeneas).
(xi) temple: 1.446 (Dido to Juno), 5.760 1 (Acestes/Aeneas); cf. *dei* 1.6 (Aeneas), 6.68, 2.320; cf. also *penates* of Libya (1.527) and Idomeneus (11.264) too.

23
Virgil and the illusory footnote[1]

The paper of T. C. W. Stinton, 'Si credere dignum est'[2] is cited widely and with deserved esteem; he discusses briefly (65f.) some comparable expressions in Latin poetry, notably Virgil, such as *fama est*, *ut perhibent*, and *fertur*. Stinton stands latest in a long and often most distinguished line of scholars who have nibbled swiftly at this enticing topic: Leo, Norden, Rohde, Heinze, Nisbet, and Hubbard, for example.[3] Even the four mighty volumes of the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* hitherto published appear not to contain any discussion of substance. This paper offers an account, complete, or so it is hoped, at least of the Virgilian evidence: it aims to cover all the ways in which Virgil refers (or claims to refer) to antecedent material or versions and it tries also to take into account ancient reactions to those passages. We need a full survey of all such material, exhaustively, from (at least) Pindar to Ovid. Until that is undertaken, these pages may serve as a clarification or stopgap. It is possible that difficulties in sorting and classifying the material have hitherto discouraged this sort of treatment; however, this paper arises out of a long-standing concern with the unpopular topic of the (prose) sources of the *Aeneid* and by and large proceeds, perversely, it may be thought, according to the reliability, or degree of truthfulness of the assertions made by the poet.

I take first, then, those cases where Virgil asserts the traditional character of a statement and it is in fact clear even to us that he is referring in all probability to a known and identifiable antecedent.

At *Aen.* 5.588, *ut quondam Creta fertur labyrinthus in alta* . . . , the reference is not only clear and explicit but perhaps even double, that is to Catullus' labyrinth at 64.114f. (cf. in particular *Aen.* 5.591) and to Homer's representation of the dancing-floor at Cnossos on Achilles' shield (*Il.* 18.590ff.). At *G.* 3.391f., *munere* [49/50]

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[1] An Italian version of this paper appeared in Horsfall, *Virgilio, l'epopea in alambicco* (Napoli 1991) 117 33.

[2] *PCPS* 22 (1976) 60 89.

[3] Bibliography: Horsfall, *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 32 n. 13 [ch. 18, 212 n. 13]; Heinze's remarks are reprinted in his *Vom Geist des Römertums*[3] (Stuttgart 1960), cf. also his *Virgils epische Technik*[4] (Stuttgart 1965) 242 n. 3. To the more important items in my earlier bibliography, further reference will be made below. Add further, H. Georgii, *Die antike Aeneiskritik* (repr. Hildesheim 1971) 179; N. J. Richardson, *PLLS* 5 (1985) 395; M. Squillante Saccone, *Le 'Interp. Verg.' di Tib. Claud. Don.* (Napoli 1985) 111; S. Hinds, *Ramus* 16 (1987) 17 19.

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sic niueo lanae, si credere dignum est, Pan deus Arcadiae captam te, Luna, fefellit, Servius notes *tantum de Luna sacrilegium* and Servius Danielis similarly remarks *quia dicturus erat impie in deam*. Thus *si credere dignum* appears to the mentality of the late antique critic a distancing mechanism, but Servius Danielis continues *huius opinionis auctor est Nicander: nec poterat esse nisi Graecus*! The reference to Nicander is in this fortunate case confirmed by Macrobius 5.22.10 *nam Nicander huius est auctor historiae . . . quod sciens adiecit, 'si credere dignum est': adeo se fabuloso usum fatetur auctore*. Virgil thus not only here cites a traditional formula of disassociation, but does so at one remove, inviting the informed reader to believe (or disbelieve) what he (Virgil) has borrowed, recognizably, from Nicander (fr. 115 Gow–Scholfield).[4]

At *Aen.* 6.893f. *sunt geminae Somni portae, quarum altera fertur cornea*, Virgil makes it quite clear that he is following the 'classic' version (*Od.* 19.562ff.): αἱ μὲν γὰρ κεράεσσι τετεύχαται, as the veriest child will have known. True or not? The question is irrelevant; Homer had said 'of horn' and *fertur* serves as indication of a (necessarily suppressed!) footnote, if you will. To explain *Aen.* 7.765 *namque ferunt fama Hippolytum* . . . Servius on 7.778 conveniently notes *exponit τὸ αἴτιον: nam Callimachus scripsit Αἴτια, in quibus etiam hoc commemorat*; with *fertur*, that is, Virgil reminds us: 'see Callimachus'; at *Aetia* fr. 190 Pfeiffer conveniently assembles other Italian *aetia* Callimachus also narrated. I have tried, too hard, probably,[5] to press for adequate recognition of the crucial fact that Virgil's narrative is here full of heavily traditional Alexandrian aetiological motifs. 'They say by way of report'; indeed they do. Virgil underscores his dependence, perhaps even renders closely the whole passage of Callimachus, asserts the traditional character of his material, yet at the explicit level claims simply to be reporting a *fama* related by others. On the *namque ferunt* of *Aen.* 10.189, which corresponds closely in structural terms to 7.765, Tiberius Donatus remarks *fabularum ueterum perindeque incertarum certum se auctorem non uult poeta constituere: ideo sic coepit, ut dicere ferunt, ut, si falsitas exsistat, alii potius mendaciorum rei teneantur*. 'Distancing', we say, more briefly. But that is not the end of the matter. Norden (on *Aen.* 6.14) and Bömer (on Ovid *Met.* 2.367–80) think that Ovid followed Phanocles (fr. 6 Powell), while the (explicitly homosexual) version (the love of Cycnus for Phaethon) in Virgil is independent. But it
[50/51] seemed to me that this version was peculiarly suited to Phanocles' *Erotes* and this suspicion is confirmed tersely by Dr Diggle.[6] Again, then, possibly, I am tempted to say, Virgil uses in the corresponding passage in the 'other' catalogue similar distancing and, simultaneously, 'footnoting'.

[4] Cf. Stinton (n. 2) 66: 'it may be that the poet is excusing a rare myth'; 'excuse' strikes the ear oddly Virgil revels in his *Wissenschaft* and expects his readers to do the same.

[5] Horsfall, *JRS* 65 (1975) 228f.; *CR* 29 (1979) 223; and, more fully, *Antichton* 15 (1981) 149 [ch. 12, 161 2].

[6] Ed. Eur. *Phaethon* 8.

At *G.* 1.247 *illic, ut perhibent, aut intempesta silet nox…* it may be (cf. now Thomas *ad loc.*) that Virgil distances himself from any responsibility for statements (Servius: *poetice: nam in rebus dubiis denegat fidem*) regarding Australia, by the sly insertion 'as you know Lucretius says' (5.650–5). The *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* disdains any entry s.v. *perhibeo*! At *G.* 3.90, *quorum Grai meminere poetae*, the reference is once more simply to Homer (*Il.* 15.119f., 16.148f.). In what way 'polemical' (his word), Thomas *ad loc.* does not make quite clear. *G.* 2.238, *quae perhibetur amara*, is conventional terminology (see Thomas *ad loc.*).

If we now examine Virgil's remarks about traditional names, conclusions of a similar kind will emerge.

At *Aen.* 3.210, *Strophades Graio stant nomine dictae*, we know that the islands are indeed called Strophades (Smith, *Dictionary of Geography* s.v.) but with *Graio… nomine* Virgil also alludes to the etymology for στρέφεσθαι found in Apollonius (2.296f.) pointed up by the pretty contrast with *stant*.[7] 6.242 is not by Virgil, but the etymology Avernus–Aornos is clearly Greek, and the claim *unde locum Grai dixerunt nomine Aornon* quite correct (cf. Dionysius Periegeta 1151, Hadrianic). *Aen.* 7.607, *sunt geminae Belli portae, sic nomine dicunt*, alludes to the gateway of Janus *Geminus* (cf. 1.294 *Belli portae*); Virgil uses Ennian phrasing (Enn. *Ann.* 267 V) and a graceful play on the adjective, to allude learnedly, wittily, and in a graceful manner to a perfectly familiar spot in the Roman Forum (Platner–Ashby, 278–80). More simply, *lugentes campi (sic nomine dicunt)* 6.441: *non dicunt*, at least not in surviving texts. Virgil is however unlikely, or so I sense, to be simply inventing here and may rather be alluding to the name Cocytus, 'river of wailing'. *Sic nomine dicunt* does appear, in terms of Virgilian usage, to have some force, as an expression of traditional naming, which we have found no reason to think merely ornamental.[8]

When Evander tells Aeneas of the Golden Age in Latium under Saturn (8.324), he speaks of *aurea quae perhibent… saecula…*; the placing of *perhibent* in the mouth of so venerable a speaker must be designed to confer an increment of hallowing authority upon the story and the name, while at a formal literary level the reference to Hesiod *Erga* 109 will have been clear. When Virgil writes (*Aen.* 1.530 = 3.163) *est locus, Hesperiam Grai cognomine dicunt*, the position is [51/52] less simple: 'Hesperia' as an adjective (= 'western') is clearly good Hellenistic poetic usage (Apollonius Rhodius 3.311; not provably in Stesichorus, but possibly a word known to early Greek elegiac poets), but it cannot be shown that the noun 'Hesperia' is earlier than Ennius *Ann.* 23 V;[9] when Ilioneus (1.533) and the Penates (3.166), in the same passages, refer to *fama*, they indicate simply things

[7] Cf. G. J. M. Bartelink, *Etymologisering bij Vergilius* (Amsterdam 1965) 56f.

[8] The article by V. Sivo, 'lugeo', *Enc. Virg.* 3.279–80, unfortunately does not take account of Virgilian usage in such matters.

[9] Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979) 3.

that they, as characters in the narrative, have heard,[10] yet even so *fama* serves as a mechanism for distancing Virgil thoroughly from hazardous statements about Italian prehistory, though what is said is quite conventional: *terra antiqua potens . . . ubere glaebae, Oenotri coluere uiri* may well be playing upon the etymology Oenotri/οἶνος and the Oenotri as early inhabitants of Italy under their king Italus are a relatively stable element in the onomasticon of Italian legendary prehistory.[11] At 12.845 *dicuntur geminae pestes cognomine Dirae*, the Dirae themselves correspond closely and recognizably to the Greek ἀραί (*Iliad* 9.456 etc.), while their name belongs to augural language.[12]

On *Aen.* 1.109, *saxa uocant Itali mediis quae in fluctibus Aras*, Servius and Servius Danielis preseve ample explanation: *ob hoc Itali aras uocant, quod ibi Afri et Romani foedus inierunt et fines imperii sui illic esse uoluerunt* (cf. Servius *ad* 4.628). Or so it was said. The name certainly is traditional.[13] We are greatly obliged to Richard Thomas for magisterial discussion[14] of *G.* 3.147f., *cui nomen asilo Romanum est, oestrum Grai uertere uocantes*: 'the Greeks changed the insect's name from μύωψ to οἶστρον (with special reference to Io);[15] I call it in Latin (not *tabanus* like Varro but) *asilus*' (Thomas, *art. cit.* 84 n. 15). Again, on *G.* 3.280–3, it is clear from Thomas' commentary that when Virgil writes *hippomanes uero quod nomine dicunt pastores*, he is thinking in part of Theocritus 2.48f. ('Theocritus' shepherds talk about . . . '! Cf. *G.* 4.271f. with Thomas' note).

At *Aen.* 8.135 Aeneas, just embarked on his cumbrous and bewildering attempt to link himself to Evander by ties of kinship, reinforces his statement that Dardanus was son of Electra with the words *ut Grai perhibent*;[16] that rests ultimately upon the authority of *Iliad* 20.315; though Electra is not there named, Homer does recount that Dardanus is the son of Zeus.[17] And when Virgil writes (*G.* 4.125) *namque sub Oebaliae memini me turribus arcis . . . Corycium uidisse senem*, Thomas quite correctly observes 'creates a strong

[10] Cf. 3.121 *fama uolat* . . . The Trojans hear that . . . . It is fortunately unnecessary to disentangle here the morass of conflicting accounts of Idomeneus' *nostos*, the best account I know is still Preller Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* 2.3[4], 1497ff.

[11] Antiochus *FGrH* 555 F 2.5 Dion. Hal. 1.12.3, 35.1; Arist. *Pol.* 1329b9. These Oenotri are so well rooted that I think it unlikely that Virgil is using Ilioneus' and the Penates' appeals to *fama* as mechanisms for distancing himself from legendary genealogies, which, I suspect, bore him, cf. *RMM* 4, 7ff.

[12] Cic. *Div.* 1.29; Fest. p. 136.20 L.

[13] Claud. Quad. fr. 31 P; cf. further Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 1 (Oxford 1970) on Polyb. 3.26.3f.

[14] *Harv. Stud.* 86 (1982) 81 5; cf. now his note *ad loc.*, comm. on *Georgics Books 3 4* (Cambridge 1988).

[15] Notably, Aesch. *Suppl.* 307f.; Call. *Hec.* 301 Pf.; Ap. Rhod. 3.276f.

[16] And proceeds shortly to say that Atlas (8.140) *auditis si quicquam credimus* was the father of Maia. He refers to a familiar genealogy (Hes. *Theog.* 938) whereas, when Anchises mumbles *si rite audita recordor* (*Aen.* 3.107) he is, as we shortly learn, altogether confused.

[17] Serv. Dan. *id est* Serv. *ut uestrae* (Aen. is speaking to the Greek Evander) *continent litterae*, Serv. Dan. *firmius enim est quod ipsorum testimonio infertur.* Cf. Tib. Don. here*ut testimonium Graecorum esset in confirmatione ueritatis* and Serv. Dan. on 1.531 *bene 'Grai' ut et ipsa* (Dido) *cognoscat.*

sense of the poet's personal experience—which need not, however, imply an existence for the sense outside Virgil's imagination'. Perhaps, though, not quite [52/53]
the end of the matter, for Virgil did in fact live for a while near Tarentum[18] and must, in informed literary circles at Rome, have been known to have done so. When, therefore, he wrote *memini*... that presupposes an expectation that the familiar autobiographical detail would contribute to the credence accorded to the poet's claim.

It is in fact more normal than might appear for Virgil to refer to traditional material, recounted in a conventional manner, as being indeed traditional. There are ten further instances in the *Aeneid* where this does seem to be the case.

(i) At *Aen.* 3.578, *fama est Enceladi semustum fulmine corpus*..., while we shall come to recognize more clearly (below) that Virgil often uses distancing formula in his references to natural wonders and when writing of the very earliest generations of myth (this passage, of course, fits into both of those categories),[19] that is not the end of the matter, for Virgil simultaneously here reports a version of great literary antiquity and distinction.[20]

(ii) *Alpheum fama est huc Elidis amnem occultas egisse uias subter mare* (*Aen.* 3.694f.); here Tiberius Donatus comments *quaecumque fabulosa sunt aut incredibilia horum Vergilius non se sed alium facit auctorem. quis enim credat quod protulit fama...?* The ancient commentators refer in similar terms to similar problems: Virgil attributes to *fama* the explanation in mythological terms of a supposed wonder, again a story of great antiquity and treated by Pindar (*Nem.* 1.1ff.).

(iii) Of the Straits of Messina Virgil writes (*Aen.* 3.414) *haec loca ui quondam et uasta conuolsa ruina... dissiluisse ferunt*. No myth here, but an alleged natural wonder and an ancient story: Strabo 6.1.6 quotes Aeschylus (fr. 402 Radt). Tiberius Donatus comments *et quia hoc Vergilius noluit esse fabulosum, addidit argumentum, ut quod incerto auctore ferebatur uel uerum uel uerisimile fieret*. With *incerto auctore* one might take issue: the 'learned Augustan reader' whom we so earnestly seek to recreate, will, or may, in several of the instances under discussion, have been reminded of the 'classic' version or versions of the stories related; to him, or her, *fama* will have been the translation into epic terminology of Pindar or Timaeus (e.g.), quite apart from any possible distancing function.[21]

[18] The evidence is collected (e.g.) in my review of Thomas' earlier book, *Lands and Peoples*, *CR* 34 (1984) 134.

[19] Cf. Serv. here *bene se fabulosam rem dicturus excusat* and Tib. Don. *inserit iam ipsam fabulam non se auctore, ut dictum est, sed fama uulgatam*. 3.578 is listed in Serv.'s good note on *Aen.* 6.14.

[20] Pind. *Pyth.* 1.16; Call. *Aet.* fr. 1.36 Pf.; F. P. Rizzo, 'Etna', *Enc. Virg.* 2.407 8.

[21] Cf. *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) n. 11 [ch. 18] for some earlier discussions of poets' ways of referring to their sources.

(iv) *Aen.* 6.107f., *quando hic inferni ianua regis dicitur.* 'There was never at any time a sacred cave for the consultation of ghosts or for a descent into the underworld within the crater of Lake Avernus'.[22] Whether or not this [53/54] is the case[23] is not for the moment important; it is clear from Strabo 5.4.5 that both he and Aphorus (*FGrH* 70 F 134) were shown many curious natural phenomena in the area and were offered bizarre explanations by the eager and credulous inhabitants. Virgil refers to just such patterns of explanation, entirely traditional in character, in formally ambiguous, conventional, and distancing language (cf. Norden *ad loc.*)

(v) (Ardea) *quam dicitur urbem Acrisioneis Danae fundasse colonis* (*Aen.* 7.409f.): it should be clear from Pliny *HN* 3.56 that this story is, though not old, in all probability inherited by Virgil from Varro. *Dicitur* is thus epic shorthand for 'Varro says; believe it or not as you will'.[24]

(vi) 7.679f. (Caeculus, founder of Praeneste) *Volcano genitum . . . inuentumque focis omnis quem credidit aetas* is both formally distancing and perfectly true, for though Virgil's actual source for Caeculus cannot be determined, there existed for this story a notably ample antiquarian tradition, on which Virgil here explicitly draws.[25]

(vii) *septem illum totos perhibent ex ordine menses . . .* (*G.* 4.507): after Eurydice's death Orpheus laments her, *mulcentem tigris et agentem carmine quercus.* Apollodorus *Bibliotheca* 1.3.2 and Conon *FGrH* 26 F 1.45.2f., though themselves probably both Augustan in date, show clearly enough[26] that Virgil is not here innovating.

(viii) (Latinus) *hunc fauno et nympha genitum Laurente Marica accipimus* (*Aen.* 7.47f.): though it is perfectly plain that various versions of the genealogy of the royal house of ancient Latium were in circulation and that the matter was of no great or particular interest to Virgil, who so often follows different versions in different places (contrast 12.164!), showing thereby that what is often labelled inconsistency is in fact deliberate indecision,[27] in this case Dion. Hal. 1.44.3 shows, taken in conjunction with the text of Virgil, that though the genealogy given need not be (and indeed is surely not) specially old, Virgil is not, as Fordyce *ad loc.* imprudently conjectures, innovating here.[28] *propter uarias opiniones hoc adiecit* comments Servius.

[22] C. G. Hardie, in *Aen.* 6, ed. R. G. Austin (Oxford 1977) 279.

[23] F. Castagnoli, in *I campi flegrei*, *Atti. conv. Lincei* 33 (1977) 75, against H. W. Parke, *Sibyls and Sibylline Prophecy* (London 1988) 92f.

[24] *RMM* 8, 92 n. 6; after B. Rehm, *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis*, Leipzig 1932 (Philol. Supplbd. 24) 92ff.; for some difficulties see Horsfall, 'Varrone (e l'Eneide)', *Enc. Virg.* 5.447 50.

[25] Horsfall, *RMM* 9, 59 62; id., 'Preneste', *Enc. Virg.* 4.256.

[26] C. M. Bowra, *CQ* 2 (1952) 113 26.

[27] Horsfall, *Antichthon* 15 (1981) 145 7 [ch. 12, 158 9], *CR* 37 (1987) 16, etc.

[28] A. Schwegler, *Röm. Gesch.* (Tübingen 1867) 1.214f.

(ix) I hope to have shown that, when Latinus says he remembers—*fama est obscurior annis*—that old men (that in itself is a significant detail) of the Aurunci (not his own people) used to say that Dardanus was *his . . . natus agris* (*Aen.* 7.205f.), though Corythus, wherever located, is neither in the territory of the Latins nor in that of the Aurunci (in whichever of the two current senses Virgil uses that name),[29] (a) the story related is definitely not a Virgilian invention, and (b) the extraordinarily elaborate 'preface' [54/55] just summarized is the most elaborate 'distancing' formula that survives to us, enriched with traditional elements appropriate in its rhetorical context, solemn with resonances of spurious antiquity, yet clearly at the same time coolly uninvolved, if not openly sceptical.[30]

(x) Carthage *Iuno fertur terris magis omnibus unam posthabita coluisse Samo* (*Aen.* 1.15f.). The association of Juno–Tanit with Carthage is traditional;[31] Virgil, while, therefore, retailing inherited material, yet distances himself from claims to intimate acquaintance with the secrets of Olympus.

By way of postscript, I here add *Aen.* 6.173: Virgil relates the story of Aeneas' trumpeter Misenus, who challenges the gods and is duly punished, *si credere dignum est*. That Misenus is a trumpeter, not a steersman, belongs solidly to the Roman antiquarian tradition,[32] but the expression of hesitancy is attached closely to *aemulus exceptum Triton*. The passage is admirably discussed at Stinton (n. 2) 65:

> Clearly Virgil is drawing attention to the fabulous nature of the incident, but without any suggestion that it is in fact false or worthy of disbelief . . . . Of course I am not saying that Virgil did believe in such stories of the supernatural, but simply that he is not, as an epic poet even as a philosophical epic poet concerned to deny them. *Si credere dignum est* is a story teller's device for heightening the discourse.

Tiberius Donatus on the other hand only comments unhelpfully *ut ostenderet etiam se dubitare potuisse exsistere tantam audaciam quae in suam perniciem diuinum odium concitaret*. Before considering those passages where our Virgilian 'introductory formulae' arise out of typical authorial indirection, to provoke scholarly indecision or at least extreme and merited caution, let us pass to those cases where one of the introductory formulae under discussion is applied to a story or version that appears in all probability to be an innovation.

[29] Rehm (n. 24) 64f.; M. Cancellieri, 'Ausoni', *Enc. Virg.* 1.420 1.
[30] Horsfall, *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 32 4 [ch. 18, 212 4]; *RMM* 100.
[31] Nisbet Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.1.25. [32] Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979) 39f.; *CR* 37 (1987) 194.

(i) *Buc.* 6.74ff. is on any interpretation a peculiar case: *quid loquar aut Scyllam Nisi, quam fama secuta est candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstris Dulichias uexasse rates. Scyllae duae fuerunt*, observes Servius, with perplexity . . . *modo ergo Vergilius aut poetarum more miscuit fabulas et nomen posuit pro nomine* (Thilo–Hagen 3.1.79.23f.). That the two Scyllas were but one is a version not found before Virgil, and it is already criticized by the author of the *Ciris* (54ff.). This is not the place to consider whether Virgil actually nods (and
[55/56] there are enough mythological irregularities in his text elsewhere to make it not unthinkable that he does so here too),[33] or whether he assigns to *fama* the conscious innovation of identifying the daughter of Nisus with the monster of the Straits of Messina. If the passage contains a genuine (and unconscious) lapse, then Virgil is simply using *fama* here as on numerous other occasions (see below) to distance the Augustan poet from narrative responsibility in the more obviously fabulous and improbable registers of myth.

(ii) *Aen.* 6.14, *Daedalus, ut fama est, fugiens Minoia regna . . .*, is lightly innovative: Daedalus, in Greek versions of the story, reached Sicily; in Sallust (after Timaeus?), Sardinia;[34] here, first, the Italian mainland.[35] Human flight is palpably absurd; Servius Danielis remarks *ubique de incertis dubitat, ut* (*Aen.* 3.578) *fama est Enceladi . . .*. The narrator employs conventionalized distancing.

(iii) The tree, *quam sedem somnia uolgo uana tenere ferunt* (*Aeneid* 6.283f.); the only classical analogy that Norden (4th edn, Stuttgart 1957) on *Aen.* 6.216 could find was the island of dreams in Lucian, with the wood where only bats nest (*Vera Historia* 2.36). That does not exclude that Virgil may have had a precise, even recognizable, but missing, source. If, though, this tree is Mantuan fantasy, it is easy enough, thanks to Norden's ample discussion, to see how, on the basis of the ancient botanical classification of elms, and of language used about dreams and birds, Virgil may have arrived at it: unsupported speculation about infernal dendrology is, though, clearly a prime candidate for a distancing formula. Tiberius Donatus sensibly compares *sit mihi fas audita loqui* (6.266) and comments *nec debuit auctor esse in incertis*. Put another way, *Aeneid* 6 is only thirty years later than Lucretius 3; Hell is awful but unlikely; educated poet soothes educated readers with the occasional reminder that he pretends no authoritative information about the Beyond, unlike some of those who have written about *Aeneid* 6!

(iv) *Aen.* 7 734f.: *quem generasse Telon Sebethide nympha fertur, Teleboum Capreas cum regna teneret.* Oebalus is no invented figure,[36] but his presence in Campania is typical of Virgil's high-handed insouciance in the relocation of minor

[33] W. Frentz, *Mythologisches in Vergils Georgica* (Meisenheim 1967) lights upon a number of cases; in *L'Epopea in Alambicco* (n. 1) 91 102, the matter is discussed more fully.
[34] Sall. Hist. 2 frr. 6, 7 Maur. Serv. *ad* Verg. *G.* 1.14; Priscian *Gr. L.* 2.255.1
[35] Preller Robert, 2.1[5] 369. [36] *RMM* 8f.

mythological personages.[37] *fertur* neither guarantees nor disproves what has just been said, but rather indicates the poet's absence of commitment, seriousness, even interest in such matters.

(v) *fama est* (12.735) that Turnus, in haste, before his last fight with Aeneas, picked up the sword of his charioteer Metiscus. The narrative structure of *Aeneid* 7–12 and its climactic battle, are, let us remember, drastic Virgilian recreation of recalcitrant traditional material; with the episode of the wrong sword, David West [56/57] has dealt memorably:[38] no real soldier could gird on another man's weapon, but Virgil, West and I agree, cared little for the quartermasterly economy of his battles.[39] And certainly, if Vulcanian sword (12.90) had met Vulcanian shield, there would have been a real structural problem. However, the divine origin of Turnus' sword seems also to me a Virgilian invention (his sources for the war in Latium were hardly interested in that sort of thing—cf. n. 39): he has to build up Turnus as a credible opponent for Aeneas, so gives him a divine parent and weapon; then, to avoid the narrative embarrassment that he has thereby, potentially, created, the sword is of necessity left offstage. *fama est*, indeed: all highly improbable and uneconomical; we well understand why the poet wishes to distance himself from such magnificent but shaky stuff.

(vi) *Aen.* 10.791–3: Lausus prepares for his last battle in defence of his father: *hic mortis durae casum tuaque optima facta, si qua fidem tanto est operi latura uetustas, non equidem nec te, iuuenis memoranda, silebo.* A difficult passage.[40] Virgil's use of the *si qua* formulation is often[41] indication of his commitment to indirection; *si qua es ea gloria* (*Aen.* 7.4) leaves open whether onomastic perpetuation is any consolation for death; even 9.446, *si quid mea carmina possunt*, is no confident assertion of the power of song to immortalize, but the fervent expression of a hope whose realization necessarily lies beyond the poet's control.[42] If time elapsed brings credence to Lausus' mighty deed, Virgil at least will sing of it: it is so extraordinary that the poet's contemporaries are not yet ready to believe it. Lausus is no invention,[43] though his individual deeds clearly are, at least to some extent.[44] Virgil expresses the hope that this fundamentally new paradigm of *pietas*, of filial self-sacrifice, in an unworthy cause, in some respects an Italian *alter Aeneas*, will come to attain credibility and recognition through his poetry. Hope, modesty, and confidence meet to elude precise definition.

[37] *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 40 [ch. 18, 219 20]. [38] *G&R* 21 (1974) 28 9.
[39] Cf. *G&R* 34 (1987) 48ff. [ch. 17, 203 10].
[40] Serv. Dan. *quaeritur 'si qua fides' a praeterito an de future dicat*; Serv. too is in difficulties and Tib. Don. simplifies. S. Harrison's commentary (Oxford 1991) contains ample good sense on the passage; through his great kindness I have had free access to the original text of the Oxford DPhil. thesis.
[41] Cf. 10.861, 2.538, 10.828, 6.822, 7.559, etc. [42] Cf. 3.433f., 7.401, 1.603, etc.
[43] *OGR* 15.1 *FGrH* 812 F 2 is no longer thought 'zweifelhaftes (gefälschtes)', cf. Dion. Hal. 1.65.3.
[44] I am not as convinced as some by E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* (Roma 1964) 2.173ff. *Phil.* 87 (1932) 242ff.; cf. *G&R* 34 (1987) 49 [ch. 17, 205].

(vii) *Aen.* 9.590f. *tum primum bello celerem intendisse sagittam dictur* (sc. Ascanius). So the episode of Numanus Remulus is introduced, self-contained, inessential, exemplary, and clearly invented.[45] Virgil distances himself from his own creation, while appearing to the incautious reader to confer upon it the authority of tradition! Tiberius Donatus' *quoniam impossible uidebatur pueri minibus robustissimum iuuenem cecidisse non se facit auctorem* is not in itself convincing, but Virgil may possibly be extracting himself from too close an involvement in Apollo's direct role in the episode.

[57/58] (viii) The same remarks apply to *G.* 4.318, *amissis, ut fama, apibus morboque fameque*. 'Almost certainly Virgil's own invention' (Thomas *ad loc.*). The necessary invented explanation is at once enhanced, distanced, and even, arguably, signalled.

(ix) *Est ingens gelidum lucus prope Caeritis amnem* writes Virgil (8.597) and describes it in some detail; *Siluano fama est ueteris sacrasse Pelasgos . . . lucumque diemque* (600f.). The association of Caere with Pelasgi is traditional; that the Etruscans revered a deity named Selvans is equally unquestioned (though, perhaps, not known to Virgil!); Silvanus is described as *aruorum pecorisque deo* (601) and this association with Faunus (cf. *G.* 1.10) is, once more, easy. But the narrative situation is invented,[46] the description of the grove contains many conventional elements, and it would be entirely atypical of Virgil to describe in detail a real grove near Cerveteri, actually dedicated to Silvanus/Selvans. The poet adorns a narrative innovation with circumstantial topographical detail, of traditional appearance. He drily distances himself, however, from the confusing (*de his uaria est opinio*, Servius!) but convenient Pelasgi.

(x) Unless E. Paratore (commentary *ad loc.*) has privileged access to information not generally available, no version of the foundation of Tarentum makes Heracles its founder. What then of *Herculei, si uera est fama, Tarenti* (*Aeneid* 3.591)? R. D. Williams suggests that Virgil is influenced by the hero's association with the foundation of Croton[47] and of Heraclea–Siris.[48] More simply, Tarentum might be thought of as founded by a descendant of Hercules.[49] Virgil, that is, appears to innovate but in reality rather compresses. The language simultaneously ennobles, and dissociates, as is the case in several other Virgilian accounts of legendary origins.[50]

[45] Cf. Horsfall, 'Numano Remulo', *Enc. Virg.* 3.778 9.
[46] My discussion of the *externi duces* motif is in *Riv. Fil.* 119 (1991), 188 92 [ch. 24].
[47] Ov. *Met.* 15.12 59; J. Bérard, *La colonisation grecque*[2] (Paris 1957) 153, 409.
[48] Lycoph. 978 83; Bérard (n. 47) 409f. [49] Serv. and Serv. Dan. here, variously; Sol. 2.10.
[50] Cf. *supra* on 7.735 *fertur*, 7.765 *ferunt*, 10.189 *ferunt*, 7.409 *dicitur*, 680 *omnis quem credidit aetas*; Heinze (n. 3) 242 n. 1; one might even wish to compare 6.14 *ut fama est* distancing from the atypical arrival of a Greek hero in the West.

Lastly, before Aeneas passes into the Underworld, Virgil appeals to its presiding deities, *sit mihi fas audita loqui* (*Aen.* 6.266).[51] What Virgil has 'heard' (that is, in reality, 'read' though the substitution is not necessarily complete and binding) he exalts and ennobles by asking permission to raise a corner of the veil of secrecy. The matter is not entirely 'formal' and 'literary'; we should not forget that Augustus himself was after all an Eleusinian initiate.[52] If an Augustan poet writes of the inspiration that he feels in the traditional language of the Muses, the theme and treatment we have learned to respect, and similarly,[53] if Virgil expresses the hope that it is in order for him *audita loqui*, (a) he could well suspect that his memory contains detail genuinely not for the ears of the *profanum uulgus*, (b) he of course lays claim to the authority of tradition, and (c) he disclaims direct knowledge.[54] [58/59]

There remain for discussion those passages (mostly already remarked on above) where the prime function of the formulae used seems clearly to be that of wishing to distance the poet from direct responsibility for a recital of events natural or human that contain an element of the wondrous or improbable—thus the (traditional) story of the subterranean course of the Alpheus,[55] and the (nearly) traditional version of Daedalus' arrival at Cumae. Compare 3.578 Enceladus and Mt Etna and 3.414, opening of the Straits of Messina. Similarly, *Aegaeon qualis centum cui bracchia dicunt* (10.565), where Tiberius Donatus comments *morem suum etiam hoc loco poeta seruauit, ut quod incredibile fuerat et fabulosum non se proferret auctore*. In similar terms, the commentary of Ps.-Probus on *Bucolica* 6.31 comments (Thilo–Hagen 3.332.5) *proprium in Vergilio est, ut nihil magnum sua auctoritate confirmet, sed aut a Musis acceptum dicat aut admirabile famai tribuat. hoc quidem diffidentiae dicunt: nam si confirmet, inquiunt, opiniones hominum ad credendum facilius inducat. sed poeta fortius probat, cum suae opinioni etiam famam consentire pronuntiat, ut est illud…* citing *Aen.* 1.15, 3.578f., 6.14, 7.765 and *Buc.* 6.74–6. *quae nisi famae auctoritas fulciat fabulosa uideantur et inania*. Also to be compared closely is *Aen.* 4.178–80 (genealogy of Fama) *illam Terra parens, ira irritata deorum, extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem progenuit*, where Virgil uses yet another formula to avoid narrative responsibility for details of the earliest generations of myth, while appearing to relate traditional material; *quotienscumque fabulosum aliquid dicit, solet inferre 'fama est' mire ergo modo, cum de ipsa Fama loqueretur, ait 'ut*

[51] *Aen.* 6.266; cf. Norden on *Aen.* 6.208f.; *aliter*, Heinze (n. 3) 242 n. 1.

[52] G. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World* (Oxford 1965) 68; P. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste* (Cairo 1927) 19, 138.

[53] Norden here well compares *Il.* 2.485f.; Ap. Rhod. 4.1379f.: the Muses *know* so much more than the poet.

[54] Serv.: *de alta dicturus prudentia miscet poeticam licentiam*; Tib. Don. *ne temerarius… audita narrare.*

[55] Cf. John Livingston Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu* (Picador edn. 1978) 359 62, for the literary history of Alph.

perhibent'. Servius, one suspects, permits himself a small, dry, schoolmasterly joke. It is noticeable and clearly comparable that Virgil accumulates distancing expressions when writing about the other world: 6.107, 266, 283—to which we might add 10.641 *morte obita qualis fama est uolitare figuras* (Tiberius Donatus: *cognito et probato iunxit incognitum et quod probari non possit*).

At *G.* 1.415 *haud equidem credo*, Virgil dissociates himself from a theological explanation of corvine prescience, in contrast with *G.* 4.219–27 (bees). I suspect, though Thomas seems not to, a mild joke[56] at the expense of Stoic theories of *diuina mens* in the animal world.[57] Bees (*G.* 4.42) *saepe etiam effossis, si uera est fama, latebris, sub terra fouere larem* (*si credendum est, apes posse terram effodere*, Servius!). Such language, says Thomas,[58] is traditional and appropriate for
[59/60] description of a natural 'wonder'. At *G.* 3.531f. *tempore non alio* (during the plague) *dicunt regionibus illis quaesitas ad sacra boues Iunonis* Virgil seems again to indicate surprise at another wondrous departure from the normal order of things, though the details do not appear to be clear.

What deity, asks Virgil of the Muses, saved the Trojans from the burning of their ships; *dicite, prisca fides facto, sed fama perennis* (*Aen.* 9.79). It turns out to be the Magna Mater who transforms them, in an invented episode, much criticized in antiquity,[59] into sea nymphs. Though Virgil invents, he calls on *prisca fides* for legitimation (cf. (6) above for *uetustas*, 10.792); at the same time the metamorphosis is fabulous and seemed therefore deplorable to some (n. 59); Virgil simultaneously draws attention to the 'wonder' and distances himself from it.[60]

At *Aen.* 4.204 Iarbas *amens animi et rumore accensus amaro* is said, *dicitur ante aras . . . multa Iouem . . . orasse*: this usage seems altogether anomalous and it is surprising that it has escaped much comment;[61] the narrative detail thus emphasized is not obviously deserving of special treatment.

On Virgilian invention, the ancient critics are (n. 59) confusing, misleading, exasperating; on Virgil's dependence on *fama*, report, rumour, tradition, they are notably more nuanced and helpful. But their categories are insufficient, their coverage incomplete and their knowledge of the traditions behind Virgil usually inadequate. Scholarly discussion of the topic in the last century has not advanced much beyond a tentative expansion of the categorization and accumulation achieved by AD 410, except for the invaluable and illuminating examination of the Greek material. Here and there (cf. n. 3; Stinton on *Aen.* 6.173) recent

[56] *proponit sibi quaestionem acerrimam et de intima philosophia* Serv.! *contra*, Stinton (n. 2) 64.
[57] Richter *ad loc.*; Cic. *Div.* 1.120, with Pease's note.
[58] (n. 18) 80; cf. F. Leo, *Ausgew. kl. Schr.* (Roma 1960) 2.104.
[59] Cf. the passages collected, *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 50 n. 131 [ch. 18, 228, n. 131].
[60] Tib. Don.: *huius, inquit, facti . . . rogatae docuerunt*; Serv. and Serv. Dan. indicated that the passage was confusing to some. Norden (*Aen.* 6.208) well compares Ap. Rhod. 4.1379f., a very similar context.
[61] 'Odd' says Austin, as though the poet were at Carthage; Pease, after Heinze (n. 3) 242 n. 2.

scholarship has made, however, some contribution. The simple increase in scale and depth that this paper offers, or so it is hoped, does not change our basic perceptions. But I should be glad to have been able to show both that in his use of *fama*, *ut dicitur*, etc. Virgil is if anything even more indirect, ambiguous, and polyvalent than usual and that the despised and neglected study of Virgil's sources has here too something to offer.

24
Externi duces

A true small gem in the *Salon des Refusés* of the entire Virgilian bibliography is the word *externus*; the position of Aeneas as both *externus* and yet somehow privileged is a vital thread in both the texture and argument of *Aeneid* Books 7–12.

The *uates* of *Aen.* 7.68f. cries *externum cernimus . . . aduentare uirum*, describing the arrival of a swarm of bees on the laurel in the courtyard of Latinus' palace and also clearly recalling to the reader the Sibyl's prophecy of a second Trojan War: *causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris externique iterum thalami* (6.93f.).[1] The way in which the *uates* interprets the omen is immediately confirmed by the oracle of Faunus: *externi uenient generi* (7.98); and Latinus himself shortly afterwards takes up the two interpretations, but in the opposite sense: *est mihi nata, uiro gentis quam iungere nostrae non patrio ex adyto sortes, non plurima caelo monstra sinunt; generos externis adfore ab oris, hoc Latio restare canunt* (7.268–71; cf. 12.28 *idque omnes diuique hominesque canebant*). After weighing up Faunus' oracle, he convinces himself that *hunc* (that is, Aeneas) *illum fatis externa ab sede profectum portendi generum* (7.255f.). Later, after the tragedies of the 'civil war', Latinus insists once more (12.27f.): *me natam nulli ueterum sociare procorum fas erat, idque omnes diuique hominesque canebant.*

Under the influence of Allecto's snake, Amata builds up her objections: quite apart from the right hand offered so many times to *consanguineo . . . Turno* (*Aen.* 7.366),[2] *si gener externa petitur de gente Latinis, idque sedet, Faunique premunt te iussa parentis omnem equidem sceptris terram quae libera nostris dissidet, externam reor et sic dicere diuos* (7.367–70). It seems clear that in Virgil's view,[3]
[188/189] Turnus had never been formally engaged to marry Lavinia;[4] certainly for Latinus Aeneas was his daughter's true and only betrothed (12.31; cf. also 11.359). Turnus, though, believed he had merited the marriage (7.423 with 8.474; cf. 11.369) and both he (9.138, 11.440, 10.79) and his aunt and supporter Amata claimed

[Translated from: *Rivista di Filologia* 119 (1991) 188 92.]

[1] [188.1] W. S. Anderson, *TAPA* 88 (1957) 19; K. J. Reckford, *AJPhil.* 92 (1961) 256f.

[2] [188.2] Virgil is alluding to a genealogical note: cf. *Aen.* 12.29; Dion. Hal. 1.64.2

[3] [188.3] C. Renger, *Aeneas und Turnus* (Frankfurt 1985) 21 3; R. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technick* Leipzig u. Berlin 1915[3]) 175f.; W. Warde Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (Oxford 1919), 42 n. 1; H. J. Schweizer, *Vergil und Italien* (Aarau 1967) 31 n. 21, 32 n. 24. An important problem also in antiquity: Serv. *ad Aen.* 12.31.

[4] [189.1] In other texts there had already been a betrothal: Ov. *Met.* 14.451; *OGR* 14.5; which is not to say that Virgil also shared this version of the legend.

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(cf. 7.56, 366; for Allecto cf. 7.423, 433), in moments of oratory excitement, that the marriage negotiations had been finalized; but for the attentive and objective reader, not inclined to give too much weight to oracular ambiguity (7.97), matters are different and Amata's insistence contributes to the picture which Virgil has painted of her irrationality.[5] In order to spur the still sleeping Turnus into action Allecto/Amata pinpoints several grievances simultaneously: *rex tibi coniugium et quaesitas sanguine dotes abnegat, externusque in regnum quaeritur heres* (7.423f.).

Thanks to his status as a foreigner, however, Aeneas gains not only his wife (and the kingdom: see 7.424; as prophesied by Creusa, 2.783f.) but also an army of allies.

Evander cites a *longaeuus haruspex fata canens* (8.498f.) for the pronouncement *nulli fas Italo tantam subiungere gentem* (i.e. the Etruscans opposed to Mezentius); *externos optate duces* (8.502f.). Tarchon has already offered his army to the Arcadian Evander who, being too old for battle, would have appointed as leader his son Pallas, had he not been of partially Italic origin because of his Sabine[6] mother. The Sibyl had promised not only the *externi . . . thalami*, but also, mysteriously, that *uia prima salutis, quod minime reris, Graia pandetur ab urbe* (6.96f.). For Evander, the solution is obvious: *tu, cuius et annis et generi fatum indulget, quem numina poscunt, ingredere* (8.511–13); and with this certainty the leader of the 'free' Etruscans agrees: *haud fit mora: Tarchon iungit opes foedusque ferit; tum libera fati classem conscendit iussis gens Lydia diuum externo commissa duci* (10.153–6).

The parallelism of the two motifs has been noticed,[7] but not, it seems to me, [189/190]
explained: this double motif is always linked to the use of *externus*, whereas the use of *aduena* (7.38, 10.460, 516, 12.261) and of *alienus* (4.311, 10.78, 866) do not seem to have comparable resonances. In order to justify, at the level of a plausible interweaving, the readiness of Latinus and Tarchon, the rapid engagement of Aeneas and Lavinia, and the essential acquisition of an allied army for the small number of exiled Trojans (10.267–9), Virgil has neither inherited nor invented but, as so often, has transferred from the historiographic field.[8] In many works on the history of Rome, Virgil will have found fleeting references to the foreign origin of her kings,[9] of the various patrician *gentes*,[10] and of many

[5] [189.2] Schweizer (n. 3) 22–34; V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (Heidelberg 1963) 102–8.

[6] [189.3] *Sabella*: see Horsfall, 'Sabini', *Enc. Virg.* 4.627–8.

[7] [190.1] W. Suerbaum, *Poetica* 1 (1967) 202–4; B. Grassmann Fischer, *Die Prodigien in Vergils Aeneis* (München 1966) 68 n. 26.

[8] [190.2] See Horsfall, *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 31ff. [ch. 18, 211–3].

[9] [190.3] H. Boas, *Aeneas' Arrival in Latium* (Amsterdam 1938) 86ff.; J. Poucet, *Les origines de Rome* (Brussels 1985) 213–17; R. Syme, *Tacitus* 2 (Oxford 1958) 623f.

[10] [190.4] Poucet (n. 9) 267–74; S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford 1971) 5; T. P. Wiseman, *G&R* 21 (1974) 153–64. See Prop. 4.6.37f.; Tac. *Ann.* 4.9.2, 12.25.2; *Aen.* 7.708f.

institutions;[11] further, to cite the *duces externi* of the past was a common argument to justify innovations and explain the growth and power of Rome.[12] In Virgil there is a long sequence of benefactors appearing in Rome, from Saturn to Augustus.[13]

[190/191] On two occasions Virgil sets forth an argument on the meaning of *externus* (7.367–72, where Amata uses the Argive origin of Ardea, possibly earlier supported by Cato,[14] and 8.510f.). In *TLL* (5.2.2020. 27–33) O. Hiltbrunner gives a list of ancient attempts to explain the word *externus* in Virgil: this could have been a chance to show once more how the poet was aware of a historiographical debate,[15] but *externus* seems to be a word which in itself is neutral, even if used several times in contexts of great intensity (for example Vell. 2.15.2). The doubts expressed by Virgilians rather arise from an intended ambiguity, from the difficulty in defining exactly the terms used by the *haruspex*, the oracle of Faunus, and the *uates*.[16]

A final problem: Aeneas is not only Trojan and *externus* but also Italian, because his ancestor Dardanos was originally from Corythus in a land later named as Etruscan.[17] That is, Aeneas and his people are returning to their homeland. But 'the return of Aeneas' is not an important motif in the final six books and does not act as a reason or justification in the epic. Ilioneus pronounces the 'Etruscan' origin of his companions (7.240f.); Latinus already knows it (7.195, 205–11), as does the god Tiberinus (8.36). But the story of Dardanus does not prevent Latinus and Evander from regarding Aeneas as the foreigner of destiny. Between these two versions there seems to me no conflict or opposition, whether for Latinus and Evander or for Virgil. In Books 7 and 8 the motif of the Trojans'

[11] [190.5] Polyb. 1.20, 15 (with Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius* 1 (Oxford 1967) *ad loc.*); Varr. *De gente pop. Rom.* frr. 36 and 37 (with Fraccaro's comments, *Studi varroniani*, Padova 1907) 223f.; further Horsfall, *C&M* 30 (1969) 297 99; id., 'Varrone (e l'Eneide)', *Enc. Virg.* 5.447 50; Tac. *Ann.* 3.27.1; Diod. Sic. 23.2; Dio Cass. fr. 43.8; Ath. 6.273 F; see further (with caution) E. Wendling, *Hermes* 28 (1893) 335 53; Q. Maule and H. R. Smith, *Votive Religion at Caere: Prolegomena* (Berkeley, Los Angeles 1959) 21f.

[12] [190.6] Cf. Liv. 4.3.10 12 with A. Momigliano, *Claudius* (Oxford 1961²) 17f.; Tac. *Ann.* 11.24 with *ILS* 212 (particularly with 1.10 *supervenere alieni et quidam externi*) with Syme (n. 9) 707 10; Dion. Hal. 2.16, 17; Cic. *Rep.* 2.12.34 with K. von Fritz, *Theory of the Mixed Constitution in Antiquity* (New York 1954) 123 31; Cic. *Sulla* 22 with T. P. Wiseman, *New Men in the Roman Senate* (Oxford 1971) 107 16.

[13] [190.7] Poucet (n. 9) 287 9; G. Binder, *Aeneas und Augustus* (Meisenheim am Glan 1971) 89f.; Virgil, *Aeneid 8*, ed. by K. W. Gransden (Cambridge 1976) 14 20.

[14] [191.1] For Falerii: Cato *Orig.* fr. 47 P; for Tiber 'Sextius': *ap.* Solin. 2.8 (against Cato *Orig.* fr. 56 P); for Ardea: Plin. *HN* 3.56, Solin. 2.5, which do not necessaily depend on Cato.

[15] [191.2] For the ancients, the king and declaration of war: see *Aen.* 7.611 and Horsfall, *Vergilius* 32 (1986) 10 [ch. 16, 194].

[16] [191.3] See E. Murgia, *CPhil.* 82 (1987) 50 9 on oracular ambiguity in Virgil.

[17] [191.4] See Horsfall, *RMM* 89 104. Even if we accept the doubts expressed by O. Carubba and others (*Athenaeum* 54 (1976) 163 73, see Horsfall, *RMM* 98) on the interpretation of the stone inscriptions from Wadi Milian, expounded by J. Heurgon and commented on by me, the evidence that Corythus is not a Virgilian invention is multiple (see Horsfall, *op. cit.* 99) and it is difficult to understand the scepticism expressed by A. Momigliano, *Meded. Kon. Nederl. Akad.* 45.9 (1982) 19 (*Settimo contributo* (Roma 1984) 458).

return has become rather an antiquarian ornament,[18] another genealogical thread in the courteous conversation of the heroic world, even if within the entire epic it [191/192] is often interpreted, with some justification,[19] as an attempt on Virgil's part to remove the suspicion that the Trojans were really oriental and effeminate, and to announce a new reconciliation between East and West. The Trojans return to their homeland, but, in practice, the kernel of the matter is that they are true *externi*.[20]

[18] [191.5] Momigliano (n. 17); Horsfall (n. 17) 103.

[19] [192.1] R. Scuderi, *Aevum* 52 (1978) 91; G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton 1969) 222; Buchheit (n. 5) 159.

[20] [192.2] I am indebted to my friend Giorgio Brugnoli for an early suggestion.

25

The *Aeneid* and the social structures of primitive Italy

In his reconstruction of daily life in Italy in the era of Aeneas' arrival,[1] Virgil offers us, as has been clear for some time, a poetic image, inexact, often indeed confused and in many ways anachronistic, based on the Homeric heroic world and, at the same time, on antiquarian Roman tradition, but not, it seems to me, so much from the legendary period as from the age of the kings and the beginnings of the Republic.

Before Virgil, the Aeneas-legend, even in its more extensive form,[2] had never been narrated with rich and ample details: no one cared what Hercules and Evander had for breakfast. Virgil was therefore compelled to patch together the human and daily setting of his Italic heroes: it was neither historical nor archaeological; in general he preferred to work in a selective, impressionistic, and non-systematic way; he did not seek to offer a scientific reconstruction of a primitive and 'authentic' Latium,[3] and yet the old discussions, thanks to their basic incomprehension of these ancient implications, have left the argument fully confused and have passed to us fragments of an often misleading 'vulgate'.

A full and fresh examination of the entire problem is needed, but I shall [17/18] limit myself here to the field of this present discussion. We can start from two indisputable facts:

(i) Virgil made ample use of antiquarian Roman authors;[4] I am speaking above all of Varro and I continue to maintain that we cannot show with any degree of certainty the poet's debt to Cato's *Origines*;
(ii) in the written antiquarian tradition there were at least traces of an interest in Italic constitutional antiquities.[5]

[Translated from: *AION* 13 (1991) 17 25, *L'Eneide e le strutture sociali dell'Italia primitiva*'.]

[1] But for an earlier view, see, with extreme caution, C. Saunders, *Vergil's Primitive Italy* (New York 1930); for more recent interpretations, see Horsfall, 'anacronismi', *Enc. Virg.* 1.151 4.

[2] This has to be the Varronian version, of which we have much precise knowledge from the fragments preseved by, for example, Dionysius and Servius. Analysis here should not be limited to the results in J. Poucet, *MÉFRA* 101 (1989), 63 95. The common elements in all, or most versions from the Augustan or Tiberian eras (with the addition of *OGR*, which epitomizes work of the early Empire) should constitute a 'vulgate', probably Varronian in many cases.

[3] I am thinking above all of Saunders (n. 1).

[4] See Horsfall, 'Varrone (e l'Eneide)', *Enc. Virg.* 5.447 50, and *RMM* 8.

[5] See, for example, Strab. 5.4.2; Fest. 502; E. Kornemann, *Klio* 5 (1905) 81, n. 3.

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We have therefore, it seems to me, a still virgin terrain to explore: I mean a rereading of Virgil's text in the hope of extracting various as yet unidentified remains of the indigenous erudite tradition on Italic constitutional antiquities.[6] Virgil wrote in a library; his sources, in many cases, depended on inscriptions, traditions, or local *annales*.[7] This is second-hand erudition: I hope shortly to show that even for the Transpadane, Virgil based himself not on his personal experience but on literary texts.

We begin with Virgilian Etruria, which has perplexed me for some time, above all with regard to the constitutional terminology.

The Etruscans, Osinius of Clusium (10.655), Aulester of Mantua (10.209, 12.289), Mezentius, exiled from Caere (10.481, 495), and finally Tarchon, whose realm is unspecified (cf. 10.149, 8.855) but through association linked with the Tarquinii, are all described as 'kings' but are not in the catalogue of *Aeneid* 10. Throughout the rest of Virgil's Italic territory, however, monarchy is dominant. There is a complete list in the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* under the heading *rex*;[8] I limit myself here to a discussion, not of those persons of major importance (kings for heroic convenience), but of a number of other cases, less well-known but perhaps more significant.

There are two kings of Praeneste, Caeculus and the mythical monster Erulus (7.769, 8.563): the first is a calque on Romulus,[9] as a Praenestine rival to the legendary origins of Rome, and the second a literary doublet of Geryon and thus, [18/19] apart from the name, of little importance.[10]

Other than the artificial and confused genealogy that Virgil offers us for Latinus,[11] there is a king of the Laurentes, Dercennus (11.850), a fascinating name already discussed several times.[12] Rhamnes is described as *rex et augur* (9.327); Umbro arrives at the muster in Book 7, *Archippi regis missu* (7.752); Metabus, Camilla's father, is another exiled king, like Mezentius—and I have suggested[13] that the lesser story is simply calqued by the poet on the greater. Virgil speaks of an hereditary monarchy at Capreae (7.734–6), forcing on it a king with a Tarentine name, Oebalus.[14] On Messapus, Archippus, Camers and the other Italic kings I have nothing specific to add, but prefer to go directly to a somewhat paradoxical conclusion.

In the other fragmentary accounts which we have of legendary Italy there exist, certainly, a number of kings,[15] whereas monarchy is absent throughout historical

[6] I am speaking, of course, of remains free of any possibility of Homeric 'contamination'.
[7] See *RMM* 7; E. D. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London 1985) 233f.
[8] C. Venturini, vol. 4 (1988). [9] J. N. Bremmer, *RMM* 57f. [10] Horsfall, *RMM* 4.
[11] See, however, an attempt (R. Moorton, *TAPA* (1988) 253 9) to harmonize all the various Virgilian details.
[12] Horsfall (n. 10) 2, 4; T. Köves Zulauf, *Kl. Schr.* (Heidelberg 1988) 280f.
[13] *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 40f. [ch. 18, 220]. [14] ibid., with n. 67 for the earlier bibliography.
[15] For example, Lycoph. 1059; Strab. 5.4.5 (*FGrH* 70 F 134), 5, 3, 2; Diod. Sic. 7.5.2 (cf. 7.5.6 7); Dion. Hal. 1.57.2, 1.64.4; Dio Cass. *ap.* Tz. *ad* Lycoph. 1232, and *ap.* Zon. 7.1.

Italy—if we do not include the *rex nemorensis*, *uel sim.*,[16] with the well-known exception of ancient Etruria.[17] I cannot explain the absence of the kings (whom we could redefine as 'hexametric' or 'homerized' *lucumones*) from the Virgilian Etruscan catalogue. The other Italic kings cannot be defined simply as a legendary detail in the account: Virgil knew the antiquarian tradition too well to introduce such an historiographic anomaly. I prefer to explain the Italic kings in the *Aeneid* as Homeric (or in general 'epic') equivalents used as an alternative to the complicated terminology of the Italic magistracies, used by Ennius (*Ann.* 298V) but too stilted and antiquarian, too literal, and not literary, for Virgil. And so the poet imposes an heroic monarchy throughout Italy, including Etruria—the Etruria which he prefers not to distinguish, an indication of the poet's tendency to avoid antiquarian pedantries.

[19/20] Ten years ago I suggested that in the text of the *Aeneid* traces could be found of a number of political-antiquarian controversies of the first part of the first century BC;[18] traces, I meant, of reconstructions like the 'creation of Romulus' preserved by Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[19]

When, at *Aen.* 7.173, Virgil says, speaking of Latinus' palace, *hic sceptra accipere*, the word *accipere* seems to me to presuppose, in the land of the Laurentes and in the legendary era, the concept that the king receives his investiture from the *curiae*. In a similar way, 7.614: *ipse uocat pugnas, sequitur tum cetera pubes*, echoes, I think, the archaic call to arms of volunteers during periods of national danger.[20]

Both the use of the horn (7.513 *pastorale . . . signum*) and the use of the repeated call *arma amens fremit, arma toro tectisque requirit* (7.460) seem to echo the antiquarians' searches for the archaic muster.[21] The anachronistic excursus at 7.611 is therefore significant, where Virgil talks of the opening of the gates of Janus, followed by the consul *ubi certa sede patribus sententia pugnae*, as by Latinus himself, an excellent precedent for constitutional correctness (616–17): *hoc et tum indicere bella Latinus more iubebatur tristique recludere portas*. The two passages reflect the constitutional debate (in which historiographical-legendary antecedents were most certainly cited) on the right to declare war.[22] With *iubebatur* Virgil implies that Latinus carries out the decision of the assembly. When the poet writes (7.726–7) *et quos de collibus altis Aurunci misere patres*—in contrast with 7.752 *Archippi regis missu*—we may think of the *touto* of the

[16] *Rex sacrorum* not only at Rome: see K. Latte, *Röm. Rel.*, 405, n. 4.

[17] See for example M. Pallottino, *Etruscologia* ed. 7 (Milano 1984), 312f. in contrast to M. Cristofani, *Popoli e civiltà* 7 (Roma 1978) 255f.

[18] *CR* 28 (1978) 357; *CR* 29 (1979) 221.

[19] E. Gabba, *Athenaeum* 38 (1960) 175f.

[20] See Serv. *ad loc.*; Fiebiger, 'Evocati', *RE* 6.1:1145f.

[21] Horn: Varr. *Ling.* 6.92; Prop. 4.1.13; call: E. Fraenkel, *Kleine Beiträge* 2, 155, quoting W. Schulze, *Kl. Schr.* 163f.

[22] Cf. Dion. Hal. 2.14, 3; Liv. 1.30.3, 1.24.4f.; P. Willems, *Le Sénat* 2 (Paris 1885), 466, n. 5.

Aurunci, but it seems more probable to me that constitutional theories on archaic Rome have been transferred to Campania.

The territorial divisions, or rather the distribution of the Italic kingdoms in the two catalogues, can be taken together.

Mezentius, like Metabus, is an exile, without a kingdom. Virgil takes care not to speak of the kingdom of Aventinus, *furtiuum partu* (7.660), thereby avoiding a formal conflict between Evander and Aventinus for territory or authority.[23] [20/21] Catillus and Coras come from Tibur, Virbius from Aricia, Asilus from Pisa, Ocnus (with Aulestes) from Mantua. On the other hand, Caeculus is not only king of Praeneste, but leads warriors drawn from a large territory which has neither geographical nor historical cohesion—from the Aniene to Ciociaria. Massicus is the leader of a group of a thousand soldiers from Clusium and Cosae, cities that lie almost a hundred kilometres from each other: it has been suggested that this association of the two serves to combine foot soldiers and sailors (10.167–8). The Italic kingdoms, of Messapus, Halaesus, and Oebalus, and the Etruscan, of Abas and Astyr, only have cohesion on the geographical map and do not correspond to the division, ancient or Augustan, of Italy. Clausus, Ufens, Umbro, and Camilla, by contrast, are leaders of Sabines, Aequiculi, Marruvii, and Volsci, with the addition of appropriate topographical details, while Cunerus[24] and Cupavo are princes of the Ligures (conceivable without difficulty as allies of the Etruscans). Turnus has already been named several times as king of the Rutuli even while his father Daunus is still alive (10.616); yet all the peoples of southern Latium follow him. His predominance is not only psychological but geographical. We find a territorial distribution which reveals traces of geographical cohesion but which aims above all at the needs of variety and the structure of the plot.

Very few Virgilian scholars are interested in the concept which the poet had—an important problem—of the social and urban structures of Latium in the heroic period, and in the origins of that concept. Virgil usually wrote (but not, as we shall see, exclusively) of a primitive, urbanized Italy, under the influence of both Homeric Greece and the literature of Italy's legendary *ktiseis*, the foundations of cities on Italian soil. Virgil repeatedly alters the essential concept of the Italic character: I am not speaking of non-cohesion or incongruency, but of a *modus operandi* (which I identified and analysed some time ago)[25] that allows him to follow two different interpretations, depending on the passage's emphasis or needs. The 'annalistic tradition' had been long since split between the idea of an idyllic peace and that of an ancient martial attitude.[26] So indeed in Virgil: either [21/22]

[23] It would seem to me a grotesque pedantry to divide the site of Rome between two simultaneous kings: the arrival of Aeneas at the Forum Boarium (8.97f.) does not seem to create customs problems!

[24] See S. Timpanaro, *Contributi di filologia* (Roma 1978) 289f.

[25] *Antichthon* 15 (1981) 147 [ch. 12, 159]; see ch. 6 of my *L'epopea in alambicco* (Napoli 1991).

[26] Enn. 7.45f., against 170f.; Naev. fr. 23 Strzelecki, *Naev. Belli Punici Carminis* . . . (Leipzig 1964) against Liv. 1.1.5; Dion. Hal. 1.57.2; *OGR* 13.1.

rex arma Latinus et urbes iam senior longa placidas in pace regebat (7.45–6) or *armati terram exercent semperque recentis conuectare iuuat praedas et uiuere rapto* (7.748–9).

In the same way Sallust can describe the Aborigines (*Cat.* 6.1) as *genus hominum agreste . . . liberum* (presupposing the etymology from *ab-errare*) and Strabo (5.3.3) speaks of Evander's habitation on the site of the city of Rome, implying the absence of any type of urban development. By contrast, Livy speaks of an Italy already partly urbanized at the time of Aeneas' arrival (1.1.5) while Virgil gives the impression that both the city of Latinus and Tibur, and also Praeneste, for example, were of recent origin, in stark contrast to Ardea (for example), founded by Danaë (7.410).

Virgil's 'urban' terminology is curious in several ways: Cristofani[27] defines *oppida* (in the 'Italic' sense of the word) as 'minor hill settlements' but the word is never used in this sense in the *Aeneid*. When Virgil, however, writes in the *Georgics* (2.156–7) of *tot congesta manu praegestis oppida saxis fluminaque antiquos praeterlabentia muros* these *oppida* are clearly walled towns in strong riverside positions. In the *Aeneid* it becomes clear that many *oppida* (e.g. 11.581, 12.22) and *urbes* (such as 11.540 Privernum, 7.409 Ardea, 9.10 Corythus) did not have the urban and developed character which we find, for obvious reasons, in the case of Latinus' large anonymous city. Possibly even more interesting are the *arces* in the *Aeneid*. When reading 7.696 *hi Soractis habent arces*, we inevitably think of the summit of Mt. Soratte, where there is room for a settlement of perhaps fifty people and one hundred sheep. Elsewhere—the observation is curious but not necessarily very important—apart from the single nameless and generalized reference of 12.85 to *arces Italum*, Virgil adopts *arces* only when he is speaking of the city of Rome or that of Latinus: *arces* is not a term used for Italic settlements in Virgil. We shall see shortly, however, that the poet was well able to conceive of a tribe without a focal urban point, that is, in a somewhat realistic sense and, from our historical viewpoint, 'correct'.

We shall quickly dispose of Virgilian Mantua, much less interesting than it
[22/23] appears, despite an excessive concentration of scholarly interest: 10.202, *gens illi triplex, populi sub gente quaterni.* We cannot, as has become clear,[28] suppose that the poet was a scrupulous or erudite antiquarian. It has been known, at least from the time of Eduard Norden and Bernhard Rehm,[29] that the number twelve reflects the north Etruscan dodecapolis and that Virgil also has in mind both the three peoples of Homeric Rhodes and the frequent pairings that survive in ethnographic texts between numerology and constitutional information: I am thinking (for example) of Julius Caesar's four *pagi* of the Helvetii (1.12.4) or the *tres partes*

[27] Cristofani (n. 17) 92. [28] Vd. *RMM* 9f, 100, n. 95.

[29] Norden, *Die germ. Urgeschichte* (repr. Stuttgart 1959) 314f.; Rehm, *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis*, Leipzig 1932 (*Philol.* Supplbd. 24.2) 73, n. 153.

and *populi duodecim* of Varronian Salento (*Rer. hum.* ap. Ps.-Prob. *ad Buc.* 6.31, Th-H. 3.2.337.8–9).

Let us pass on now to examine briefly Virgil's use of four familiar names in the legendary prehistory of central Italy: Aurunci, Ausones, Sicani, and Pelasgi. There is no need to speak of the Sabines and Samnites: the general Latin use of *Sabelli* meaning 'Samnites' has been discussed, excellently, by E. A. Sonnenschein[30] and those elements of confusion that still arise are nothing but the result of inattention.[31] Virgil adopts the name Pelasgi only once in an Italian context, with reference to their sacred wood near Caere/Agylla, where Aeneas receives his arms (8.600). There is no doubt, as Serv. Dan. observes *ad loc.* that the poet is here following Varro and other supporters of the identity of *Pelasgi* and Etruscans.

Virgil speaks three times of the Sicani: once as an *Urvolk* of central Italy (8.328), once as soldiers in Turnus' contingent (7.795) and only once as inhabitants of a territory, in a mysterious passage, not yet adequately analysed (11.318). This is not so much geography or legendary historiography as poetic mystification and Augustan romanticism. Virgil knows perfectly well that historians have long spoken of the Sicani as primitive inhabitants of central Italy and so adopts the name purely for effect. We should not think of any binding historical or geographical implications. I would say that it is simply fortuitous that the poet did not use Siculi with the same value.

Virgil never adopts Ausones in its historical sense, that is, as an equivalent of Aurunci. Various ancient authors, in discussing the legendary ethnography of [23/24] Italy, speak vaguely of the Ausoni as a people of the centre or south. In this sense the name often occurs in the *Aeneid*, as synonymous with Rutuli (12.183 *Ausonio . . . Turno*) and as followers of Latinus (7.537, 547, etc.). Finally, the Aurunci: Virgil uses the name only once in its historical sense, of the inhabitants of the land between Liris and Volturnus (7.727). It is also possible that Actor, killed by Turnus before the action in the *Aeneid* (12.94), was meant as an *Auruncus* in this sense. In three other passages (11.318, neighbours of the Rutuli; 7.206, a people of whom Latinus knows the legends; 7.795, followers of Turnus together with the Rutuli of Ardea, an Argive city, the Sicani whom we have already seen, and the *Sacranae* of whom I shall speak shortly), the Aurunci are conceived as inhabitants of central Italy in a sense no better defined. This use is explained by their historical equivalence to Ausones: the poet therefore feels himself free to scatter them across his Latium, as he also does with the Ausones.

We pass now to three passages where I maintain that the Virgilian use of *populus* may have a particular importance.

[30] *CR* 11 (1897) 339f.; Horsfall, 'Sabini', *Enc. Virg.* 4.627 8.
[31] *Preistoria dei Sabini* (Rieti 1985) 62, unfortunately.

(i) The *populi Latini* of 7.716 were the inhabitants of the *ager Latiniensis* between Rome and Fidene and are already found in the list of the *populi Albenses*.

There is nothing at all of an urban centre.

(ii) The *Sarastes populos* of 7.738 are, it seems to me, a small mystery. Silius (6.468) who follows Virgil's geographical sources closely,[32] speaks of a *Sarrana Iuno*. I am tempted to offer a simple solution, perhaps radical: the Sarrastes are the peoples (or the people) who live on the banks of the Sarnus.

(iii) Of the *Laurentes populi* (6.891), inhabitants of the *ager Laurens* in the epic, the capital is Latinus' nameless city; I hope that I have expunged for ever the existence of a city called 'Laurentum'.[33] In the historical tradition the capital of the Laurentes becomes Lavinium. The name Laurentes is in itself ancient (vd. the list of peoples in Dion. Hal. 5.61.3): the difference in the names between capital and people, expressed in the designation *Laurentes Lauinates*,[34] is likewise found in such cases as *Rutuli Ardeates* and *Quirites Romani*. For Virgil, the relation between Laurentes and Latini may not always have been perfectly clear. Latinus is king of the *Latini*; his capital is the *arx Laurens*; the *ager*
[24/25] *Laurens* is part of *Latium*, while *Laurentes* often denotes the indigenous enemies of Aeneas in general. Only the anomalous 12.240 juxtaposes *Laurentes* (part) and *Latini* (whole).

Of the *populi* of Mantua we have already spoken. Servius links the *Sacranae acies* of 7.796 with the *uer sacrum*: it is not necessarily false. I prefer to admit my ignorance and uncertainty, together with the suspicion that even these *acies* have a non-urban character. Of *Ortinae classes* (7.716) I have spoken (as of the Laurentes and Sabatini) in the *Enc. Virg.* (3.896) and I am again constrained to express my perplexity: the *Ortinae classes* can have nothing to do with Orte (whose inhabitants, on the right bank of the Tiber, are called Hortani); the meaning of *classes* looks to me equally obscure. When Virgil adopts *manus* or *acies*, in the singular or plural, he means the warrior population of a particular city or region;[35] this usage conceals no traces of a primitive and 'authentic' Italy.

We should not forget that, apart from the few indications, to which I have pointed, of Virgil's knowledge of the 'authentic' structures of primitive Italy, there are two passages in the *Aeneid* where the poet, who is certainly following Varro and possibly Cato,[36] idealizes in unforgettable language the life of the ancient inhabitants of Italy. I am referring to Numanus Remulus' harangue (9.598ff.) and to the description of the Aequiculi (7.746–9). The nature of 'hard primitivism' (I adopt the classic term of Lovejoy and Boas) leads Virgil to a mixture of praise and reproach. Certainly, the attentive reader of the *Aeneid* will find copious evidence

[32] *RMM* 93, n. 26. [33] Horsfall, 'Laurentes', *Enc. Virg.* s.v. 3.141 4.
[34] Ibid. (n. 33), 142 3 for the bibliography.
[35] *Manus*: 7.795, 8.328, 10.353, 11.519, 7.711, 9.11, 7.730; *acies*: 11.498, 12.597, 7.574, 7.796.
[36] See even now P. Fraccaro, *BFC* 17 (1910 11) 160f.

to maintain a multiplicity of more or less improbable theories of onomastics, geography, and ethnography. In these fields the poet really is not a specialist; from a meticulous reading of the text it becomes nevertheless clear to me that the poet knew something of the historical-geographical particulars and therefore there were appropriate indications in his prose sources. But we should not be surprised if, once having uncovered these traces, we cannot understand their precise meaning. I prefer a confirmed admission of my ignorance to a fabrication of uncertain and nebulous theories.

26
Virgil and the poetry of explanations

The indebtedness of the *Aeneid* to Homer in terms of plot and structure has been analysed in minute detail,[1] and the hunt is indeed by no means at an end.[2] Here and there, notably but not exclusively in *Aeneid* 4, long narrative sequences have been followed back to Apollonius Rhodius.[3] Isolated episodes have been identified as owing much to Greek tragedy.[4] But the pursuit of Virgil's principal narrative sources, already undertaken with furious critical acerbity in antiquity,[5] is perhaps too heavily committed to a limited quantity of likely literary models and to certain patterns of enquiry, though these last have changed a good deal in recent years.[6] If I seem to grumble about a narrowness of outlook that becomes at times oppressive and about the danger of conclusions ever more forced and improbable if we continue barking up the same few trees, it is because (i) I have worked on and off for nearly twenty-five years on *Aeneid* 7, where Virgil's sources are as mixed, complex, and anomalous as they ever become[7] and because (ii) I published recently a study (*Vergilius* 35 (1989) 8–27 [ch. 22, 267–84]) of narrative sequences in *Aeneid* 3, which seemed to point strongly towards Virgil's attentive reading of Greek colonization stories. This is not the place to continue my one-man pursuit of Herodotus and Pindar in the *Aeneid*,[8] but it is high time that we looked at

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[1] G. N. Knauer, *Die Aeneis und Homer* (Göttingen 1964), excellently summarized by the author himself, in English, *GRBS* 5 (1964) 61ff.; K. W. Gransden, *Virgil's Iliad* (Cambridge 1984) should be used with caution.

[2] Cf. for example, R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Further Voices in Vergil's Aeneid* (Oxford 1987) and G. B. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation* (Ithaca 1986).

[3] W. W. Briggs, *ANRW* 2.31.2 (1981) 948ff. is useful, but there is much more work to be done.

[4] For Roman tragedy, cf. M. Wigodsky, *Vergil and Early Latin Poetry* (Wiesbaden 1972); for Greek, Lyne (n. 2) has some interesting suggestions, but the indispensable guide is A. M. König, *Die Aeneis und die griechische Tragödie* (diss. Berlin 1970).

[5] Cf. Macrobius (*c.*430 AD, but here following first century AD sources) *Sat.* 5.17.1ff. on Virgil's inadequacy in the central part of *Aen.* 7, when he has not got Homer to follow.

[6] Cf. n. 2.

[7] I refer in particular to Varro and Greek tragedy, with a surprising Hellenistic admixture (for a summary, cf. *Antichthon* 15 (1981) 149f. [ch. 12, 161 2]). A full commentary on *Aen.* 7 is still needed [now Horsfall, *Comm. Aeneid* 7 (Leiden 2000)].

[8] But cf. E. Courtney, *Vergilius* 34 (1988) 3ff. (on one likely Herodotean detail) and A. Setaioli, 'Pindaro', *Enc. Virg.* 4.107 11.

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certain large narrative structures in the epic and asked whether we have really been framing the right questions about them.[9]

It is a commonplace to say that the *Aeneid* covers a vast time-span. The action is confined to a few months, but its consequences are spread over all of Rome's history (and pre-history) and are indeed not yet played out when Virgil writes.[10] Nor is this mighty historical span a mere sequence of events, episodically strung out after the manner of a Silius Italicus or of a minor Roman historian not of the best period. It would be equally wrong to think of Roman history in the *Aeneid* as limited to Jupiter's prophecy, to Anchises' account of the Parade of Heroes and to the ecphrasis of Aeneas' shield. The whole poem—and I am by no means the only writer on Virgil to have emphasized this[11]—is a meditation on Roman history from 1.5–7,

[203/204]

> multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem
> inferretque deos Latio; genus unde Latinum
> Albanique patres atque altae moenia Romae

onwards (cf. 1.33). Aeneas' sufferings lead directly to the *altae moenia Romae.*[12] For convenience, I summarize the principal ways in which Virgil sets historical reference within epic narrative:

(i) Genealogy. I refer not only to Augustus' descent from Aeneas and to that of certain Roman families (or so they were pleased to claim) from Trojan ancestors (*Aen.* 5.117–23, 568), but to the Trojan origin of the whole *populus Romanus* (6.757, 789, 12.835–6). We may now tend to play down blood-lines, ancestors, and genealogy, and this new modesty or sense of tedium blinds us to an essential element in the outlook of poet and readers. Virgil turns repeatedly to the importance of the *gens* and the values (or dangers) it transmits: Tarquinii (6.817), Decii and Drusi (6.824), Gracchi and Scipiones (6.842–3), Fabii (6.845). The plurals are not ornamental; they point straight to continuity.

[9] Prof. Bernard Frischer (UCLA) remarked recently that in my *Vergilius* 1989 paper [ch. 22] there was a significant novelty on p. 24 [281 2]; Prof. Harry Gotoff (University of Cincinnati) then invited me to speak at a colloquium to be held there on 'Troy'. The topic therefore seemed ready to hand, but the colloquium was cancelled owing to financial pressures and this paper is the result. I am grateful to the two kind friends named for unwittingly winkling it out of me.

[10] The future: cf. 1.278f., 6.792f., 8.324f.

[11] *PVS* 13 (1973 4) 1 13 [ch. 2, 11 26] (S. Harrison (ed.) *ORVA* (Oxford 1990) pp. 127 44); *Prudentia* 8 (1976) 73 89, with ample bibliography [ch. 6, 61 77]; cf. E. Henry, *The Vigour of Prophecy* (Bristol 1989) and J. J. O'Hara, *Death and the Optimistic Prophet* (Princeton 1990).

[12] Cf. *Prudentia* (n. 11) 74 [ch. 6, 63 n. 12] for a guide to the older discussions.

(ii) Concentration on the 'key passages' in Books 1, 6, and 8 has distracted attention from (e.g.) Juno's plea and Jupiter's reply in *Aeneid* 12 (819–28, 834–40), to which I have tried recently to do justice (*Vergilius* 35 (1989) 22–5 [ch. 22, 279–82]), and from more modest references to the Roman future in prophetic or oracular contexts such as 3.408–9, 500–5, 7.98–101, 257–8, 8.340–1.

(iii) Names and places that will be famous but do not yet have names (6.776, 12.134), or that exist but have yet to acquire greatness (8.347–8, 360–1), or that acquire their historical names for mythological reasons (e.g., 1.367, 5.718, 8.338, 11.246).

(iv) Customs and usages current in Augustan Rome to which Virgil attributes an origin in legendary times: 5.596–602 (*lusus Troiae*) and 7.601–17 (opening of the Gates of War) are the 'classic' examples. It would be easy to expand the list hugely: take for example a case so small and apparently unimportant that it may stand for many others, some of which will be discussed below: the reason why horses were still barred from the temple of Diana at Nemi (7.778–80).

(v) Virgil's use of anachronisms to create a physical world for Aeneas and his followers which his own readers will recognize as familiar in certain details: the banquet Dido offers Aeneas at 1.695ff. is particularly rich in such Roman 'colour'.[13] We should not forget, either, anachronistic language, such as that at 7.225ff. describing the fame of Troy in language familiarly used of Alexander and Augustus.[14]

[204/205] (vi) Ideology: Aeneas' virtues serve as precedents and set standards for Rome (3.409, 8.731, 12.435, 7.257, 12.192, for example): that the triumphs of Rome, and of Aeneas, involve tragedy, suffering, and even deliberate cruelty one would be merely obtuse to deny. That is not the point, however, of this discussion.

One could continue, multiplying categories and instances. That is quite unnecessary. Historical continuity in the *Aeneid* is clearly not mere patriotic show, limited to a few purple passages of chauvinist flamboyance, but is a fundamental theme of the poem, integrated deeply into its structure and very being, in a wide and complex variety of ways.[15]

[13] On the role of anachronisms, cf. F. H. Sandbach, *PVS* 5 (1965 6) reprinted with alterations, in Harrison (n. 11) pp. 449 65; also Horsfall, 'anacronismi', *Enc. Virg.* 1.151 4.

[14] Alexander: Sen. *Suas.* 1; Sen. *Ep.* 119.8; Julius Caesar: Vell. 2.46.1; Flor. 1.45.16; Augustus: Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.55f.; *Paneg. Mess.* 149f.

[15] Cf. Serv. on 6.752: *in antiquis invenimus* that the work was called not *Aeneis* but *Gesta populi Romani*; this was changed because the name should be given on the basis not of a part but of the whole. There is late evidence for *Romanis* as an alternative title for the *Annales* of Ennius (cf. Skutsch's edition, p. 7).

At that point it occurred to me to wonder how Virgil might have come to the idea of writing an epic that was not only 'formally' mythological in subject-matter, but reached out over his country's entire history; the *Aeneid* moves from mythical past to a past perhaps better described as legendary (kings of Alba and Rome), to the historical past, to the present and even the future, back and forward, in a way that had never been attempted before, and would not be again before Dante—at least never to quite such an extreme degree of virtuoso complexity.

Virgil had at his disposal a wide range of epics both mythological and historical;[16] Apollonius' *Argonautica*, for example, was enriched with abundant aetiological learning (cf. section (iv) above); both he and Callimachus had written poetry on the foundation of cities.[17] It would not, however, help us to chart the rise and fall of historical epic, both Greek and Roman, for we are, after all, looking for antecedents which are simultaneously historical and mythical. Nor should we hesitate, if we find none, to claim the integration of history and myth in a single epic as a brilliant innovation. That, however, I do not think it will turn out to be, but rather the result of an unexpected piece of literary chemistry, between two not-previously-linked ingredients!

It is hard, in this context, to know exactly what to say of the role of Naevius' *Bellum Poenicum*. I would love to be able to accept Niebuhr's brilliant suggestion that Aeneas met Dido in the *BP*[18] and that this meeting (cf. *Aen.* 4.622–9) served as a mythological explanation, an *aition*, for the Punic Wars. But we have no hard evidence for a thematic connexion between historical and mythical registers in the *BP*, nor can we claim chronological continuity between them, such as there was in Ennius' *Annales*.

Part of the reason why research hitherto has not come up with any answers to the questions that this paper tries to pose is that Virgil specialists tend to look too closely and exclusively at epic (and sometimes tragic) antecedents. We should perhaps look at two less obvious poetic genres: first, the literature of prophecy, [205/206]
which had interested Virgil from an early stage in his poetic career;[19] here, though, I refer in particular to Lycophron's *Alexandra* (? late third/early second century BC). It has long been clear that Lycophron was read attentively by Virgil:[20] he places in Cassandra's mouth, in extraordinarily and deliberately difficult Greek, a strange account of the foundation of Rome: not, however, the twins alone (1232–3) but Midas (1397), Xerxes (1412), Alexander the Great (or Pyrrhus) (1441), and Flamininus (or less probably Pyrrhus) (1446ff.) are all revealed, in

[16] B. Otis, *Virgil. A Study in Civilized Poetry* (Oxford 1964) pp. 9f., 16f., 24; K. Ziegler, *Das hellenistische Epos* (Leipzig, 1966) pp. 15ff. is extremely interesting and not hard.

[17] Cf. F. Cairns, *Tibullus* (Cambridge 1979) pp. 68ff.; Horsfall, *Vergilius* 35 (1989) 9 [ch. 22, 268].

[18] Discussed favourably in the later part of my *PVS* 1973 4 paper (n. 11) [ch. 2, 11 26]; much more cautiously by Wigodsky (n. 4) pp. 29ff.

[19] For an admirable study of the apparent parallels between *Isaiah* and *Bucolic* 4 in terms of Virgil's knowledge of Jewish prophetic writing, cf. R. G. M. Nisbet, *BICS* 25 (1978) 59ff.

[20] Cf. *Prudentia* (1976) 86, with n. 123 [ch. 6, 74, n. 123].

varying degrees of obscurity and controversy.[21] If Virgil read the text of Lycophron in more or less the state in which it is available to us (and that has been contested),[22] then it will have given him an indication of how prophetic utterance could serve to bind the mythical and historical worlds, though in the event Virgil uses the technique (item (ii) in the list above) as only one of many and with far greater clarity and coherence than his puzzle-setting model.

But very much more to the point (and fortunately far less difficult and controversial) is aetiological poetry. On Virgil's use of *aetia* to bind past and present we have already touched briefly (para. (iv) in the list above). There is an entire book (not very illuminating) just on the aetiological element in *Aeneid* 8;[23] the article *aition* in the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* (by Paolo Fedeli, 1.73–4) is one of the few contributions to that massive enterprise that is clearly (though good) far too short. We do not have (unless I am much mistaken) a simple list of the *aetia* in the *Aeneid*. Thirty are listed by Fedeli, a useful collection with a notable concentration in Book 8;[24] that total does not pretend to be complete and I quickly laid hands on another dozen examples.[25] However, this sort of competitive accumulation merely confirms what we knew already—that aetiology was a kind of erudition that Virgil had inherited from Alexandria and particularly appreciated.[26] It is worth remembering that several of Callimachus' *Aetia* have Italian themes (Pfeiffer on *Aetia* fr. 190) and that one Italian *aetion* (fr. 190Pf.) Virgil adapts very closely from Callimachus' (7.761ff.; I have listed characteristic Hellenistic details).[27] Other Greek poets too wrote on Roman *aetia*: Simylus, perhaps under Augustus,[28] and Butas who may have been associated with the younger Cato (Plut. *Cat. min.* 70). Virgil had himself already experimented with aetiology as a structural element on the grand scale, in his account of the *bougonia* in the fourth *Georgic*: the story of Aristaeus as explanation for what to do to recreate a stock of bees. But to continue to accumulate evidence to this effect will only serve to distract attention from a vastly more important consideration: that some of the most important ideological
[206/207] motifs in the *Aeneid* are presented, implicitly at least, in aetiological terms. Here we need to look at the evidence in greater detail and more minutely.

[21] Cf. S. R. West, *CQ* 33 (1983) 132 5; ead., *JHS* 104 (1984) 130 7.

[22] Notably by Dr West (n. 21); might some passages have undergone at least revision under the influence of Augustan poetry? (*CQ* 33 (1983) 129 30).

[23] E. V. George, *Aeneid 8 and the Aitia of Callimachus* (Leiden, 1974).

[24] Fedeli notes 8.42ff., 51ff., 102ff. with 172ff., 134ff., 322f., 328f., 337ff., 342f., 345f., 347ff., 355ff., 597ff.

[25] 1.248, 277, 533, 3.18, 210, 408, 693, 7.63, 601, 778, 10.145, 12.194.

[26] The easiest way of extending the list still further would be to say that Virgil's many learned plays on the origins of names of people and places are themselves *aetia*, explanations of those names. Again, little joy for the English reader: an entry by G. Scarpat, 'etimologia e paretimologia', *Enc. Virg.* 2.402 4; an invaluable pamphlet in Dutch (G. J. M. Bartelink, Amsterdam, 1965); J. Marouzeau, *Quelques aspects de la formation du Latin littéraire* (Paris 1949) pp. 71 9; and (in English) J. S. Th. Hansen, *Symb. Osl.* 26 (1948) 93 125.

[27] *Antichthon* (1981) 149 [ch. 12, 161 2]; cf. *JRS* 65 (1975) 228f. and *CR* 29 (1979) 223.

[28] For dating, cf. *RMM* 68.

That Virgil was extremely well read in the historians and was especially interested in causation and in why wars (and particularly civil wars) broke out has long been clear.[29]

We may note his emphasis on the causes of Juno's anger, *Musa, mihi causas memora* (1.8; cf. 1.25) and on the causes of war in *Aen.* 7 (7.553 *stant belli causae*; 7.482, 6.93 Lavinia is to be *causa mali tanti*; cf. too 11.361, 480, 12.567, 600). Similarly, on the causes of the Trojan War, so interesting to both Herodotus and Lycophron (authors we have seen Virgil favoured) see 10.92. So we pass from the aetiologies of names and things to the aetiology of events and ideas.

From 1.13 on, we are prepared for the causes of the Hannibalic War. Virgil prepares us very carefully: *Karthago, Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe ostia*: Carthage is both geographically and historically opposed to Rome; she is also (1.14) *studiis asperrima belli*. The sequence: Trojan War; divine anger; Aeneas at Carthage (cf. 4.170, 5.5 for the causes of sentimental disaster); Dido's curse (notably 4.625–9); Hannibal; the simile (4.669ff.) of the sack of Tyre or of Carthage (146 BC) is subtly and solidly developed over Books 1 and 4.[30] It is helpful to compare the motif of Greeks defeated on Italian soil,[31] Trojans vindicated in a later generation, Greeks defeated anew by Romans (1.283–5, 6.836–40).

The foundation of Rome is the climax of a long sequence of cause and effect whose first mover is Aeneas (1.1–7); the *moenia* of Rome follow upon (in reverse order of time) those of Alba, of Lavinium, of Aeneas' camp at the mouth of the Tiber, of his camps or settlements en route from Troy to Italy, of Troy herself.[32] The Trojans and their descendants have, though their perception of their own destined role is deliberately not full, conscious, or accurate, a single dominant historical function, to explain in mythological terms the foundation of Rome.

Aeneas' struggle to settle in Italy, after the defeat of Turnus and his allies (1.263, 4.229–30, 5.730–1), prefigures Rome's own wars (1.279, 4.231, 6.853). This is not the point at which to become entangled in problems of historical justice[33] or to settle the degree to which Aeneas is intended to be seen as a prefiguration of Augustus.[34] It is enough to recognize that analogies are hinted at, continually and not necessarily with any overriding or consistent pattern. In the *Aeneid*, past events, in a variety of chronological registers, are narrated to serve as basis for approval or for critique of the present.

On the importance of genealogy (section (i) in the list above) we have touched. Fundamental, as David West has noted[35] is the anti-*aetion* of 12.821ff. (cf. 834): [207/208]

[29] E. Fraenkel, *JRS* 35 (1945) 3 *Kleine Beiträge* 2 (Rome, 1964) 149.
[30] Discussed in some detail in my paper of 1973 4 (n. 11) [ch. 2, 11 26].
[31] W. S. Anderson, *TAPA* 88 (1957) 17ff. [32] *Vergilius* (1989) 17, 26 [ch. 22, 275, 283].
[33] Cf. D. C. Feeney, *PCPS* 32 (1986) 1 24.
[34] With the confident belief in historical typology found in, e.g., K. W. Gransden's commentary on *Aen.* 8, contrast the extreme scepticism of J. Griffin, *Latin Poetry and Roman Life* (London 1985) 183 97.
[35] D. A. West, *G&R* 21 (1974) 24; cf. Horsfall, (n. 32) 22ff. [ch. 22, 279 81].

the Trojans' descendants will found Rome, yet we cannot get away from the fact that I am writing in Lazio, not in the New Troad, nor from the fact that the *Aeneid* itself is composed in Latin not Phrygian. The Trojans forego the victors' traditional privilege of conferring their name on the new joint Trojan–Italian people and the Latins keep their name and language. That gets round any gross improbabilities of fact. But Trojans and Latins intermarry[36] and the Romans remain, despite losing the Trojan name, Aeneas' people,[37] in some cases (e.g. Geganii, Atii, Cluentii, Iulii) explicitly so. Genealogy is the strongest symbol of continuity;[38] Virgil's particularly Roman emphasis on familial and national descent through the noble *gentes* rests on recent pseudo-scholarly work, especially by M. Terentius Varro: fashionable semi-learned tinkering in the service of gentile pretensions is transposed, still in terms of aetiological explanation of particular names (1.277 etc.) into a serious and major instrument (however little it may seem so to us) of cohesion between mythical and historical worlds.

Lastly and most important, religious continuity and religious *aetia*. Again, the motif is one that Virgil introduces from the outset (1.6 *inferretque deos Latio*): Aeneas saves the Penates from Troy and (3.11ff.) says *feror exsul in altum cum sociis natoque Penatibus et Magnis Dis*. The motif of Aeneas' *pietas* and of his commitment to the safe establishment of his gods in a new homeland has been discussed far too often elsewhere.[39] Even Juno abandons her enmity towards Aeneas' settlement (1.279ff., 12.818) and argues with Jupiter only over the details of the accord between Trojans and Latins: Roman *pietas*, Jupiter assures her, will be manifested in special devotion to Juno.[40] Aeneas says to Latinus (12.192) *sacra deosque dabo*, while in her last discussion with Jupiter, Juno does not mention the gods; Jupiter does, however, at length (12.836–40) and declares that he will himself add *morem ritusque sacrorum*. That this *mos* will in fact be decidedly Trojan is not, in the interests of tact and reconciliation, here mentioned, but is a necessary consequence of the repeated emphasis on religious continuity between Troy and Rome,[41] of the repeated emphasis upon Aeneas as the exemplar of Roman *pietas*,[42] and of the historical fact of the veneration still paid at Lavinium to objects thought to be the Trojan Penates,[43] which even continued down to the 370s AD (Symm. *Ep.* 1.71). If the historian Timaeus was indeed told (n. 43) 'these objects are of Trojan origin' then both historian and local informant will have agreed on how they must

[36] 6.93, 7.96, 7.253, 271 2, 333, 9.600, 12.42, 821, 827, 835 6.
[37] On name and nationhood, cf. *Vergilius* (1989) 22 3 [ch. 22, 280].
[38] Cf. T. P. Wiseman, *G&R* 21 (1974) 153ff.; Horsfall, *Vergilius* 32 (1986) 9 [ch. 16, 193 4].
[39] Cf. n. 42 below and some fresh observations in F. Cairns, *Virgil's Augustan Epic* (Cambridge 1989).
[40] D. C. Feeney, *CQ* 34 (1984) 179 84 Harrison (n. 11) 339 62.
[41] G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton, 1969) 98 102; Horsfall, (n. 37) 17 [ch. 22, 275] for the colonist and the sacred objects he carries.
[42] S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford 1971) 253ff.
[43] Timaeus, *FGrH* 566 F 59; cf. Horsfall, *RMM* 17, 19.

have arrived. Aeneas' *nostos* was necessarily their *aetion*. It bears saying again[44] that the whole *Aeneid* is therefore an *aetion* for the presence of these mysterious objects at Lavinium. And not only that: the *Aeneid* explains, aetiologically, as we [208/209] have seen, the Punic Wars, Rome's campaigns in Greece, why the Trojans' descendants spoke Latin and did not call themselves Trojans, though they did go in for ornamental Trojan genealogies, why they did not wear degenerate Phrygian trousers,[45] why they worshipped Juno with particular care and lived in an area called Latium, not Troad, and above all why they still worshipped reverently the gods of Troy. At least some of the time we need to read the *Aeneid* as a meditation on Roman history and as a narrative explanation of certain fundamental facts and beliefs. The aetiological element is therefore one of the intellectual bases of the epic.

We seem therefore to have reached our prime answer to the question of how Virgil arrived at the idea of a poem that linked integrally past, present, and future: by meditation upon how far aetiological poetry could be developed as the keystone of a great arch in time: explanations, Virgil realized, could (i) find a fitting place in an epic, as they in fact had in Apollonius, and (ii) could leap credibly and elegantly over the centuries. There is a classic chapter in W. Kroll's *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1924, repr. 1964), a wonderful book that still conditions much of the best work on Roman poetry (and prose), called 'Die Kreuzung der Gattungen', 'the mixing of genres' (202ff.): the *Aeneid* works, intellectually, as a new kind of epic, formally mythological, but often, in its implications, historical, because it has taken on (and this is the 'mixing of genres', never practised so radically or brilliantly elsewhere) a powerful, inspiring element from aetiological poetry (and a hint or two perhaps from Lycophron). The *Aeneid* is no less epic for this admixture, but as a great historical meditation (which is, for example, how St Augustine saw it)[46] works only because of it.[47]

[44] *Vergilius* (1989) 24 [ch. 22, 281 2].

[45] On the ideological importance of trousers in Augustan epic, cf. *Vergilius* (1989) 23 [ch. 22, 280 1], *Riv. Fil.* 117.1 (1989) 57 61 [ch. 20, 258 61]. Unexpectedly, a fundamental topic.

[46] Horsfall, *Prudentia* (1976) 73f. [ch. 6, 61 2]; R. A. Markus, *Saeculum* (Cambridge 1970) 47ff.; R. H. Barrow, *Introduction to St. Augustine, The City of God* (London 1950) pp. 162ff.

[47] There was a time when, for many, Latin began at 8: an admirable system, in the hands of a good teacher. From 1955 to 1958, I was particularly lucky: David Smith (cf. P. J. Campbell, *Refuge from Fear* (London 1982) p. 94: an apt pseudonymous commemoration) took over and made it all so easy and such fun. I am his only pupil to have remained in the business: thirty two years after his death, my gratitude is undiminished.

27
Empty shelves on the Palatine

The way we study Augustus' Rome has been changing dramatically: I do not mean so much new discoveries of monuments or inscriptions, exciting though they have been,[1] as the new-found disposition of archaeologists, art-historians, epigraphists, and Latinists to talk to each other and to admit cross-fertilization into their work; this spirit of co-operation has engendered a large bibliography[2] and one only regrets that the sort of multidisciplinary approach that was self-evident to the best Hellenists in Germany 150 years ago has been so painfully slow in reaching Latin studies!

The doors and portico of the Temple of Palatine Apollo, depicting the rescue of Delphi from the Celts and part of the story of the Danaids, have attracted particular attention.[3] The effect on poets (Virg. *Aen.* 6.69–70, 8.704–6, etc.)[4] and public of the new complex dedicated in 28 BC, can hardly be exaggerated. Just north-west of the *cella* of the temple lay Augustus' new house.[5] But if we look the other way, south-east, that is, from the *cella*, behind the church of S. Anastasia, upwards and to the right, if we are standing in the Circus Maximus (Coarelli (n. 5) 136–7; the site is not in doubt), there is the space marked *Bibliothecae*. Here texts, excavations, and inscriptions do not help us very much, at least not explicitly. At that point we need to start looking at our authors rather more carefully, if we are

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[1] E. Buchner's interpretation of the Horologium Augusti and the Campus Martius reveals an entire complex of monuments not previously understood: in English, cf. Horsfall, *Omnibus* 9 (1985) 5f.; A. Wallace Hadrill, *JRS* 75 (1985) 246f. For a large new fragment of the *Acta Ludorum Saecularium* of 17 BC, see L. Moretti, *Rend. Pont. Acc.* 55 6 (1982 4) 361 79 *Ann. Epigr.* 1988, 10, nos. 20 1. Luigi Moretti showed remarkable generosity towards my self taught fumblings in epigraphy; this paper is offered affectionately to his memory.

[2] Paul Zanker, *The Power of Images* (Engl. transl. Ann Arbor 1988); *Caesar Augustus*, eds. F. Millar and E. Segal (Oxford 1984); *The Age of Augustus*, ed. R. Winkes (Louvain 1985); *Between Republic and Empire*, eds. K. A. Raaflaub and M. Tober (Berkeley 1990); and cf. the exhibition catalogue *Kaiser Augustus*, Antikenmuseen, Berlin, 1988.

[3] Zanker, in *Città e architettura nella Roma imperiale*, Roma 1983 (*Anal. Rom. Inst. Dan.* Suppl. 10) 27ff.; G. B. Conte, *The Rhetoric of Imitation* (Ithaca 1986) 186 n. 1 (fanciful); J. W. Zarker, in Winkes (n. 2) 206f.; B. Kellum, ibid., 174f.; and S. Spence, *Vergilius* 37 (1991) 11 19. I am extremely grateful to Prof. Spence for coaxing me into formulating some ideas about the Palatine complex. This paper would not exist but for her gentle insistence. The two apses discovered on the site of the library belong to the Domitianic reconstruction, long after the destruction of Augustus' original in Nero's fire.

[4] Cf. too Platner Ashby, 16 19 and D. R. Dudley, *Urbs Roma* (London 1967) 154ff.

[5] Zanker (n. 3) 22; F. Coarelli, *Guida Archeologica di Roma* (Milano 1974) 141ff.; P. Collart, *Au Palatin* (Paris, 1978) 103ff.; G. Carettoni, *Das Haus des Augustus* (Mainz, 1983), heavily illustrated.

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to see why the library was so essential a symbol of cultural pride and so powerful a stimulus to literary activity.

'Many are feeding in populous Egypt, scribblers on papyrus, ceaselessly wrangling in the bird-cages of the Muses'; so, notoriously, Timon of Phlius,[6] at the expense of the inmates of the Alexandrian Museum, founded by Ptolemy I and containing the fabled library. That library's history (was it really in large measure destroyed in 47 BC?) and directors (Apollonius of Rhodes, yes, probably; Callimachus and Philitas probably not) remain frustratingly obscure.[7] Its effect on poets, poetry, and patronage was none the less profound. Nor should we forget that Augustus' project had three other significant ancestors: the great library of the Attalid kings of Pergamum, child and rival of Alexandria (Pfeiffer (n. 7) 235; Zanker (n. 3) 24), the project entrusted by Julius Caesar (Suet. *Iul.* 44) to the [58/59]
scholar and antiquary Varro of collecting the largest possible Greek and Latin library, which was left suspended at the Ides of March,[8] and the opening of the first public library at Rome, on the initiative of the statesman and historian C. Asinius Pollio, in 39 BC, financed by his booty *ex Parthinis*. It contained again (Isid. *Etym.* 5.6.2) both Greek and Latin sections, in addition to a bust of Varro, alone among living scholars (Plin. *HN* 7.115), indicating elegantly a debt to the earlier project. Not only was Varro himself still alive when Octavian and his unidentifiable 'advisers' were maturing the grandiose project for the Palatine, but so too was T. Pomponius Atticus, at least until 32 BC, beyond question the greatest bibliophile of his day and a man on terms of close personal friendship with Octavian;[9] Atticus was moreover father-in-law of Agrippa, overseer at least of Octavian's first great programme of urban renewal while aedile in 33. I have suggested that Atticus' specialist book-copyists and repairers might therefore have been inherited by the Palatine library, itself inevitably both Greek and Latin.[10] Certainly, there is no hint that old Varro enjoyed any sort of role as counsellor to the young Octavian, as Atticus so clearly did.

Rather too many determined attempts have been made to pin down the practical and actual inheritors of the Alexandrian Mouseion in Augustan Rome, both in the *aedes Herculis Musarum*[11] and in the temple of Palatine Apollo itself.[12] Against the latter theory I do not need to argue; far heavier cudgels have already been wielded against it;[13] the former (the *aedes Herculis Musarum* as a 'mini-

[6] fr. 60; C. Wachsmuth, *Sillographi Graeci* (Leipzig 1885).

[7] Cf. P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 1 (Oxford 1972) 305ff.; R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 98ff.; E. A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library* (New York 1967) is the work of a passionate amateur while L. Canfora, *La biblioteca scomparsa* (Palermo 1986) skates delightfully and dangerously between scholarship and 'The Name of the Rose'.

[8] Horsfall, *BICS* 19 (1972) 122.

[9] Nep. *Att.* 20.1 2, with my commentary (Oxford 1989).

[10] Cf. ch. 2 of my *Virgilio: l'epopea in Alambicco* (Naples, 1991). Greek and Latin: Suet. *Aug.* 29.

[11] Horsfall (n. 8) 84 6; N. Purcell, *PBSR* 51 (1983) 143.

[12] P. Boyancé, in *L'Influence greque sur la poésie latine*, *Entretiens Hardt* 2 (1953) 195ff.; J. K. Newman, *Augustus and the New Poetry* (Bruxelles 1967, *Coll. Latomus* 88) 38.

[13] C. O. Brink on Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.94; K. Quinn, *ANRW* 2.30.1 (1982) 145ff., 173ff.

Mouseion') has never been more than a pretty will o' the wisp; if it attracted me once, it does so no more,[14] and in any case, on no one's argument did the temple contain a library, for it is to libraries that we may now turn without distractions.[15]

In October 28 BC, when the temple of Palatine Apollo was dedicated, Greek literature had been in existence for seven centuries, Roman for two. Such few texts as there had been prior to Livius Andronicus baffled the Romans of a later age,[16] were very clearly limited in both quality and quantity,[17] and did not impress the Romans themselves when they pondered on the short and scanty annals of their literary past: thus Cicero's 'nothing worth reading before Cato' (*Brutus* 69) or 'Rome was founded in the second year of the seventh Olympiad'[18] . . . *cum iam plena Graecia poetarum et musicorum esset* (*Rep.* 2.18). Homer and Hesiod, according to Cicero (we would not agree), lived before the foundation of Rome: *serius poeticam nos accipimus* (*Tusc.* 1.3), and Livius Andronicus put on his first play some 510 years after the foundation of the city. These bleak facts Cicero himself did much to explain and extenuate,[19] and indeed it is in Cicero, though he
[59/60] reflects the Romans' acknowledgement of their late start, indeed of their barbarism,[20] of their role as mere translators,[21] or, more boldly, as imitators,[22] that the first sparks are struck of an explicit intention and desire to rival the senior culture[23] just at the time when (blunderingly) Cornelius Nepos and then (more or less definitively) Atticus, as followed by Cicero, as soon as the *liber annalis* became available, laid down the relative chronological framework.[24] Thus at Cic. *Leg.* 1.5 Atticus is represented as saying to Cicero that with you writing history (cf. Nep. fr. 58 with my note) it can be brought about as, explicitly, a patriotic duty that in this genre too (that is, as well as in oratory) *Graeciae nihil cedamus*. Cicero sees it as a duty of his leisure, analogous indeed to his public services, that

[14] Against Horsfall (n. 11); now see Horsfall (n. 10) 36ff.

[15] There is, alas, no full, reliable, and up to date study of Roman libraries in English: C. E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture* (Chicago 1915) is helpful; cf. too E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Republic* (Oxford 1985) 39ff.; O. A. W. Dilke, *Roman Books and their Impact* (Leeds, 1977) is rare and not altogether satisfactory.

[16] Liv. 27.37.13; Horsfall, *RMM* 10.

[17] In *Cambr. Hist. Class. Lit.* 2 (1982) 53ff., 138ff.; A. S. Gratwick offers a provocative introduction.

[18] For the maths of this, cf. Horsfall (n. 9) 118.

[19] Cf., e.g., *Leg.* 1.5 on history, *De orat.* 1.13f., 2.51, *Tusc.* 1.5f.; N. K. Petrochilos, *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks* (Athens 1974) 141ff. is quite literally indispensable on this topic.

[20] Cato *ap.* Plin. *HN* 29.14; Plaut. *Asin.* 11, *Trin.* 18f., *Most.* 828; on Cic. *Rep.* 1.58, *De orat.* 2.57 see Petrochilos (n. 19) 142f.

[21] A. Traina, *Vortit barbare* (Rome 1970) 55f.; J. Beaujeu, *Cicéron, Aratea, etc.* (edn. Budé) 54ff.; J. Kaimio, *Romans and the Greek Language* (Helsinki 1979) 276ff.

[22] Cic. *Fin.* 1.6, *Acad.* 1.10; Traina (n. 21) 59, 64; G. Kennedy, *Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (Princeton 1972) 243.

[23] G. C. Fiske, *Lucilius and Horace* (Madison 1920) 43ff.; W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (Stuttgart, 1924, repr. 1964) 139ff.; Thill (n. 47) 459; F. Focke, *Hermes* 58 (1923) 363ff. has some interesting remarks on the synkrisis of Greek and Latin authors. Whether the Palatine library might shed some light on the great cultural synkrisis of Virg. *Aen.* 6.847 53 *aliis post me memoranda relinquo*, after three conflicting discussions of that passage in two years!

[24] Horsfall (n. 9) 117f., 121, 124.

philosophy too *illustranda et excitanda nobis est* (*Tusc.* 1.5: to mention rivalry here would have been presumption!). In oratory we have seen (*Leg.* 1.5) Cicero himself aiming at Greek standards, though when he compares Lysias and Cato (*Brut.* 61–9), at the last he undercuts and underlines his own audacity (ibid. 293; *Orator* 23). Pride in Roman achievement—or at least potential (*Tusc.* 1.1, 4.5; Petrochilos (n. 19) 155) and pride too in the positive qualities of the Latin language[25] reinforce these first expressions of literary *aemulatio*, by Nepos, by Cicero, and by Lucretius who, if he did not presume to rival Epicurus, but only lovingly to imitate (1.5), proudly proclaimed himself in Callimachean language (Lucr. 1.926ff.) to be the first to treat a philosophical theme in the grandest epic language.[26] But the relative state of the two literatures only becomes vivid, visual, concrete half a generation later with the opening of the first bilingual libraries, if not Caesar's then at least Pollio's and Octavian's.

The guiding hand

First, then, upon whom did the Palatine library and its immediate successors[27] actually depend? In certain respects, upon the emperor himself. Ewen Bowie has recently (*BICS* Suppl. 55 (1989) 201) drawn attention to an epigram by Marcellus of Side (*AP* 7.158): Hadrian and Antonius Pius presented his books to the public libraries of Rome. On the other hand, Augustus himself had seen to the exclusion of Ovid's *Ars*,[28] and it is possible that this ban influenced private readers too, though not to the extent of jeopardizing the work's chances of survival. The rest of Ovid's work was not viewed kindly after this point (*Trist.* 1.1.64), but nothing suggests any kind of general prohibition. We may compare Augustus' letter to the librarian Pompeius Macer on the *iuuenilia* of Julius Caesar *quos uetuit publicari* (i.e. to be 'released', as we say, Suet. *Iul.* 56.7) and the mass of anecdote on the [60/61]
alleged consequences of imperial literary caprice: Tiberius' love for the erudite Hellenistic poetry of Euphorion, Rhianus, and Parthenius, which led him to place their writings and portraits *publicis bibliothecis inter ueteres et praecipuos auctores*,[29] Caligula's intolerance of Virgil and Livy, which almost drove him to expel their *scripta et imagines . . . ex omnibus bibliothecis* (Suet. *Cal.* 34), or the emperor Tacitus' alleged piety towards his alleged ancestor, to wit the historian, whom *in*

[25] Cic. *Tusc.* 1.1, 1.45, 2.35, *Fin.* 1.10; Petrochilos (n. 19) 155; Kaimio (n. 21) 262ff. For other expressions of Ciceronian confidence, see *Tusc.* 2.49 (drama), *De orat.* 3.95 (oratory); Kaimio, 288; Rawson (n. 15) 323f.

[26] E. J. Kenney, *Lucretius* (Oxford 1977) 12 and id., *Mnemos.* 4.23 (1970) 369f. Also Caesar as cited by Suetonius in his life of Terence.

[27] The libraries of the Porticus Octaviae and of the Temple of Augustus; cf. the discussions mentioned in n. 15.

[28] Ovid, *Tr.* 3.15.5ff.; W. Speyer, *Büchervernichtung und Zensur des Geistes* (Stuttgart, 1981) 61.

[29] Suet. *Tib.* 70; A. F. Stewart, *JRS* 67 (1977) 85ff.

omnibus bibliothecis collocari iussit (*SHA Tac.* 10.3). What? Was he not there already? That suspicion is hardly surprising in so particularly novelettish a text.[30] We may add that C. Iulius Hyginus, Palatine librarian, was *Augusti libertus* (Suet. *Gramm.* 20.1), while C. Melissus, librarian of the *porticus Octauiae* collection, was a freedman of Maecenas *Augusto insinuatus.*[31] Both personnel and policy could therefore be and sometimes though not always actually were in imperial hands.

Palatine modern classics

When Horace writes to Maecenas (*Carm.* 1.1.35f.) *si me lyricis uatibus inseres sublimi feriam sidera uertice* he means explicitly[32] 'if you classify me among the canon of classical lyric poets', nor is that passage alone in Augustan literature as an expression of a strong sense of the book of contemporary poetry as potentially belonging among the established classics, canonized in the state libraries. If Rome, writes Horace again, some years later, sees fit *inter amabilis uatum ponere me choros* (*Carm.* 4.3.13ff.) and likewise Propertius, after listing the great names of Latin elegiac poetry hitherto renowned, assures Cynthia of literary immortality *hos* (sc. his great predecessors) *inter si me ponere fama uelit* (2.34.91; cf. Ov. *Ars am.* 3.339f.). These expectations of permanent classification (the word is chosen deliberately, and the double meaning is intended!) need to be seen in terms of a fundamental tendency of Alexandrian librarianship, to sift, classify by merit, and establish a 'canon' of authors specially worthy of study and preservation. Many ancient canons, preserved in the oddest ways, and arranged by genre, have reached us.[33] At Rome, scholars transferred to the hierarchy of authors ἐγκριθέντες, 'canonized', against those merely entered in the *pinakes* or lists of holdings,[34] the military and political metaphor of the (*prima*) *classis.*[35] Quintilian tends to prefer *ordo*, another political metaphor (10.1.54, 85). 'Class', 'classification', and 'classical' have far more fundamental and intimate etymological links than is generally realized. The image of a 'classical' author, in our sense, appears
[61/62] explicitly first in Aulus Gellius, in the second century AD,[36] but the underlying notion, as we have just seen, is already present in the Augustan poets. This inheritance from the methods of Alexandrian (and Pergamene) librarianship has led them to conceive of the possibility of a 'Roman classic'; Quintilian drew

[30] R. Syme, *Historia Augusta Papers* (Oxford 1983) 164f. and *Emperors and Biography* (Oxford 1971) 237ff.

[31] Suet. *Gramm.* 21.3, cf. n. 15.

[32] See the commentary of Nisbet and Hubbard, *ad loc.* and Pfeiffer (n. 7) 203ff.

[33] Pfeiffer (n. 7) 207; J. E. G. Zetzel, *Critical Inquiry* 10 (1983) 97ff.; Horsfall, *SCI* 11 (1991/2) 123ff.; indispensable and inaccessible, M. Scotti, *Esperienze letterarie* 71 (1982) 74ff.; cf. *PLLS* 2. 1974 5 (Jocelyn).

[34] Pfeiffer (n. 7) 127ff.; Fraser (n. 7) 452ff.; Scotti (n. 33) 78f.

[35] Cic. *Acad.* 2.73; Pfeiffer (n. 7) 206f.

[36] Gellius, *Noct. Att.* 19.8.15; Pfeiffer (n. 33) *loc. cit.*

up the first formal lists that survive,[37] but Horace already knew that there was a place for Roman classics—in the full technical sense—on the Palatine shelves. It is highly unlikely that Roman librarians did not follow the main lines of the Alexandrian (and probably Pergamene) divisions of literature into 'genres' for which canons existed (epic, tragedy, *iambi*, lyric, oratory, elegy, etc.),[38] and the physical differences between Greek and Roman libraries[39] are not such as to lead one to think of fundamentally different modes of classification.[40]

The challenge of the empty shelves

A book's admission to a public (and imperial) library—especially to one conceived as an heir and rival to Alexandria—was a matter of great moment:[41] my definition of the Palatine library as a 'bastion of official recognition' is itself more or less officially recognized:[42] Ovid (*Tr.* 3.1.59ff.) offers, we have seen, the outsider's view. Horace writes to Augustus himself: 'if you wish to fill that offering (i.e. the temple) worthy of Apollo with books and put the spur to our *uates* ('bards'; almost a buzzword for poets at this date) to seek more eagerly grassy Helicon . . . ' (*Epist.* 2.1.217–19). We gaze round the temple, he writes to Florus, (still) empty of (or 'for')[43] Roman *uates*. Corydon says to Meliboeus (Calp. Sic. 4.157ff.), 'take my poems—if you think they are not contemptible—to the god (i.e., the emperor), for you have the right to enter the *sacra . . . penetralia* of Palatine Phoebus'.[44] The library is already well fitted by the time Horace writes *Epist.* 1.3.16f.: his friend Albinovanus Celsus has been warned, and still needs warning *priuatas ut quaerat opes* and should avoid handling all the *scripta* that Palatine Apollo has taken in (*recepit*). But there are still many 'genres'[45] for which, as yet, few Latin texts have been admitted, or seek admission: the image of the emperor in his temple as a severe and discerning patron of literature, and newly written works of literature as a mob of nervous clients seeking admission entails a cross-fertilization between the *salutatio* and library policy, but is not false, or so it seems, to either sphere. We will perhaps never be able to say whether the Palatine library actually did contain empty rooms (or at least niches), awaiting the literature that would fill them, but

[37] 10.1.85 90; see, with caution, J. Cousin, *Études sur Quintilien* 1 (Paris, 1936) 546ff.
[38] Cf. A. E. Douglas, *Mnemos.* 4.9 (1956) 30ff.
[39] C. Wendel, *Kleine Schriften* (Köln 1974) 146ff.
[40] Note, e.g., that both go in for portraits or statues of authors: Tac. *Ann.* 2.37, 83; C. Callmer, *Opusc. Arch.* 3 (1944) 189; Wendel (n. 39) 146.
[41] Horsfall, *BICS* 23 (1976) 84 [ch. 5, 49].
[42] Brink, comm. on Hor. *Epist.* 2.322.
[43] Both meanings are present, but the second (so Brink) is clearly more exciting and inviting.
[44] Protracted polemic in *JRS* 70 (1980) and 72 (1982) did not confirm the conventional Neronian date of Calp. Sic.; D. Armstrong, *Philol.* 130 (1986) 113ff. shows the text cannot in fact be Neronian, and E. Courtney, *Rev. Ét. Lat.* 65 (1987) 148ff. establishes that it is probably post Flavian. E. Champlin (*Philol.* 130 (1986), 104ff.) still does not compel belief in a date 170 years after Nero.
[45] A. Fowler, *Kinds of Literature* (Oxford 1982) is highly illuminating, for classicists too.

[62/63] Horace's two references to the 'empty' temple and to 'filling' Apollo's shrine with books suggest that this was how contemporaries did in some sense perceive the situation, and we need to think now about just how this 'spur to production' (it is after all Horace who uses the word *calcar*, *Epist.* 2.1.218) was conceived, in more precise terms.

Anything Greece could do, we can do too

It is worth citing (cf. n. 23 on *synkrisis*) an undervalued writer of Tiberius' reign as an unexpected historian of literature[46] (Vell. 2.9.3): *per idem aeui spatium fuere ingenia . . . in tragoediis Pacuuii atque Accii, usque in Graecorum comparationem euecti*—Accius, who made a great place among the Greeks themselves for his own work, given, though, that they seem more polished (*limae . . . plus*), Accius more full-blooded (*plus . . . sanguinis*). Synkrisis of Greek and Latin authors (as we have found it in Cicero) is no prerogative, therefore, of literary critics, and it is a mode of thought inevitably encouraged by the bipartite structure of Roman libraries of the day. The empty shelves (and whether they are real or metaphorical matters very little; we have seen from Horace that in the mind at least they do exist) shed surprising light on, e.g., first, the claim common in Augustan poetry, but by no means first found there in Latin literature,[47] to be 'the first' to . . . :

Virg. *Buc.* 6.1: *prima Syracosio dignata est ludere uersu*
nostra neque erubuit siluas habitare Thalia (cf. *G.* 2.175f., 2.475);
Prop. 3.1.2f.: *primus ego ingredior puro de fonte sacerdos*
Itala per Graios orgia ferre choros;
Hor. *Carm.* 3.1.2f.: *carmina non prius*
audita;
3.30.13f.: *princeps Aeolium carmen ad Italos*
deduxisse modos (cf. 3.25.8; 4.9.3f.; 4.3.12);
Epist. 1.19.23f.: *Parios ego primus iambos*
ostendi Latio (cf. 1.9.32; *Sat.* 2.1.62);
Ov. *Ars am.* 3.346: *ignotum hoc aliis ille nouauit opus*.

[46] Syme, *viva voce* and *Roman Papers* 3 (Oxford 1984) 1098.
[47] Cf. Catullus, 1.5 on Nep. *Chron.*; with Horsfall (n. 9) 117; Lucr. 1.117, 926f. (with n. 26); W. Wimmel, *Kallimachos in Rom*, Wiesbaden 1960 (*Hermes* Einzelschr. 16) 216ff. *et passim*; A. Thill, *Alter ab illo* (Paris 1979) 1ff.; R. Haüssler, *Das historische Epos* 1 (Heidelberg 1976) 303.

The list can easily be prolonged if we turn to the use of metaphorical language such as (at one level) the *intactos saltus* of Virg. *G.* 3.40–1 or the *puro fonte* of Prop. 3.1.3 (Lucr. 1.412 is very similar); cf. too Hor. *Carm.* 1.26.6; 1.31.2f. or the [63/64] untravelled road (Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.21), otherwise called steep or narrow (Prop. 3.1.14; Virg. *G.* 3.291) with similar intent. Claims to be the first Latin poet to achieve this or that feat of poetic originality were, if the Bibliotheca Latina on the Palatine followed the classification of the Graeca, instantly and strikingly verifiable! Secondly, the possibility of a similar snap confirmation applies to the analogous claim to be the Roman, e.g., Callimachus:

Prop. 4.1.64: *Umbria Romani patria Callimachi* (cf. 3.1.1);

Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.50: *Ennius . . . alter Homerus* (cf. 2.2.99, 101);[48]

Cf. Virg. *G.* 2.175–6: 'bold to unseal a sacred fount' (tr. Wilkinson)

Ascraeumque cano Romana per oppida carmen.

A third instance in which the libraries lend themselves peculiarly well to a visual representation of (or check on) poetic aspirations is in the context of *aemulatio*, the case, that is, of the Roman poet who, in his own ambitions or in his friends' hopes, enters into competition with his Greek predecessors:[49] the patriotic intent we saw in Cicero and it is still present in Phaedrus (2 epil. 8–9): *quod si labori fauerit Latium meo plures habebit, quos opponat Graeciae*. Propertius' remarks on Virgil (vd. *infra*) will show that the idea was likewise present in the Augustan period. Again we may cite the outwardly (and wrongly so) unlikely Velleius (2.36.2) *aemulumque Thucydidis Sallustium* or Lucretius' denial at 3.5 *non ita certandi cupidus* (vis-à-vis, we recall, Epicurus). In the Augustan poets, we may note:

Hor. *Carm.* 4.2.1: *Pindarum quisquis studet aemulari* (cf. *Epist.* 1.3.9f., Thill (n. 47) 436ff.);

Prop. 4.6.3: *serta Philitaeis certet Romana corymbis*;[50]

and above all Virgil, in relation to Homer (Prop. 2.34.65f.):[51]

cedite scriptores Romani, cedite Grai;

nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade.

[48] Thill (n. 47) 4 n. 13; Brink (n. 42) 99; Kroll (n. 23) 15 n. 42; J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London 1986) 191f.

[49] Thill (n. 47) 1ff., 455ff.; Kroll (n. 23) 13f.; Thill, 470: while *imitatio/interpretatio* are literary in intention, *aemulatio* has a goal or moral plan.

[50] Cf. Quint. 10.1.93 on Roman elegy.

[51] Thill (n. 47) 4 n. 15; Domitius Afer *ap.* Quint. 10.1.86; *Catalepton* 15; Plin. *HN praef.* 22, *Laus Pisonis* 231, etc.

I have no wish to refight any old battles about Roman literary patronage, and I remain as doubtful as ever I was about the possibility of claiming for Augustus and/or Maecenas any positive and active role in the guidance of contemporary
[64/65] literature on the basis of our surviving texts. But the more one looks at that half-empty library, the more it explains in concrete terms a number of Augustan ways of talking about literary ambitions, and the more it seems that this building was itself, as Horace says, a great *calcar* to contemporary authors.[52] That quality helped towards admission is obvious; that dissidence, or irreverence excluded it, is attested; that compliance, or at least compatibility with the emperor's views helped things along is clearly, therefore, likely. But what 'direction' or 'reward' have to do with the library (or libraries)—if anything—is a question that does not require to be answered here.[53]

[52] Zetzel (n. 33) 95ff. hints at awareness of some of the issues raised in this paper; Mario Labate, in *Storia di Roma*, ed. A. Schiavone etc., 2 (Torino 1990) 942 (not the place one would think of looking) grasps the nettle firmly but lets go far too soon! Jasper Griffin (n. 48) observes: 'it is striking how little the poets have to say about the library' (p. 5 n. 30)!

[53] Further enquiry into the physical form of the Augustan library is unhelpful. O. L. Richmond, *JRS* 4 (1914) 201 and D. L. Thompson, *AJArch.* 85 (1981) 338 suggest a single large room, in place of the two surviving on the marble plan and (just) on the ground. Are they right? The texts are indecisive: references to a singular *bibliotheca* seem not to bear strongly on the question. Did the Augustan library take up as much space as the Domitianic? Tac. *Ann.* 2.37 might seem to suggest it was large enough to contain a meeting of the Senate. At that date perhaps 400 senators, the Diocletianic curia could hold at most perhaps 465. Possible, therefore, in a single large hall, you might think, since on the marble plan the libraries occupy almost exactly the same (19 m. × 12 m.) space as the Curia (25.6 m. × 17.7 m.). Only, though, if no allowance is made for stairs, shelves, books, cupboards. See L. R. Taylor and R. T. Scott, *TAPA* 100 (1969) 529ff. and R. J. A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (Princeton 1984) 117ff., 134ff. Elsewhere Tac. bends topography to rhetoric (and not Tac. alone: cf. T. P. Wiseman, *AJAH* 3 (1979), 172 and *Hist.* 28 (1979), 49 *Rom. Papers* (Liverpool 1987), 242), so too at *Ann.* 2.37. He could well refer to a meeting in the porticoes before open doors (so too when the senate met in the precinct of Jupiter Capitolinus: see Taylor and Scott, *cit.*) for his phrasing is genuinely ambiguous (so too Suet. *Aug.* 29). Tac.'s trope 'see my ancestor looking down' is an old friend: Taylor and Scott, 561; Liv. 8.5.8f.; Cic. *Marc.* 10, *Phil.* 2.112; Ar. *Eq.* 1323 34; Dem. *c. Androt.* 76, *c. Timocr.* 84; N. Loraux, *L'Invention d'Athènes* (Paris 1981) 285. The *glutei patrum* seem therefore an inconclusive argument (for their dimensions, see Taylor and Scott, 547). Even a single library, in one large hall, will necessarily have had corresponding Greek and Latin subdivisions.

28

Cicero and poetry

The place of prejudice in literary history

No prizes for reinventing the wheel, even if in an unusual way, and certainly no justification therein for rushing into print. No reason, then, to reiterate[1] that Cicero had strong and retrograde views about much contemporary poetry, but that this acknowledged fact conceals a whole string of details neglected by those who hurry on to study Catullus and his fragmentary friends. Exquisite Alexandrian technique is, after all, more interesting to most than the sources and expressions of unilluminated (or so they seem) and reactionary jeremiads. But it is the jeremiads that I have examined, and I venture to summarize briefly the results. Ways of writing the history of literature[2] do tend to exploit the ancient texts with polemic and partiality; it may, however, also prove rewarding to ponder one author's outlook on contemporary poetry to try to reach some understanding of the prejudices implied and their possible origins.

The full span of Cicero's literary activity, from *juvenilia* on, covers the years 90–43 BC; he might have known both Accius and Virgil and we might expect to bow reverently before his expert judgements. But if one looks with care at Schanz–Hosius, at Teuffel–Schwabe–Kroll and at Bardon's unknowns, a list emerges of forty-six (near enough) poets of whom we know something (if only a name), active during that period. But by name and in respect of poetry, Cicero mentions only: (i) himself; (ii) his brother; (iii) Lucretius;[3] (iv) the impossible *Empedoclea* of Sallustius;[4] (v) Varro's *Menippea* (*Academica* 1.9); (vi) Licinius Calvus' Hipponactean attack on Hermogenes Tigellius (*Ad familiares* 7.24.1); (vii) Furius Antias (*Brutus* 132); (viii) Q. Mucius Scaevola (*De legibus* 1; cf. Pliny *Ep.* 5.3.5); (ix) Lutatius Catulus (*De natura deorum* 1.79). One-fifth of the total.[5] Catullus mentions Cicero (49) and not *vice versa* (Malcovati (n. 5) 226). One might also contrast the long exchange of compliments between Catullus and Nepos.[6] [1/2]

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[1] W. V. Clausen, *CHCL* 2, 178; A. Traglia, *Poetae Novi* (Roma 1974); E. Paratore, *Poetiche e correnti letterarie* (Roma 1970, *RCCM,Quaderni* 10) 56, cf. n. 30.
[2] Cf. G. J. de Vries, *Mnemos.* 36 (1983) 241 59. [3] *Q.Fr.* 2.10.3; cf. n. 26.
[4] *uirum te putabo si Sallusti Empedoclea legeris, hominem non putabo*: *Q.Fr.* 2.9(11).3 (54 BC).
[5] E. Malcovati, *Cicerone e la poesia* (Pavia 1943) 227f. [6] Nep. *Att.*, ed. Horsfall (1989) xv, 117.

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Cicero's silence is, moreover, even more deafening than might at first appear: at Atticus' house there was always a reading after dinner (Nepos, *Atticus* 14.1), though it is surely thanks merely to accidents of transmission that all our allusions in Cicero are to recitals of prose (see below): it becomes ever clearer that Seneca *Controuersiae* 4 *praef.* 2: *primus enim* (sc. Asinius Pollio) *omnium Romanorum aduocatis hominibus scripta sua recitauit*, whatever exactly it means, does not mean exactly what it says.[7] Dinners as a literary context at Rome merit further study: one read or wrote letters;[8] one might talk of legal problems (*Ad familiares* 7.22); one might envisage a reading of the *De gloria* (*Ad Atticum* 16.26, 3.1); Cicero even says that he would not mind reading a letter of his son's (*Ad Atticum* 15.7.2). When he writes to Atticus (*Ad Atticum* 12.4.2) *non adsequor ut scribam quod tui conuiuae non modo libenter sed etiam aequo animo legere possint*, a public reading of the *Cato* does not seem to be implied: *legere possint* after all, not *audire*. Not a word, however, of poetry, at least in Latin (though this may be mere accident). But Greek is not to be excluded: Cicero writes of Philodemus' poems as *et lecta et audita* (*In Pisonem* 71) and it is clear from *Pro Archia* 18 that Cicero had heard a lot of Archias' poetry performed, and not just his famous improvisations.[9] With Thyillus, Cicero was in contact (*Ad Atticum* 2.20.6 etc.: Malcovati (n. 5) 85); of Alexander Lychnus (*Ad Atticum* 2.20.6) he snaps *neglegentis hominis et non boni poetae sed tamen non inutilis* (sc. as a geographical source). Of contemporary Greek poetry no more will be said. There is no more to say.

Cicero's own freedman Tullius Laurea wrote verse in both Greek and Latin (Schanz–Hosius 1.548) and will hardly have been denied the chance to display his talents after dinner. Atticus himself wrote epigrams—those under *Imagines*, compiled after Cicero's death;[10] *Ad Atticum* 1.16.15 may allude to Atticus' Greek verses under the statues in the Amaltheum of his garden in Epirus.[11] It still bears emphasis that Cicero was himself a skilled and indefatigable poet: the *Aratea* he wrote *admodum adulescens* (*De natura deorum* 2.104); in time, they fall between Porcius Licinius and the Pompeian epigrams discussed by David Ross.[12] Cicero's whole political and literary biography makes it highly unlikely that the
[2/3] *Prognostica* (*Ad Atticum* 2.1.11, 60 BC) is a new, or different work: rather, he refers to different parts of Aratus' poem in different ways, in keeping with Alexandrian usage. *Prognostica* is the title of the third part of the *Phaenomena* of Aratus,[13] and Maass' hypothesis that Cicero learned the correct terminology from Boethus of

[7] G. Funaioli, 'Recitationes', *RE* 1A:435ff.; E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London 1985) 52; T. P. Wiseman, in *Literary and Artistic Patronage*, ed. B. K. Gold (Austin 1982) 36 T. P. Wiseman, *Roman Studies* (Liverpool 1987) 263; id., *History* 66 (1981) 385 *Roman Studies* 254.

[8] Cic. *Fam.* 9.26, *Q.Fr.* 3.1.19, *Fam.* 4.12.2, 9.7.1, *Att.* 9.8.1, etc.

[9] G. W. Williams, in Gold (n. 7) 8ff.; Wiseman, in Gold 32ff.; A. Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae* (Liverpool 1983, *ARCA* 9) 22.

[10] Cf. Horsfall (n. 6) 102.

[11] Cf. Horsfall (n. 10) *loc. cit.*; F. G. Moore, *CPhil.* 1 (1906) 25ff.

[12] *YCIS* 21 (1969) 125ff.

[13] J. Martin, *Sur le texte des Phénomènes d'Aratos* (Paris 1956) 155, l. 3.

Sidon's *Peri Aratou* is still attractive.[14] A year before his death, Cicero continues to insert highly polished verses in his *philosophica*.

As a young man, Cicero reached advanced levels of technical elegance and competence,[15] but Alexandrianism he forswore and *Neoteroi* he disliked.[16] However, a problem recently raised[17] remains to be clarified: the suggestion that the *Neoteroi* belong to the years 65–55 BC and that Cicero's criticisms in 50–46 BC are therefore the flogging of a dead horse. Licinius Calvus probably died not long after 54 BC.[18] Only if 'Lucius Iunius Calidus' at Nepos *Atticus* 12.4 is emended to 'Gaius Licinius Calvus',[19] 'the most elegant poet that our age has produced after the death of Lucretius and Catullus', do we have evidence for a slightly later date of death. If we do not emend the text of Nepos, in the place of the deceased Calvus we have the living and brilliant Calidus! Calvus apart, Cinna lives on till 44 BC, Varro Atacinus till perhaps 36 BC (though he is anyway 'neoteric' only in a limited sense);[20] Cornificius is quaestor in 48 BC. In the 40s BC the young Gallus is likewise active.[21] Poets really did start young; it was not a prerogative of the English romantics. In Cicero's correspondence with Calvus, Pollio, and Cornificius, though, there is not a word about poetry. Nor is there any chronological foundation for the view that the *Neoteroi* were played out by 50 BC.

Cicero, then, forswears his youthful pipings, imitated by Lucretius and Catullus,[22] and uses traditional Alexandrian pejorative language (*neoteric*, *noui*)[23] against those now regarded as the leading poets of the day. Plutarch refers (*Cicero* 40.2) to Cicero's speed at writing verse. Poetry is hardly the word. Quintus was cursed with the same capacity (*Ad Quintum fratrem* 3.5.7). One wonders whether they had not both learned too much from Archias. At all events such tachygraphic composition is not compatible with the technique of the *Aratea* and the observation must apply to the *De consulatu*, the *De temporibus*,[24] or the British epic.

It is beneath Cicero's dignity to refer to the occasional poetry of great men, as recorded by Pliny, Ovid, and Apuleius;[25] it might indeed be bad manners towards them to do so. Scaevola and Catullus (*supra*) are long dead. *Poetam non audio in nugis* (*Paradoxa Stoicorum* 3.26). The summary judgement on Lucretius betrays [3/4] no serious interest in contemporary literature: our histories of Latin poetry are

[14] *Aratea* (Berlin 1892) 157.
[15] N. B. Crowther, *LCM* 5 (1980) 182f.; W. V. Clausen, *Harv. Stud.* 90 (1986) 156 70.
[16] Clausen (n. 15) 161; irony in Cat. 49 is by no means excluded (and may also be present even in Cat. 1).
[17] G. Bowersock, in *Le classicisme à Rome* (Génève 1978, *Entretiens Hardt* 25) 62.
[18] Münzer, 'Licinius (Macer)', *RE* 13.1:433.10ff.; P. L. Schmidt, *Kl. Pauly* s.v.
[19] C. Cichorius, *Römische Studien* (Leipzig 1922) 88f.; Horsfall (n. 6) 86.
[20] Cf. N. B. Crowther, *AC* 56 (1987) 266f.
[21] Clausen (n. 15) 161.
[22] Cicero, *Aratea* (edn. Soubiran, Budé) 72ff.
[23] R. O. A. M Lyne, *CQ* 28 (1978) 168; A. D. E. Cameron, *Harv. Stud.* 84 (1980) 136.
[24] Cf. S. Harrison, *Hermes* 118 (1990) 455 63.
[25] Cf. Plin. *Ep.* 5.3.4 (with Sherwin White *ad loc.*); Ov. *Tr.* 2.42lff. (with Owen *ad loc.*).

cluttered with dozens of equally banal and unhelpful epigrams. *Quos postea Cicero emendauit*, writes Jerome of Lucretius' *libri*, after Suetonius. If he is right (and the rest of the entry does not inspire confidence),[26] we have still to evaluate *emendauit* correctly,[27] the word should not convey a picture of Cicero, after a hard day in the Senate, sitting down with the precision of a Delz or a Zwierlein. The word need imply no more than the elimination of those obvious inconcinnities, resulting from the author's death, which impeded 'publication'. Anyway, one might suspect that Atticus' slaves will in practice have undertaken the hard and delicate parts of the job.[28]

The answer to the problem, or paradox, here raised is at least not political: the poets hitherto mentioned belong to various groupings or factions, or slide easily between them. The Atticist controversy is equally irrelevant: Calvus was indeed involved, but on account of his prose.[29] It is sentiment that lies at the heart of Cicero's irritable disdain; as an elderly consular, he has a sentimental objection to the *noui*, and it is no accident that, in two of the key passages, such objections are linked to praise of older poetry;[30] in his youth Cicero had omitted final *s quod iam subrusticum uidetur, olim autem politius . . . ita non erat offensio in uersibus quam nunc fugiunt poetae noui* (*Orator* 161); likewise, Cicero's admiration for Ennius' *Andromacha* stands against the *cantores Euphorionis* by whom the *poeta egregius nunc contemnitur* (*Tusculan Disputations* 3.45). His informed love for the great comic poets is amply acknowledged;[31] he laments the loss of the *carmina conuiualia*.[32] He knew ('thought he knew' perhaps) old manuscripts of Ennius: *ipsius antique declarant libri*.[33] The grown man loved the second century as *De amicitia*, *De senectute*, and *De republica* amply confirm; the youth had flirted with Alexandrianism, *ultra quam concessum Romano et senatori* one might say. Part, then, of the explanation, is simply a question of ageing, of fashion, of the passing of the generations. There are a couple of hints in the *Rhetorica*[34] which could be taken as attacks on Alexandrian verbal preciousness. The scatter of archaisms in Cicero's own poetry[35] occur from *Aratea* on and are hardly significant to this argument. To call Euphorion *nimis obscurus* (*De divinatione* 2.133) is no less than the truth but, equally, coheres with Cicero's middle-aged sense of being out of step. I do think we may invoke old Roman prejudice against admitting to

[26] A. Dalzell, *CHCL* 2.213 is irreproachably balanced; the issue is clouded by unending debate: cf. E. Paratore (n. 1) 53 n. 62; *ANRW* 1.4.138 43.

[27] J. E. G. Zetzel, *Latin in Textual Criticism* (Salem NH 1984) 206ff.; id., *Harv. Stud.* 77 (1973) 227ff.; S Timpanaro, *Per la storia della filologia virgiliana* (Roma 1986) 23f., 3lf.

[28] Horsfall (n. 6) 88f. [29] Cf. Paratore (n. 1) 56; Clausen (n. 15) 160 n. 3.

[30] Cf. N. B. Crowther, *CQ* 20 (1970) 324 6; id., *Mnemos.* 29 (1976) 68.

[31] J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London 1985) 200; F. W. Wright, *Cicero and the Theater* (Northampton Mass. 1931); Malcovati (n. 5) 89ff.

[32] Cic. *Tusc.* 4.3, *Brutus* 75 (*utinam exstarent* . . .).

[33] *Orator* 160; one seems almost to catch a whiff of Gellius here, but I have no wish to glean where Skutsch (*Annales* 26ff.), Jocelyn (*The Tragedies of Ennius* 26ff.), and Malcovati (n. 5) 95ff. have reaped.

[34] Malcovati (n. 5) 224. [35] Soubiran (n. 22) 96f.

knowledge of Greek culture,[36] or indeed those traces of a certain opposition at Rome to poetry in general.[37] But only in a public speech did Cicero need to pretend to be coy about knowing who Praxiteles or Polyclitus were; among the [4/5] friends to whom he wrote letters, the ignorance and suspicion faced (e.g.) by Nepos in the Preface to the *Foreign Generals*[38] were most unlikely to have prevailed to any degree at all. The technical skill entailed in rendering Aratus in Latin[39] is, moreover, precisely that of which he is justly proud in the public, and Roman, *philosophica*.[40]

Plutarch says (*Cicero* 2.4) that, as time went on, Cicero ἔδοξεν οὐ μόνον ῥήτωρ ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιητὴς ἄριστος εἶναι Ῥωμαίων but, many good poets having since flourished, his ποιητική has become altogether ἀκλεὴς καὶ ἄτιμον. This does not necessarily mean (*pace* Soubiran (n. 22) 3f.) that Cicero thought himself Rome's best poet. It could; ἔδοξεν could also imply 'appeared', 'was held to be'. He did not demonstrably share Marsyas' ambitions. There was, though, much irony at the expense of his verse, from the first Sallustian invective against Cicero (6) and a speech attributed to Fufius Calenus by Dio (46.21.4[41]) on. Neither text is datable, but both must reflect early disapproval, based, one imagines, on the less felicitous passages of the *De consulatu* and *De temporibus*. In the *De ira*, Seneca writes (3.37.5): *et Cicero, si derideres carmina eius, inimicus esset*. The remark is, alas, quite hypothetical, though it would be notably more telling if it were not altogether fanciful: the language is, of course, very strong.

Nec enim satis commoueor animo Cicero complained to Quintus in November 54 BC (*Ad Quintum fratrem* 3.5.4); *abest enim ἐνθουσιασμός* he had lamented in the previous letter (3.4.4). Caesar's victories had clearly kindled no vital spark, and while Furius Bibaculus and Varro of Atax got on with the job, age and disappointment worsened Cicero's 'block', though somehow or other *inuitis Musis* he did finish the epic by December 54 BC (*Ad Quintum fratrem* 3.7 (9).6). Where, one wonders, and when did he *mira benignitate ingenia poetarum fouisse* (Pliny *Epistulae* 3.15.1)? It is of course possible that, were they good, he could have asked Atticus to lend a hand with a suitable dinner for a reading, or with the production of a few copies. That does not make Atticus a publisher[42] nor does it require mention in a letter (clearly: there is nothing of the kind). Cicero is a skilled poet who loses interest in poetry; the artist who falls out of step with his contemporaries has been, in passing, recognized and, often, mocked, but hardly, hitherto, understood.

[36] Landgraf on Cic. *Rosc. Am.* 46; H. Jucker, *Vom Verhältnis der Römer zur bildenden Kunst der Griechen* (Frankfurt 1950) 90f.; N. Petrochilos, *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks* (Athens 1974) 194f.
[37] Cic. *Arch.* 12, *Tusc.* 1.3f.; Petrochilos (n. 36) 170f.; Cic. *ap.* Sen. *Ep.* 49.5.
[38] Horsfall (n. 6) xx. [39] Cf. also, on the geographical project, Schanz Hosius 14.534f.
[40] J. Kaimio, *The Romans and the Greek Language* (Helsinki 1979) 224f.; Petrochilos (n. 36) 155ff.
[41] *Cicerone: I frammenti poetici* (ed. A. Traglia). [42] Horsfall (n. 6) 12, 88f., 95.

29

The prehistory of Latin poetry

Some problems of method

Serius poeticam nos accipimus,[1] and Cicero, if in very truth it was because of Livius Andronicus that *Musa pinnato gradu intulit se bellicosam in Romuli gentem feram*,[2] is undeniably quite correct. Or rather, he is quite correct if by *poetica* we mean poetry written within an inherited literary tradition. Cicero himself, as we shall see, knew the issue was not, after all, clear-cut, and there are signs today of a welcome revival of interest in some of the problems, at a time when, once again, we are under particularly heavy pressure both to re-assess our belief (or otherwise) in the main outlines of the annalistic tradition of Roman history and to explore afresh—for both recent archaeological discoveries (cf. n. 10) and a phase of specially intense study of the parallel Greek material (e.g. nn. 3 and 21) turn fresh exploration into something more than a pious catchphrase—our testimonies for the distant origins of Latin literature.[3] The availability of some new evidence, many new methodologies (cf. Zorzetti and Phillips, *op. cit.*, nn. 6 and 89, for some recent complaints about the legitimacy of scholarly doubt!), and ample comparative material not previously given due weight means at least that we are re-fighting
[50/51] old battles with improved weaponry, for in many respects the battles themselves are truly old: Zorzetti has greatly improved the defences of Niebuhr's position (itself inherited from Perizonius) on the *carmina conuiualia*, while August Wilhelm von Schlegel anticipates certain key elements in the inheritance of sceptical reaction which descends via (e.g.) Dahlmann and Cole to this paper.[4] Over modern discussion of the reliability of the annalistic tradition (to which I do

[First published in *Rivista di Filologia* 122 (1994) 50 75.] I am grateful to Fritz Graf and Thomas Baier for stimulating talk and to Maria Rocchi Lupi and L. E. Rossi for their learned assistance.

[1] [50.1] Cf. R. Till, *NJahrb.* 3, 1940, 161ff.; N. K. Petrochilos, *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks* (Athens 1974) 141ff.; Horsfall, *G&R* 40 (1993) 59ff. [ch. 27, 320 1] on Cic. *Tusc.* 1.3.

[2] [50.2] Porcius (fr. 1 Courtney *ap*. Gellius 17.21.44) does not necessarily follow the Accian dating: see S. Timpanaro, *Riv. Fil.* 116 (1988) 408 18.

[3] [50.3] T. P. Wiseman, *JRS* 79 (1989) 129ff.; N. Zorzetti, in *Sympotica*, ed. O. Murray (Oxford 1990) 289ff.; id., *CJ* 86.4 (1990 1) 311ff., with the responses by T. Cole and C. R. Phillips, ibid., 377ff., 382ff. See too *Studien zur vorliterarischen Periode im frühen Rom*, ed. G. Vogt Spira (Tübingen 1989).

[4] [51.1] A. D. Momigliano, *JRS* 47 (1957) 104ff. (*Secondo contributo*, Roma 1960, 69ff.); Zorzetti (n. 3 *art. cit.*); R. T. Ridley, *Mem. dei Lincei* 8.32 (1989) 247 52.

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not propose to return) the cloud of stale gunpowder hangs yet thicker and heavier.[5]

Traditional *Quellenkritik* is almost dead and buried: an inherent tendency to mechanical rigour and oversimplification hastened its decline, which swept away much of permanent value. It has even become, in some quarters, difficult or dangerous to say we do not know or, worse, 'we cannot know', or so much as hint that there is something disquieting about the evidence that remains.[6] When the discussion turns to Roman myth or to the prehistory of Latin literature, our *testimonia*, miserably insufficient as they are, have still, I believe, to be weighed singly and with as much scruple and rigour as a century ago.[7] If one is then abused [51/52]
as a 'traditional empirico-positivist' (Phillips, n. 3, *art. cit.* 383 *et passim*), *tant mieux*. Time spared from attempts at self-definition can better be spent on real scholarly problems. Recent writing on Roman myth (a wasps' nest I had myself stirred up) and about the *carmina conuiualia* worried me enough to make me go back, systematically, to our *testimonia* for the earliest forms of literature in Italy and to see whether certain basic anxieties of mine about the sources, instinctive and quite undiminished by the odd brief thunderclap of polemical criticism, anxieties which first arose out of casual reading on the *annales maximi* and on banqueting-songs, long before I knew that Dahlmann and Jacoby had anticipated my first doubts and had discussed them with vigour and erudition,[8] might in the end lead to a clearer understanding of how Greeks and Romans had set about describing the prehistory of Latin literature. Between my first thoughts on the problem and this paper, there intervened an invitation to write a long essay on Rome as a capital of Greek culture;[9] to summarize the vast body of evidence was a

[5] [51.2] Further to the bibliography I collected in my comm. on Nepos, fr. 77 (Oxford 1989), see K. A. Raaflaub (ed.), *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome* (Berkeley 1986); Phillips (n. 3) 385 n. 10. In *CAH* VII 2², several conflicting viewpoints coexist uneasily (cf. n. 60). Contrast the clarity of J. von Ungern Sternberg, in *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung*,*Colloquium Rauricum* 1, Stuttgart 1988) 237ff.; for a lucid and witty history of the debate, see B. W. Frier, *Libri annales Pontificum maximorum* (Rome 1979) ch. 1.

[6] [51.3] Cf. Phillips (n. 3) 384, Cole (n. 3) 378 on Zorzetti's disposition to take Cicero's evidence too literally. The difficulties I first raised in 1979 (*CQ* 29, 379ff. [ch. 7, 87 9]) over the similarities between Hellanicus, *FGrH* 4 F 84 and Lycoph. 1242 62 Prof. Solmsen (*Harv. Stud.* 90, 1986, 93ff.) never quite grasped (cf. *RMM* 15) and therefore taxed me gently (93 n. 1) with excessive scepticism. Now that doubt is out of fashion (for it discourages students of classical philology, *LCM* 17 (1992) 108) while detraction finds (as it has ever done) publishers, for it amuses those unwilling to check the finer points, my perplexities about the very nature of our evidence for Roman myth are exposed not to Prof. Solmsen's exquisite analysis but (*LCM*, *loc. cit.*) to taproom obloquy.

[7] [52.1] Cf. further Wiseman (n. 3) 130 on the phrase *ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν ἀείδω*. It is a literary convention (so Horsfall, *RMM* 6, 100): it can be 'true' or 'false' or opaque ('I want this to look traditional, it may or may not be true'); cf. further *PLLS* 6 (1990) 49ff. [ch. 23, 285 97], best read in *L'epopea in alambicco* (Naples 1991) 117ff. [cf. now *The Epic Distilled* (Oxford 2016) 111ff.]. On Prof. Wiseman's methods, cf. my remarks in *Mythos in Mythenloser Gesellschaft* (Stuttgart 1993, *Colloquium Rauricum* 3) 131 n. 3.

[8] [52.2] H. Dahlmann, *Abh. Akad. Mainz* 17 (1950) 1189ff. (particularly 1196f.); F. Jacoby, *Atthis* (Oxford 1949) 60.

[9] [52.3] Horsfall, *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica*, 1.2 (Roma 1993) 791 822.

task enjoyable, instructive, and inevitably disquieting. Given that the earliest Greek writing on Italian soil is now dated to *c.*780 BC,[10] no aspect of written or of oral literature in Italy can be claimed to predate the possibility of Greek influence. Nevertheless, instances in which Roman usage is sharply different from Greek, in which, therefore, it would appear that Greek influence either did not reach Rome, or did, and was spurned, are not particularly rare.[11] One could
[52/53] point to the Italian use of linen for writing, to Roman family records, to the partially distinct development of the *laudatio funebris* and above all to the keeping of priestly records. At the opposite extreme stand instances of direct Greek influence on Roman practice, apparently from the outset: the case for the influence of Greek metre on the Saturnian has been warmly advanced, and as warmly challenged. Eduard Norden detected traces of the influence of Greek hymnody as early as the *carmen saliare* and *carmen Aruale*, though in truth they are not overwhelmingly convincing;[12] the case for elements of Hellenic jurisprudence in *leges XII tabularum*, on the other hand, is excellent, and the Romans' own aetiological stories about contacts with Greek lawgivers in the mid-fifth century BC suggest that they sensed the fact themselves. Funerary *elogia* (that is, verse epitaphs) were from the first under Greek influence. Greek elements in the *Atellana* and mime, mediated through South Italy, fall outside the scope of this discussion.[13]

But it would be disastrously simplistic to sift all our genres and *testimonia* into neat heaps labelled 'Greek', 'Roman', and 'independent development', to cover such cases as work-songs, lullabies, ritualized insult, and, lastly, with inevitable differences in detail, and, as we shall see, some interesting contamination, laments for the dead. Here at last we reach the central topic of my discussion: how Greek accounts of their own literary origins influenced in turn the way in which the Romans wrote up their literary prehistory. Two cases are notorious: the *carmina conuiualia* and the prehistory of the theatre. Other possibilities will emerge, and it is merely an oddity of modern scholarship when, for example, Cicero's account of music in Numa's activity as lawgiver is not recognized as calqued or contaminated.[14] It is no surprise if Greek authors preserve details of Roman literary prehistory, or if Latin texts transmit details of Alexandrian reconstructions of
[53/54] (e.g.) the archaic Greek theatre; our difficulties begin when our sources transpose

[10] [52.4] A. M. Bietti Sestieri, *Scienze dell'antichità* 3 (1989 90) 83.

[11] [52.5] If this distinction emerges confirmed from the discussion which follows, it lends indirect support to my initial discussion of 'authentic Roman myth' against myth created under Greek influence (*RMM* 1 11). In spite of remarks at *LCM* 17 (1992) 104, Italian myth was never copious (*op. cit.* 4); literary and linguistic developments hastened its decline (ibid., 10); Hellenized inventions fill the void.

[12] [53.1] See below, p. 340 2.

[13] [53.2] For outline bibliography, cf. n. 14.

[14] [53.3] Zorzetti (n. 3) *art. cit.*, 315. Cf. rather E. Gabba, *JRS* 74, 1984, 81ff.; B. Reischl, *Reflexe griech. Kulturentstehungslehren* (diss. München 1976) 166ff.; H. I. Marrou, *Hist de l'éducation* 1 ed. 6, 75f.: the commentary on this 'law' in Cicero emerges as a tissue of echoes from Plat. *Rep.* and *Leg.*; cf. further E. Gabba, *Dionysius and the History of Archaic Rome* (Berkeley 1991) 154, 157.

an alien practice into familiar terms, from simple perplexity or to avoid minute problems of terminology.

This paper is not concerned with the truth: I do not propose to establish or to demolish one single detail of Rome's literary prehistory. Possibly more important, and certainly more neglected, is a clear understanding of how that prehistory was recorded. With no general thesis to prove, I start from the wide context of theories about the origins of writing and its arrival in Greece and Italy.

The Greeks attributed the origins or importation of writing to a markedly remote past, to the Phoenicians in general or Cadmus in particular; alternatively, to the Egyptians, Assyrians, Cretans, or Pelasgi, to Zeus, Hermes (or Thoth), Athena, Isis, or the Muses, to Prometheus, Palamedes, Danaus, Cecrops, Orpheus, Linus, or Musaeus. I make no pretence at having offered a complete list.[15] As a result, we encounter no sense of difficulty in Greek texts in attributing the use of writing to the gods, to mythological figures, or to the age of heroes. Thus Zeus takes note of our misdeeds upon hides; Triton gives an engraved tripod to the Argonauts, and the plot of Euripides' *Hippolytus* turns upon a written message.[16] Homer's two apparent references to writing aroused vigorous discussion, and the [54/55] tradition about the 'historical' Homer[17] is divided upon the question of his literacy. To the West, it is normally Evander who brings letters; if not him, then the Pelasgi, while Tacitus, interestingly, attributes the arrival of letters in Etruria to Demaratus (*Ann.* 11.14).[18] If Greek historians from Hecataeus on (*FGrH* 1 F 20) had already devoted themselves to the origins of writing in the Hellenic world, then no wonder (cf. Briquel (n. 18) 253) that analogous stories were developed in the West. The circumstantial detail in such accounts is often hilarious, but, taken as whole, they reveal a real and widespread interest among historians about the origins of language (cf. in particular Rocchi (n. 15) *artt. citt.*, and Briquel (n. 18)).

The Greeks' attribution of writing to the mythological and heroic worlds has no bearing on their view of the early history of writing (Rocchi (n. 15) in *La*

[15] [54.1] T. Birt, *Das ant. Buchwesen* (Berlin 1882) 50; W. Schmid, *Philol.* 52 (1894) 373ff.; A. Kleingünthr (Leipzig 1933, *Philol.* Suppl. 26.1) 60ff.; J. Bérard, *Minos* 2 (1953) 65ff.; A. Jeffery, in *Europa. Festschr. Grumach* (Berlin 1967) 152ff. and in *A Companion to Homer*, ed. A. J. B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings (London 1963) 545ff.; A. Heubeck, in *Schrift: Arch. Homerica* 3.10 (Göttingen 1979) 105ff.; R. Pfeiffer, *Hist. Class. Schol.* I (Oxford 1968) 19ff.; M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia Greca*, I (Roma 1967) 43; Lenormant, in Diod. Sic. 1, 205 6; O. Gruppe, *Griech. Myth., Index* s.v. *Buchstaben*; K. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus* (Princeton 1990) 63; M. Rocchi Lupi, *Atti 2 Congr. int. di studi fenici e punici* (Roma 1991) 529ff.; ead., in *La transizione dal Miceneo all'Alto Arcaismo* (Roma 1991) 551ff.; J. Platthy, *The Mythical Poets of Greece* (Washington 1985) *passim.*

[16] [54.2] Zeus: Diogen., *Paroem. Gr.* 1.214, 8; Triton: Diod. Sic. 4.56, 6. See J. Franzius, *Elementa epigr. graecae* (Berlin 1840 Amsterdam 1972) 74f.; P. E. Easterling, *JHS* 105 (1985) 5f.; F. Pfister, *Reliquienkult* 5.2 (1912) 502ff.; F. Marx, on Plaut. *Rud.* 15; F. Solmsen, *CQ* 38 (1944) 27ff.; Rocchi (n. 15, *La transizione*) 551; Bérard (n. 15) 79; Speyer, *Bücherfunde* (Göttingen 1970) 43ff., 126; Jeffrey (n. 15, 1963), 546f.

[17] [55.1] Easterling (n. 16) 5; cf. Ps. Hdt. *Vit. Hom.* 208 Allen (dictated), (Plut.) 98 (Allen) (written); Jos. *C. Ap.* 1.10 12: Homer did not write but his works were collected some time after his death.

[18] [55.2] Gabba (n. 14, 1991) 108; D. Briquel, *Rev. Phil.* 62 (1988) 251ff.

transizione, 551f.; Easterling (n. 16) 4ff.); about Homer, later ages were not (see *supra*) quite sure; so too, modern scholars doubt the early names in the Olympic victor-lists and in the most ancient reaches of the Spartan lists of kings and ephors.[19] Hellanicus listed the kings of Athens beginning with Codrus, Medon, etc.[20] Here we are in the eleventh century BC, but the transmission of such lists does not imply the historians' belief in their written origin.[21] Rather different is the Romans' passage from legendary or heroic writing to the beginnings of historical literacy. Evander brought writing to Italy (*supra*), and Aeneas left inscriptions which bore witness to his travels;[22] the cradle of Romulus and Remus was inscribed, in the best tradition of comic *anagnorismata*. Hence writing at the
[55/56] court of Alba too. The twins learned 'Greek letters' at the *liceo classico* of Gabii.[23] Our accounts of the twins, of Numa, and of the later kings presuppose a continuous and widespread literacy.[24] The otherness of mythical/heroic literacy is thus indicated far less sharply than in Greece and the more or less 'historical' use of letters, particularly in Greek authors[25] is attributed to an astonishingly remote epoch. Now that scraps of Greek writing (though not necessarily Greek written *in situ*) from the eighth century are being excavated in Italy, it is all too easy to cry, Miracle! and claim that Gabii was indeed a centre of international culture *c.*760 BC.[26] But the growing quantity of very early inscriptions excavated in Italy is curiously unhelpful in establishing a proto-history of Roman literacy:[27] Greek artisans could probably write before Roman nobles, and perhaps even before the nobles' clerks. The use at Rome of writing for purposes of official record belongs to the sixth century,[28] later, that is, than the words *saluetod Tita* scratched on an *olla* from Gabii (Osteria dell'Osa) and clearly calqued upon the Greek toast χαῖρε.[29] Nor does the archival or memorial use of Latin presuppose widespread ability to write or read. We hope we can draw a line with confidence, if not with certainty,

[19] [55.3] Olympia: Plut. *Num.* 1, 6; Jacoby (n. 8) 58; kings and ephors: ibid., 88.

[20] [55.4] *FGrH* 323a F 23, with comm.; Jacoby (n. 8) 89.

[21] [55.5] R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record* (Cambridge 1989) 190ff. for the passage of genealogical material from oral to written tradition.

[22] [55.6] Pfister (n. 16) 159, 505; Dion. Hal. 1.51.1, 3.

[23] [56.1] Cradle: Plut. *Rom.* 7.8, 8.3; J. Poucet, *Latomus* 48 (1989) 294f.: Gabii: Plut. *Rom.* 6.2; Dion. Hal. 1.84.5.

[24] [56.2] T. J. Cornell, in *Literacy in the Roman World*, *JRA* Suppl. 3 (1991) 27; Poucet (n. 23), 294, 297; and (to be read with profound scepticism) E. Peruzzi, *Origini di Roma* 2 (Bologna 1973) 9ff.; id., *Par. Pass.* 47 (1992) 459ff.

[25] [56.3] But see Ps. Aur. Vict. 21.3; Paul. Fest. 48.19 21 L.; cf. Gabba (n. 14, 1991) 138: did Rome's Greek origin imply, for Dion. Hal., her perpetual literacy?

[26] [56.4] M. Cristofani, in *La grande Roma dei Tarquinii* (Roma 1990) 16; G. Maddoli, in *Greci e Latini nel Lazio arcaico* (Roma 1982) 62.

[27] [56.5] Horsfall (n. 9); Cornell (n. 24) 7ff., with whom I tend to agree that writing at Rome is a Greek, not an Etruscan, import.

[28] [56.6] The Forum *cippus*, followed by documents preserved in the literary tradition: Cornell (n. 24) 27ff.; Frier (n. 5) 128; C. Ampolo, in *Popoli e Civiltà* 8 (Roma 1986) 420f. and, in *Tria Corda* (Como 1983) 15f.

[29] [56.7] G. Colonna, *Archeologia Laziale* 3 (1980) 51ff.

between romanticized literacy and the historical record of authentic documentation (Cornell (n. 24) 25f.); the sources of Plutarch and Dionysius were less critical. After the end of the regal period too, the historical tradition preserves both texts essential to our understanding of the early Republic's exploitation of the [56/57] written word and episodes nicely calculated to mislead the unwary historian of literature or literacy. Thus it has long been recognized that many episodes in early Roman history (from elements in the story of Romulus and Remus on) are calqued upon similar stories and events in the Greek tradition.[30] So, for example, the 'posting' of the *Twelve Tables*[31] is pretty clearly Solonic in its literary inspiration and when Livy says[32] that the Roman people were invited *ire et legere leges propositas* he presupposes a level of literacy still barely even implied in the provisions of Cn. Flavius, a century and a half after the traditional date of the *Leges XII tabularum.*[33]

The Persian sack of Athens in 480 was a particularly rich source for historians 'writing up' the Gallic sack of Rome.[34] It is very striking that no Greek historian or antiquary claims that this or that document went up in flames in 480[35] and now that the pendulum of scholarly fashion has swung away from the hypercriticism of (e.g.) Hignett's *Athenian Constitution*,[36] it is generally accepted that ample archival material did in fact survive.[37] At Rome, on the other hand, *etiam si quae in* [57/58] *commentariis pontificum aliisque publicis priuatisque erant monumentis, incensa urbe pleraeque interiere.*[38] The archaeological evidence[39] for a city destroyed by the flames is exceedingly meagre; the archives reduced to ashes—like some or all of the library of Alexandria in 47 BC—are perhaps likewise not a tragic loss[40] but rather, in some cases, a handy card for the Roman historian to play to justify hasty treatment or lavish invention: certainly there is no *prima facie* reason to impugn the literary texts which appear to attest the survival of earlier archival material,

[30] [57.1] J. Poucet, *Les origines de Rome* (Bruxelles 1985) 184ff.; J. N. Bremmer, *RMM* 28f.; R. M. Ogilvie, *Livy 1 5*, index s.v. *Greek*; T. J. Cornell, in *Past Perspectives* (Cambridge 1986) 73; J. von Ungern Sternberg (n. 5) 253, and in Raaflaub, *Social Struggles* (n. 5) 92.

[31] [57.2] Liv. 3.57.10 *in aes incisas in publico proposuerunt*; cf. W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Harvard 1989) 152 n. 15, 157; Horsfall, *RMM* 5 n. 25.

[32] [57.3] Solon: Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 7.1; Plut. *Sol.* 25.1f.; Liv. 3.34.3; cf. Dion. Hal. 1.57.

[33] [57.4] Note that von Ungern Sternberg (n. 5), rightly sees in Livy both episodes calqued upon preceding events and retrojected from successive ages.

[34] [57.5] Horsfall, *RMM* 72.

[35] [57.6] So I. M. Linforth, 'Solon the Athenian', *Univ. Cal. Publ. Class. Phil.* 6 (1919) 279f.; cf. C. Hignett, *History of the Athenian Constitution* (Oxford 1952) 15; K. R. Walters, *AJAH* 1 (1976) 132; *aliter*, Jacoby (n. 8) 357 n. 25; R. Stroud, in *Athens Comes of Age* (Princeton 1978) 24 with n. 20.

[36] [57.7] (n. 35).

[37] [57.8] Cf. Jacoby and Stroud (n. 35); Stroud (*loc. cit.*) 20 42 and *Univ. Cal. Publ. Class. Phil.* 19 (1979)) offers a lucid introduction to the survival of documents from archaic Athens. Cf. Thomas (n. 21) 287f. *et passim*.

[38] [58.1] Liv. 6.1.2; cf. Clodius (? Claud. Quadr.) fr. 1 P., *ap.* Plut. *Num.* 1.6; Plut. *fort. Rom.* 326A, Frier (n. 5) 119ff.; Raaflaub (n. 5) 11 n. 24.

[39] [58.2] Horsfall, *RMM* 70 n. 64; Frier (n. 5) 126; Ampolo (n. 28, 1983) 12f., is amusing, but too generous towards the misunderstanding of earlier generations of archaeologists.

[40] [58.3] Frier (n. 5) 126; Horsfall (n. 7, 1990) 29f. [ch. 23, 285].

though we should not for one moment imagine that all ancient documents, whether at Athens or at Rome, were preserved intact, legible, comprehensible, and free from fraudulent supplements and tendentious interpretations. In short, no lack of faked documents in either city.[41] Before we turn to the central topic of the prehistory of literature itself, it may prove useful to pause briefly to look at the materials used (or said to be used) for writing, and especially for archives in early Greece and Rome, stone apart.

(i) Linen. At Rome used for the *libri lintei*, for the corselet of Tolumnius, king of Veii,[42] and in late antiquity for imperial documents, sacred texts, and the Sibylline books themselves.[43] Iconographic evidence suggests that the
[58/59] use of linen reached Rome from Etruria, while it seems to have been unknown in Greece.[44]

(ii) Whitened boards (λευκώματα etc.): used in both Greece and Rome.[45] Stroud[46] has shown that ἄξονες and κύρβεις survived for two centuries at least. That is a comfort (cf. Frier, n. 5 *op. cit.* 132 n. 64) for defenders of the ancient sources' reliability when they describe the whitened board or *tabula*, a common material for Roman archives,[47] set up yearly *domi* by the *pontifex maximus ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad Publium Mucium pontificem maximum.*[48]

(iii) Leather. An inscribed shield of leather is dated to the reign of Tarquinius Superbus and the same material seems occasionally to have been used for documents under the late Empire.[49] Leather was frequently attributed by the Greeks to eastern peoples as a common writing material,[50] while, in the Greek world, it was used to record the Delphic oracles, as a material for the Spartan σκυτάλη, and in Ionia when papyrus was scarce.[51]

[41] [58.4] Thomas (n. 21) 83ff.; Hignett (n. 35) 18 and ch. 1 *passim*. Rome: e.g. Liv. 1.2.2 with Frier (n. 5) 97; 4.11.4 with Frier (n. 5), 98. Cf. R. M. Ogilvie, *JRS* 48 (1958) 46, against Klotz's attack on the *libri lintei*, which may still be no older in substance than the second century; on Clodius fr. 1 P.; cf. n. 38 above.

[42] [58.5] *Libri lintei*: Ogilvie (n. 30) on Livy 4.7.12; id. (n. 41) 40ff.; Tolumnius: Liv. 4.20.7.

[43] [58.6] *Cod. Theod.* 11.27.1; *SHA Aurel.* 1.7. Fronto 60.9 van den Hout with R. E. A. Palmer, *The Archaic Community of the Romans* (Cambridge 1970) 235ff.; on Sibylline books: Claud. *Bell. Get.* 232; Symm. *Ep.* 4.34.

[44] [59.1] L. Bonfante, *Etruscan* (Berkeley and London 1990) 23ff.; G. and L. Bonfante, *Lingua e cultura degli Etruschi* (Roma 1985) 65ff.; F. Roncalli, in *Scrivere Etrusco* (Milano 1985) 22ff., and *Jahrb. deut. Arch. Inst.* 95 (1980) 227ff. I am grateful to Giuliano and Larissa Bonfante for their kind help.

[45] [59.2] M. Guarducci (n. 15) 1ff.; A. Wilhelm, *Beitr. z. gr. Inschriftenkunde* (Wien 1909) 246 *et passim*; E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge Mass. 1972) 95ff.

[46] [59.3] Stroud (n. 35) 23ff. (n. 36, 1979), 3, 6ff.

[47] [59.4] Posner (n. 45) 160ff.; Frier (n. 5) 85 n. 4.

[48] [59.5] Cic. *De orat.* 2.52; Verr. Flacc. *ap.* Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 1.373; Frier (n. 5) 84f.

[49] [59.6] Dion. Hal. 4, 58, 4; Paul. Fest. 48.19 21 L.; Peruzzi (n. 24, 1973) 21; Ulp. *Dig.* 37.11.1 pr.

[50] [59.7] Peruzzi (n. 49) 20; W. Wattenbach, *Das Schriftwesen in Mittelalter* (Leipzig 1875²) 91ff.

[51] [59.8] Eur. fr. 629 n. 2; Hdt. 5, 58; Guarducci (n. 15) 441f.

(iv) Bronze. Used in Greece widely, but only for certain categories of documents. Pausanias claims to have seen Hesiod, *Erga* incised on lead and we are told that Acusilaus wrote his *Genealogies* upon bronze.[52] Bronze was commonly used for archives among the Italic peoples, and likewise at Rome.[53]

Thus only the use of linen is not common to both cultures.[54] But it is worth [59/60]
while adding that in at least two fundamental ways Roman archival usage does differ from Greek: first, as we shall see, in the importance of the priestly chronicle at Rome, and secondly in the existence, at Rome, of family archives,[55] as against the Greek habit of accumulating certain mementoes in the family, but not, apparently, records.[56]

By this stage, we are, I believe, in a better position to evaluate our ancient *testimonia* for Roman pre-literary forms. Not only did the Greek family apparently not maintain the sort of portrait and archive collection that made the Roman aristocrat glow with sometimes fraudulent pride, but, as was already clearly recognized by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (5.17.3), the *laudatio funebris* of the Roman *gens* corresponds not at all to the Greek state's ἐπιτάφιος λόγος (Thomas (n. 21) 102f.), though it is, paradoxically, Cicero[57] who tells us that there had once been orations at Greek private funerals (which could in theory have influenced Roman usage in the sixth century BC). The Roman aristocratic tradition has a determining influence on the distinct development of the *laudatio funebris*, and by the end of the Republic, the usage has spread far beyond the aristocracy.[58] The distinction is perhaps still sharper with respect to priestly chronicles (Jacoby (n. 8) 60). Though Dionysius of Halicarnassus calls (perhaps) the *libri lintei* books ἱερούς καὶ ἀποθέτους (11.62.3), the content is neither particularly secret (a list of magistracies) nor does it compare with that of the other Roman texts described as secret.[59] The one word ἱερούς in Dionysius is insufficient to permit us to classify the text as really 'priestly' even though they were actually stored in the temple of Juno Moneta. The *annales maximi* are quite another matter:[60] they were kept by

[52] [59.9] Bronze: Guarducci (n. 15) I 433ff., 464ff.; ead., IV (Roma 1978) 258ff.; Hesiod: Paus. 9, 31, 4; Acusilaus: *FGrH* 2 T 1 (Suda).

[53] [59.10] C. Williamson, *Cl. Ant.* 6, 1987, 160ff.

[54] [60.1] Cf. Horsfall, in *Literacy in the Roman World* (n. 24) 67, on the use of sherds in the Roman world.

[55] [60.2] Posner (n. 45) 165; Poucet (n. 23) 307f.; Frier (n. 5) 123f.; Horsfall, *BICS* 30 (1983) 91.

[56] [60.3] Thomas (n. 21) 40ff., 100f., 101 n. 22; Posner (n. 45) 93ff.

[57] [60.4] *Leg.* 2.65, after Demetrius of Phalerum, *FGrH* 228 F 9; cf. Thomas (n. 21) 103.

[58] [60.5] Horsfall, *BICS* Suppl. 51 (1988) 53.

[59] [60.6] Frier (n. 5) 155; cf. J. Linderski, *Harv. Stud.* 84 (1985) 207ff. for the terminology used.

[60] [60.7] Cf. Frier (n. 5); von Ungern Sternberg (n. 5, 1988), 239 n.; Poucet (n. 23) 301ff.; Cornell (n. 30) 71f.; T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics* (Leicester 1979) 17; R. M. Ogilvie and A. Drummond, *CAH* VII 2², 6f., 19ff.

[60/61] the *pontifex maximus* and were stored in his *domus publica.*[61] The classical Greek world has nothing at all genuinely similar.[62] If the *annales maximi* were as a whole or in part some sort of learned fraud, some inventive restoration or compilation, perhaps of the second century BC as the *libri lintei* may indeed be,[63] then (i) the abundant circumstantial detail that we have is astonishingly consistent and precise and (ii) it is hard to see exactly who the laborious forger or compiler might have been or when and why he toiled. Many scholars (cf. n. 60) have not been convinced at all points by Frier's pellucid and often entertaining study and the history of the *annales maximi* remains in the deepest uncertainty at almost all points.[64] No possibility of Greek influence, though, and that is perhaps the more striking in view of the numerous preliterary forms in which direct Greek influence is reasonably certain: that is in itself no surprise, in view of the length and strength of the Greek presence at Rome and it is of no particular interest to the literary historians of the late Republic. We can afford therefore to be very brief: Eduard Norden—to begin from our least certain case—compared elements in the *Arual*
[61/62] *hymn* with Greek texts[65] and more might be done along similar lines for the *carmen Saliare.* Whether the Saturnian (possibly the metre of the *Arual hymn*) is also, whether directly or indirectly, of Greek origin is a problem discussed since antiquity and still not satisfactorily resolved.[66] Norden also noted[67] that *redende Inschriften* in Latium—if not *Manios med fhefhaked* (on which this is not the place to express a judgement), then *CIL* I² 462 and 474—belong to an ancient Greek type, as one might expect, given the spread of Greek craftsmen on the

[61] [61.1] Cic. *De orat.* 2.52; Dion. Hal. 1.74.3; Cato *Orig.* fr. 77 P.; Frier (n. 5) 89.

[62] [61.2] Argos and Sicyon: Jacoby (n. 8) 57ff.; 357 n. 24; 'Lindos Chronicle': Jacoby (n. 8) 358 n. 26, *FGrH* 532, with comm., 445f.; Guarducci (n. 15) 2 (Roma 1969) 302ff.; 'chronicle' of the Asclepieion at Athens: Jacoby (n. 8) 358 n. 26; E. and J. Edelstein, *Asclepius* (Baltimore 1945), T. 720 and 2, 66. For annotated lists (not at all the same thing), cf. Jacoby (n. 8) 177, 179, 358 n. 26.

[63] [61.3] R. M. Ogilvie, *JRS* 48 (1958) 46.

[64] [61.4] Thickened by incautious remarks like that at *CAH* VII 2², 6 (cf. rather Frier (n. 5) 182): there is no ancient evidence to suggest that *c.*130 BC P. Mucius Scaevola actually 'published' the pontifical *tabulae*, both those already transcribed and those awaiting transcription, as some sort of continuous record.

[65] [61.5] E. Norden, *Aus alträm. Priesterbüchern* (Lund 1939) 268ff. With *neve lue rue Marmar sins incurrere in pleoris*, cf. Aesch. *Suppl.* 559f.; with *satur fu, fere Mars*, cf. the Greek paean to Apollo (*Il.* 1, 456, 427f., *h. Hom. Ap.* 500, 517); with *conctei*, cf. Aesch. *Septem* 109. I am little inclined to believe Dr Piva's striking thesis (now in *Beitr. zur mündl. Kultur der Römer* (Tübingen 1993) ScriptOralia II) 59 85, and kindly explained to me at Bern) that the *Carm. Aru.* is *in toto* an early third century AD forgery: the archaeological context and the fate of parallel texts seems to me to point rather at a long process of *remaniements*.

[66] [62.1] Cf. G. Pasquali, *Preistoria della poesia romana* in the 1981 reprint (Sansoni, Firenze), with ample preface by S. Timpanaro. A battle of Titans: I abstain from comment. Cf. Caesius Bassus, *GL* VI 265, 8ff.

[67] [62.2] Norden left the *carm. Sal.* almost completely aside (cf. (n. 65) 224). Given the textual uncertainty that now prevails (G. Radke, *Archaisches Latein*, Darmstadt 1981, 121f.) little progess may be made. Cf. through *canite*: Gk. ὑμνεῖτε, *h. Hom. passim*; on *carmen* G. Appel, *De Romanorum precationibus* (Giessen 1990, *Religionsgesch. Vers. Vorarb.* 7.2) 69; on *te prae tet tremonti*, J. H. Waszink, *RAC* s.v. 'Furcht (Gottes)'; with *meliosem* cf. '*di melius*' (Appel, 174), Thphr. *Char.* 16.8 (as corrected by Jahn), and Phot. *Bibl.* p. 226a18.

Italo-Etruscan market. Most striking are the similarities between the text of the *Lapis niger* and Greek *leges sacrae*, though the many textual doubts remaining leave full certainty beyond our grasp.[68] With the *Twelve Tables*—whatever the absolute date of the texts which have come down to us under that name—not only in language (*poena*, *dolus*), but, as becomes increasingly clear, in content too, in particular the limiting of luxury at funerals, the restrictions placed upon *sodalitate*,[69] and the manner of settling boundary disputes[70]—the impact of Greek (and especially of Solonian) legislation is, as the Romans themselves recognized, beyond reasonable question.[71] It is worth adding, first, that the Latin verse epitaph (*elogium*) is from the very first under Greek influence, as has long been recog- [62/63]
nized,[72] even though the first actual Greek funerary epigram found at Rome is extraordinarily late,[73] and secondly, a Greek element in both the mime and the *fabulae Atellanae* was recognized in antiquity,[74] and still is, though it would be foolish and unnecessary to exclude South Italian, Oscan, and even Etruscan elements.[75] Given the antiquity of Greek cultural influence, and the wide social range over which it was exercised (Greek nannies at Rome, Greek sailors at the Tiber-mouth, Roman soldiers at a Greek funeral in South Italy, for example),[76] it would be difficult (and unnecessary) to exclude the possibility of Hellenic influ- [63/64]
ence even in lullabies and work-songs![77] Thus, while there is no call to imagine the archaic Roman unable to sing a hymn to his gods without a Greek to tell him how to do it, we have just increased the number of elements in the

[68] [62.3] Radke (n. 67) 68ff.; Norden (n. 65) 258ff.; F. Coarelli, *Il foro romano* (Roma 1983) 178ff.; F. Sokolowski, *Lois Sacrées* (Paris 1969).

[69] [62.4] J. Delz, *MH* 23 (1966) 79; *Dig.* 47.22.4.

[70] [62.5] Delz (n. 69, *loc. cit.*); *Dig.* 10.1.13.

[71] [62.6] A. D. Momigliano, *CAH* VII 2², 111ff.; Frier (n. 5) 129ff.; M. Toher, in Raaflaub (n. 5) 301ff.; von Ungern Sternberg, in Raaflaub, 85; Delz (n. 69) 69ff.; F. Wieacker, *Studi in onore di Ed. Volterra* 3 (Milano 1971) 751ff.

[72] [63.1] F. Leo, *Gesch. röm. Lit.* 1 (Berlin 1913) 45; J. van Sickle, *AJPhil.* 108 (1987) 41ff.; id., *BICS* Suppl. 51 (1988) 143ff.

[73] [63.2] *IG* 14, 1737 *CIL* I 2 (ed. 2), 1045 *IGUR* 2, 664 (early first century BC).

[74] [63.3] Diomedes, *GL* I, 490, 1ff. (Atellan); 3ff. (mime); 491, 13ff. (mime).

[75] [63.4] A. Marzullo, *Dalla satira al teatro popolare latino* (Milano 1973) 15; H. Wiemken, *Der griech. Mimus* (Bremen 1972) 40f.; H. Petersmann, in *Studien zur voliterarischen Periode* (n. 3) 148; and notably P. Frassinetti, *Fabula Atellana* (Genova 1953) 15 38.

[76] [63.5] Teuffel, *Röm Lit.* 1⁶, 4, attributes all sung dialogue in Italy to Greek influence! Cf. G. Wille, *Musica Romana* (Amsterdam 1967) 124f.

[77] [63.6] Work songs: for Greece: cf. H. W. Smyth, *Greek Melic Poets* (London 1906) 154ff.; J. M. Edmonds, *Lyra Graeca* 3 (edn. Loeb 1959) 508ff.; Page, *PMG* 847ff.; M. Wegner, *Das Musikleben der Griechen* (Berlin 1949) 89ff.; K. Bücher, 'Arbeit und Rythmus', *Abh. sächs Ak.* 17.5 (Leipzig 1896) 30ff. (and in many reprints). Cf. now M. L. West, *Ancient Greek Music* (Oxford 1992) 28ff. For Rome: G. B. Pighi, *Lyra Romana* 2 (Milano 1946) remains, unfortunately, the only collection (of sorts). Cf. F. Marx, *Rh. Mus.* 78 (1929) 398ff.; Wille (n. 76) 105ff. Much remains to be done: we need, for example, to distinguish the shepherd's yodel (*iubilum*, Calp. Sic. 1.30; Wille, 121, 152), from our evidence for shepherds' songs in the real world, where scraps of evidence need to be disentangled from scholastic embroideries on pastoral texts (cf. Philarg. *Ad Buc.* 3, 26, with Wille, 124 and Horsfall, *CR* 43 (1993) 269) and from the influence of Greek usage: Polyb. 4, 20, 8 12; B. Snell, *Discovery of the Mind* (Cambridge Mass. 1953) 281. Cf. further Ennod. *Carm.* 1.8 *praef.* with Wille 114. On cries of street traders: cf. Horsfall, *Invigilata lucernis* 13 14 (1991 2) 173 n. 14.

earliest surviving religious texts for which it seems that some degree of Greek influence must be posited.[78] The funeral *nenia* (or *carmen funebre*, Quint. 8.2.8)[79] is quite distinct from the song of the *praefica*[80] which contained praises of the deceased,[81] but is apparently performed by specialist singers and is therefore of limited value as a vehicle of collective oral record.[82] The *praefica* interested antiquarians and ethnographers: even Aristotle, in his *Νόμιμα βαρβαρικά* wrote about her.[83] Burial customs are deeply rooted in Greco-Roman ethnographic writing in general,[84] and the topic is linked to discussions of the origins of elegy,[85] of sumptuary legislation,[86] and of literary terminology—I refer to such easily confused terms as *ἐπικήδειον*, *θρῆνος*, *γόος*, and *ἰάλεμος*.[87] Not for one moment should it be thought that the Romans could not lament their dead without Greek help, but the learned Roman tradition on funeral laments is necessarily exposed to contamination from Greek accounts of the same topic.
[64/65] *Nenia*, says Cicero mysteriously, is a Greek word (*Leg.* 2.62). What that contamination may involve will shortly become clearer. The element of praise of the deceased is present in the *ἐπικήδειον*, for example:[88] without question, it may have existed in both traditions quite independently, but, equally, Greek learned accounts may have caused it to be in some way altered in emphasis or even misrepresented in ancient descriptions of Roman usage. I do not say that this was necessarily so; it will become even clearer, though, that the possibility must be taken into account.

When we turn to ritualized insults and lewd jests, we discover three relatively simple and significant cases, by way of light relief before the major problems of *carmina conuiualia* and *scaenicae origines*:

[78] [64.1] The *carmina Marciana* are best left out of this discussion: they belong, if anywhere, to the late third century; the fragments attributed are in part heavily contaminated by classical hexameter language. I wish Prof. Skutsch had been able to mount the general assault he was threatening in the autumn of 1988. As it is, see Ch. Guittard, in *La divination étr ital.*, *Caesarodunum* Suppl. 52 (1985) 42ff.

[79] [64.2] Quint. 8.2.8; W. Kierdorf, *Laudatio funebris* (Meisenheim am Glan 1980) 97; J. L. Heller, *TAPA* 74, 1943, 97.

[80] [64.3] So called *usque ad Poenicum bellum*, Varr. *De vita* fr. 110 Rip.; cf. further Serv. Clodius fr. 8 Fun. *ap.* Varr. *Ling.* 7.70. General confusion in Wiseman (n. 3) 134.

[81] [64.4] Kierdorf (n. 79) 99 n. 25 collects the testimonia.

[82] [64.5] Kierdorf (n. 79) 97f.; Wiseman (n. 80) is quite satisfied that they transmit oral record.

[83] [64.6] Fr. 609 Rose; Kierdorf (n. 79) 104.

[84] [64.7] K. Trüdinger, *Stud. z. Gesch. d. gr. röm. Ethnographie* (Basel 1918) Index s.v. *Begräbnisform.*

[85] [64.8] M. L. West, *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus* (Berlin 1974) 7f.; D. L. Page, in *Greek Poetry and Life* (Oxford 1936) 209f.

[86] [64.9] M. P. Nilsson, *NJahrb* 27 (1911) 618ff. *Op. Sel.* 1 (Lund 1951) 75ff.; M. Alexiou, *The Ritual Lament* (Cambridge 1974) 10ff.

[87] [64.10] E. Reiner, *Die rituelle Totenklage* (Stuttgart 1938) 2ff.; A. E. Harvey, *CQ* 5 (1955) 168ff.

[88] [65.1] Thomas (n. 21) 103f.; Alexiou (n. 86) 227 n. 19; Reiner (n. 87) 116ff.

(i) *Fescennini uersus qui canebantur in nuptiis*:[89] not only as a result of the natural exuberance of the occasion, but also as the popular etymology from *fascinum* is perhaps meant to suggest, apotropaic. There might be ithyphallic dancers at a Greek wedding;[90] friends pounded on the door;[91] the epithalamium itself could be insulting and ripely obscene.[92]

(ii) Among the many ancient accounts of the origins of Greek comedy, we find the ritual of countrymen who feel themselves ill-used and go into the city, to their wrongdoers' neighbourhood and recount, *ἀνωνυμεί*, oddly, *τὰς βλάβας ἃς ἔπασχον ὑπ' αὐτῶν*.[93] Clearly, the entire proceeding corresponds very closely to the Roman *occentatio* so wonderfully brought to life by Usener.[94]

(iii) In this context, it is worth adding a further element of scurrility to [66/67] Versnel's discussion of the *carmina triumphalia* (or *ioci militares*, Liv. 7.30.3): their intent is to ward off *inuidia* (Versnel (n. 96) 380), like various other elements in the ritual of the triumph.[95] We should also compare the elements of abuse in the *pompa circensis*[96] and in the funeral procession. If the Roman triumph has indeed close analogies with the *aduentus* of an Hellenistic monarch (Versnel (n. 96) 387f.), then it is very striking that there were ithyphallic dancers at the ceremonial entry of Demetrius Poliorcetes into Athens,[97] and numerous satyrs in the great procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus,[98] though it is still not clear quite what the occasion was (Rice (n. 98) 4, 186).

[89] [65.2] (Paul.Fest. p.76 Lindsay p.85 Mueller) By which I did not mean gnomic and invective poetry: against Zorzetti (n. 3, 1990 1), 314, see Cole (n. 3) 379. Zorzetti's two rewritings (n. 3) of the history of early Roman literature I do not here discuss in detail. Some of the oddities of method involved have been pointed out by Cole. We do need to be very much aware that every scrap of evidence on this topic may conceal various banana skins to embarrass the unwary scholar.

[90] [65.3] Hippolochus (Susemihl, *Gesch. gr. Lit.* 1, 881f.) *ap.* Ath. 4, 129d; H. Herter, 'Phallophorie' *RE* 19.2:1680. 58.

[91] [65.4] Heysh. s.v. *κτυπία* and *κτυπιῶν*.

[92] [65.5] Ar. *Pax* 1349f.; R. Keydell, *RAC* s.v. *Epithalamium*, 933, 941; J. Henderson, *The Maculate Muse* (New Haven 1975) 118.

[93] [65.6] Schol. Dion. Thr. *Gramm. Gr.* 1, p. 18, 15 Hilgard; West (n. 85) 27; *CGF* 1.12.

[94] [65.7] Usener, *Rh. Mus.* 56, 1900, 1ff. *Kl. Schr.* 4 (Leipzig 1913) 356ff.; cf. E. Fraenkel, *JRS* 51 (1961) 49f. *Kleine Beiträge* 2, 1964, 121ff. (cf. ibid., 407ff.). Does the Greek text in fact describe the Roman ritual?

[95] [66.1] F. Bömer, 'Pompa' *RE* 21.2: 1978.6; W. Ehlers, 'Triumphus', *RE* 13A:509.59. On the ritual insult in *γεφυρισμός* cf. F. Graf, *Eleusis u. die orph. Dichtung* (Berlin 1974) 45f.; H. Fluck, *Skurrile Rite* (diss. Freiburg 1931) 52ff. On iambic insult in general, cf. West (n. 85), 23, 36f.; Fluck, 66ff.

[96] [66.2] On the *pompa circensis*, see below; on the funeral procession, cf. H. Versnel, *Triumphus* (Leiden 1970) 99, after Mau, 'Bestattung' *RE* 3:351.11ff.: Suet. *Caes.* 84.4 and *Vesp.* 19, like Dion. Hal. 7.72.12 (see *infra*) offer significant evidence. I am perplexed about Diod. Sic. *exc.* 31.25.2 in this context.

[97] [66.3] Democharis, *FGrH* 75 F 2 Ath. 6.253c d; Herter (n. 90) 1680, 43f. On phallic processions and ritual insult, cf. A. Pickard Cambridge, *Dithyramb, Tragedy and Comedy* (Oxford 1962²) 132ff.

[98] [66.4] Cf. Callixenus, *FGrH* 627 F 2 Ath. 5.197c ff.; E. E. Rice, *Grand Procession of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Oxford 1983) appears to offer no specific comment on the role of satyrs.

I do not wish to suggest a single explanation to cover these three cases: it is possible that Romans had witnessed a Greek wedding in Campania before the monarchy (on traditional dating) was fifty years old; Rome was already involved with Lucanians, Tarentines, and Alexander the Molossian when Demetrius entered Athens (294). On the other hand, early contacts apart, it need be no matter for surprise if Attic countrymen use a para-legal method of redress similar to *occentatio* or if both peoples employ lewd jokes at weddings. Nor should we rule out the possibility that some account of Demetrius' *aduentus* might have influenced Greek accounts of the Roman triumph.

[66/67] We come at last to our two classic problems. Scholars have realized for over a century now[99] that surviving accounts of the origins of drama in central Italy are substantially of Varronian origin[100] and that behind Varro there stands above all the account of Eratosthenes of the origins of Greek comedy.[101] Thus when the merry descendants of Theseus *mollibus in pratis unctos saluere per utres*, the detail is explicitly both Eratosthenic[102] and Varronian, though we have learned that the game is not called ἀσκωλιασμός.[103] Only Virgil and Cornutus connect this romp with the Rural Dionysia; the precise parallelism which Virgil establishes between Dionysia and Compitalia[104] is itself Varronian in origin.[105] Just the same *iter* exists for the Virgilian *caper omnibus aris caeditur*, via Varro to Eratosthenes,[106] for the familiar, but non-Aristotelian etymology of *tragoedia.*[107]

[67/68] Our standard texts on the origin of the Roman theatre repeat, then, what remains of a first-century BC reconstruction, heavily influenced by research undertaken a couple of centuries previously on the origins of Attic drama.[108]

[99] [67.1] F. Leo, *Hermes* 24 (1889) 76ff.; cf. the surveys of earlier work along similar lines in G. L. Hendrickson, *AJPhil.* 15 (1894) 3f. and P. L. Schmidt, in *Studien zur vorliterarischen Periode* (n. 3) 78ff. n. 3.

[100] [67.2] No trace of Accius, *pace* Hendrickson. For some recent discussions, cf. J. H. Waszink, *Vig. Chr.* 2 (1948) 224ff.; C. O. Brink, in *Varron* (Vandoeuvres Genève 1962, *Entretiens Hardt* 9), 175ff.; Schmidt (n. 99) 134; B. Reischl (n. 14) 166ff. The question of which work(s) of Varro are involved need not be faced here: cf. Brink, 180; Schmidt, *op. cit.*, 115 n. 98; Brink on Hor. *Epist.* 2, p. 180. Of course an Augustan author's use of Varro need not (see Brink on Hor. *Epist.* 2, p. 476 n. 1) ever exclude direct consultation of (e.g.) Eratosthenes, an author much esteemed at Rome: see E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London 1985) *passim.*

[101] [67.3] Cf. Brink, *Horace on Poetry* (Cambridge 1963) 119; Brink on Hor. *Ars P.*, pp. 273f., 310f.

[102] [67.4] Virg. *G.* 2, 384; Erat. *Erig.* fr. 22 Powell, with F. Solmsen, *TAPA* 78, 1947, 252ff.; Varr. *De vita* fr. 23 Rip. with K. Meuli, *MH* 12 (1955) 229ff.

[103] [67.5] K. Latte, *Hermes* 85 (1957) 385f.; cf. also J. Taillardat's comm. on Suet. *Περὶ παιδιῶν*, Paris 1967, 170f.

[104] [67.6] D. Whitehead, *Demes of Attica* (Princeton 1986) 212ff.; Cornutus *N.D.* 30. On the parallelism *G.* 2, 380 4: 385 9: cf. Meuli (n. 102) 206ff., decisively. On Dionysia and Compitalia: Brink on Hor. *Epist.* 2, p. 181; Meuli, 218.

[105] [67.7] Diom. *De poemat.* 9.2, p. 488, 3ff., fr. 305 Fun.; Meuli (n. 102) 223, 228; Waszink (n. 100) 232.

[106] [67.8] Virg. *G.* 2.380f.; Erat. *ap.* (Hyg.) *astr.* 2.4, with F. Solmsen, *TAPA* 78 (1947) 259f.; Varr. fr. 304 Fun. Diom. p. 487, 11.

[107] [67.9] Brink on Hor. *Ars P.* p. 273.

[108] [68.1] The Etruscan material too is better understood than when Leo and Hendrickson wrote: see O. Szemerenyi, *Hermes* 103 (1975) 300ff., on the passage from Greek to Latin via Etruscan of the words

It is quite unnecessary to offer yet another guided tour to the whole problem and I select only two striking examples of calqued details.

First, in Horace's account of the rural origins of drama, among the *agricolae prisci, Fescennina per hunc inuecta licentia morem uersibus alternis opprobria rustica fudit* (*Epist.* 2.1.145f.). Much the same in Virgil and in Livy.[109] This is strongly reminiscent of Greek writing on the origins of the *iambus*.[110] Moreover, in both Greek and Roman traditions on theatrical history, rustic *licentia* or *parrhesia* was (allegedly) made subject in the end to legal restrictions. The real facts are unimportant, not so the close parallelism (not to say, interaction!) of Greek and Roman accounts.[111]

Secondly, satyrs, important even if they do not (cf. n. 113) lead to satyr drama: in the complex patchwork of Dionysius 7.71f., segments of Fabius Pictor are interwoven with Augustan expansions and comments.[112] At 7.72.10 we read of the *pompa circensis* οἱ τῶν σατυριστῶν ἐπόμπευον χοροὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν εἰδοφοροῦντες σίκιννιν: the last four words are printed by Jacoby as Dionysius', what precedes as Fabius'. After a description of the dancers' dress, containing elements from both authors,[113] Dionysius continues (Loeb trans.): 'the triumphal [68/69] entrances also show that raillery and fun-making in the manner of satyrs (11 τὴν κέρτομον καὶ σατυρικὴν παιδιάν) were an ancient practice native to the Romans.' In evidence, Dionysius cites the *triumphales ioci* already discussed, 'in the same manner as those who ride in procession in carts at Athens'.[114] That is not enough for Dionysius, now under full sail: 'and even' he continues 'at the funerals of illustrious persons I have seen … bands of dancers impersonating satyrs', τοὺς σατυριστῶν χορούς, once again dancing the σίκιννις (Dionysius, not Fabius). This σατυρικὴ παιδιὰ καὶ ὄρχησις was, he concludes, triumphantly, a Greek εὕρημα, not Ligurian, or Umbrian, or of any other barbarians who dwelt in Italy (Dionysius, not Fabius, clearly).[115] The repeated emphasis on massive Greek elements in

scaena, *persona*, *ludius*, *Histrio*. The linguistic facts (Szemerenyi, 317) 'rule out a proper Greek play for the period before Andronicus'. This discussion appears quite misunderstood at Wiseman (n. 3) 137.

[109] [68.2] Schmidt (n. 99) 92; Reischl (n. 14) 176f., Brink on Hor. *Epist.* 2, p. 192.

[110] [68.3] Cf. Pollux on the origin of the cognate ἴθυμβος (4.104, West (n. 85, 1974), 23): ποίημα ἐπὶ χλεύῃ καὶ γέλωτι συγκείμενον.

[111] [68.4] Brink on Hor. *Ars P.* 273f.; id., on *Epist.* 2, pp. 145, 147; Schmidt (n. 99) 114; Cole (n. 3) 379.

[112] [68.5] Cf. Gabba (n. 14, 1991) 89, 135; Versnel (n. 96) 96f.; J. P. Thuiller *MÉFRA* 87 (1975) 579ff. Wiseman notes correctly (n. 113) 7 n. 50 that the text must be studied in *FGrH* 809 F 13, where Jacoby distinguishes typographically between FP and DH.

[113] [69.1] This is not the place to offer a general discussion of T. P. Wiseman's amusing but unconvincing 'Satyrs in Rome', *JRS* 78 (1988) 1ff. On play titles (Wiseman, 2 3) cf. rather Brink on Hor. *Ars P.* 275.

[114] [69.2] Fluck (n. 95) 34ff.; Brink on Hor. *Ars P.* 276, who notes that the 'wagon of Thespis' is known from Hor. alone; however, jokes ἐκ τῶν ἁμαξῶν are attested for Anthesteria and Lenaea: Brink, *loc. cit.*; A. Pickard Cambridge, *Dramatic Festivals* 2/3 (Oxford 1988) 12 n. 4, 36; id., *Dithyramb,…* (n. 97) 82.

[115] [69.3] Wiseman (n. 113) 7, 10; Versnel (n. 96) 97, 100, 380.

apparently traditional Roman ritual is characteristic of Dionysius' well-known ideology ('Rome's original Greek character': Gabba (n. 14, 1991) 134), even when the facts themselves are refractory to the interpretation offered.[116] Just how far the Hellenizing interpretation offered in Dionysius was already shared by Fabius is not clear[117] but the two historians did have a common interest in underscoring the 'Greek' character of Roman institutions. If that meant (e.g.) identifying Fauni, Silvani, or Luperci with Satyrs,[118] the leap was not great, and it was made often enough.[119] Fabius, then, knew of figures in the *pompa circensis* whom it was most
[69/70] convenient to describe in Greek as σατυρισταί. Whether they were satyr-dances authentic even by Athenian standards we can hardly say: it is no discredit to Fabius if, writing in an adopted language and with a case to make, he slides, after the manner of Plutarch, Diodorus, or Verrius (cf. n. 119), from like to like. Dionysius himself, if we follow Jacoby's distinctions with care, then seizes the opportunity with enthusiasm, in the *pompa circensis* the σατυρισταί dance a σίκιννις; at funerals σατυρισταί and σίκιννις again; in the triumph, satyr-like jest and mockery. Dionysius is right[120] to see similarities between the three processions, though they are more probably not of Greek (so Dionysius) but of Etruscan (so Versnel (n. 96)) origin. Could Dionysius also have known that satyr-dancers had featured in the great public rituals of the Hellenistic world (cf. nn. 97 and 98)? Fabius' (or Dionysius') juxtaposition or synthesizing of rituals is perfectly in keeping with the movement of armies, scholars, books, and customs across the Hellenistic Mediterranean (cf. Versnel (n. 96) 386f.). In this field, intelligent ancient interpretations are, as I have already suggested, a good deal more interesting than the truth.

Inevitably, we reach in the end the *carmina conuiualia*.

It was noted by H. Dahlmann[121] that between our earliest *testimonia* for the *carmina* (Cato *Orig.* fr. 118 P.) and Dicaearchus, *Περὶ μουσικῶν ἀγώνων*[122] there existed very close parallels. Cato laments that *morem apud maiores hunc epularum fuisse*. So, correctly, Momigliano:[123] for Cato, the *carmina* belonged to the bygone past. A void, therefore, which Cato fills with details drawn from Dicaearchus (so Dahlmann). This argument, which we see to be entirely justifiable and in keeping with the re-creation of Rome's pre-literary forms as we have examined them, is

[116] [69.4] Gabba (n. 14, 1991) 135, after J. P. Thuiller (n. 112) 563ff.

[117] [69.5] Thuiller (n. 112) 580; Wiseman (n. 113) 7 n. 50: cf. also A. D. Momigliano (n. 116) 397ff. *Rend. Linc.* S. 8.15 (1960) 310ff. (*Terzo contributo*), *atque etiam alibi*.

[118] [69.6] A. Piganiol, *Recherches sur les jeux romains* (Paris 1923) 22f.

[119] [69.7] Paul. Fest. p. 86, 23f. L.; with J. Préaux, *Latomus* 25 (1966) 713f. for a similar *modus operandi*; cf. likewise Plut. *Num.* 15.3; Diod. Sic. 5.28.2. 'A satyr' was handy visual shorthand.

[120] [70.1] Versnel (n. 96) 96f., 100.

[121] [70.2] Dahlmann (n. 8); Pasquali (n. 66) 152; Wiseman (n. 3) 134; Momigliano (n. 4) 79ff.; Zorzetti (n. 3 *bis*), Cole and Phillips (n. 3); Wille (n. 76) 141, and in *Studien* (n. 3) 141; D. Timpe, in *Vergangenheit* (n. 5) 266f.

[122] [70.3] Fr. 88 *Suda* s.v. *Skolion*: see F. Wehrli, *Die Schule des Aristoteles*, 1 (Basel 1944).

[123] [70.4] Momigliano (n. 121) 110.

often, these days, jeered out of court.[124] But life is a little less easy than that and [70/71]
uncomprehending mockery carries less weight as a learned argument than is sometimes supposed. Cato, we should remember, read widely in the Greek historians[125] and both he (*Orig.* frr. 118–20 P.) and Dicaearchus (*loc. cit.*) are interested in table customs in the best Hellenistic ethnographic tradition.[126] So too Varro, *De uita*, whose very title is a translation of Dicaearchus' *βίος Ἑλλάδος*. Now when Cato (fr. 118 P. = Cic. *Tusc.* 1.3.4.3) says that the diners *canerent ad tibiam*, while in the third type of symposiac song those best able sang to the lyre,[127] that might suggest that at least the use of the flute is no calque; flute-players there might be at Greek *συμπόσια*, but they had nothing to do with the formal singing of *σκόλια* by the guests.[128] But Cato's reference to songs about *clarorum uirorum laudes atque uirtutes* corresponds precisely to the usage of the Athenian *σκόλια*[129]—and to that of various other cultures (Bremmer, in *Sympotica* cit. (n. 3)). In the *Brutus*, Cicero[130] refers to the *carmina* as *cantitata a singulis conuiuis*: so Dicaearchus fr. 88 on the *σκόλια* sung *καθ' ἕνα ἑξῆς*. Valerius Maximus adds, perhaps after Cato (cf. Momigliano (n. 4) *art. cit.* 109) that the *egregia superiorum opera* were sung *quo ad ea imitanda iuuentutem alacriorem redderent*,[131] an intent corresponding to that of the boys' songs in various societies, including that of the [71/72]
Arcadians.[132] Varro, *De uita* fr. 88, differs from Cato: the discrepancy is rightly played down by Momigliano ((n. 4) *art. cit.* 110) and should really not have been used as a means to impugn the very existence of the *carmina*. According to Varro, *pueri modesti* sang *carmina antiqua, in quibus laudes erant maiorum, et assa uoce et cum tibicine.* That boys should have sung is entirely[133] in keeping with Greek usage and it is hardly likely that Dicaearchus should not at some point have said so: after all, with the miserable fragments of information that remain to us, we can still ourselves say as much with certainty. We should not forget two passages of

[124] [70.5] Zorzetti (n. 3 *bis*); those who reply to Zorzetti (Phillips and Cole (n. 3)) have themselves edged nervously away from Dahlmann's scepticism. Of course (so Wiseman (n. 3) 133ff.) the *carm. conuiu.* and funeral songs could have been used (e.g.) for the transmission of myth. We do not and cannot know that they were.

[125] [71.1] E. Rawson, *CAH* VIII², 452f., 460; Leo (n. 72) 293, 327f.; A. E. Astin, *Cato the Censor* (Oxford 1978) 222, 227f., 229f.

[126] [71.2] Trüdinger (n. 84) *index* s.v. *Lebensweise.*

[127] [71.3] Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 1231; Plut. *Mor.* 615b, after Dicaearchus (cf. Wehrli's comm. on frr. 88 9); cf. Aly, 'Skolion' *RE* 5A:560.41ff.; Page, *PMG*, pp. 472 82; C. M. Bowra, *Greek Lyric Poetry* (Oxford 1961²) 373ff.; Harvey (n. 87) 162f., 174f.; J. N. Bremmer, in *Sympotica* (n. 3), 138.

[128] [71.4] Xen. *Symp.* 2 *passim*, 3, 1; and the contributions of Pellizer (177ff.) and Fehr (185ff.) to *Sympotica* (n. 3).

[129] [71.5] Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 1, 97; and the passages cited by Aristotle in the *Ath. Pol.*; cf. Bremmer (n. 127) for Persian, Arcadian, and Anglo Saxon parallels, and also Cole (n. 3) for some interesting remarks on the brevity of the surviving *σκόλια* and the bearing this might have had on the 'form' of the *carm. conuiu.*

[130] [71.6] Cic. *Brut.* 75 *atque utinam extarent ea carmina*: they were not unlike much else reinvented in the second century BC; we had to wait until Macaulay's *Lays.*

[131] [71.7] Val. Max. 2.1.9; cf. Sall. *Iug.* 4.5 on the function of the *imagines maiorum.*

[132] [72.1] Bremmer (n. 127); Polyb. 4.20.8.

[133] [72.2] Bremmer (n. 127); Momigliano (n. 4) 110.

Dionysius: 1.79.10 Romulus and Remus are still mentioned *ἐν πατρίοις ὕμνοις*.[134] The language does not suggest a reference to the *carmina conuiualia*, and there is no reason to doubt Dionysius' remark. Even Horace's *carmen saeculare* (5.47) would justify the observation! At 8.62.3, Dionysius says of Coriolanus that his memory has not perished *ἀλλὰ ᾄδεται καὶ ὑμνεῖται* by all as a pious and just man: again, the language is entirely inconclusive, even to a committed believer in the existence of the *carmina conuiualia*.[135] Whether I too 'believe' has not yet been made clear.

It is no surprise (*pace* Wiseman (n. 3) 134) that we find close analogies between Greek archaic poetry and our *testimonia* on the *carmina*. Those *testimonia*, whether we like it or not, are heavily influenced, as are the *testimonia* for so many other pre-literary forms, by Hellenistic accounts of analogous Greek usage. Cato's reference to the *tibia* must stand pretty much alone as the mainstay of any formal defence of the independence of the learned tradition on the *carmina*. The two sets of symposiac pottery lately discovered near Rome are perforce voiceless (Horsfall (n. 9) 792). If from Cato on, our sources lament the demise of the *carmina* and if virtually all the details preserved in the learned tradition can be shown to conform to Greek usage and in almost all cases to derive from extant
[72/73] Greek scholarship on the *συμπόσιον*, then it seems to me incautious and ingenuous to say that we do actually know something about the *carmina*. Perhaps they existed; certainly, to quote Momigliano ((n. 4) 112) 'the Roman historical tradition is singularly rich in figures and episodes that would make good historical ballads'. If the Romans really sang historical songs at their banquets, they would have conformed to a very widespread usage. But we have little choice but to admit that we really and truly do not know. It is a pity that those who still write on the *carmina* and, worse still, on the *carmina* and early Roman history do not study more closely ancient Greek scholarship on the *συμπόσιον*.

Our topic was never neat, simple, and orderly: it is, if anything, less so now. If a truly pre-Greek phase in the development of Latin religion, law, and pre-literary forms is no longer a chronologically acceptable hypothesis and if our literary tradition on those pre-literary forms (and for that matter on Italian mythology) is profoundly affected by Greek scholarship[136] it remains true (and the fact is rather more striking than it was before) that we do have, along with a few elements of indigenous central Italian myth, a number of pre-literary forms where Roman

[134] [72.3] Wille (n. 76) 47; Momigliano (n. 4) 111.

[135] [72.4] Wille (n. 76) 142; Momigliano (n. 4) 111; Whether (*pace* Zorzetti (n. 3) *art. cit.* 313) the *carmen* of Appius Claudius Caecus has anything to do with the *conuiuium* is (Cole (n. 3) 78) far from clear.

[136] [73.1] When Heraclides Ponticus (late fourth century) defines Rome as a *πόλις Ἑλληνίς* (Plut. *Cam.* 22.2 *FGrH* 840 F 23, fr. 102 Wehrli) he may only refer to the foundation story (Gabba (n. 3) *art. cit.* 13). Her. Pont. after all writes in the 'dark age' between Rome's two great phases of Hellenization. In *art. cit.* 1993 (n. 9) I am rather less cautious.

usage differs strikingly from Greek. The old and often tedious debate on the originality of Roman literature[137] never turned on pre-literary forms, but that originality is now modestly but solidly enlarged: I refer especially to the priestly chronicle, to documents on linen, to family archives, and without much conviction to the *laudatio funebris*.

What then was the effect of the economic and cultural crisis of the fifth to fourth centuries, during which Greek influence was seriously reduced, though not, as I have argued elsewhere (cf. n. 9 *art. cit.* 795f.) by any means eliminated? When T. Cole[138] writes 'perhaps we should speak, in a Roman context, of an embryonic symposial culture arrested (as in Crete) or aborted (as in Sparta)', I recognize interesting and provocative analogies.[139] But it is hardly fair of Cole to 'link the phenomenon to a certain cultural puritanism [73/74] under the early Republic'. He knows that Greek imports declined: war, poverty, and threatened trade-routes seem sufficient explanation without invoking outraged moral sentiment, in a period when, after all, numerous Greek cults were imported.[140] The pre-literary forms here discussed are short on chronological contexts.[141] We do not know if they sang *carmina* at Numa's birthday *conuiuium*; we do not know if there was a *laudatio* at his funeral; we certainly do not know if his descendants kept a copy of his will. Just the same doubts might be expressed if we moved forward to Brutus the Liberator, or even as far as Camillus; by the time we reach Appius Claudius Caecus, the answer (cf. Plin. *HN* 35.12) is at last in part securely positive. Thus we have simply no idea when the Romans began, if they began, to sing the *carmina conuiualia* or whether the 'dark age' of the fifth to fourth centuries really arrested their growth. Cato's evidence would suggest that by the time of the first Punic War, they were no longer in use.

Few dates, therefore, and few facts either: the solid Hellenistic framework established for much of Rome's literary prehistory does not necessarily invalidate the little we thought we knew.[142] We have learned only that there is even more that we can never know for sure; if that does not satisfy today's *Zukunftsphilologen*, so be it. When Roman antiquaries and grammarians turned to Greek models to

[137] [73.2] Cf. Horsfall, *L'epopea in alambicco*, Naples 1991, 67, n. 1 for some bibliography.

[138] [73.3] Cole (n. 3) 380.

[139] [73.4] With Rome's rise under the late monarchy, to prosperity, power, and a great flowering of art, we might want to compare Epirus under Pyrrhus or Macedon under Philip.

[140] [74.1] Cf. the *lectisternia* of 399.

[141] [74.2] But note the phases in the Varronian history of the theatre (Schmidt (n. 99) 129). Cf. Frier (n. 5) 107ff. on the pontifical *tabula* for the regal period.

[142] [74.3] Dahlmann (n. 8) 1198, 1200, after all goes further than I do in his scepticism. On the febrile hunting after new methods provoked by dissatisfaction with traditional philology, cf. R. F. Thomas, ed. Virg *G.*, 1, p. 22; id., *LCM* 17 (1992) 109 and 51 n. 3. But it is hard for one neither bored nor dissatisfied to sympathize with those who are both. There is of course a distinction between a sane and necessary pursuit of progress and a Gadarene rush after the latest innovation.

describe their own literary prehistory, that suggests not natural indolence or cultural subservience, but sources either hopelessly confused and intractable or
[74/75] altogether wanting,[143] and where Cato and Varro are driven to embroider with borrowed materials, I should be reluctant to cry *haec tamen omnia nos pro certo habemus*![144]

[143] [74.4] Cf. *RMM* 9 for a closely analogous conclusion about the effects of the lack of traditional mythological material.

[144] [75.1] This paper was delivered as a lecture in memory of Otto Skutsch at Göttingen on 25.11.1993. I am most grateful to my kind hosts and to my lively audiences there, and at Basel, Bern, Amsterdam, Mainz, Konstanz, and Saarbrücken for the good natured challenges to which they subjected my approach.

30
Rome without spectacles

This is not a paper about Christianity and the decline of theatre and amphitheatre: perhaps, like another transported Englishman, W. V. Harris, I should have learned to say 'eye-glasses',[1] but, as it is, I would like to examine some of the problems that surround reading and writing at Rome. In a recent paper, R. J. Starr offers a useful survey of the material on *lectores*,[2] a term that can mean both one who reads a text (Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.35), and, like *anagnostes*, one who reads aloud to others as his principal activity. Starr's paper suggests, *passim*, an author aware that his topic could well have wider implications, as it most certainly does. The history of books, reading, writing, and research in antiquity is a fascinating topic, endlessly rich and complex in its ramifications, as witness the debate on W. V. Harris's *Literacy*[3] and the work of Guglielmo Cavallo.[4]

Thus Starr notes in passing that '*lectores* might also serve the function of modern eyeglasses' ((n. 2) 343; cf. Harris (n. 1) 15), while to Harris defective sight reduces literacy levels because it cannot be corrected by suitable lenses, which are a product of the late Middle Ages;[5] the only apparent reference to an optical lens in the Roman world is probably nothing of the kind.[6] The Elder Pliny remarks on short sight and long sight;[7] weak sight and good sight are mentioned among the variables of human existence,[8] just as failing sight is listed among the many ills of old age.[9] But at Rome the problem is in fact more complicated, because of *lippitudo*, too often and unhelpfully translated 'blear-eyed'. Noun and adjective (*lippus*) refer to various forms of ophthalmia, extremely common at Rome,[10] which, as we shall see, significantly reduced the ability to read and write.

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[1] W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge Mass. 1989) 15. [2] *CJ* 86 (1990–1) 337–43.
[3] Cf. *Literacy in the Roman World* (*JRA* Suppl. 3, 1991) for eight essays in reaction to Harris.
[4] G. Cavallo, in *Princeps Urbium* (Milano 1991) 171ff.; id., in *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica* 2 (Roma 1989) 307ff.; id. (ed.), *Libri, editori e pubblico nel mondo antico* (Roma–Bari 1977); id. (ed.), *Le biblioteche nel mondo antico e medievale* (Roma–Bari 1988); id., in (ed. P. Rossi), *La memoria del sapere* (Roma–Bari 1988) 29ff.
[5] C. Singer, etc., *History of Technology* 3 (Oxford 1957) 229ff.
[6] On Plin. *HN* 37.64, see R. J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 5² (Leiden 1966) 190.
[7] Plin. *HN* 11.53f.; G. Penso, *La médecine romaine* (Paris 1984) 397ff.
[8] Cic. *Fin.* 4.65; Sen. *Nat.* 7.11.3, 1.3.7, 8.
[9] Celsus 6.32; Plin. *HN* 7.168; Juv. 10.198–9, with Mayor's note.
[10] Penso (n. 7), p. 404; Kind, 'Lippitudo', *RE* 13.1:723ff.; G. Ovio, *L'oculistica ai tempi dell' impero romano* (Roma 1940).

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It is worth dwelling briefly on some technical helps to the reader and writer at Rome:

(i) According to Quintilian (10.3.31) *scribi optime ceris*, because it is easiest to correct on the wax tablet; *nisi forte uisus infirmior membranarum potius usum exiget*. But though parchment helps the sight, writing with pen and ink stays the hand and breaks the flow of thought, because the pen needs to be dipped. Hard to believe, unless you started writing before ball-point and fountain pens were tolerated at school!

[49/50] (ii) Vitruvius is well aware of the ideal orientation for a private library.[11] Very nice, if you had one, if your architect had remembered that morning light was best, if your heaviest intellectual commitments did not occur during the winter, when Roman hours of daylight are very short,[12] and if you were free to write and read mostly in your own library!

(iii) If not daylight, then oil lamps:[13] 'the lamp' becomes symbolic of prolonged study, research, careful composition, even of too much hard work as a substitute for inspiration.[14] It is a pleasure to work with a pair of modern oil-lamps, with regulated wicks and glass cylinders: such refinements were not available at Rome. St Jerome complains in old age that he cannot read Hebrew *ad nocturnum lumen.*[15] I shall cite rather more than is usual among classicists from the Latin Fathers and from Jerome in particular, because he is even more informative than Cicero and the younger Pliny about the minutiae of reading, writing, and research.[16] Surprisingly little had changed:[17] the Fathers of the Church used monks and pious youths when Cicero, Atticus, or Varro turned to slaves or freedmen.

Now if the *lector* or *anagnostes* read to you (or to you and others),[18] then the clerk (*scriba*, *librarius*) or stenographer (*notarius*) took your dictation. We shall have to bear in mind the controversial development of the word *dictare* itself, from 'dictate' to 'compose' (cf. the German *Dichtung*!). When Lucilius is said to dictate two hundred verses in an hour, standing on one foot (Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.10), Horace

[11] Vitr. 1.2.7, 6.4.1; Dziatzko, 'Bibliotheken' *RE* 3.1:421.42ff.; C. Callmer, *Op. Arch.* 3 (1944) 187; H. Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike* (München 1992) 183.

[12] J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (London 1969) 16.

[13] Forbes (n. 6) 6², 151ff.; W. A. Becker, *Gallus* (Eng. tr. London 1898) 308ff.

[14] Juv. 1.51, 7.99 (with Mayor's notes); R. Tosi, *Dizionario delle sentenze* (Milano 1991) 19, 218f. (a very useful compendium).

[15] Migne, *PL* 25.199B (*In Ezech.* Lib. 7, *praef.*).

[16] Further to the bibliography collected in *Literacy* (n. 3) 75 n. 99, cf. G. Kloeters, *Buch und Schrift bei Hieronymus* (diss. Münster 1957), and J. Scheele, *Bibliothek und Wissenschaft* 12 (1978) 14 114.

[17] Cf. my *Virgilio*, *L'epopea in alambicco* (Napoli 1991) 35.

[18] Starr (n. 2) 340; K. Quinn, *ANRW* 2.30.1 (1982) 87; for *dictare*, cf. Quinn 86, 17, 167f.; Brink on Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.110.

himself, recounting another version of the same vignette (1.10.60f.: two hundred before *cena*, two hundred more after, and we might wish to think that, unlike many, he broke off while actually eating!), warns us against drawing any very precise conclusions. The younger Pliny dictates a text already carefully weighed up (*Ep.* 9.36.2, 40.2) and may indeed do so several times over while working on the same opus. When Horace (*Sat.* 1.10.92, *Ep.* 1.10.49) wishes us to think he is 'dictating', he is clearly to be thought of as doing so from a carefully meditated text. Not so the *lutulentus* Lucilius. Not so Jerome, either: for all his love of Latin and of stylistic excellence,[19] the pressures of time and the demands of doctrinal controversy lead to signs of haste in the dictated text, to words omitted, and to errors of grammar.[20] It is one thing to correct and to write memorably, quite another, when the stenographer is poised and you are embarrassed to stay silent, *dictare quodcumque in buccam ueniat*; Quintilian had made almost exactly the same point: your brain is slower than your scribe's hand. Enough to damn the fad (*deliciae*) of composition by dictation.[21] If confirmation were needed, there is Ambrose of Milan: he did his own writing, remarks his biographer (Paul. *Vit. Amb.* 38.2); at least at night, when he prefers not to disturb his clerks (*Ep.* 47.1); [50/51] when alone, he can ponder with ears and eyes what he writes (*Ep.* 47.2).[22] There had been shorthand writers present at least some of the time in the senate during the late Republic;[23] composition prepared but improvised, taken down by one or more shorthand writers, is natural to a great preacher of the age of St Augustine, or to an embattled prelate during a fifth-century council.[24]

But dictation was also indispensable for the daily business of letter-writing, particularly so, when ophthalmia struck:

Cic. *Q.Fr.* 2.2.1: *non occupatione, qua eram sane impeditus, sed paruula lippitudine adductus sum ut dictarem hanc epistulam et non, ut ad te soleo, ipse scriberem.*

Cic. *Att.* 8.13.1: *lippitudinis meae signum tibi sit librari manus* (cf. 8.12.1).

Cic. *Att.* 10.14.1: *lippitudo haec, propter quam non ipse ad te scribo.*

Cic. *Att.* 10.17.2: *lippitudo . . . quae impediat scriptionem meam.*

[19] H. Hagendahl, *Jahrb. für Antike und Christentum* 14 (1971) 32; id., *Von Tertullian zu Cassiodor* (Göteborg 1983) 58, etc.

[20] Hagendahl (n. 19, 1971) 32f.; E. Arns, *La technique du livre d'après Saint Jérôme* (Paris 1953) 47ff.

[21] Jer. *Comm. in Abdiam* 20f.; Migne, *PL* 25.1118A, Arns (n. 20) 47f., Hagendahl (n. 19, 1971) 32, Quinn (n. 18) 85.

[22] Hagendahl (n. 19, 1971) 36.

[23] Ibid., 24; P. Willems, *Le sénat de la république romaine* 2 (Louvain, 1883) 204ff.

[24] Hagendahl (n. 19); R. J. Defarrari, *AJPhil.* 43 (1922), 97ff.; H. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores* (Amsterdam 1985); E. Tengström, *Die Protokollierung der Collatio Carthaginiensis* (Göteborg 1962).

We do not take Roman etiquette seriously enough. An autograph letter was a sign of respect and affection.[25] Atticus and Quintus Cicero merited letters in Cicero's own hand (cf. *Q.Fr.* 3.3.1), as Cicero did in Atticus', except when the latter was ill (*Att.* 7.2.3). When the younger Pliny thanks Cornutus for a chicken, he can see it's nice and fat despite his *lippitudo*, which is so bad that he has travelled in a closed vehicle, and neither reads nor writes, but only listens to a *lector* (*Ep.* 7.21.1). In 383, Jerome writes to Pope Damasus[26] *ignosce dolentibus oculis, id est ignosce dictanti*, and in E. Arns's splendid book ((n. 20) 42ff.; cf. Kloeters (n. 16) 38ff.), we can follow the numerous references to dictation imposed on a terrifyingly productive polemicist not only by the needs of speed but by frequent bouts of eye-trouble. Jerome did, after all,[27] work a great deal by night, beside a smoking lamp!

It might once have been enough to stop there, having offered a small new medical sidelight on ancient writing habits, but the use of the reader and the secretary[28] raises some rather broader questions. At this point, they also need to be distinguished more fully. The secretary, whether in shorthand or not, was an instrument of the active life. Julius Caesar inevitably stars in Pliny's Book of Records (*HN* 7; engrossing): not only could he read, dictate, and listen (i.e., write and read) simultaneously, but could keep four secretaries busy at the same time (ch. 91). The story[29] is not quite unique: it may, like the man holding four telephones, have had a long history as an image of parodied hyperactivity. But we may compare Caesar's composition of the two books *de analogia inter tela uolantia*, though that may only mean 'on campaign' (Fronto 224.15 van den
[51/52] Hout) (see below). Not even his many detractors accused Jerome of dictating two theological works at once; Augustine was not interested in the mechanics of his work and barely mentioned dictation.[30]

Ancient dictation had several of the advantages of the portable telephone, or dictaphone. You could dictate as you walked;[31] 'so many letters to dictate to others', grumbles Cicero, 'that for the first time I have had to do so to you, dear Atticus; I am taking a walk to refresh my poor voice'—but he manages a page to his friend all the same. With two days' travel ahead, Cicero can likewise dictate from his *raeda* (*Att.* 5.17.1). The elder Pliny did so *in itinere* (see below), and while travelling round Rome in a *sella*; his nephew carried on while in the country for the harvest (*Ep.* 9.20.2). You could dictate letters at dinner, and not only at your

[25] Cf. my note on Nep. *Att.* 10.4; A. B. Miller, *Roman Etiquette* (diss. U. Pennsylvania 1914) 61f.
[26] Migne, *PL* 22.394, 1.142.11 Hilberg.
[27] Arns (n. 20) 42ff.; Kloeters (n. 16) 38ff. for the medical history; Arns, 44f.; Kloeters, 36f. for the lamp. It is doubtful whether Jerome wrote anything *manu sua* except for a few letters: Hagendahl (n. 19, 1971) 32; Arns 39; cf. my note in *Tria Lustra. Essays in Honour of J. Pinsent* (Liverpool 1993) 321f.
[28] Not so long ago 'typewriter' was used in the sense of 'typist'; *OED* cites examples from the years 1884 95.
[29] Cic. *Brut.* 87; Quinn (n. 18) 85.
[30] Hagendahl (n. 19, 1971) 35 n. 95.
[31] Cic. *Q.Fr.* 3.3.1, 2.23.1.

own table.[32] Poetry too, if the mood took.[33] The evidence shades into composition over the empty plates (and full cups),[34] and into poetry recitals at dinner.[35] The elder Pliny, a man seriously given to high-minded, learned, and copious literary production, found ingenious ways of extending the time available for dictation: at table (3.5.11), while sunbathing (3.5.10), while travelling[36] in winter, with a *notarius* specially equipped with mittens (3.5.15); the *notarius* had both *liber* and *pugillares*, so could read aloud too.[37] Pliny himself listened to a reader *aut aliquid dictabat* while being scraped or rubbed down; not, that is, while actually in the pool, specifies his admiring nephew (3.5.14). He continued to dictate his observations during the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 (6.16.10), and filled in all 160 rolls of *commentarii*.[38] The nephew recalls the uncle's remark *poteras has horas non perdere* and comments *nam perire omne tempus arbitrabatur quod studiis non impenderetur* (3.5.16).

Much more work has been done on *lectores* than on dictation; it is not clear why. Thus we already know a great deal about readings of poetry during dinner;[39] reading too during walks (Plin. *Ep.* 3.1.4 f.), while travelling (see n. 37), on holiday,[40] and as an aid to falling asleep.[41] I do not doubt that such a survey, like that for dictation, could be extended, but that would be *otium*, and this is not. The slave who reads to his master, or takes dictation, or does both is in close mental contact with his hearer[42] or with the giver of dictation.[43] That real human relationships developed between such slaves and their masters is not at all surprising;[44] Cicero's slave *anagnostes* Dionysius, though, took advantage of the excellent opportunities offered and turned book-thief and runaway (*Fam.* 5.9.2, 13.77.3).

The use of slaves to read and write for their masters, to alleviate the practical and medical problems already surveyed, and to free the master's hands for feeding, or for handling other documents, his eyes for ogling or for other reading, and his throat for wine or speech is closely related to their role as research assistants, not always reliable ones, as Quintilian remarks of the younger Seneca's (10.1.129). [52/53]

Here we come to a delicate problem: how much of their own research did Rome's great statesmen and authors actually carry out themselves? I doubt that a

[32] Cic. *Fam.* 9.26.1, 14.21.4, *Q.Fr* 3.1.19., *Att.* 15.13 a.1, 27.3; W. Drumann, *Geschichte Roms* 6² (Leipzig 1929) 353ff.
[33] Pers. 1.51f.; Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.110 with Brink's note; Tac. *Ann.* 14.16.2.
[34] Catullus 50; Petr. 55.2, with Horsfall, *G&R* 36 (1989) 79 [ch. 19, 236 7].
[35] See below and Horsfall (n. 34); also Starr (n. 2) 341.
[36] Cf. Arns (n. 20) 46; Jer. *Ep. ad Fab.* 64.22; Hilb. 1.615.6.
[37] Cf. Cic. *De orat.* 1.136; Sherwin White on *Ep.* 3.5.15; Starr (n. 2) 339.
[38] J. E. Skydsgaard, *Varro the Scholar* (Copenhagen 1968) 102ff.
[39] To n. 35, add my note on Nep. *Att.* 14.1.
[40] Starr (n. 2) 340f.; Plin. *Ep.* 9.20.2.
[41] Starr (n. 2) 342; Suet. *Aug.* 78.2; Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.10.
[42] Cf. the story at Plin. *Ep.* 3.5.12.
[43] Cf. Quint. 10.3.18ff. (highly acute); Starr (n. 2) 337f.
[44] Starr (n. 2) 342; S. Treggiari, *Roman Freedmen* (Oxford 1969) 148.

clear answer is possible, but it may help to set out the problem in outline. Cicero sends Trebatius the solution to a legal conundrum (*Fam.* 7.22): does *notaui* really mean that he found the appropriate text himself, though on his own admission the worse for wine? He has it copied out and sent off. Cicero and Trebatius sit in Cicero's library at Tusculum: *libellos quos uellet euolueret* suggests that there is not even a *lector* present (*Top.* 1.1). Again at his Tusculan villa, Cicero walks over to Lucullus' property to borrow some books himself, *ut solebam* and finds the younger Cato in the library *multis circumfusum Stoicorum libris* (*Fin.* 3.7). The public man as scholar and thinker forms an attractive picture: he may even fetch, unroll, and read his own books. Did Cicero and Cato start reading each other snatches of Cleanthes and Chrysippus? We are toying with an image very well suited to the tone of a proem or to the atmosphere of a philosophical dialogue. When Cicero unlooses upon Atticus a flood of historical enquiries, are we to expect that Atticus did the library work himself (or at least some part of it) or that he used (and directed himself) an expert slave? Sometimes, certainly, the latter.[45] If Cicero asks Atticus for the copy of a book, or to procure a book for copying, it is silently presupposed that of course others will do the actual work.[46] Was the pursuit of books so different from that of the information they contained? At *Att.* 13.33.3 after a lacuna we read *negotium dederis reperiet ex eo libro*. Who? Probably (ibid., below) the invaluable Antiochus. We cannot generalize: the topic, the season, the place, will also have made a difference. The man too: Varro was certainly closer to the elder Pliny[47] than were (e.g.) Cicero and the younger Cato. For Gellius, the mechanics of research were already harder and perhaps more strenuous.[48] Rarely am I in disagreement with my dear and lamented friend Elizabeth Rawson, but when she says[49] that in the late Republic a great many books were available 'to the patient and able-bodied student' I do question the physical side of the description: you need instead the right friends and the right slaves. The change began with the passage from great private to great public libraries, and with the decline in the volume of public business which faced a member of the senatorial class, of literary bent. If he was lazy, life really had become very easy, as the *Laus Pisonis*, which is meant to draw a favourable picture of the young Piso, does not try to disguise.[50]

[53/54] Here we come back to readers and secretaries. Their use in the baths or during a journey is not a matter of antiquarian curiosity. They really do help spare the eyes of the ophthalmia-prone Roman senator. They really do enable him to continue

[45] Treggiari (n. 44) 149 n. 2, citing Cic. *Att.* 13.23.3, 12.22.2; Drumann (n. 32) v. 69f.
[46] Cf. my note on Nep. *Att.* 13.3, with further bibliography, also Horsfall (n. 17) 32.
[47] Skydsgaard (n. 38) *passim*.
[48] Horsfall (n. 17) 34; C. E. Boyd, *Public Libraries and Literary Culture* (Chicago 1915). Gellius' methods unfortunately are not covered in L. Holford Strevens' magisterial *Aulus Gellius* (London 1988). Arns and Kloeters have, as I have indicated, covered the material in St Jerome very fully.
[49] *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London 1985) 44.
[50] E. Champlin, *MH* 46 (1989) 118; Horsfall, *CR* 43 (1993) 268.

his work, public and private, political and literary, in the country and on his travels, in Rome, Italy, and overseas. *Lector* and *notarius* mean that twenty-four hours per day are available for work, if their owner so wishes. My own work on patronage some time ago led me to the conclusion[51] that an important function of the intellectual members of a great man's *comitatus*, from the second century BC on (and the same applies to the imperial suite)[52] was to help pass the time agreeably and intelligently. There was a lot of time to be passed.[53] On the *iter Brundisinum*, the *comitatus* was remarkable; no need, we might think, for a *lector* as well. But Horace is also heavily discreet about the amount of public business discussed or conducted en route: if the *notarii* were kept very busy in this period of crisis, he is not going to tell us.

Readers and secretaries seem to me important and neglected elements in any discussion of *otium* and *negotium*: they extend the range of activity, in space and time, of the public man. An urgent letter can be read at dinner,[54] and a reply written. So too on the road or by the pool! At the same time, once literary activity became a legitimate occupation for that time not occupied by the needs of the state,[55] the public man could carry on with his commitment to letters in those same environments,[56] under almost any circumstances: on duty in the provinces, for example (cf. Hor. *Epist.* 1.3.6), or on campaign.[57] We return, almost inevitably, to the elder Pliny, growling *poteras has horas non perdere*. The Roman who shared his high view, who wanted both uninterrupted *negotium* and well filled *otium* (and some did, as the letters of Cicero and the younger Pliny show), without spectacles, without good oil-lamps, without the fax or the portable telephone, nevertheless managed, given competent *anagnostae* and *notarii*.[58]

[51] Horsfall, *Poets and Patron* (North Ryde (MacQuarie), 1981) 2f.
[52] F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1977) 28ff.
[53] L. Casson, *Travel in the Ancient World* (London 1974) 188ff.
[54] Cic. *Q.Fr.* 3.1.19 (with Shackleton Bailey *ad loc.*).
[55] J. M. André, *L'otium* (Paris 1966) 289ff.; W. A. Schröder's comm. on Cato *Orig.* fr. 2.
[56] Cf. Pliny's account of an average day in the country, *Ep.* 9.36.
[57] Cf. Caes. *BGall.* 1.39.3, and see above for the composition of the *De analogia*.
[58] Good talk after dinner (without *lectores* or *notarii*) with Prof. S. Costanza provoked me to formulate this paper.

31

The cultural horizons of the *Plebs Romana*

Memory and song

It turns out that we have 107 mathematical tables of one sort or another, preserved (at least in part) from Egypt, in hieratic, demotic, Coptic, Greek, almost without exception identified as school texts, not ready reckoners.[1] So at school at Rome: Horace pillories tables of duodecimal fractions, essential for both measures and for the calculation of monthly interest.[2] *Unum et unum duo, duo et duo quattuor* Augustine dismissed as an *odiosa cantio* (*Conf.* 1.13.22). That word is important, for it suggests that the table was learned by chanting: the best way, as the Romans realized,[3] though it also helped (for example) to write out a long text yourself if you had to memorize it.[4] Children chanted back the lines of Virgil they had memorized to teacher;[5] as a result, Augustine's pupil Orosius said the text was *inustum*, branded on the memory.[6] You look again and discover that the learning of the Twelve Tables is called a *carmen necessarium*,[7] and the letters of the alphabet themselves a *canticum*.[8] That suggests a widespread, early training of the memory by means of chanting; multiplication tables do not even necessarily presuppose literacy. And the memory activated in childhood is not slow to find more agreeeable material: at the festival of Anna Perenna (a mass picnic on the Campus Martius) *illic et cantant quicquid didicere theatris et faciles iactant ad sua* [101/102] *uerba manus*.[9] That, first, might tell you something about just how often the man

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[1] D. H. Fowler, *ZPE* 53 (1983) 263 4, *ZPE* 75 (1988) 273 80, *ZPE* 105 (1995) 225 8; cf. Horsfall, *JRA* Suppl. 3 (1991) 64, with further bibl. n. 30.

[2] Horsfall, *G&R* 36 (1989) 204 [ch. 19, 255]; id., (n. 1); Hor. *Ars. P.* 325 30 with Brink's note.

[3] Chanting: Gell. 10.19.2; Lactant. *Div. inst.* 6.10.27; cf. W. J. F. Davies, *Teaching Reading in Early England* (Bath 1973) 73 5; W. J. Ong, *Orality and Literacy* (London 1982) 34.

[4] On Quint. *Inst.* 11.2.32, cf. W. Froll, 'Rhetorik' *RE* Suppl. 7:1097.31 1098.15; R. Blum, *Die antike Mnemotechnik* (Hildesheim 1969) 20, 129 30.

[5] Sen. *Clem.* 1.16.3, *Corpus glossariorum* 3.381.6, 49. S. F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (London 1977), index ss.vv. *memorisation, memory*.

[6] Oros. 1.18; cf. Horsfall, *Atti del convegno mondiale scientifico di studi su Vergilio* 2 (Milano 1984) 47 8, citing Macrob. *Sat.* 1.24.5, *SHA Clod.* 2.

[7] Cic. *Leg.* 2.59. [8] Hieron. *Ep.* 107.4.2; numeracy and literacy: Horsfall (n. 1) 64 8.

[9] 'There too they sing whatever they have learned in the theatre and beat their hands lightly to accompany the words', Ov. *Fast.* 3.535f. Cf. Horsfall (n. 2) 194 [ch. 19, 244]; id., *Virgilio, l'epopea in alambicco* (Napoli 1991) 59, n. 32; N. Purcell, in *CAH*² 9.2 (Cambridge 1994) 684f.; G. Wille, *Musica Romana* (Amsterdam 1967).

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in the Roman street went to the theatre;[10] it might also help to explain, if we are dealing with a public that knew the plays intimately—'by heart' indeed says Horace (*Ep.* 1.2.60) of the 'classic' plays of the second century BC, though that could refer to school and not theatre—how very quickly political allusions on the stage were picked up.[11] Thus too the public could take up a *notissimum canticum* in an Atellan farce,[12] or even help out *en masse* if an actor drank himself to sleep on stage.[13] That too made remembered song a political instrument of political criticism, as Gellius' undated reference to a song sung by boys all over the city suggests; veristic detail in an anecdote is always to be kept distinct from its historicity.[14] The habit did not die away; it is indeed with the Christian fathers that the issue of what was actually memorized becomes particularly acute, because there now existed for the first time a sense of what *ought*, by divine precedence, have been committed to memory! St Jerome is outraged at the expense of certain *sacerdotes* who leave aside gospels and prophets, *comoedias legere, amatoria bucolicorum uersuum cantare, tenere Vergilium*.[15] And how did such appalling habits gain ground? Augustine suggests the answer: still of Virgil, he writes (*Serm.* 241.5) *pauci nostis in libris, multi in theatris*. You went, and went again, and what you heard, alas, you remembered:[16] *comicae fabulae de stupris uirginum*, comic plays about the rape of maidens, as it might be (Lactant. *Div. inst.* 6.20.27). Husband sings to wife, or wife to husband *aliquid de scaena siue taberna*, songs from stage or tavern, complains Tertullian (*Ux.* 2.6.11–12). Worse follows: priests teach pupils *mimorum turpia scripta*, indecent texts of the mimes.[17] Monks should

[10] Horsfall, 'Roma', in Cambiano (ed.), *Lo spazio letterario della Grecia antica* (Roma 1993) 801 n. 4, against R. MacMullen, *Historia* 40 (1991) 420 2.

[11] Cic. *Sest.* 118; cf. F. F. Abbott, *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome* (New York 1909) 100 4; A. Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford 1976) 158 60; P. Frassinetti, *Fabula Atellana* (Genova 1973) 124f.; A. B. Miller, *Roman Etiquette of the Late Republic* (diss. U. Pennsylvania 1914) 78f.; C. Nicolet, *Le métier du citoyen dans la Rome républicaine* (Paris 1976); E. Tengström, *Eranos* 75 (1977) 43 56; T. P. Wiseman, *Catullus and his World* (Oxford 1985) 37; F. W. Wright, *Cicero and the Theater* (Northampton Mass. 1931) 4 8; Z. Yavetz, *Plebs and Princeps* (Oxford 1969) 9 37.

[12] Suet. *Galba* 13; Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.172f. refers to *pueri* and *puellae* learning *docta carmina*, but may be referring to school just as well as to theatre.

[13] Pacuv. *Trag.* 197 Ribbeck; Hor. *Sat.* 2.3.60 with Ps. Acro's note.

[14] On Gell. 4.5.5 *uersus hic scite factus cantatusque esse a pueris urbe tota fertur*, cf. G. Cupaiuolo, *Tra poesia e politica* (Napoli 1993) 27; Wille (n. 9) 130; R. Tosi, *Dizionario delle sentenze latine e greche* (Milano 1991) 123, no. 266. For the problems of methods raised by such tales, see R. P. Saller, *G&R* 27 (1980) 69 83.

[15] 'To read comedies, to sing the erotic words of bucolic verse, to memorize Virgil', Hieron. *Ep.* 21.13.9; cf. Aug. *C. Iul.* 4.14.66 *si cantiunculis inanibus uel etiam turpibus delectetur* (Migne, *PL* 44.70). For the new world of Christian memorization, cf. J. A. Jungman, *The Early Liturgy* (Notre Dame 1959) 67f.; Horsfall (n. 1) 73 6.

[16] 'Few of you know him in the text, many in the theatre', H. Jürgens, *Pompa diaboli* (Stuttgart 1972) 194, n. 3.

[17] Hier. *In Eph.* 3.6.4. (Migne, *PL* 26.574A) Jürgens (n. 16) 86, n. 3 (with caution); (*celeuma* is the coxswain's cry in a boat!).

sing *cantica . . . diuina* at work, consoled as though by a *diuino celeumate*, a divine call to keep rhythm. What is to stop them? Nothing, though the clear implication is that often something does. *An ignoramus*, Augustine continues, *omnes opifices quibus uanitatibus et plerumque etiam turpitudinibus theatricarum fabularam donent corda et linguas suas cum manus ab opere non recedant*.[18] So the monks
[102/103] will have to memorize something rather more suitable. By the time we reach Visigothic Provence, the situation, to judge from the sermons of Caesarius of Arles, is quite out of hand, in a society where literacy is undeniably declining.[19] Rustics, male and female, memorize and sing *cantica diabolica amatoria et turpia*;[20] they should learn the creed (*symbolum*), the Lord's Prayer, and certain antiphons and psalms. *Carmina luxuriosa*, wanton songs, are memorized in place of the *symbolum* and *Pater noster*, and Christians even sing them while they dance (*ballando*).[21]

We seem therefore always to have had to hand half a millennium of explicit though scattered evidence for a memory-rooted, music-based oral culture—for Rome, however surprising that may seem from a conventional view. In fact, though Roman orality is today emerging from prolonged and profound neglect,[22] even though the direction of recent studies, as I have tried to make clear (n. 22) is peculiarly unprofitable for the most part, following as it does *ignes fatui* and not actual considerations of real evidence.

If we should insist on asking 'whose culture, though?' the answer is often unhelpful, between those cases where our sources give no precise indication, those where a word such as *plebs* is used with no more exact definition, and those where some form of entertainment is contemptuously assigned to the *plebecula*, when we know that it was the aristocracy's delight. That will not be enough for those nurtured on sociological precision, but I can only say that I am exploring states of mind, not statistics, and that I am trying to look at Romans below equestrian rank. When Caesarius talks of *rustici* or Ovid of *plebs*, I shall of course record the information, but I am not going to speculate where no specific information survives.

[18] 'Or we do not know to what vanities, obscenities even, from theatrical pieces, all workmen give their hearts and tongues when their hands do not let up from the job', *De oper. monach.* 17.20; Migne *PL* 40.565. On work songs at the Rome, cf. the bibl. collected at Horsfall, *Riv. Fil.* 122 (1994) 63 n. 6. [ch. 29, 333, n. 6].

[19] W. V. Harris, *Ancient Literacy* (Cambridge Mass. 1989) 316; Horsfall (n. 1) 73.

[20] 'The devil's songs of love and indecency', *Serm.* 6.3, cf. 16.3 (*Corp. Christ.* 103). Wille (n. 9) 128 n. 266 prompted further researches in Caesarius. Cf. now W. Klingshirn, *Caesarius of Arles* (Cambridge 1994) 184 6.

[21] *Serm.* 130.5, 19.3.

[22] Horsfall, review of *Strukturen der Mündlichkeit*, ed. G. Vogt Spira (Tübingen 1990), in *Riv. Fil.* 121 (1993) 181 5.

Education without school

At that point, the whole question of education without school seems to acquire an augmented importance,[23] and it might therefore be helpful to survey quickly the chief 'alternative' sources of popular culture at Rome. I have suggested elsewhere that war, or at least service in the army, was not to be discounted: a striking example is provided by the garrison of Sicily and Tarentum, 8,800 troops at a time.[24] We cannot say just what they might have learned beyond the minimum necessary for filling their bellies and beds, but the extraordinary impact of Indian life and language on the British Tommy is excellently documented,[25] and American scholars of seventy years ago compare, too, the fractured French brought home by the doughboys.[26] Plautus is aware of the old soldiers in his audience,[27] uses some Greek military words,[28] a number of distinctively South [103/104]
Italian or Sicilian Greek words,[29] and abundant superficial allusions to Hellenic diet, dress, lifestyle, urban environment, geography, and even history.[30] The old hypothesis that the ability to follow such allusions returned with the victorious army still holds,[31] though it is also interesting to note how little Greek there is in the later *sermo castrensis*.[32]

We may attribute a very similar effect to both emigration and immigration:[33] Greek technical terms in the language of business and imported goods have been collected,[34] and for our purposes are more important than the scattered but fascinating evidence[35] for Roman participation in cultural activities of the Greek world. The linguistic and social impact of Greek immigrants at Rome has too often been studied for its impact on higher culture:[36] Jocelyn was right to refer, however jestingly, to pastry cooks as being just as important as philosophers as

[23] Horsfall (n. 1) 62 4; N. Purcell, *P&P* 147 (1995) 17. [24] Horsfall (n. 10) 798.

[25] F. Richards, *Old Soldier Sahib* (London 1936 and reprints) is testimony even surer that that of Kipling's stories (*Plain Tales from the Hills*, *Soldiers Three*); note H. Yule and A. C. Burrell, *Hobson Jobson* (London 1886, and many reprints), the classic dictionary of Anglo Indian.

[26] T. Frank, *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic* (Berkeley 1930) 72; H. Mencken, *The American Language*[4] (New York 1974) 573; E. Partridge, *Words, Words, Words* (London 1933) 135 224 *passim*.

[27] Frank (n. 26) 71 n. 4, citing, for example, *Capt.* 68, *Cist.* 197, *Cas.* 87.

[28] Ibid., 70 2, citing, for example, *machaera*, *catapulta*, *ballista*, *phylaca*, *techina*, *machina*.

[29] Ibid., 149 n. 2, 183 5, 282 n. 1.

[30] F. Middlemann, *Griechische Welt und Sprache in Plautus' Komödien* (Bochum 1938); further bibl. in Horsfall (n. 10), note the particular case in n. 28 above.

[31] Frank (n. 26) 70 1; Middleman (n. 30) 40 2; E. Rawson, *CAH* 8[2] (Cambridge 1989) 438; W. R. Chalmers, in *Roman Drama*, ed T. A. Dorey and D. R. Dudley (London 1965) 39.

[32] cf. M. Grazia Mosci Sassi, *Il 'sermo castrensis'* (Bologna 1983) s.v. *cilibantum*, *segestria*.

[33] Horsfall (n. 10) 802, 806f; E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London 1985) 53, 77; J. Kaimio, *The Romans and the Greek Language* (Helsinki 1979, *CHL* 64) 21 5, 35 7, 48f.

[34] J. Hatzfeld, *Les trafiquants italiens* (Paris 1919) 333 40; Middelmann (n. 30) 35 8.

[35] Horsfall (n. 10) 814; Kaimio (n. 33) 34 40; Rawson (n. 33) 12f.

[36] Cf. E. Rawson, in *Tria Lustra. Essays . . . John Pinsent* (Liverpool 1993) 260, against Michael Crawford, in M. Beard and M. Crawford (eds.), *Rome in the Late Republic* (London 1985) 20.

instruments of Hellenization.[37] Whether in a Roman *insula* or a slave *familia*, the Italian was highly likely to find a Greek neighbour or workmate. When Aemilius Paullus took 150,000 captives in Macedonia,[38] they will not all have been suited to work as *uitiorum ministeria*. But the scale of immigration, free and coerced, was colossal, and recent work has done much to establish spheres (for example, vintners, cooks, jewellers, architects, actors, whores) to which Greeks gravitated.[39] So too, the language of love and luxury was overwhelmingly Greek.[40] But it would be quite wrong to think of the influence of Greek as limited to delicacies and endearments; you can as well turn to building or farming.[41]

The Greek element in vulgar Latin, though, is not open to easy generalization: thus military contexts like Bu Njem or Vindolanda yield, for reasons on which we have touched, very little; equally little, apart from names of objects, in collections of graffiti from commercial contexts, as at La Graufesenque and the Magdalensberg. It is surpring how little Greek there is in the graffiti of
[104/105] Pompeii,[42] whereas in Petronius' *Cena*, where we would expect a similar pattern—it is, after all, in outline a realistic portrait of Puteoli *c.*60 AD[43]—there is actually a very great deal,[44] and Neapolis retained its Greek cultural heritage with vigour, diffusing, as John d'Arms and Martin Frederiksen have shown, Greek words and ways throughout its immediate hinterland (note, in particular, Puteoli!). In our evidence for the lexicon of vulgar Latin in general, there is no shortage of Greek words, though clear regional variations do exist.[45] In Rome and Campania at least, we may conclude, popular culture was, in its idiom, bilingual,[46] though some sort of chronology in its rise,[47] and (perhaps) decay has yet to be established. Words presuppose contact and coexistence: language requires social and historical explanations.[48] It is worth remembering that in the late first century

[37] H. D. Jocelyn, *Bull. Rylands Libr.* 69 (1977) 366; for the succulent reinstatement of a misunder stood gastronomic Grecism, cf. J. Bodel, *Harv. Stud.* 92 (1989) 349 66.

[38] 167 BC, Livy 45.34.5: Horsfall (n. 10) 806f. [39] Horsfall (n. 10) with earlier bibl.

[40] Kaimio (n. 33) 301, 322; R. D. Brown, *Lucretius on Love and Sex* (Leiden 1987); J. Griffin, *JRS* 66 (1976) 87 105 (id., *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London 1985).

[41] C. De Meo, *Lingue tecniche del Latino* (Bologna 1983) 50 4; Kaimio (n. 33) 314.

[42] V. Väänänen, *Le Latin vulgaire des inscriptions pompeiennes* (Helsinki 1937) 187 90; for other sites named, cf. the bibl. in G. Bonfante, *La lingua parlata in Orazio* (Venosa 1994) 13f., and for Magdalensberg, cf. bibl in Horsfall (n. 1) 68; see also now *Vindolanda* 2 (London 1994) and A. K. Bowman, *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier* (London 1994); R. Marichal, *Les Ostraka de Bu Njem* (Tripolis 1992, Suppl. 7 to *Libya Antiqua*); J. N. Adams, *JRS* 84 (1994) 87 112. For the context, cf. Kaimio (n. 33) 153f.

[43] Horsfall, (n. 2, 1989) 74 89, 194 209 [ch. 19, 230 57].

[44] ibid., 77, with references [ch. 19, 234].

[45] V. Väänänen, *Introduzione al Latino volgare* (3rd ital. edn. Bologna 1982) 151 3; G. Bonfante, *ANRW* 2.29.1 (Berlin 1983) 413 52 id., *Latino e Romanzo* (Torino 1987) 587 630, sect. IV.

[46] Cf. Horsfall (n. 10) 798 800; cf. Mencken (n. 26) 633 6: the analogy between Greek in Rome and Yiddish in New York may prove helpful.

[47] Cf. Horsfall (n. 10) *passim* for the rise.

[48] For Syrian elements, Horsfall (n. 43) 86 n. 30 [ch. 19, 234 n. 30].

BC at Rome you could see Greek games,[49] and sometimes at least theatre in Greek, Oscan, and just possibly Etruscan.[50]

In this ethnic and linguistic melting pot, exposure to various forms of cultural activity was a good deal more diverse and widespread than has sometimes been assumed, and, though this may depend in part on chance survivals in the transmission of our evidence, I have the distinct impression that such activity was much more pronounced in 50 or 100 AD than a century (or two) earlier.[51]

Before we reach the worlds of theatre, song, and music, it is worth looking for a moment at the popular preacher: Stoics and Epicureans already tramped the Italian countryside at the period of Cicero's letters,[52] and we shall return to the unexpectedly strong case for a wide range of philosophical allusions in the fundamentally unintellectual mime,[53] which in turn may help us to account for an element of simplified philosophical commonplace in graffiti and in the text of Petronius.[54] But popular preachers reached Italy in large numbers only under the early Empire.[55]

It is not always easy to know what exactly to make of our evidence for the wandering poet in Rome: so markedly a cherished butt of the satirists that it is very difficult to evaluate him objectively. However delightful the evidence, we hardly know for sure whether he regularly brought literature into the most intimate and [105/106] unlikely corners of the Romans' daily lives: in the market, the baths, the Circus Maximus, even in the multiseater convenience.[56] Quite possibly a pest, and very probably those within earshot went about their business heedless, but the predatory poetaster helps confirm the fundamental separation between contact with literature and access to text. Literature, then, as performance: at the humblest level, travesties of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* executed by travelling Homeristae, for example at Trimalchio's banquet.[57] But the whole question of public performance of works of literature has not been studied in sufficient depth: even Trimalchio tries to improvise verses at dinner, in keeping with a contemporary literary vogue, best known to us from recent work on Statius' *Silvae*.[58] But it is also very easy to

[49] Cf. N. B. Crowther, *Ant. Class.* 52 (1983) 268 73; Horsfall (n. 10) 804, w. bibl. at 821.

[50] Horsfall (n. 10) 803; Kaimio (n. 33) 215; Rawson (n. 33) 22, 29.

[51] Cf. Rawson (n. 33) 52f. for an unenthusiastic account of the siuation *c.*50 BC.

[52] Horsfall (n. 10) 799f.; Rawson (n. 33) 49, 53; L. Canfora and R. Roncali, *I classici nella storia della letteratura latina* (Bari 1994) 383f.

[53] E. Rawson, in *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*, ed. M. Whitby et al. (Bristol 1987) 79 88 ead., (n. 36) 255 60.

[54] Horsfall (n. 2) 199 201 [ch. 19, 250 1] with ample bibl; cf., too, F. R. D. Goodyear on *Copa* 37, *BICS* 24 (1977) 117 31.

[55] S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius* (London 1905) 334 83; Rawson (n. 33) 49, 53; L. Friedlaender, *Sittengeschichte Roms* (Leipzig 1920) 3.265f. Cf. n. 52.

[56] Freidlaender (n. 55) 2.224 5; Mayor on Juv. 1.17 *ubique*; for poets in the multiseater convenience, cf. Mart. 3.44.11.

[57] Horsfall (n. 2) 80 [ch. 19, 238]; R. J. Starr, *Lat.* 46 (1987) 219f.; C. P. Jones, in *Dining in a Classical Context*, ed. W. J. Slater (Ann Arbor 1991) 189.

[58] Horsfall (n. 2) 79 [ch. 19, 237] with full bibl.

move to 'higher' levels: performances of Virgil's *Bucolics* on stage in the poet's lifetime[59] and in the days of St Augustine (n. 16); the *Aeneid* was still publicly performed in Rome in the seventh century AD.[60] Perhaps more remarkable is that Ennius' *Annales* were revived in the theatre at Puteoli, a busy port and not a leading centre of cultural life.[61] Ovid's *Heroides* on stage is an interesting thought, perhaps both as straight performance and as basis for pantomine.[62] Performances of Statius' *Thebaid* and *Achilleid* are also attested,[63] though perhaps not for a very wide public, unlike, we may suspect, Virgil.[64] But even Statius was thus made available orally and on a large scale. It is worth remembering a remark of Apuleius': if you go to the theatre,[65] you may see a mime, a tightrope walker, a comedy, or a philosophical lecture. Did the public always *know* when it went in? Was the programme sometimes mixed? It is curious that Pompeii supplies numerous gladiatorial announcements and none for the theatre and odeon. Recently, too, the *circulator* has attracted disproportionate attention;[66] he is a man who gathers a *circulus* around him, a little crowd, by whatever means: even by reading a book or by singing.[67] 'The culture of the underprivileged'[68] is one of its many manifestations, one with links to the public performance of literature and to the notoriously wide-ranging *aretalogi*.[69]

[106/107] To understand more of the didactic importance of the theatre proper we must return to Plautus' mercifully more accessible public: in the audience of his comedies (or at least in a good part of it) we must also presuppose a fair working knowledge of Greek mythology, enough at least to enable them to make something of Plautus' extravagant variations and developments;[70] such a sufficient command of frequent playful allusion in all probability derives from the selfsame public's parallel familiarity with tragic texts.[71] Plautus (*Bacch.* 933) even reminds by allusion any readers who might have forgotten[72] that Chrysalus' great Troy speech presupposes a knowledge of Ennius' *Andromache* (87 Jocelyn). Myth, learned through art and epic,[73] should not be ruled out, but for swift, painless

[59] Horsfall (n. 6) 47; cf. id., in *Companion* 249 50. [60] Ven. Fort. 3.18.7f.; 7.8.26.
[61] L. Gamberale, *Riv. Fil.* 117 (1989) 50f. [62] Wille (n. 9) 185, Ov. *Tr.* 5.725f., 2.519.
[63] Juv. 7.85, Stat. *Silv.* 5.2.162, though it is not clear exactly what sort of auditorium was divided into *cunei*; cf. R. Meinerl, *Das Odeion* (Frankfurt 1980) 37f.; G. C. Izenour, *Roofed Theaters of Classical Antiquity* (New Haven 1992) *passim*.
[64] Horsfall, (n. 6).
[65] Apul. *Flor.* 5; cf. E. J. Jory, in *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster*, ed. J. H. Betts et al. (Bristol 1986) 1, 146. But Apuleius' terminology (cf. *Flor.* 18) is not perfectly explicit.
[66] T. P. Wiseman, *PBSR* 48 (1980) 13; Horsfall (n. 2) 84 [ch. 19, 243]; A. D. Booth, *G&R* 27 (1980) 166 9; A. Scobie, *Apuleius and Folklore* (London 1983) 11; T. P. Wiseman, *JRS* 79 (1989) 135, with id., *Historiography and Imagination* (Exeter 1994) 126 n. 27, continues to quote Horsfall in *RMM* 10 n. 75, only in part, with consequent misunderstanding, despite published objections to such a procedure.
[67] Dio Chrys. *Or.* 20.10; Plin. *Ep.* 4.7.6.; Schol. Pers. 1.134 *meridie leuia carmina dicunt*.
[68] Wiseman (n. 66) 135 id., 1994 (n. 66) 33; cf. n. 109. [69] Scobie (n. 66) 13; cf. n. 168.
[70] E. Fraenkel, *Elementi plautini in Plauto* (Ital. edn. Firenze 1960) 53 94; Middlemann (n. 30) 48 69; Frank (n. 26) 74f.; N. Zagagi, *Tradition and Originality in Plautus* (Göttingen 1980) 20 31.
[71] Fraenkel (n. 70) 88f. [72] Ibid., 63. [73] Ibid., 88f.

mass instruction, the tragic theatre is clearly far more effective. A taste for special effects—flames, storms, ghosts, massed animals—is entirely compatible with a consuming passion for the classic plays: collective catharsis or cultural conservatism coexist with an unblushing appetite for spectacle.[74] The great revival of second-century drama in the late Republic[75] renewed this didactic function, and when in the Augustan period the taste for classical comedy and tragedy began to fade,[76] it was the newly fashionable pantomime (mimed dance accompanying choral libretto)[77] that took over time, space, and the public's attention, aside from the rather forced revival of the old classics, especially in the 'archaizing' period.[78] The new form was less textually dense and therefore less intellectually demanding, but certainly neither less emotionally arousing (and even satisfying) nor therefore any less memorable. The range of surviving titles for myth-based pantomime is remarkable,[79] as is the form's extraordinary popularity and durability.[80]

But morality also mattered;[81] the right *sententia* (*mot*) roused applause;[82] sorrow spread *totis theatris*;[83] the high-mindedness of Orestes and Pylades in Pacuvius' *Chryses* (?) provoked *admirationes maximas* and the whole theatre stood to applaud.[84] That makes recent work (cf. n. 79) on moral or sententious elements in the mime (where Pythagoreanism was such a popular topic) easier to comprehend: the 'philosophy' displayed in such texts recurs both in funerary epigrams and in Pompeian graffiti.[85] I have shown elsewhere how the well-fuelled high-mindedness Trimalchio's guests on occasion display may be paralleled in [107/108]
Latin verse epitaphs, in the inscriptions on gaming boards, in the language of proverbs, in the inscription on a Boscoreale cup.[86] This is not evidence for a real, widespread interest in philosophy,[87] but it shows a willingness to take on board a range of ethical notions, if expressed memorably, and if not excessively challenging in content. In the mime, uplifting and undressing (cf. n. 159) could coexist without embarrassment. What the nonreading public takes home, whether or not actually memorized, is what it hears in the inn,[88] at the *collegium* dinner,[89] and in

[74] Wright (n. 11) 4 n. 5, 6, 58; Horsfall (n. 9, 1991) 105 n. 9; A. M. Guillemin, *Le public et la vie littéraire à Rome* (Paris 1937) 12f.; J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Life and Leisure in Ancient Rome* (London 1969) 273.

[75] Wright (n. 11); E. Malcovati, *Cicerone e la poesia* (Pavia 1943) 89 181; Griffin (n. 40, 1985) 200f.

[76] Griffin (n. 40, 1985) 198 210; H. D. Jocelyn, *BICS* Suppl. 51 (1988) 57.

[77] Jory (n. 65) 147; id., *BICS* 28 (1981) 147 61.

[78] *SHA Hadr.* 26.4; Jocelyn (n. 76) 65.

[79] Friedlaender (n. 55) 2.126; Wille (n. 9) 342 f.

[80] Jürgens (n. 16) 241f.; W. Weissmann, *Kirche und Schauspiele* (Würzburg 1972) 45.

[81] Cf. n. 53.

[82] Cic. *Off.* 1.97, *Tusc.* 1.37; Wright (n. 11) 32f.

[83] Wright (n. 11) 57f.; E. Rawson, *Roman Culture and Society* (Oxford 1991) 572, citing Cic. *Amic.* 24, *Fin.* 5.63.

[84] *Tusc.* 1.106; Pacuv. 197 Ribbeck *CRF*.

[85] Cupaiuolo (n. 14) 18 n. 18; Rawson (n. 53) 86 7 ead. (n. 83) 579 80.

[86] Cf. n. 54 for bibliography.

[87] Cf. Sen. *Ep.* 108.8; Strab. 1.2.8.

[88] T. Kleberg, *Hôtels, restaurants et cabarets* (Uppsala 1957) 117; Wille (n. 9) 144; M. Guarducci, in *Acta 5th International Congress . . . Epigraphy*, Cambridge 1967 (Oxford 1971) 219 23.

[89] J. P. Waltzing, *Étude historique sur les corporations professionelles chez les Romains* 4 (Louvain 1900) 695.

the theatre: that 'mass culture' turns out sometimes to overlap with 'elite' written literature; strikingly, it coincides far less, on the evidence so far considered, with the glorious travesty of elite manners and interests found in the *Cena Trimalchionis*.

But it would be foolish (and quite unnecessary) to offer an overly exalted view of popular taste in the Roman theatre: the stories of what could (and did) go wrong, however prompted, and to whatever hidden ends,[90] are far too well known, but whether the cry of 'bring on the bears' (or boxers, gladiators, or acrobats)[91] really was orchestrated, and likewise quite exceptional, we simply do not know: bears and ropewalkers seem to belong to the world of the *circulatores*, or travelling entertainers.[92] Boxers, first brought from Etruria, have a place both in the *ludi publici*[93] and on the streets of Rome.[94] When, then, a theatre audience bayed for bears and boxers, not to mention gladiators, it does rather look like the deliberate provocation of chaos, rather than a call for an alternative more or less legitimate in context.

An almost irresolvable mystery remains: the question of authorship. We may wish we knew who wrote the songs sung in *popinae* (taverns), or in the theatre, who actually composed the *carmina triumphalia*, or the unidentifiable but hardly ephemeral verses scrawled on the walls of Pompeii,[95] who, for that matter, wrote epitaphs, or pattern books for monumental masons to pilfer.[96] Wish though we may, there is little to be said, though we do now have a small collection of epitaphs of 'poets', otherwise unknown, who may suggest part of the answer.[97] Even part-time poets, perhaps; compare *ILS* 7763, a schoolmaster from (?) Capua who doubled as a *testamentarius* (will writer). We are, at least, if hypotheses are not suffered to harden into fact, almost[98] equally ignorant about the orchestration of
[108/109] popular chants, songs, slogans.[99] Suetonius writes of an epigram 'bandied about

[90] Gruen (n. 16) 210 22. [91] Ter. *Hecyra* 4.33f., 40; Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.186 (with Brink's note).

[92] H. Blümner, 'Fahrendes Volk im Altertum', *Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie des Wissenschaften* 1918.6, 21 3 with n. 153; for acrobats, cf. ibid., 9d.

[93] Liv. 1.35.9; Cic. *Leg.* 2.38; Dion. Hal. 7.73.3; J. Jüthner and E. Mehl, 'Pygme', *RE* Suppl. 9:1313 14.

[94] Suet. *Aug.* 45, *Calig.* 18.

[95] H. Solin, in *Pompeii 79*, ed. F. Zevi (Napoli 1979) 278 88; V. Väänänen, *Recherches et recréations latino romanes* (Napoli 1981) 73 88.

[96] Cf. the bibl. gathered by L. Gamberale in his review of P. Cugusi, *Aspetti letterari dei Carmina Latina Epigraphica*, in *Riv. Fil.* 116 (1988) 496.

[97] Cugusi (n. 96) 91 164 with Gamberale (n. 96) 492 4.

[98] *Dux theatralium operum*, Tac. *Ann.* 1.16.4 with Goodyear's note. For a firmly sceptical position on the organisation of ancient claques, cf. Cameron (n. 11) 234. Organized rythmical applause reached Rome from Alexandria under Nero; Tac. *Ann.* 16.4. Cf. C. Roueché, *JRS* 74 (1984) 181 8.

[99] Nicolet (n. 11) 496 f.; A. W. Lintott, *Violence in Republican Rome* (Oxford 1968) 77 83; P. A. Brunt, *The Fall of the Roman Republic* (Oxford 1988) 431 5; A. Fraschetti, *Roma e il principe* (Bari 1990) 210 17; W. Nippel, *JRS* 74 (1984) 28. P. J. J. Vanderbroek, *Popular Leadership and Collective Behavior* (Amsterdam 1987) 104 12, is prisoner of a view of the *plebs* as helplessly manipulated illiterates.

the camp', Gellius of another 'sung all over the city . . . '.[100] The means of diffusion must therefore have existed, wreathed in mystery though they remain. Under the Empire, there are definite traces of metrical and linguistic skill in our quite numerous fragments of 'pasquinades'.[101] The dominant use of the trochaic tetrameter in the apotropaic insults during the triumph, exactly as in riddles, in proverbs, and in our one verse of a children's song,[102] seems to point at a generally diffused, easily memorable and quite expertly handled unity of metrical form. It is far easier to describe the content of this collective memory than to offer an account of its genesis.[103]

Dogmas and hierarchies

'There was no such thing as "popular literature" in the Roman Empire';[104] 'how far down the scale one has to go before reaching those to whom books were almost wholly inaccessible is hard to say';[105] what counted was 'the cultural horizons of the aristocracy'.[106] On this argument, the only Hellenization, for example, that matters is that of the few;[107] a few voices have been raised in protest against this hardy chain of interlocking dogmas,[108] and we have perhaps reached a point at which some attempt to redefine the so-called culture of the underprivileged[109] might be offered. The model of Roman cultural life implicit in the definitions just quoted suggests misleading hierarchies and unrealistic divisions between a politically dominant, economically superior, and therefore intellectually privileged minority with access to (and in many cases influence over) literature in all its forms and the majority, bullied, exploited, impoverished, and therefore condemned, if not to actual illiteracy,[110] then at least to the intellectual or cultural deprivation necessarily imposed by financial and educational handicaps and to concomitant political incomprehension and liability to manipulation. That does [109/110] not seem to square altogether with the evidence we have just seen for a vigorous

[100] Suet. *Galb.* 6.2; Gell. 4.5.5; Cupaiuolo (n. 14) 26 n. 1; W. Riepl, *Das Nachrichtenwesen des Altertums* (Leipzig 1913) 326; R. Laurance, *G&R* 41 (1994) 62 74.

[101] Cupaiuolo (n. 14) 138 f.

[102] Wille (n. 9) 149; W. B. Sedgwick, *G&R* 1 (1932) 99 100; E. Fraenkel, *Hermes* 62 (1927) 364 5 id., *Kleine Beiträge* 2 (Rome 1964) 18 19; E. Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford 1993) 473.

[103] Cf. J. Fentress and C. Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford 1992) 45 9.

[104] Harris (n. 19) 227 (cf. ibid., 14, 335); cf. Horsfall (n. 1) 72. [105] Rawson (n. 33) 50.

[106] A chapter title in Beard and Crawford (n. 36). Note Gruen (n. 16) 222, on the aristocracy propagating its values through the theatre!

[107] Cf. A. Le Penna, *Aspetti del pensiero storico antico* (Torino 1978) 13; E. Flores, *Latinità arcaica e produzione linguistica* (Napoli 1978) 14 f.; M. Citroni, in *Lo spazio letterario di Roma antica* 2, (Roma 1989) 83 8; M. Crawford, in *Imperialism in the Ancient World*, ed. P. D. A. Garnsey et al. (Cambridge 1978) 200.

[108] Jocelyn (n. 37); Horsfall (nn. 2, 1, 10); Rawson (n. 36); Purcell (n. 23). [109] Cf. n. 68.

[110] So Horsfall (n. 1) against Harris (n. 19).

and well-loved popular culture at Rome, and if the finer points of Ennius or Cornelius Gallus lay altogether outside or beyond the interests and abilities of an importer of wool—and of his clerks—that, we have seen, did not mean that their heads were empty and their spirits consequently barren. Just as important, we should recognize the existence of a large and varied middle ground, not only of entertainments both public and private, but of activities fairly to be described as cultural and enjoyed at all levels of society,[111] indeed in some cases actually enjoyed together. That is not to deny that there was often a very real distinction of quality or degree: the Greek of a soldier after a year in the garrison at Tarentum (n. 24) was not of course that of P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, cos. 131 BC, complete master of five different varieties of Greek,[112] but the legionary cannot quite be dismissed as monoglot. The profit-hungry landowners who read Varro's *Res rusticae*[113] are a far cry from the flockmasters, the *magistri pecoris*, who should have *quaedam scripta* (Columella *Rust*. 2.3.8) in the case of wounds or sickness among the stock: manuals and handbooks did, though, exist at all levels.[114]

It has long been clear that the vast range of Latin proverbs implies a wide range of potential users: mules in a ditch or playing morra in the dark look to the patrimony of a range of users very different from those of 'harder than adamant' or 'bees of Hybla',[115] though the existence of a landowner who appropriated the colourful language of his *uilicus* (bailiff) or of a humble but avid theatregoer who had been to a performance of Ovid's *Heroides* (n. 62) and recalled the comparison (2.137) with 'adamant' is not inherently unlikely, and such possibilities hinder a neat social stratification of the 'culture' implied by proverbs. Cicero might mock at a dramatic banquet attended by Euripides, Menander, Socrates, and Epicurus: persons separated not by years, but by centuries, an author as illiterate as his public and the like. But if the anachronism was central to the joke,[116] Cicero may have preferred to miss the point. And what would he have made of Asellius Sabinus' prize-winning dialogue under Tiberius between a mushroom, a figpecker, an oyster, and a thrush? At least the emperor Tiberius (Suet. *Tib*. 42.1) was delighted, and when the emperor led, the Roman public hastened to follow.[117]

[111] Cf. R. Hoggart, *The Uses of Literacy* (repr. Harmondsworth 1986) 244 f.; V. E. Neuburg, *Popular Literature* (Harmondsworth 1977) 207; cf. A. Quondam, in *Libri, editori e pubblico nell'Europa moderna*, ed. A. Petrucci (Bari 1977) 98f.; Purcell (n. 23) 35.

[112] F. Münzer, 'Licinius (Crassus)' no. 72, *RE* 13.1:334 8; Val. Max. 8.7.6; Gruen (n. 16) 249; Kaimio (n. 33) 96, 111, 144.

[113] Cf. T. Frank, *Economic Survey of Ancient Rome* 1 (Baltimore 1933) 358 65.

[114] Medicine: Galen 2.280K; accountancy: Dessau, *ILS* 7755; shorthand: *POxy.* 4.724; veterinary medicine and farming: Horsfall (n. 1) 66 n. 44, with, for example, Columella *Rust*. 1.1.3; architecture: Vitr. 1.1.3 (for example); law: Petron. 46.3; F. Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science* (Oxford 1946) 156.

[115] Horsfall (n. 2) 77, 200 [ch. 19, 234, 252]; id., (n. 10) 799; A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer* (Leipzig 1890, repr. Hildesheim 1965) xv xviii.

[116] Rawson (n. 33) 53; Horsfall (n. 10) 800; F. Giancotti, *Mimo e Gnome* (Messina 1967) 119 28.

[117] Plin. *Pan.* 446.4, 54.1; M. Billerbeck, *G&R* 37 (1990) 191 204.

But the stratification of humour is particularly tricky: when Plautus' *parasiti* (scroungers) consult jokebooks, they may reflect Roman usage (and such 'books' would surely not have been for general circulation); equally, such consultation may be meant as an indication of their owners' lack of mother wit.[118] The outrageous wit of the professional *scurra* (wag) was borrowed, or was alleged to have been borrowed, by minor figures in the public life of the late Republic. [110/111] Clodius, or the Sex. Naevius, *scurra*, auctioneer and at law with Quinctius in Cicero's first surviving case.[119] Yet another autioneer of the same period, Q. Granius, Cicero describes as a *familiaris* (friend) of Crassus the orator and even analyses his humour in the *De oratore*.[120] So the *scurra* Sarmentus accompanies Maecenas on the journey to Brundisium and Horace offers a literary 'arrangement' of his clash with the Oscan comic Messius Cicirrus.[121] Acceptable entertainment, therefore, for Roman travellers of the very highest rank, even in a text committed to idealizing their characters and habits.[122]

A century later, it is by no means clear that we are expected to laugh *at* the wit of the guests at the *Cena Trimalchionis*: Petronius, I concluded,[123] is not short of sympathy for the freedmen, and to suppose that the 'cultivated reader', even the reader at court, found them wholly grotesque and boorish is to debase and trivialize the entire episode. Petronius is at pains to convey the love and gusto with which the freedmen use their language:[124] they are not represented as verbally handicapped by their cultural disadvantages, and their entertainments suggest that they are somehow acquainted with the usages current in good society (e.g. the taste for performances for actors after dinner),[125] which they seek to imitate, and fail, farcically. But in the gulf between the worlds of Petronius and of the younger Pliny it is not at all hard to envisage contexts (e.g. the dinners of *collegia*, n. 89) where the imitation might have been rather more serious in intent. The mobility of many types of entertainer[126] will have made life much easier for the culturally ambitious.

Petronius' readers and Trimalchio's guests do not necessarily have incompatible senses of humour: social opposites had after all laughed together before, at the classic comedies, for example, or at the mimes of Publilius and Laberius, and we would do well to remember that *plebs* and aristocracy shared a good deal—races, theatre, and arena for a start. Had they not done so, and on a very large scale, then

[118] Scobie (n. 66) 14; Rawson (n. 33) 50f.; P. B. Corbett, *The Scurra* (Edinburgh 1986) 24.
[119] Corbett (n. 118) 59 61; E. S. Ramage, *Urbanitas* (Cincinnati 1973) 72.
[120] 2.253; cf. Horsfall, *La villa sabina di Orazio* (Venosa 1993) on Hor. *Epist.* 1.7.56; Corbett (n. 118) 61 3; Ramage (n. 119) 78f.; Courtney (n. 102) 475f.; H. Haffer, *Hermes* 87 (1959) 94f. id., *Römische Politik und römische Politiker* Heidelberg 1967) 145 7.
[121] Corbett (n. 118) 66; Cupaiuolo (n. 14) 53f.
[122] I. M. LeM. DuQuesnay, in *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus*, ed. A. Woodman and D. West (Cambridge 1984) 19 58.
[123] Horsfall (n. 2), 75, 83 [ch. 19, 231 2, 241]. Can verism be exclusively contemptuous? Hardly.
[124] Ibid., 83 [241 2]. [125] Ibid., 80, 83 5 [231 2, 241 4]; Starr (n. 57) 200; Jones (n. 57) 190f.
[126] Horsfall (n. 2); Starr (n. 57); Blümner (n. 92) *passim*.

the issue of who sat where (the *discrimina ordinum*) could never have assumed such importance:[127] all, that is, watched together (though there is no guarantee that they all consistently reacted together!), and it was only in the seating plan that discrimination appeared, while it seems fair to suppose that stars, performers, episodes, scandal, and the appropriate slang turned into some sort of common partimony,[128] as the travestied snatch of conversation at Hor. *Sat*. 2.6.44 implies.

[111/112]

The common ground

We should remember that both the Copa and Sempronia played and danced.[129] There was music at an inn, at Trimalchio's banquet,[130] and at aristocratic dinners, both respectable and less so.[131] Though there is a literary convention whereby simple song is condemned as rustic or suchlike, in a way reminiscent of the classical Roman literary reaction to archaic texts,[132] I should be hesitant to infer any sort of coherent cultural hostility on the elite's part to popular music; Augustus, after all, was delighted by the musicians of Totonius Gallus the slave dealer (Macr. 2.4.28). It is surely a consequence of certain deep-rooted prejudices about the sort of people the Romans were that there has been so very little work done on giving their culture of music, song, and dance its due.[133] That song from inns and from the stage was memorized, we have seen above. Not less than the Greeks, the Romans sang as they worked;[134] long before we get to Augustine's improperly melodious monks, there is ample evidence, conveniently gathered,[135] for the cantatory habits of gladiators, travellers, lovers, diners, soldiers, boatmen, shepherds,[136] and even rioters, or at least the highly vocal Roman crowd, given to scurrilous epigram, chant, and song,[137] but equally to apparently spontaneous outbursts of rhythmical delight.[138] Composition, manipulation, direction remain, I repeat, wrapped in mystery. We have a fair idea of how a Roman politician could

[127] Rawson (n. 83) 508 45; '*Discrimine ordinum*' first appeared in *PBRS* 55 (1987) 83 114; cf. too Nicolet (n. 11) 485; J. C. Golvin, *L'amphithéâtre romain* 1 (Paris 1988) 346 54; J. H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* (London 1986) 101f.

[128] Horsfall (n. 2) 85 [ch. 19, 243 4; H. A. Harris, *Sport in Greece and Rome* (London 1972) 223 6.

[129] Cf. n. 88; Wille (n. 9) 192; Sall. *Cat*. 5.2; Griffin (n. 40) 1 31 *passim*; G. M. Paul, *PLLS* 5 (1985) 9 22.

[130] Horsfall (n. 2) 194, 197 8 [ch. 19, 244, 248 9].

[131] Plin. *Ep*. 9.36.4; *SHA Hadr*. 26.4; Hor. *Epod*. 9.1 6; less respectable: Wille (n. 9) 143 7 *passim*; Hor. *Carm*. 4.13.4ff.; Cic. *Pro Gallio* fr. 1, *Cael*. 35.

[132] Cf. Wille (n. 9) 105 nn. 2 4; Varr. *Sat. Men*. 363; Virg. *G*. 1.350, 2.386; Tib. 1.7.36, 2.1.52; cf. Horsfall *RMM* 10 n. 70.

[133] But see F. Marx, *Rh. Mus*. 78 (1929) 398 426; Wille (n. 9); Griffin (n. 40) 14.

[134] Bibl. Horsfall, *Riv. Fil*. 122 (1994) 63 n. 6 [ch. 29, 341 n. 77]; cf. Wille (n. 9) 107 26.

[135] Ibid. 105 49. [136] Horsfall, *CR* 43 (1993) 269.

[137] Wille (n. 9) 129 31; Cupaiuolo (n. 14); Courtney (n. 102) 470 85.

[138] Wille (n. 9) 139; Suet. *Cal*. 6.1.

have started a riot,[139] far less how a chant or slogan was fabricated and circulated (cf. n. 100). From song to instrumental music, a precisely analogous bulk of material exists: in the late Republic, even pigs reacted to the familiar notes of the trumpet;[140] little wonder that, for example, shepherds, soldiers, priests (or their assistants), waiters and waitresses also played.[141] Music in the house was what Sempronia, Trimalchio, and Maecenas had in common.[142] Dancing is more problematic, but only in as much as excessive dexterity attracted moralistic opprobrium, particularly if the expert practitioner was a noble lady.[143] Trimalchio's wife Fortunata (Petron. 52, 70) was an entirely different case; the pseudo-Virgilian Copa danced to entertain the tavern's clients[144] and while 'dancer' might be no more than a euphemism,[145] it is equally clear from the bulk of hostile references in Cicero that by the late Republic many Roman [112/113] nobles (and their wives) were only too happy to dance.[146] Similar reactions of shock and horror in the younger Pliny:[147] where, what, and when clearly mattered; many Romans of note, though, clearly cared little for the ancient proprieties.

No less important as an element of the common ground are dicing and board games, though the identification of surviving boards with the games named in literary texts remains a tangle of unresolved problems:[148] from the evidence for dicing as a regular entertainment at a Roman inn,[149] or from the survival of numerous boards for *duodecim scripta* (possibly backgammon),[150] you pass effortlessly up the social scale, via those notorious gamblers Catiline and Mark Antony to Augustus, Caligula, Nero, and, above all, Claudius.[151]

If we imagine a senator, a centurion, an importer of *garum*, and Horace, thrown together by adverse weather in some remote inn, it now becomes rather less difficult to imagine what they might have done or talked about. The fantasy is

[139] Cf. n. 99. [140] Wille (n. 9) 111; Lucr. 5.228f.; Varr. *Rust.* 2.4.20, 3.13.1; cf. Polyb. 12.3.5f.
[141] Wille (n. 9) 105 47.
[142] Sempronia: Sall. *Cat.* 25.2; Paul (n. 129); Wille (n. 9) 192. Maecenas: Sen. *Dial.* 1.3.10; Wille (n. 9) 148. Trimalchio: see n. 130.
[143] The evidence is collected at Wille (n. 9) 187 202.
[144] *Copa* 1 3, with Goodyear's notes (see n. 54). [145] Wille (n. 9) 200; Stat. *Silv.* 1.6.67 72, etc.
[146] Wille (n. 9) 191 5. [147] Ibid.
[148] R. G. Austin, *G&R* 4 (1934) 30 4; Horsfall, *BICS* 30 (1983) 96 n. 17; G. Montesano, 'Lusoria Tabula', *Dizionario Epigrafico* 4 (1964 85) 2240 1.
[149] *Copa* 37; Kleberg (n. 88) 118.
[150] Austin (n. 148) 24 34, 76 82; A. Ferrua, *Epigraphica* 8 (1946) 53 73 and 10 (1948) 21 58; id., *loc. cit.* 26 (1964) 3 44; V. Fiocchi Nicolai, 'Lusoria tabula', *Diz. Epig.* (n. 148) 2232 6; G. Montesano (n. 148) 2232 8.
[151] J. Väterlein, *Roma ludens* (Amsterdam 1976); Cic. *Phil.* 13.24; Shackleton Bailey on *Att.* 14.5.1; Sall. *Cat.* 14.2; Suet. *Aug.* 71, *Calig.* 41.2, *Ner.* 22, *Vit.* 4, *Claud.* 33.2 (cf. Sen. *Apocol.* 12). Cf. Th. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* (Leipzig 1899) 861f., though Roman bets (*sponsiones*) are a neglected topic.

not idle; there were Roman hosts who delighted, for various (and often disagreeable) motives, in mixing social levels at the dinner table.[152]

Though we have often seen that proverbs cannot be taken simply as expressions of a shared outlook right across Roman society, their use in itself runs from Julius Caesar and Augustus to Trimalchio and his guests.[153] It would be naive to explain this common ground in terms of shared exposure to a nursery culture of lullabies[154] and certain types of folktale.[155] Intellectual criticism of such stories suggests that the highly educated, too, had been exposed to them in their nurseries![156] Along with nursery stories, riddles, as on the lips of Trimalchio's guests and of Virgil's shepherds in the *Bucolics*; they are not therefore limited to the dinner parties of the uncultured, to which Plutarch assigns them, or to the walls of Pompeii, but are also used as the spice of famous episodes in Roman history (at least in the mythologized Livian version);[157] they are also a rich source of proverbs,[158] like the fable, itself at home in the elementary school and in high
[113/114] literature,[159] even if we prefer to explain Phaedrus' remark (3 prol. 34–7) that the fable actually began as a way for slaves to communicate frankly but without fear as a nice aetiological invention, perhaps inspired by stories of Aesop's servile birth, rather than real evidence for the particularly humble origin of an ancient literary form.

And pornography? Of the readership of lewd texts written to arouse, we know far too little, apart from the emperor Tiberius;[160] doctors might recommend *amatoriae fabulae* to counteract failing virility,[161] Parthians might feign shock at the Milesian tales of Aristides read by the vanquished Romans (Plut. *Crass.* 32). In the mime, there might be a striptease, a bed on stage, even (feigned) sex;[162] the language of both mime and Atellan farce permitted primary obscenities.[163] The dirty joke enjoyed a demonstrably wide public;[164] in the Senate, or in the school of

[152] Cf. J. H. D'Arms, in *Sympotica*, ed. O. Murray (Oxford 1990) 308 20; Courtney (n. 102) on Juv. 5.171; Suet. *Aug.* 74.1; Balsdon (n. 74) 34; Horsfall (n. 120) on 1.7.49 (and cf. p. 93).

[153] Horsfall (n. 2) 77, 200 [ch. 19, 234, 252]; Suet. *Caes.* 25.4, *Aug.* 87; Otto (n. 115) 433.

[154] Scobie (n. 66) 20f. [155] Ibid., 16 22.

[156] Quint. *Inst.* 1.10.32; Tac. *Dial.* 29; Scobie (n. 66) 17.

[157] Virg. *Buc.* 3.104ff.; Livy 1.54.6, 56.12; Smith on Petron. 58.8; W. Schultz, 'Rätsel', *RE* A1:116.16ff.; *CIL* IV.1877 (Pompeii E. Diehl, *Pompeianische Inschriften* (Bonn 1910) 683); enjoyed by the unlettered after dinner (Plut. *Mor.* 573A; cf. Horsfall (n. 2) 83 [ch. 19, 241 2] though it is not clear whether this refers to Greek or Roman usage: K. Ziegler, 'Plutarchos', *RE* 21.1:886.23ff.).

[158] Otto (n. 115) xxv.

[159] Ibid., xxvii; school: Quint. 1.9.2; Bonner (n. 5) 253 5. In Ennius (*Sat.*, *ap.* Gell. 2.29), Lucilius (988 Marx) and frequent in the *Satires* and *Epistles* of Horace.

[160] Suet. *Tib.* 43.2.

[161] Theodore Priscian, *Logicus* 11.34; cf. Horsfall, '"Generic Composition" and Petronius' Satyricon', SCI 11 (1991 2) 135.

[162] Jürgens (n. 16) 86 n. 2, 233 n. 4; R. W. Reynolds, *CQ* 40 (1946) 80; the bed is mentioned by Ps. John Chrysostom, Migne, *PG* 56.543. Mimed sex: *SHA Heliogab.* 25.4f.; cf. Min. Fel. 37.12, Val. Max. 2.6.7.

[163] J. N. Adams, *Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London 1982) 219.

[164] A. Richlin, *The Garden of Priapus* (New York 1992) 64f.; Adams (n. 163) 6 7.

declamation, there were limits not on the topics that might be raised, but on the language that might be used.[165] Sexual language and themes are employed with predictably complex differentiation,[166] though Octavian abused Antony in language familiar also from the walls of Pompeii.[167] Still, we cannot be quite sure that the same jokes were told in the same words at all levels.

We are on surer ground when we turn to the Romans' love for the well-told story in general. Augustus enjoyed *aretalogi*, tellers of wonders, at dinner[168] and called in *fabulatores* (much the same, apparently) when he could not sleep.[169] So, too, a true cultural snob, the younger Pliny: to introduce a contemporary anecdote, he writes, 'have your copper ready and hear the *auream fabulam*, a golden tale'.[170] That is necessarily the cry of the professional *circulatore*. Similar must have been Pliny's famous tale of the dolphin, which he had heard at dinner *dum . . . uaria miracula hinc inde referuntur* (9.35.2). He asks his friend Licinius Sura what he thinks about ghosts, as a believer, after he has heard what has happened to Curtius Rufus (7.27.1). Here we are but a short step from the 'wondrous' element in natural history, in paradoxography, and indeed in historiography proper, as Emilio Gabba has made memorably clear.[171] In the opposite direction are Petronius Niceros' story of the werewolf (61.6ff.), Trimalchio's witches (63.2), the Ephebe of Pergamum (85–6; no context) and the Widow of Ephesus (110–12), told during a sea voyage, to the sailors' delight. Perhaps most interesting, the tale of how unbreakable glass was invented under Tiberius (51): a 'natural wonder' that travesties a story about 'flexible glass' that we find in the elder Pliny (36.195) and an anecdote in Cassius Dio (57.21). Between the sort of story that can amuse a dinner of Campanian freedmen and serious historiography the link therefore exists.

Cicero [114/115]

On the whole issue of popular cultural interests and intellectual horizons, Cicero is richly informative, and his position is predictably ambiguous—or hypocritical, if you will, depending on where and what he is writing. He can feign puritan ignorance of the stage, as of any Greek art, or denounce, like Plato, or Cato, the moral content of drama,[172] while admiring Greek actors, both as artists and as

[165] Adams (n. 163) 222.3. [166] Ibid., 1 8, 214 17. [167] Ibid., 214.
[168] Horsfall (n. 2) 195 [19, 245 6]; Scobie (n. 66) 13; Suet. *Aug.* 74; Juv. 15.13 f.
[169] Horsfall, Scobie (n. 168).
[170] Cf. August. *De civ. D.* 18.18 *in libris quos 'Asini aurei' titulo inscripsit* (sc. Apuleius); cf. Lucr. 3.12, Cic. *Acad.* 2.119.
[171] E. Gabba, *JRS* 71 (1981) 50 62; id., in *Sources for Ancient History*, ed. M. Crawford (Cambridge 1983) 3 26.
[172] Wright (n. 11) 24; Horsfall, *PLLS* 7 (1993) n. 36 [ch. 28, 331 n.36]; A. E. Astin, *Cato the Censor* (Oxford 1978) 179.

models for the orator,[173] and displaying profound and ample knowledge of the repertoire, Greek and Latin, comic and tragic.[174] In the same way, he flatters his hearers (the equestrian jury in the *Pro Murena*: a *quaestio de ambitu*—bribery hearing): *quoniam non est nobis haec oratio habenda aut in imperita multitudine aut in aliquo conventu agrestium, audacius paullo de studiis humanitatis quae et mihi et uobis nota et iucunda sunt disputabo* (*Mur.* 61). Flatter your hearers and forget quickly what you said: *apud imperitos . . . aliquid et coronae datum. nunc agendum est subtilius* was how he commented on his speech in the *De finibus* (4.74). So much for his simplification of Stoic views; it was not the only time he flattered the 'knowledge' of his audience.[175] Craftsmen, *opifices*, *delectantur historia*, are delighted by history, he tells us:[176] he had done much himself, as we shall see, to instruct them. Pliny the elder envisages a work written for an *agricolarum, opificum turbae* (*praef.* 6), a crowd of farmers and craftsmen. Thucydides was not, though, for shopkeepers, remarked Dionysios of Halicarnassus.[177] But there were other ways of teaching history, as we shall see in a moment. Cicero, and not in contexts where flattery was to be expected, pays tribute to the public at a *contio*: their innate sense of rhythm prompts applause at a well-turned period,[178] just as the whole theatre howls in protest at a foot too many or too few in a verse (*Orat.* 173, cf. 168; *De or.* 3.198). Perhaps most interesting, those who present cases to *aduocati* for recasting in full rhetorical panoply usually do so *ut non desideres planius dici*.[179] Not, you notice, just *ludi* or *epulae*, feasts.[180] The orator, then, had to watch his rhythm and keep well off things Greek.[181]

At the same time, Cicero refers to the *imperiti* (inexpert) in his philosophical works as the lowest form of human intelligence, well below the next familiar grouping, that of the *mediocriter docti* (passably informed); the terminology of the approximate hierarchy he establishes in the intellectual capacity of the various
[115/116] audiences he addresses varies in accordance with his own public on each occasion, as was to be expected (see below, Appendix A, for the evidence).

Now oratory had a clear educational role,[182] not only in involving its audience in the business of public life, but in teaching them, however unsystematically,

[173] Wright (n. 11) 26 8. [174] Cf. n. 74.

[175] 'Since this is not a speech delivered before a naive mob or in some assembly of rustics, I shall be rather more venturesome on the topic of the intellectual activities which both all of you and I myself both know and like'; 'before the ignorant . . . something must be allowed to the bystanders. Now we must discuss the matter more carefully.' For Cicero's flattery of his public, cf. Nisbet on *Pis.* 68.

[176] C. Schulze, in *Past Perspectives*, ed. I. S. Moxon et al. (Cambridge 1986) 135.

[177] Schulze (n. 176) 134 6; T. P. Wiseman, *History* 66 (1981) 385 7 id. (n. 66) 253 5; Horsfall (n. 1) 72; id. (n. 9, 1991) 59.

[178] Cf. Cic. *De or.* 3.98.198, *Orat.* 168, 208, *Brut.* 225; Guillemin (n. 74), 10 15; Horsfall (n. 1) 72; id. (n. 10) 799.

[179] 'So you would not wish for a clearer statement', *De or.* 3.50; cf. Horsfall (n. 1) 66 n. 43, petitions to the younger Pliny; Guillemin (n. 74) 15.

[180] Games and banquets: Cic. *Phil.* 2.118, *Mur.* 38; Nicolet (n. 11) 479 94; N. Purcell, *CAH*² 9 (Cambridge 1994) 682 5.

[181] *De or.* 1.221, 2.153; cf. Horsfall (n. 172). [182] Cf. Horsfall (n. 9, 1991) 59.

something of how public life worked, a bit of geography, and a lot of history.[183] I refer in particular to Cicero's *contiones*,[184] the *Pro lege Manilia*, *De lege agraria* 2 and 3, *Catilinariae* 2 and 3, *Cum populo gratias egit*, *Philippica* 4 and 6, and the singular *Pro Rabirio perduellionis reo*, heard before the *comitia centuriata* thirty-six years after the alleged crime.[185] To such speeches Cicero, in a theoretical vein, assigned particular techniques, though rhetorical elaboration was not excluded,[186] and even when he was not speaking directly *ad populum* he was very much aware of being on centre stage,[187] of speaking also to the *corona*, the outer circle of bystanders.[188] Geographical knowledge is a case apart and has anyway been recently discussed in detail.[189] Historical events, on the other hand, may be sorted provisionally into three categories:

(i) Recent events, to which the orator might allude with a minimum of elaboration,[190] *ex memoria uestra ac patrum uestrorum*, as he himself put it (*Rab. perd.* 15).[191]

(ii) The narrative in the *Rab. perd.* (18ff.) is a special case: the historical facts are not exemplary but directly relevant to the case, and at least in detail they lie outside active collective memory and require therefore a unique degree of fuller narration; the same elaboration, on a much smaller scale, applies to episodes from the history of the previous century.[192]

(iii) There is a large category of events that we are amply justified in categorizing as the historical patrimony of the *contio*, upon which the orator might count, however imperfectly acquired by oral transmission, by frequenting courts and assemblies, through historical tragedy,[193] through looking at sculpture and paintings,[194] through glancing at commemorative and exegetical inscriptions,[195] through proverbs and classic anecdotes.[196] Cicero provides amply sufficient references to his country's

[183] D. Mack, *Senatsreden und Volksreden bei Cicero* (diss. Kiel 1937) 77; M. Rambaud, *Cicéron et l'histoire romaine* (Paris 1953) 36 46.

[184] Mack (n. 183) 7 10; O. Plasberg, *Cicero* (Leipzig 1926) 3.

[185] F. Millar, *JRS* 74 (1984) 5, 16; id., *loc. cit.* 76 (1986) 1f., 8f.

[186] Cf. *Orat.* 102 on the *Rab. Perd.* Note *De or.* 2.338, 3.211 (e.g.) on the orators best able to speak to popular audiences; *Brut.* 85 with Guillemin (n. 74) 11.

[187] Millar (n. 185, 1984) 15 and (n. 185, 1986) 1; cf. J. G. F. Powell on Cic. *Amic.* 97, H. C. Gotoff, *Harv. Stud.* 95 (1993) 292f.

[188] *corona*: Cic. *Tusc.* 1.10, *Fin.* 2.74, 4.74; L. R. Taylor, *Party Politics in the Age of Caesar* (Berkeley 1964) 49.

[189] On *Leg. agr.* 2.39.50, cf. A. Vasaly, *Representations* (Berkeley 1993) 222 5, a reference for which I am grateful to Professor Anthony Corbeill (as for much interesting talk while this paper was being written).

[190] See Appendix B (1).

[191] On the duration of such memories, cf. R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record in Classical Athens* (Cambridge 1989) 95ff.; her discussion of Rome in *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1992) 158 70 is, by comparison, disappointing.

[192] See App. B (2). [193] See App. B (3). [194] See App. B (4). [195] See App. B (5).

[196] See App. B (6).

[116/117] history which a popular audience might have learned in this way. The link between rhetorical *exempla* and commemorative art has explored in detail, though a brisk survey of the historical *exempla* in Cicero's *contiones* does suggest a fair number of episodes with which his public might have become acquainted through artistic representations (cf. n. 194).

This preliminary discussion has, I hope, done something to reinforce what is still very much the minority view of Roman popular culture (cf. n. 108); there does seem good reason to suppose that the *plebs Romana* looked rather further than bread and circuses, bed, booze, and bawdy. That seems to be demonstrable, perhaps with some variations, at least from, say, 200 BC to 100 AD. If this study does something to reinforce the conclusions of recent work on the political activity of the *plebs* at Rome,[197] I should not be sorry, and if these pages act as a spur to further research and discussion in a grossly neglected field, I should be positively delighted!

Appendix A

Cicero's classification of intellectual calibre (cf. Guillemin (n. 74) 5:

stulti: do not appear a *sapiens* among them; do not be thought a *Graeculus* (*De or.* 1.221, cf. 2.153).

imperiti: *De or.* 3.195, *Fin.* 2.74 (cf. 4.74 on the *imperiti* who heard the *Pro Murena*; compare *Paradoxa St.* 33, *Rep* 1.23 on *agrestes*); their *opiniones* and *sermones* (contrasted with *ingenia prudentium*): *Clu.* 4, *Mil.* 62. A conventional phrase: *Lig.* 3, *Dom.* 4, 54, *Flac.* 2. On sweetening the *multitudo imperita*: *Phil.* 2.116 (cf. *Flac.* 97); *Flac.* 16 *cum in theatro imperiti homines rerum omnium rudes consederant. Phil.* 12.26 soldiers as an *imperita multitudo. Animi* of the *imperiti* easily stirred: *Verr.* 2.1.151, 5.163.

indocti: *Acad.* 1.4 (does not want to write what the *indocti* could not read: cf. *Off.* 1.1); *Fin.* 1.1 even those *non admodum indocti* have no taste for philosophy; *indocti* think that what they learn in youth is enough for the rest of their lives. *non apud indoctos loquor*: flattery (*Pis.* 68). Opinions of *indocti* (*De nat. D.* 1.55), or *imperiti* (ibid. 101) targets in *Tusc.* 2.63 *uulgus insipientium*. Cf. *Off.* 1.65, 118, 3.15.

barbari of *operarii*, *Tusc.* 5.104: despicable individually and collectively.

mediocriter docti: even they can follow what the Epicurean popularizers profess, *Tusc.* 2.7 (cf. *Acad.* 1.5, Rawson (n. 33) 49 n. 49), *Fin.* 3.3, *Rab. Post.* 23, *Leg.* 3.14 *mediocriter docti* who are *magni* in the state.

Note *Tusc.* 2.3, the speeches in which Cicero sought *multitudinis iudicio probari*, for oratory is a *popularis . . . facultas.*

[197] So Millar (n. 185, 1986); J. North, *P&P* 126 (1990) 3–21. Brunt (n. 99) 53–65.

Appendix B [117/118]

(i) Recent events (selective): *Leg. Man.* 30: Spartacus; *Leg. Man.* 28 9: Pompey's early campaigns; *Rab. Perd.* 20, 22, 26: events of 100 BC (discussed in 63); *P. red. ad Quir.* 7 (cf. 19, 20) recall of Marius from exile; outlines of story of Sulla and Marius familiar (*Cat.* 3.24, *Leg. agr.* 3.5 8); *Cat.* 3.9, burning of Capitol in 83, *Leg. agr.* 2.90 Social War, 2.91: consul of 91 BC triumphs against Mithridates: *Leg. Man.* 8.

(ii) Second century (selective): *Leg. agr.* 2.90: revolt of Fregellae (part of a rhetorical series; cf. *Ad Her.* 4.37 and indeed *Phil.* 4.13); *Rab. perd.* 12 15: laws of Gracchus; *Phil.* 6.10: Africanus and (?) Laelius as types of distinguished Romans; *Leg. agr.* 2.64 Cato the Censor, C. Laelius, L. Furius Philus (cf. *Am.* 21); *Leg. agr.* 2.82: P. Lentulus, cos. 162 (Broughton, *MRR* 1.442; note that Cicero does explain the reference). Slightly earlier are *Leg. agr.* 2.51: Scipio and the territory of Carthage (the episode is explained) and *Phil.* 6.4.6: envoys sent to tell Hannibal not to attack Saguntum (presumably cf. Broughton *MRR* s.v. 219 BC).

(iii) Rhetorical tradition: *P. red. ad Quir.* 6: recall from exile of P. Popilius and Q. Metellus (precedents repeatedly cited by Cicero himself); Fregellae (see §2 above); *Leg. agr.* 2.64: list of exemplary names; part discussed under §2 above, part under §§4 and 6 below; they become familiar by repetition but are individu ally well anchored in the collective memory.

(iv) Sculpture and painting: Rawson (n. 33) 53, ead. (n. 36) 260, cites Cic. *Verr.* 2.4.126 in favour of the Romans' view of the educative availability of art: the text suggests only that it is accessible, and not specifically to the poor. Note Strab. 1.2.8. on the morally deterrent effect of mythological representations. Art from all over the world in Rome: Ael. Arist. *Or. Rom.* (26 Keil) 13. But monuments and represen tations are not always entirely comprehensible: cf. L. Hostilius Mancinus' speech, Plin. *NH* 35.23 (cf. T. Hölscher, in *Tainia . . . R. Hampe . . . dargebracht* 1 (Mainz 1980) 353); lack of names: App. *B. Civ.* 2.419, Ov. *Ars am.* 1.219 28. But some times there were names: I. S. Ryberg, *MAAR* 22 (1955) 147, n. 18. Note Cicero's remarks on the statue of Q. Tremulus, *Phil.* 6.13. Subjection of Capua (cf. below §6): ample booty (Liv. 26.34.12). *Leg. Agr.* 2.90: war against Ps. Philip: ample artistic commemoration (Vell. Pat. 1.11.2 15). Fabricius Luscinus, in the catalogue of distinguished men at *Leg. agr.* 2.90 (see §3): cf. Plin. *NH* 34.32.

(v) Inscriptions: in commemoration of some of the individuals mentioned in §§3 and 4 above; possibly also *Leg. agr.* 2.83: M.' Aquilius and the Servile War of 101 99 BC, when he celebrated an *ouatio* (on his death, *Leg. Man.* 11, to be commemorated publicly, according to Pliny *NH* 34.24). *Leg. agr.* 2.90 the war against Aristonicus: triumph in 126.

(vi) Proverbs and anecdotes: luxury of Capua and the destruction of Hannibal: *Leg. agr.* 2.95; cf. A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der* Römer (Leipzig 1890, repr. Hildesheim 1965) 74; cf. ibid. 90 and §4 above. For L. Manlius Acidinus, cos. 179, mentioned in the list of exemplary figures at *Leg. agr.* 2.64 (see §3 above), cf. the anecdote at Cic. *De or.* 2.260, which can hardly have failed to assist the survival of his fame.

32
The geography of the *Georgics*[1]

In the summer of 1990, I got to Corfinium, centre of the Italic resistance to Rome in the Social War, not without difficulty, but in high hopes that some aspect of the place would prove of interest both to me and to Margaret Beattie, briefly a colleague and long a friend. That was a peculiarly stark disappointment: a dreary, unevocative little town redeemed only by some notable mediaeval architecture, with none of that numinous splendour of its pre-Roman past which one finds at (e.g.) Pietrabbondante. But one of the advantages of working largely by instinct and inspiration is that you do not know when something really is going to turn up: four hours in the train from Rome to Milan with four *Georgics* to read and a suspicion at the back of my mind unexpectedly kindled a spark, which did not go out after more detailed enquiry, and if the conclusions of this paper end up pointing away from Italy to an unexpected degree that fact in itself will prove of significance.

If I am asked, 'but what are Virgil's[2] *Georgics* about, then?', the question, if seriously intended, does not permit a single, simple answer. The subject-matter is stated formally in the proemium, that is, in the first four lines of the first book: agriculture, divided into crops, vines, cattle and sheep, and bees (four topics for four books). But these days even the most reactionary readers of these notoriously difficult texts have realized that it is not *just* about farming, though there is exceptionally wide and vigorous disagreement about what the underlying social, political, theological, philosophical, or eschatological content (I am careful not to say 'message'!) really is. Quite recently, under urgent and unexpected pressures, I was obliged to write a detailed introduction to the *Georgics*, nearly forty dense pages in two weeks. That concentrated the mind, sharply; the result is fortunately in English and generally available.[3] As a result, no need to weary readers of *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers* with yet another discussion of the *Georgics* in their historical context and of what their sense to readers *c.*29 BC

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[1] The invitation to contribute to a volume of *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers* in Margaret Beattie's honour (the journal used to be titled *Ancient Society: Resources for Teachers* when I was teaching at Macquarie) came at a most convenient moment, for it meant that I could also offer to the Universities of Pisa and Barcelona a Virgil lecture fresh from the pen, though I fear they would have preferred something 'central' on the *Aeneid*, however dog eared and yellowing the pages!

[2] This journal wished to change my preferred spelling of Virgil; my reasons for insisting on this spelling are explained at *Omnibus* 3 (1982) 13.

[3] In *Companion* 63 100.

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might have been. I think we are well rid, for good and all, of the *Georgics* as, [7/8]
actually, a practical manual for real farmers (resettled veterans, even). Though Virgil does get quite a lot of things right (and for such details, the commentary by R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1990, is really very good indeed), he is far too learned, superficial, and unsystematic to be of any practical use, and I have written enough elsewhere about the range of manuals, at various levels, and for various publics, that were available in the Roman world.[4] But to the Romans, rather as hard work in the garden has for us, farming had a sort of moral and ethical dimension, with a long literary tradition behind it, both in Greek and in Latin, and rooted at Rome in a strong, ancient nexus of ideas about the military, social, and moral superiority of the man who tilled his own land. No, I am certainly not going to advance a warmed-over version of that ill-advised argument that the *Georgics* were conceived as some sort of plea for a return to small-scale farming. A foolish proposition, at the best of times, and one not compatible with a notable degree of indirection in the text on that rather basic topic (or so one might think) of what sort of farming the text envisaged. Though the poet talks normally in terms of 'go and do it yourself', that is, amongst other things, a literary heritage, and not at all that rarely he turns out to be writing about the sort of farming that is only appropriate to a large holding.[5] There is a fundamental difference between the imagined addressee (a small farmer) and the intended reader (one able to understand something at least of an amazingly dense, difficult, and learned text).

There is no easy way of setting the poem in a precise and helpful historical context, in as much as it was begun in (or very near) 36 BC, in a period of full civil war, and was read to Octavian on his way back to Rome after the post-Actium settlement of the Near East, two years after Actium: that suggests we might do well not to impose too rigid a unity of social and historical outlook on the text. But neither before nor after Actium was there any 'Augustan agricultural policy', as used once to be believed. With policy out of the way, the poet as spokesperson can likewise be eliminated. But that does not mean that we have likewise to deny him some sort of commitment to a sense of the land as morally therapeutic for Italy after a long period of civil war, confiscations, resettlement, pillage, and neglect. Perhaps, then, as an ideal, work on the land was good for Italy, and good for the Romans in Virgil's view. Perhaps: I am not in sympathy with those modern readings of the *Georgics* as a poem of apocalyptic gloom about the natural world [8/9]
and the human condition, though that is not to say that I believe the text drips milk and honey from (nearly) every line![6] It does seem to make historical sense

[4] Cf. my 'Statistics or States of Mind', in J. H. Humphrey (ed.), *Literacy in the Roman World* (Ann Arbor 1991, *JRA* suppl. 3), 66.

[5] One of the merits of M. S. Spurr's article, 'Agriculture and the *Georgics*', *G&R* 33 (1986) 164 87, at 171 5, *Virgil*, ed. I. McAuslan and P. Walcot (Oxford 1990) 69 93 at 76 80; but for a firm answer to Spurr's central thesis (the *G.* as a manual for farmers), cf. *Companion*, 65 71.

[6] Optimistic readings of the *Georgics* are not intellectually respectable at the moment; I submit, however, that positive evaluations of Italy (however factually false in 29 BC) are present in the text

that in the period immediately before and after Actium a poet of Virgil's standing should write of the spiritual value of farming in a way at least compatible with the implications of the politics of renewal discussed by Syme in his chapter on *Tota Italia* in the *Roman Revolution*. Do not forget Velleius 2.89.4.

At that point, I asked myself just what Virgil's image of Italy in the *Georgics* really was, having worked for twenty-five years (and more) on his geography of Italy in the *Aeneid*. Not, that is, just the formal praises of Italy in *G.* 2.136–76, but in the work as a whole. It was the startling lack of evidence on which to base such an enquiry that led me to write this paper. I have even wondered at times whether we can really be sure that the poet is writing about Italian farming and I thought it might first be useful to collect the explicit evidence both from the text itself and from its earliest geographically minded readers which—to some extent—ties the poem to Italy itself. Now it is unfortunately far from certain that when a Roman poet says *fama est* (there is a story), he really means that there is one;[7] so too, when we see that apparently unambiguous word *uidi*, it does not mean beyond any shadow of doubt, 'I have actually myself set eyes on . . . ' and could even, I fear, sometimes mean 'I have seen' (sc. in a book in a library)! A notorious case (*G.* 4.125–7): the poet remembers he saw the old man of Corycus by the Galaesus near Tarentum; Richard Thomas has disentangled much of the web of Hellenistic poetic references behind that remark, and I am myself no longer persuaded by what once appeared to be evidence for Virgil's connexions with Tarentum.[8] Worse follows: much faith used to be placed in the ancient lives of Virgil. No longer; on balance, about as reliable as some disreputable opuscule of mediaeval hagiography, though that would probably have long since been damned by the Bollandists, while classicists, until very recently, were deplorably ready to believe
[9/10] what they were told about lives of authors.[9] However, that he passed his youth in and near Mantua and a good deal of his adult life in and near Naples are details confirmed by independent evidence. That in turn means that when he talks about the fertility of the countryside near Naples (*G.* 2.224–5), of the small boats that plied on the Po (2.452), of the medicinal herbs to be gathered along the Mella, near Brescia (4.271), and of the land lost by Mantua in the conscriptions,[10] he really may, despite all the caveats I can muster, be talking of things he has seen and known! Likewise, contemporary readers of the poem, even ones who had not been handed a hoe as soon as they could toddle, will have recognized as Italian and

alongside (in a typically Virgilian way) stark tragedy. So too L. P. Wilkinson, *The Georgics of Virgil* (Cambridge 1969): still a splendid book and none the worse for being a little dated.

[7] On *uidi*, cf. *Companion*, 71f.; on *fama est*, cf. *PLLS* 6 (1990) 49 63 [ch. 22].

[8] Cf. *Companion*, 4, 31 for the mildly polemical bibliography.

[9] Cf. *Companion*, ch. 1; M. Lefkowitz, *The Lives of the Greek Poets* (London 1981); J. Fairweather, *Anc. Soc.* 5 (1974) 274ff.; *PLLS* 4 (1983) 315ff.

[10] R. G. M. Nisbet, *JRS* 85 (1995) 320f.

familiar, if not the minutiae of agricultural techniques (which, as we shall see in a moment, varied notably from area to area in classical times—and do still!), so much as the general picture of the economics, reality, and practice of farming in Italy. Just as we can, after prolonged immersion in the bibliography on Roman farming and in Mynors' commentary. Serious readers of Virgil in the first century AD had no doubt about the precise regional references of some passages in the *Georgics*; that is interesting, and their remarks convey some valuable information, but one learns in Virgil studies that an old interpretation (even a very old one, one made, maybe, in the poet's own lifetime) is not for that sole reason a good one. But it is some little comfort to see that Seneca, Columella, and the elder Pliny had no doubts about Virgil's Italian focus, even though he himself did so little, as we shall see, to make it plain: thus the elder Pliny (a man of the north, even more than Virgil: Como as against Mantua) comments of *G.* 1.215 (spring sowing of beans) as being in keeping with the usage in the Po valley,[11] while at *HN* 17.19f. he remarks that what the poet says at *G.* 2.298 about the inadvisability of north-facing vineyards does not follow what farmers do near the Alps; Columella is uneasy about the same passage in Virgil.[12] On the sowing of millet (*G.* 1.216), the younger Seneca points out that he had seen it done in June near Liternum (slightly NW of Naples), while Virgil recommends springtime. Both methods, in fact, are legitimate.[13]

It would also have been a quite extraordinary and altogether uncharacteristic display of incompetent rhetorical strategy to inset the Praises of Italy (*Laudes Italiae*: *G.* 2.136–76) in a long text not primarily about the farming of Italy itself. Now the *Laudes* depend on Varro, not just *Res rusticae* 1.2.3–7 (which might seem [10/11]
an obvious source), but on an earlier and far fuller panegyric in the lost *Res humanae* 11, which is the common source of the (surviving) panegyrics in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Strabo, and the elder Pliny.[14] In Virgil's case, complains David Ross, a bundle of lies, particularly in the circumstances of the last years of the civil wars. The point has been made elsewhere, in less dramatic language.[15]

But that sort of veracity which you expect of a statistical handbook may on occasion be out of place in a poem of particular emotional intensity. What if the poet knew perfectly well that Italian farming was in a terrible state by 31 BC and if the *Laudes* represented his view of what his homeland could and should be? But I do not wish to take issue here with the pessimists' passionately held convictions. More relevant to my argument is the rhetorical usage of the best classical authors,

[11] *HN* 18.120. See R. Bruère, *CPhil.* 51 (1956) 240 (a useful study of Pliny as a reader of Virgil).
[12] E. de Saint Denis, in *Virgiliana*, ed. H. Bardon, R. Verdière (Leiden 1971) 336.
[13] Spurr (n. 5) 165f. 70f.
[14] Cf. *Companion*, 84, n. 118 for the learned bibliography; alas, no handy guide in English. At *BICS* 19 (1972) 121, I try to clear up the chronology.
[15] D. O. Ross, *Virgil's Elements* (Princeton 1987) 110; cf. *Companion*, 76f.

as analysed by Menander Rhetor (late third/early fourth century AD, but reflecting a long school tradition).[16] We should look not only at the sections on 'how to praise a country' (28–33) and 'how to praise a city' (46–75), and we soon realize that Virgil's emphasis on the rivers and coasts of Italy, on her impregnable cities and benevolent climate and on the variety of her products is an essential element not only, as Richard Thomas has well expounded,[17] of ethnographic writing, but also of the formal panegyric of cities and countries,[18] of which not that many classical examples survive.[19] At that point it becomes particularly interesting that Menander is also clearly aware (387.22, 25; 392.23, 26; 445.29) of the emotive effect of evocative proper names, displayed in all their abundant magnificence. Homer knew all about that, as did (e.g.) Virgil, Walter Scott, Macaulay, and Carducci; Silius had the right idea, but never got beyond a versified gazetteer, rather as happened in Macaulay's youth experiment on the Battle of Bosworth.

[11/12] So we reach the problem of the proper names in the *Georgics*; they do in truth not seem to have been properly explored; inexplicable, given the singular problem they turn out to raise, and their attractive dimensions as an object for study, like the mythological references in *G.*, which have been admirably explored.[20] I suggested some years ago[21]—with reference to the *Aeneid*—but the same observation applies even more strongly to *G.*—that (e.g.) clothes, colours, gestures, weapons, animals (and their behaviour) are all, in some sense 'languages', or codes, if you prefer, used by the poet if not with systematic rigour, then at least with some degree of conscious purpose—a purpose that in each and every case merits careful enquiry. Poets—and orators—knew perfectly well that geographical names were extraordinarily rich in association and in evocative force, and given that there does in truth seem to be something very curious about the geographical names Virgil uses—in a text that does appear to be 'about' the soil of Italy and its cultivation—then the scholarly neglect they have incurred (and I stress that I am talking about geography, not ethnography) is less explicable than ever.[22]

Now I do not propose to offer precise statistics, not so much out of respect for *G.* (though that comes into it), nor from fear that I will get my sums wrong

[16] To be consulted in the splendid edition (with introduction, translation, and commentary) by D. A. Russell and N. C. Wilson (Oxford 1981); only their skimpy index justifies me in citing Menander as widely as I do. He is not read for pleasure.

[17] R. Thomas, *Lands and Peoples in Roman Poetry* (Cambridge 1982, *PCPS* Suppl. 7) 44f.

[18] Men. Rhet. 348.5; 377.13, 23; 384.8f., 387.12; 408.24 for products. Positions of cities: with 22, 156, cf. 352.10ff. Benevolence of climate: 383.13; 387.10; 426.9. Rivers, lakes, bays, coasts, harbours: 349.25; 383.14f.; 384.7; 387.9f. 392.26f.; 394.18.

[19] Cf. C. J. Classen, *Die Stadt im Spiegel der Descriptiones und Laudes Urbium* (Hildesheim 1980).

[20] W. Frentz, *Mythologisches in Virgils Georgika* (Meisenheim 1967); cf. now (to show what has happened with the introduction of new critical methods), M. Gale, *PCPS* 41 (1995) 36 61.

[21] *Virgilio: l'epopea in alambicco* (Napoli 1991), 147.

[22] Apart from the commentaries of Thomas and Mynors (plus A. Biotti on *G.* 4, Bologna 1994), cf. R. G. Mayer, *Greece & Rome* 33 (1986) 51 2 and some remarks of mine at *Riv. Fil.* 119 (1991) 214f. (rev. of R. F. Thomas, comm. on Virgil, *Georgics* 1 2.).

(though that has happened) as because there are rather a lot of marginal cases, such as mythological names with geographical resonances (e.g. Cyrene, Arethusa), and epithets used without names (1.222 Cnosia, of Ariadne; 337 Cyllenius, of Mercury), which reduce statistical precision to the level of tedious pretension. However, there are between 250 and 300 toponyms in *G.* and of them about 60 are Italian. And I think that the first Italian place-name in *G.* occurs only at v. 265 of the first *Georgic* (a reference to hunting-nets from Ameria). One might at that point wonder about the response of an intelligent but entirely uninformed reader who came to the text knowing nothing of its circumstances of composition. Apart from the language—that is, the very fact that the original is in Latin—one is driven to wonder what there is in the text of *G.* 1, the first poem in the roll, or in the printed book, that *tells* the modern reader 'this is about Italy'; that the ancient reader may have found orientation rather easier we have already seen is quite likely.

I have no wish to try the reader's patience with a long preliminary survey of the [12/13]
Greek names in *G.*; however, they do help us to understand something of what Virgil is doing with the Italian ones, and they do display certain markedly curious and interesting features, sufficient to suggest that toponyms were altogether fair topic for enquiry. I relegate the details to an appendix and for now wish only to point out a very few of the more striking features which Virgil's choice of name displays:

(i) Names which belong to the geography of myth (*Dictaeus*), of religion (*Dodona*), of poetic inspiration (*Parnassus*), or of the great Greek games (*Elea*).
(ii) Names which Virgil found in learned Greek poetry. Most of the instances I have listed were to be found in Richard Thomas' commentary (and the remainder in Sir Roger Mynors').
(iii) Names of the places of origin of products, products listed, admired, compared, just known, or even actually imported: a feature both of ethnographic[23] and of panegyric writing. They are sometimes used by Virgil with notably careful balance, and with deliberate foreign-Italian interplay.[24]
(iv) Names as symbols of direction or of distance. East, North, South, West in order of frequency, the first being vastly more frequent than the last.
(v) Names of peoples that have threatened, threaten, or will threaten Italy. When Octavian keeps (*G.* 2.172) the unwarlike Indian from Italy, critics since Servius have been worried over just what Virgil might have meant

[23] Thomas (n. 17) 35ff., Mynors on 2.136 76.
[24] Cf. Mynors on 2.109 35, and Thomas on 2.114 35, Mynors on 4.366 73. Note too 2.37f., 88, 97 for some simpler instances of equilibrium; see also above, 15 on 2.89 102.

here. 'Indians' is an expansive way of referring to Cleopatra's furthest-flung allies, and their unwarlike character is surely to be seen as a moral, not a military threat to Rome.

(vi) It has often been noted that Virgil consistently and (we suppose) consciously kept certain key episodes from the Mediterranean 'heartland', such as the terrible plague of Noricum; the Timauus of 3.475 is a river of the Iapydians (a tribe of northern Dalmatia). The river is now in Italy, but certainly was not when the poet wrote. The bougonia, or rebirth of a swarm of bees from the carcass of an ox, is (4.287–94) in part, though not altogether, Egyptian; we have already noted the role of Arethusa (Sicilian) and Cyrene (Libyan) in Virgil's story. The two other key figures are also geographically interesting: Proteus, in *G.* Thessalian (as in Callimachus), but unforgettably also (cf. *Od.* 4) Egyptian (cf. Thomas on 4.390–1; see too 4.387), and Aristaeus, conventionally Thessalian too (4.317, 355)—an area interesting to Virgil (1.281f.; 3.2, 94; 4.367 Enipeus, 390f.) not just (1.490–2) on account of the civil war—but also, by allusion Cean (1.14) and (4.283) Arcadian. Lastly, Orpheus himself is a hero from the very edge of the Greek world, a Thracian, which helps account for other Thracian toponyms, such as Athos, Rhodope, Haemus, and Ismara.

[13/14]

Another outlandish toponym gave me pause when I was ((n. 3) 96) explaining the main difficulties of the proemium to *G.* 3 in some haste: Idumaean palms, the palms, that is, of the biblical Edom. No good reason to claim them for Callimachus (Thomas); Mynors cited one of the key passages, but did not see where it was leading; in fact Virgil is keenly aware of Octavian's settlement of the Near East (*G.* 2.170–2; 3.30f., 4.561) and Josephus (*BJ* 1.361, 398) tells us that Octavian was careful to restore to Herod those palm-groves with Antony and Cleopatra had misappropriated.

Now when we turn to those few Italian place-names in the *G.* we discover both that the poet's usage conforms, in certain major aspects, to that established for his Greek toponyms, and that he really does also adhere rather carefully to the best rhetorical usage as codified by Menander.

(i) The poet's Greek gazetteer yields him the mythical haunts of poetic inspiration; in Italy, he speaks of his own Mantua (2.198; 3.12), the river Mincius (3.14), and Parthenope (Naples; 4.564).[25]

(ii) We have seen that the well-trained panegyrist pays particular attention to coasts, bays, lakes, and rivers. So Virgil.

[25] Cf. too R. Thomas, in *MD* 29 (1992) 57ff. on the metapoetic quality of Virgil's reference to the Galaesus at 4.126.

(iii) Both in the *Laudes Italiae* and in the praises of country life at the close of *G.* 2 (514–40), Virgil pays due attention to the traditionally most famous, powerful, and virtuous peoples of the peninsula: Marsi, Sabelli (Samnites, of course, not Sabines),[26] Sabines, Ligures, Volsci, Etruscans, Romans. A choice which requires no justification, but it is interesting that Menander, when talking about praising a city on the ground of its foundation draws attention to 'those nations held most noble' (354.9). Tiber and Palatine have (1.499) special emotive force.

(iv) Italian toponyms too can be used with allusive and erudite force: 4.278 *Mellae–amellus–mel* is a nice double (or triple) word-play; so 3.146–7 *Sila–asilus–Silarus* (see Thomas on both passages). Italy as land of Saturn (2.173) was perhaps recognizably an allusion to Ennius. As I noted [14/15] (*Riv. Fil.* 119 (1991) 215), the *sicci ripa Tanagri*, a river part of whose course is subterranean, of 3.151 is one of those 'wonders' so familiar in ethnographical writing (Thomas is normally very full on such elements), probably coming in this case from Varro's *Fundanius de admirandis*.

(v) Lastly, the products of Italy, traditional elements, as we have seen, of ethnography and panegyric; there are only some twenty Italian instances in *G.*, in comparison with the eighty-odd from the Greek world. Note the Samnite swine of 3.255, or the obese Etruscan (2.193), already in Catullus (39.11), who plays the trumpet (a talent already recorded by Sophocles). Particularly interesting is the list of vines (2.89–102): the first list of non-Italian vines reaches its climax with the Rhaetian (from near Verona; still non-Italian). No match for Falernian. There is also the excellent Aminnean, from up-country Campania (a perplexing choice), to which the Tmolian (from Lydia) and the Phanaean (from Cos) must yield; there is also the wine of Rhodes. Only two Italian wines, in a central position, and not inferior to foreign types. And that, for Virgil, is enough. There was no shortage of Italian vines, and he could easily have listed fifty, along with two foreign! But he did not.

So what is Virgil up to in his selection and disposition of Italian toponyms, in his creation of an imbalance that would be even starker if we left the *Laudes* out of account? I really cannot pretend to have a simple answer. I could not swallow the idea of a Virgil who wished to show that little Italy symbolically (and in reality) dominated the whole of the rest of the Mediterranean. He is not that kind of strident patriot, and the *Georgics* are very much a pre-Augustan poem: their

[26] The facts were stated with complete clarity by E. A. Sonnenschein, *CR* 11 (1897) 339f. and I restated them with vigour in *Enc. Virg.* 4 (Roma 1988) 627f., but people still manage to get *Sabellus* wrong.

outlook is that of the closing years of the civil wars and of the first months of Octavian's dominance; we cannot read back the tone of Horace, *Carmina* 4 into them! Nor do I think that Virgil has worked systematically to eliminate Italy from his text: the *Laudes*, and the close of the second book (in equilibrium with the threatened Italy of the close of the first) are enough to rule that out—along with the closing lines of Book 4, which make of Italy the home of poetry. But there is equally no rhetorical strategy that puts Italy, or farming that is specifically Italian in its localization, at the centre of the poem. That is not to say that I do not believe that that is exactly where it is, after all! It is by no means impossible that Virgil has permitted himself a magnificent and systematic piece of understatement. The imbalance of place-names is also in part a consequence of the character of the *G.* as learned poetry in the Hellenistic tradition, which means that their thought-world is Alexandrian, even if their subject-matter is Italian! It is also possible that Virgil, having read so much Greek prose and verse before writing *G.* was left with a sense that farming in Greece and in Italy was, in its practical aspects and in its
[15/16] moral worth very much the same—in many ways—in both worlds. If that were to mean that the *Georgics* become even more of, at least a Mediterranean, if not positively a universal poem than we suspected, and if we can now *prove* this in some sense by the apparently dull criterion of the analysis of place-names, then that is perhaps not at all a bad thing. This enquiry has come a long way from its false start at Corfinium, and it has turned out almost depressingly un-Italian, but I am glad at least to have been able to offer Margaret Beattie a real (and Italian) problem, even if I cannot produce an answer in which I have entire confidence.

Appendix

I am not going to offer a complete list of every name that might be called geographical in the *Georgics*. But every Italian name, yes, by categories, and at least the bulk of those Greek names which can be categorized (in a rough and ready way!), especially when the categor ies illustrate those into which the Italian names fall:

(i) Italy as home of poetry:

4.126, Galaesus (cf. 2.192 Tarentum); 4.564, Parthenope; 2.198, 3.12, Mantua; 3.15, Mincius.

(ii) Water and shores:

1.482, 4.372, Eridanus (note Greek name for Po, 2.452); 2.146, Clitumnus; 159, Larius; 160, Benacus; 161, Lucrine lake (cf. 163, *Iulia . . . unda*); 164, Tyrrhenian Sea; 164, Lake Avernus; 4.369, Tiberinus, *Aniena fluenta*.

(iii) Peoples:

2.167, *Marsos pubemque Sabellam*; 168, *Ligurem Volscosque*; 532, Sabini; 533, Etruria (cf. 2.193). Cf. simple patriotic association at 1.466, 2.534, Roma; 1.499, *Tuscum Tiberim et Romana Palatia*; 2.176, *Romana per oppida*.

(iv) Erudition:

2.95f. (see Thomas for references to Catullus and Cato), 173, Italy as *Saturnia tellus* (cf. 2.538); 3.151, Tanagri; 219, Sila; 146, Silarus; 4.278, Mella.

(v) Products etc.:

1.265, *Amerina . . . retinacula*; 2.38, oil of Mt Taburnus; 2.88, pears of Crustumerium; 2.96, Falernian wine; 97, Aminnean; 143 (cf. 3.526), *Bacchi Massicus umor* (not bad, even today!); fertility of 2.224, *diues . . . Capua*; 224f., *uicina Veseuo ora*, and 225, *uacuis Clanius non aequus Acerris*, 2.192, 193; 3.146f., gadfly of Silarius/Alburnus; 3.425, Calabrian serpent; 3.219, hiefer of Sila; 3.255, *Sabellicus . . . sus*; 4.119, roses of Paestum; 4.278 *Mella/amellus*. [16/17]

Non Italian names:

(i) The geography of poetic inspiration:

2.18, *Parnasia Laurus*; 2.176, *Ascraeum . . . carmen*; 3.11, *Aonio . . . uertice*, 291, *Parnasi*; 293, *Castaliam*.

Athletic festivals:

1.59; 3.19, 49, 180, 202.

Religion:

1.8, 149, 163; 2.16, 67; 4.64, 111.

Myth:

1.9, 16, 17, 18, 281, 282, 472, 502; 2 383, 536; 3.2 (*Lycaei*), 4, 6, 89, 93f., 113; 4.151f., 170, 175, 177, 323, 463 (*Actias Orithyia*), 524, 539.

(ii) Names from learned Greek poetry (but cf. 1.207, Greek geography from Catullus); usually you will find what you need in Thomas' commentary, though sometimes you will need Mynors as well, and cf. too Mayer (n. 22):

1.383 4, 2.37, Ismara; 84, Idaeis; 87, *Alcinoi syluae*; 90, Methymnaeo; 114 35, with Thomas' note, 116f. Indian ebony (etc.); 139, Panchaia; 385, Ausonii (with Mayer, 52); 437, Cytorum; 438, Naryciae; 464, Ephyreia (cf. Mayer, 51); 487, Spercheos; 3.2, Amphryso; 19, Molorchi; 30 with Thomas' note; 115, Pelethronii; 269f.(?), 312, Cinyphii; 382(?), 4.127, Corycium; 343, Ephye, Asia Deiopea, 363 73 with Thomas' note, 367, *Phasimque Lycumque*, 370, *Mysusque Caicus*; 380(?) (cf. Mayer, 50), 390f. *Emathiae portus . . . patriamque Pallenen*; 467, *Taenarias fauces*, 518(?). Cf. too the commentaries at 1.238; 2.90, 105, 108. Compare too the historical learning borne by toponyms at 4.125, Oebaliae, 287, Pellaei.

(iii) Resources, products, characteristics of lands other than Italy:

(a) outside the Greek world:

1.228 (lentils of Pelusium); 309 (Balearic sling); 2.88 (Syrian pears), 91 (Mareotic wine), 109 39 *passim*, 440, 465 (Assyrian poison), 2.506 (Tyrian purple; cf. 3.17, 307), 3.5, 12, 204 (the Belgian *esseda*), 312, 339, 344, 4 211 12 (admiration for king), 288, 291, 379. [17/18]

(b) the Greek world:

1.8, 9, 56 9, 102 3, 120; 2.18, 67, 84, 90 102 *passim*, 437, 438, 464, 486 7, 519; 3.34, 43f. (note E. Courtney, *AJPhil.* 110 (1989), 488, against Thomas), 121, 306, 312, 345, 405, 4.41, 177, 270, 334, 380.

(iv) Names as orientation:

W: 3.408;

S: 1.241; 2.105; 3.249, 339, 344;

E: 1.57f.; 2.115, 116, 121, 126, 134, 136, 137, 138, 139 (cf. Thomas' notes on this concentration of references to the fabled wealth of the East); 4.425;

N: 1.240; 2.115; 3.196, 197, 349, 350, 381, 461, 462.

(v) Distant lands and peoples as threatening/having threatened/likely to threaten Italy: 1.30, *ultima Thule*; 509, Germany and Euphrates (cf. 474); 2.171, furthest Asia; 172 (cf. above for the unwarlike but perilous Indians); 2.492, Dacians and Danube; 3.25, Britanni; 27, Gangarides; 29, Nile; 30, conquered cities of Asia, Niphates; 31, Parthians; 408, Hiberi (Spain); 4.290, Persia; 314, Parthi (463 Getae); 541 Euphrates.

(vi) Stories from marginal areas: Noricum and the plague: 3.474 5; Egypt and the bougonia: 4.287ff. (a passage on which Mynors is particularly helpful); Orpheus and Thrace: 4.461, 462, 463, 508, 520, 524, cf. 1.332; 2.37, Ismara, 488, Haemi, 3.351, 462.

33

The unity of Roman Italy

Some anomalies

Patauinitas

The vice of Patavinity was laid at Livy's door by Asinius Pollio,[1] and the accusation has received a good deal of comment, much of it conflicting, uncertain, and unhelpful.[2] Quintilian's citations of Pollio, however, leave almost no room for real doubt, and I hope here to offer a fuller attempt at clarifying Pollio's meaning in the context of contemporary thinking about regional anomalies of language.[3] Curiously enough, the relevant citations of Pollio turn out upon examination to be inconsistent in meaning.[4]

On *elocutio*: *et in Tito Livio . . . putat inesse Pollio Asinius quondam Patauinitatem* (8.1.3). Quintilian therefore recommends an entirely urban, urbane, Roman choice of *uerba* and *uox*:

> uerba aut Latina aut peregrina sunt . . . taceo de Tuscis et Sabinis et Praenestinis quoque (nam ut eorum sermone utentem Vettium Lucilius insectatur, quem ad modum Pollio reprendit in Liuio Patauinitatem): licet omnia Italicapro Romanis [71/72] habeam (1.5.55).

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[1] *Ap*. Quint. 1.5.5 and 8.1.3 Pollio *fr.* 10 (*Oratorum Rom. Frag.*, ed. Malcovati, p. 500).

[2] R. Syme, *Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) 485f. (cf. *Harv. Stud.* 64, 1959, 54 *RP* 1 (Oxford 1979) 450) lent his authority (and epigrammatic formulation) to an interpretation which, though entirely valid in itself, took no account of the line of argument in Quintilian. Hence some indecision or confusion. P. G. Walsh, *Livy* (Cambridge 1961) 267 70. Even the notably judicious C. S. Kraus, ed., *Livy* 6 (Cambridge 1994) 1, n. 2 seems seduced from the text of Quintilian by some echo of Sir Ronald's siren song. K. Latte, *CPhil.* 35 (1940) 56 60 id., *Kl. Schr.* (München 1968) 896 9 applies (cf. n. 9) great erudition to a problem not envisaged in Quintilian's text.

[3] As has been done in part before, though the issue can hardly be said to have been clarified decisively: J. Whatmough, *Harv. Stud.* 44 (1933) 95 130 (cf. id., *Harv. Stud.* 42 (1931) 152); L. Adams Holland, *Lucretius and the Traspadanes* (Princeton 1979) 7f.; E. S. Ramage, *Urbanitas* (Norman 1973) 109f.; A. H. Travis, *CPhil.* 48 (1953) 174f.; J. André, *La vie et l'oeuvre d'Asinius Pollion* (Paris 1949) 89 93, with the admirable tradition of French writing on Latin prose style (cf. n. 9) behind him, predictably grasps the point.

[4] G. M. A. Grube, *The Greek and Roman Critics* (London 1965) 295, n. 1.

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This passage appears to represent a decidedly more generous (and anti-Ciceronian; cf. n. 13) view, later on corrected and modified. If any Italian origin counts as 'Roman', then even Padua will do. Or will it?

There is a third passage in Quintilian which, though it does not mention *Patauinitas* specifically, has in all probability some bearing on the question under discussion: at 1.7.24, according to Asconius, Livy wrote *sibe* and *quase* for *sibi* and *quasi*, as did Asconius himself, who was interestingly enough another Paduan, as he himself makes clear, writing as he does of *Liuius noster*, p. 77.4f. Clark. Let us be clear: *sibe* and *quase* are not spellings that occur in our texts of Livy and Asconius, but that means nothing, for scribal and editorial usage, ancient, medieval, and modern, tends unswervingly towards the normalization of such oddities.[5]

So is Quintilian (or Pollio) talking about spelling, pronunciation, idiom, or even style or grammar? That is a good deal less certain, but it will be as well to clarify just what did vary linguistically between town and town (or region and region) in Roman Italy. Let us leave the published (or printed) editions of literary works out of the discussion, just as Quintilian himself already did (12.10.43). That still leaves an ample range of possibilities.

The spelling of Latin was not fixed and uniform among educated Romans of the classical period:[6] that was only to be expected, and Suetonius, or Quintilian, noted individual variations with dispassionate curiosity: thus Augustus wrote *ixi* when we should have 'expected' *ipsi* (Suet. *Aug.* 88), the elder Cato *dice* and *facie* for *dicam* and *faciam* (Quint. 1.7.23) and Cicero and Virgil *caussa* and *cassus* where we should have 'expected' single *-s-*. Quintilian collects an interesting range of examples (1.7.20–7), not all simply a matter of archaism. Standarized spelling is a child of systematic lexicography,[7] and we live in a fools' paradise of uniformity when we open our printed texts. Regional variation, manifested in both lexical usage and pronunciation, is no less unremarkable. Just as Greek grammarians collected both γλῶσσαι ('rare and obsolete words') and λέξεις ('words peculiar in form and significance'),[8] so Roman scholars noted with eager curiosity local variations of idiom, where the area distinct in usage may vary in scale from 'Oscan' to 'Lanuvium'; Festus does after all say that
[72/73] the Lanuvines had a peculiar word for 'good' (Macr. *Sat.* 1.3.13) and a particular form for 'testicles' (p. 156.34L.).[9] Geography—and not just that of Alps and

[5] Cf. the remarks of A. Traina, *L'alfabeto e la pronunzia del latino*[4] (Bologna 1973) 18.

[6] M. Leumann, *Lat. Laut und Formenlehre* (München 1977) 15; M. Durry, *Éloge funèbre d'une matrone romaine* (Paris 1950) lxxxiii vii; cf. L. Gamberale, in *Atti del convegno virgiliano sul bimelle nario delle Georgiche* (Napoli 1977) 360.

[7] R. Burchfield, *The English Language* (Oxford 1985) 145f.; B. Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana* (1960, repr. Milano 1994) index s.v. *grafia*.

[8] R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 309.

[9] Note the convenient index, Festus, ed. W. M. Lindsay, 564; for discussion of such regional variants, cf. A. Ernout, *Les éleménts dialectaux du vocabulaire latin*[2] (Paris 1928) 305; J. Marouzeau, in *Mél.*

Appennines—encourages such diversification.[10] At that point, it would be extraordinary if local varieties of sound or accent had not existed as well: they did indeed, in Roman Italy,[11] as they still do, and not only among the uneducated.[12] A good deal of work has been done recently on the conceptual nexus *urbanitas–rusticitas–peregrinitas*, particularly in respect of Cicero's remarks about non-Roman orators, and that dispenses me from further investigation here,[13] but the terminology deserves some attention. You could tell a non-Roman the minute he opened his mouth, and both the sound and the language might give you a good idea of the speaker's place of origin,[14] but it is worth dwelling briefly on the words used by Roman critics to express those aspects of a non-Roman's spoken utterance that 'gave him away', for that in turn should shed some light on the field of meaning to which *Patauinitas* must (in all probability) belong, and on the terms in which Roman critics took over and adapted the notion of *ἑλληνισμός*.[15]

Domitius Marsus, *De urbanitate*, ap. Quint. 6.3.107: *illa est* ***urbanitas****, in qua* [73/74]
nihil ***absonum****, nihil* ***agreste****, nihil* ***inconditum****, nihil* ***peregrinum*** *neque* ***sensu*** *neque* ***uerbis*** *neque* ***ore gestuue*** *possit deprendi, ut non tam sit in singulis* ***dictis*** *quam in* ***toto colore dicendi****.*

Cic. *De orat*. 3.43: ***lenitate uocis*** *atque ipso* ***oris pressu*** *et* ***sono****.*

Nep. *Att.* 1.3: *summa* ***suauitas oris*** *atque* ***uocis****.*

Cic. *Arch*. 26: *pingue quiddam* ***sonantibus*** *atque peregrinum.*

Quint: 11.3.30: *uitio carebit* (*sc.* ***pronuntiatio***) *si fuerit* ***os*** *facile, explanatum, iucundum urbanum, id est in quo nulla neque rusticitas neqe peregrinitas resonet.*

Cic. *Brut*. 171: *illud est maius, quod in* ***uocibus*** *nostrorum oratorum* ***retinnit*** *quiddam et* ***resonat*** *urbanius.*

Plin. *Ep.* 2.13.6: *mira in* ***sermone****, mira etiam in* ***ore*** *ipso* ***uultuque suauitas****.*

J. Vendryes (Paris 1925) 251 64; id., *Quelques aspects de la formation du Latin littéraire* (Paris 1949) 13f.; id., *Traité de stylistique latine* (Paris 1946) 170; A. Meillet, *Esquisse d'une histoire de la langue latine* (Paris 1928) 99. Latte (n. 2) identifies some cases in the Greek grammarians of clearly improb able, even absurd local anomalies, which may conceal an element of scholarly prejudice or polemic. Not so here, clearly.

[10] Well put by Holland (n. 3) 4; cf. Migliorini (n. 7) index s.v. *dialettalismi*; Burchfield (n. 7), 124.

[11] Holland (n. 3) 3 14; for Vespasian, cf. Suet. *Vesp.* 22. Anecdotal evidence is particularly valuable in such questions: cf. e.g. Cic. *Brut.* 171, 172; Plin. *Ep.* 9.23.2; *SHA Hadr.* 3.1.

[12] Migliorini (n. 7), G. Devoto and G. Giacomelli, *I dialetti delle regioni d'Italia* (Firenze 1972); T. De Mauro, *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita* (1963, Bari 1986) index s.v. *dialetti*; for English: cf. Burchfield (n. 7) 123 30; J. Honey, *Does Accent Matter?* (London 1989); for American, H. L. Mencken, *The American Language* (New York 1974) 354 78.

[13] Ramage (n. 3); id., *AJPhil.* 81 (1960) 65 72; id., *AJPhil.* 84 (1963) 390 414; id., *TAPA* 92 (1961) 481 94; I. Opelt, *Die lateinische Schimpfwörter* (Heidelberg 1965) 149 51; J. M. David, in *Les bour geoisies municipales* (Paris 1983) 309 23; J. P. Cèbe, *La caricature et la parodie* (Paris 1966) 129 31, 139f.

[14] J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Romans and Aliens* (London 1979) 128 31; O. Ribbeck, *Agroikos*, Leipzig 1885, 38f.; Ernout (n. 9), 30 5; Marouzeau 1949 (n. 9), 7 25; id., 1946 (n. 9), 4f.

[15] On this vast topic, cf. most fully E. Siebenborn, *Die Lehre von der Sprachrichtigkeit* (Amsterdam 1976) a reference for which I am grateful to Roberto Nicolai. See now the interesting remarks in E. Hall, *Inventing the Barbarian* (Oxford 1989) 118, and index s.v. *language*.

In restating Pollio's criticism of Livy, Quintilian spoke, it will be recalled, in terms of *uerba*, *uox*, and *sermo*; the wider context has by now become clear; even if we cannot tell whether Livy sounded Paduan, or was Paduan in morphology and lexicon, or whether the criticism applied to his conversation, his declamation, or the readings of his history (and indeed we cannot, I think, be more precise within these parameters), there is nothing to be gained from continuing to accuse Livy of provincialism of the soul!

Prejudice

Given the variations in ethnic origin, economic development, geographical environment, history, Romanization,[16] and, as we have seen, way of speech, it would be altogether extraordinary if the inhabitants of ancient Italy, like those of ancient
[74/75] Greece, or indeed like mediaeval or modern Europeans,[17] had not on occasion expressed dislike, disgust, or surprise at the way 'others' behaved, or were alleged to behave. I do not claim to have undertaken any sort of prolonged and systematic study of the topic, but offer the results of several years' interest, curiosity, and sporadic research, in the hope of showing that *tota Italia* was a slogan—then as now—if not invalidated, then at least weakened and impugned by numerous inconvenient exceptions and anomalies.

(i) *aut pinguis Umber aut obesus Etruscus* (Cat. 39.11) is not merely repetition (Quinn, *ad loc.*), but *Steigerung*: *obesus* is fatter than *pinguis* (Isid. *Diff.* 1.114). It is curious that *parcus* replaced *pinguis* in the MS tradition of Catullus (until corrected by Lindsay, *ex glossario*), but presumably it did so at a time when the distinction between *pinguis* and *obesus* had been lost. Persius 3.94 echoes the judgement on the Umbrians; Virg. *G.* 2.194 *pinguis . . . Tyrrhenus* refers to the same view of the Etruscans.

(ii) *Tuscum iurgium* where, oddly, this whole enquiry began:[18] the expression is used of a question answered not by a reply, but by another question.

[16] Cf. J. Kaimio, in *Studies in the Romanization of Etruria* (Roma 1975, *Acta Inst.Rom.Fin.* 5) 85 245; W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford 1971) 147 201; E. T. Salmon, *The Making of Roman Italy* (London 1982) ch. 1; A. J. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy* (London 1965) 1.93 105.

[17] For Greece, start from the (spurious) pref. to Thphr. *Char.*, with the comm. of R. G. Ussher, 10; R. Strömberg, *Greek Proverbs* (Göteborg 1954) index s.v. *nationalities*; A. Otto, *Sprichwörter der Römer* (Leipzig 1890, repr. Hildesheim 1965) index s.v. *Kulturgeschichte*; and now R. Tosi, *Dizionario delle sentenze latine e greche* (Milano 1991) nos. 133, 272, 287, 417, 477, 959, 961, 1243, 1790 (for a start!). For the Middle Ages, P. Meyvaert, *Speculum* 66 (1991) 743 63. For modern Europe, cf. E. Partridge, *Words, Words, Words!* (London 1933) 3 9 ('Offensive nationality'). For Italy itself, cf. E. Ferrero, *Dizionario storico dei gerghi italiani* (Milano 1991) 385 424 (index, s.v. names of towns).

[18] See M. Erler, in *Strukturn de Mündlichkeit in der römischen Literatur*, ed. G. Vogt Spira (Tübingen 1990) 289, citing Aug. *C. Acad.* 3.4.9, who in turn cites Virg. *Buc.* 3.104 7. See too H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics* (Göteborg 1967) 1.366.

(iii) *Sabini quod uolunt somniant*. Festus p. 434.14L., Otto (n. 17), 304. Such credulity was also attributed to the Gauls (Otto, 152).

(iv) The Sabines (Sabini) and Samnites (Sabelli) were also of legendary hardiness and moral rectitude;[19] Virgil has no difficulty in applying the same description to the Aequiculi (*Aen.* 7.746–7), and we may compare the warlike character attributed to the Marsi,[20] but these literary and ethnographic commonplaces take us too far from the popular prejudices here under examination.

(v) The inhabitants of Praeneste and Lanuvium were primitive in their fare (Naev. *Com.* 21 Ribbeck).[21] The Praenestines were also boastful.[22] Cora, Praeneste, Frusino, Signia, and Altaium are called *barbaricas urbes* (their names are given in Greek!) at Plautus *Capt.* 884.[23] The Lanuvini were dark-skinned and had fine teeth but Catullus (39.12) presumably draws on some far older characterization dating from a time when Rome was little if at all her neighbours' superior and the towns of central Latium were markedly distinct.

(vi) The Ligurians on the one hand were accustomed to hardship (Virg. *G.* 2.168, Tosi (n. 17), no. 1662). But Nigidius Figulus, *De terris*, called them *latrones*, *insidiosi*, *fallaces*, *mendaces* (*ap.* Serv. Dan., *ad Aen.* 11.715). That outburst owes something to Cato, *Orig.* fr. 32P (quoted in the same note of Serv. Dan.): they are *inliterati mendacesque . . . et uera minus meminere*, because they do not keep proper records.[24] [75/76]

(vii) The *superbia* and *luxuria* of Capua were proverbial,[25] while the Campanians in general were famed not only for *arrogantia* and *superbia*[26] but for luxury[27] and immorality.[28] Whence the easy etymological link of Osci and obscenity.[29] But Osci/Opici could also stand for uncouth barbarism (ignorance of Greek on the part of the Italic tribes of the Campanian hinterland, to start with): thus in Greek usage at Rome's expense as early as the elder Cato.[30]

(viii) Apulia: rustic, Plaut. *Mil.* 648.[31]

[19] I have discussed this ethnographic commonplace at *Latomus* 30 (1971) 1109 [ch. 1, 2] and at 'Sabini', *Enc. Virg.* 4.627. Cf. Otto (n. 17) 304.

[20] Cf. Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 229; Nisbet Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.39; Mayor on Juv. 3.168; note in particular App. *B.Civ.* 1.203.

[21] Cf. Ramage 1960 (n. 13), 68; id. (n. 3), 33. [22] Plaut. *Bacch.* 24; Otto (n. 17), 286.

[23] Cf. Ramage (n. 3), 32. [24] Cf. G. Traina, *Rend. Linc.* 9.4 (1993) 596.

[25] Otto (n. 17) 74; Tosi (n. 17) no. 960. [26] Otto (n. 17) 68, s.v. *Campania* (2).

[27] Otto (n. 17) s.v. *Campania* (1); more *unguentum* than other people had oil, *uulgo dictum*, according to Plin. *HN* 18.111.

[28] Cf. the whores of Cumae, Fur. Bib. fr. 4 Courtney (along with the boy prostitutes of Catania).

[29] Cf. Courtney's note of Fur. Bib. *cit.*; E. T. Salmon, *Samnium and the Samnites* (Cambridge 1967) 59.

[30] Otto (n. 17), 256f.; Cato *Ad Marcum filium* fr. 1 Jordan Plin. *HN* 29.14; cf. too Mayor on Juv. 3.207.

[31] The relevance of Naev. *Com.* 18f. Ribbeck is quite theoretical, *pace* Ramage (n. 3) 32.

(ix) Sardinians: corrupt, one worse than the other.[32] And proverbial for their inferior, short-lasting cheese.[33]

The above list does not pretend to be comprehensive, nor the annotation exhaustive, but it should be sufficient to indicate the existence of an issue for fuller enquiry. It will not have escaped notice that the instances cited include comical trivialities and the echoes of ancient historical rivalries; the same range of seriousness emerges from the parallel modern material (n. 17). The topic may appear at the outset amusing, but it should not be thought that the author views lightly the consequences of inter-regional hostility,[34] unchecked, and, almost worse, not understood historically.

[32] Cic. *Fam.* 7.26.2; Otto (n. 3) 308f.; cf. Balsdon (n. 14) 64.
[33] Otto (n. 3) 309, citing Novius 45 Ribbeck (*CRF*).
[34] For some parallel material for the Roman Empire at large, cf. Courtney on Juv. 15.2 12; Gwyn Griffiths on Plut. *Is. Osir.* p. 232.16, R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (Cambridge Mass. 1975) 185f., 338f., 348f.

34

The unity of Roman Italy

Anomalies in context

SCI was kind enough to print two notes of mine on 'some anomalies' in the unity of Roman Italy (16 (1997) 71–6 [ch. 33, 389–94]); discussion,[1] thought, and further research[2] suggest that readers of *SCI* are owed an explanation of just where those two notes in the end have led, along with at least an introduction to the abundant (and mysteriously neglected) evidence of comparable character that my earlier article did not discuss.

In 'the second age of Empire', according to the epitomator Florus, the Roman people *totam inter Alpes fretumque Italiam subegit* (1.17.9; cf. 1.3.34, 1.13.4); Arnold Toynbee put the matter even more strongly: 'the political unification of the Peninsula by Rome . . . led eventually to the population of the whole Peninsula becoming uniform in language and culture'.[3] That is unassailably enshrined as the 'standard view' of the topic;[4] thus Togo Salmon wrote a useful book in the same determinist spirit, entitled 'The Making of Roman Italy'.[5] But the very name *Italia* changed meaning repeatedly down to the middle Republic[6] and the [39/40] *tota Italia* which swore allegiance to Octavian before Actium[7] was a recent political

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[1] Notably with Dr Emma Dench, Birkbeck College London, to whom my warmest thanks.

[2] To n. 20 of my 1997 article [ch. 33, 393], add the Apulian woman *moribus bonis* at Varr. *Men.* 554; the southern slopes of the Matese *aspera et montuosa et fidelis et simplex . . . regio*, Cic. *Planc.* 22; hardy virtues of Ligurians at Cic. *Agr.* 2.95; of Sabines and Marsi, *Vat.* 36, *Lig.* 32; cf. the severe respectability of Padua, Plin. *Ep.* 1.14.6; Mart. 11.16; cf. Laurence, in Laurence and Berry (n. 5), 104f.

[3] *Hannibal's Legacy* (London 1965) 1.93.

[4] G. Bradley, in (ed.) T. Cornell and K. Lomas, *Gender and Ethnicity in Ancient Italy* (London 1997) 61: 'by the late first century BC the ethnic groups of Italy had become both politically defunct and culturally indistinguishable'; 'homogenisation' is the term he employs.

[5] London 1982; cf. now J. M. David, *La romanization de l'Italie* (Paris 1994); even T. J. Cornell, an historian peculiarly aware of the diversity of the distant Italic past, writes in *Beginnings of Rome* (London 1995) 31, of that diversity as lapsing between the Roman conquest and the fall of Rome. Cf. E. Gabba, *CAH* 8^2 231. M. Crawford, *CAH* 10^2 424ff. offers a minimalist presentation of the evidence. K. Lomas, in Cornell and Lomas (n. 4) 3, and ead., *Roman Italy. A Sourcebook* (London 1996) 1ff. at least allows for an element of tension between Romanization and older loyalties. See too R. Laurence, in (eds.) R. L. and J. Berry, *Cultural Identity in the Roman Empire* (London 1998), 95ff.

[6] Cf. my note on Virg. *Aen.* 7.178, with further bibliography (see below n. 19).

[7] *RGDA* 25.2; R. Syme, *The Roman Revolution* (Oxford 1939) 284f.; T. Rice Holmes, *Architect of the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1929) 1.144f.; and A. Keaveney, *Rome and the Unification of Italy* (Beckenham 1987) 189ff.; cf. too Suet. *Aug.* 17.2.

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slogan: though Lucilius had used it to express Hannibal's *complete* withdrawal from Italy in 203 (825M), it is Cicero who (along with the variation *Italia cuncta*), gives the expression its first political and historical context and thus helps us identify the chronological and presumably contextual origins of Octavian's memorable catch-phrase.[8] Those who paused to consider an area's, or a town's, loyalty in the face of Hannibal, or even Pyrrhus, or in the Social War may have gone on sometimes to seek explanations, just as the loyalties (sometimes inherited) of regional *clientelae* may likewise have provoked rewritings of the record.[9] Cato (*Orig.* fr. 85P) had read his Polybius (3.54.2), or, perhaps, *vice versa*: the Alps protect Italy like a wall, *muri uice*. So what of Brennus, or Hannibal? Later invaders, down to Napoleon, found the wall just as permeable! But we can hardly claim for Cato[10] the intellectual invention of *tota Italia* and its implicit unity, for not only did *Origines* 2–3 enumerate *unde quaeque ciuitas orta sit Italica* (Nep. *Cat.* 3.3), not merely cataloguing legendary founders but inevitably anticipating Miss Rawson's impeccable remarks on the irregular spread of Romanization (date, means, terms, and pre-existent culture are all relevant), with reasons and results,[11] the Censor was also explicitly aware (inevitably, like any acute observer, then or now) of regional variations in manufacture (*Agr.* 135), agriculture (*Agr.* 1.2) and *mores* (*Orig.* frr. 31, 32, 34). Perhaps high moral standards were the simplified
[40/41] exception: Cato's commemoration of *Italiae disciplina et uita*[12] must perforce have taken account of endlessly virtuous Sabines, rather than of lying Ligurians and witty warlike Cisalpines.[13] No more unified were the Italic insurgents in the Social War, despite their coin-legends *Italia/Vitelio* and their valiant attempt at federal organization.[14] We might wish to compare the role and end of the Austro-Hungarian army, 1914–18. Quite what degree of mutual understanding there existed between Rome's Italic foes is unclear;[15] *in extremis*, one supposes, they could have used Latin!

[8] *Italia cuncta* 11x, or *cuncta Italia* 15x; *tota Italia* 36x; *Italia tota* 10x. Note too *Comm. Pet.* 34; Sall. *Cat.* 52.15; 5x in Caes. *BCiv.*; 16x. in Livy; see in particular 1.2.5.

[9] Cf. E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (Oxford 1958) 169ff.

[10] Note too *Orat. Rom. Frag.* fr. 230 Malc. on the areas of Roman growth.

[11] *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London 1985) 19f.; on A. E. Astin, *Cato the Censor* (Oxford 1978) 229, cf., approvingly, E. Rawson, *JRS* 70 (1980) 198.

[12] Serv. *ad Aen.* 9.603; *Orig.* fr. 76 P, followed by Varro in the *De gente*, fr. 34 Fraccaro; note the Augustan Hyginus' *Urbes Italicae*, or whatever the title actually was.

[13] Cf. C. Letta, *Athenaeum* 62 (1984) 3ff., 416ff., id. in *Preistoria, storia civiltà dei Sabini* (Rieti 1985) 15ff. On the Sabines; *Orig.* frr. 31, 32, 34.

[14] E. T. Salmon, *Samnium and the Samnites* (Cambridge 1967) 73ff. (coins) and 348f., after Diod. Sic. 37.1.4f.; cf. my remarks in *AION* (Sez. ling.) 13 (1991) 17ff. [ch. 25, 302 4], revised from *Athenaeum* 77 (1990) 523ff., for the Roman understanding of Italic constitutional terminology.

[15] Cornell (n. 5), 41ff.; Salmon, *The Making of Roman Italy* (Ithaca 1982) 1ff.

Virgil

It has naturally been claimed that Virgil had a key role in establishing Italy as an *entità ideologica*,[16] but we have learned that Virgil is a peculiarly complex poet and his Italians are not simply there to be led into war, united by Augustus Caesar, against Antony's barbarian hordes, despite the appearance of comforting certainty conveyed, in isolation, by *Aen.* 8.678.[17] To understand Virgil's position—and he was a Cisalpine transplanted to Campania, with perhaps, a house in Rome[18]—we have first to glance at Varro, beyond any question his principle source in all matter Italic:[19] *enumerans*, Macrobius tells us of Varro, with welcome specificity (*Sat.* 3.16.12), in Book 11 of the *Res humanae*, *quae in quibus Italiae partibus optima ad uictum gignuntur*. It was long ago seen by Geffcken and Bauck, and has not since been questioned, that this was the lost source of (e.g.) both Varro's own later, [41/42] surviving panegyric in *Rust.* 1.2 and Virgil's *laudes Italiae*.[20] A few words, then, on each of the poems.

Fifty years after the Social War, it is to Rome that Tityrus went to save his own land.[21] His sense of wonder is one amply attested elsewhere; Rome will have been full not only of those who had fled the countryside (Sall. *Cat.* 37.4–7; Cic. *Leg. agr.* 2.71), but of those who had to visit the capital, from every corner of the peninsula, for reasons of business, elections, tourism, or family.[22]

Though affinities between farming techniques mentioned in the *Georgics* and those attested specifically for Cisalpine Gaul and Campania in antiquity have been noted, we cannot infer that Virgil had those local realities in mind, though he does seem to have known both areas directly; even had he said, explicitly, *uidi*, that could just as well mean, as we now realize, 'I saw it in a book!'[23] Variety of soil, and consequently the crops, was a topic hallowed by discussion in both Cato and Varro (and earlier too); Virgil's treatment[24] was to be expected, and though an understanding of the nexus of causes between geology, climate, and diet are as a whole not to be expected, still we shall see that all the elements in the chain are in some sense recognized. The *laudes Italiae* (2.136–76) are given specificity and diversity by the use of geographically precise instances, perfectly in keeping with

[16] See e.g. A. Bernardi, 'Italia', *Enc. Virg.* 3.49.
[17] Horsfall, *Riv. Fil.* 117 (1989) 57 [ch. 20, 258] traces some of the issues involved.
[18] On Don. *Vita Suet.* 13, cf. my discussion in *Companion* 8.
[19] Cf. my commentary on *Aen.* 7, xx and ff., 417ff. (see above n. 6).
[20] Mynors on *G.* 2.136 76; R. Thomas, *Lands and Peoples* (Cambridge 1982, *PCPS* Suppl.7), 39.
[21] *Buc.* 1.19ff. and see I. M. LeM. DuQuesnay, *PLLS* 3 (1981), 114.
[22] Cf. Petr. 69.9; Claudian *Carm. min.* 20, with Horsfall, *Invigilata Lucernis* 13 14 (1991 2), 169ff.; Calp. Sic. 7.4ff.; note 7.1: Corydon is away for twenty days. At Rome, even murders are not at all surprising, Varr. *Rust.* 1.69.3. We might also want to consider the country mouse, Hor. *Sat.* 2.6, who, alas, is more concerned with luxury than with the city itself. Juv. *Sat.* 3 is an interesting reversal of the theme: the countryman who no longer wants anything to do with Rome.
[23] Plin. 18.20; *Companion*, 71f.
[24] 1.51ff., 2.109ff., 177ff., where see Mynors and note 2.226ff. on the testing of soil types.

Menander Rhetor's analysis of good Greek literary usage.[25] Virgil's mentions of the wine of Mons Massicus and the cattle of Clitumnus are exactly in keeping with that distribution of prizes which Macrobius attributes to Varro *Res hum.* 11 (*supra*) and with what we read in the summary at *Rust.* 1.2.6f.[26] More to our point, for a line and a half, 2.166–7, Virgil dwells explicitly upon Italy's ethnic
[42/43] diversity: *haec genus acre uirum Marsos pubemque Sabellam adsuetumque malo Ligurem Volscosque uerutos.* The common feature of these four peoples[27] is martial prowess.[28] The sequence of names carries mind, eye, and historical memory up, down, and across central Italy. Significantly, Virgil opens the *Laudes* with *Italiae* (2.138) and closes them with *Romana . . . oppida* (2.176) and it is Rome that rules the towns of Italy, in relative tranquillity;[29] that is indeed progress, in measured counterpoint to the profound variety in terrain and ethnic characteristics symbolized by the poet's choice of names, and to the agricultural diversity and difficulties round which the prize-list of 143–50 skirts, as the rhetorical context here requires.[30]

Carlo Levi read *Aen.* 7–12 as an epic of the country's resistance to the city, of peasants against army, of South against Rome, of people against power; in an anti-Fascist context, that is historically comprehensible.[31] Perceptions, though, have changed: 'brave but backward, simple but savage, hardy, heroic and hopeless; the terminology follows a fundamental and unresolved ambiguity in Virgil's approach' was offered recently as a definition of Aeneas' Italian opponents, after thirty years' struggle with the issue and the large bibliography it has generated.[32]

Virgil declares he will sing of *totam . . . Hesperiam* driven to take up arms (7.43f.); in the next internal proemium, he asks the Muses to help him sing *quibus Itala iam tum floruerit terra alma uiris, quibus arserit armis* (7.643–4). The Catalogue which follows should in part be read as a great commemoration of Italic diversity (far more strikingly so than the *laudes*): we note explicit variations in dress, arms, and armour (from the bizarrely primitive to the conventionally legionary), landscape and *mores*, snake-charmers among the Marsi (still there), bandits among the Aequi (still not unknown), and wearers of a single shoe among the Hernici (apparently unattested!). Add Etruscan haruspicy in the second
[43/44] catalogue (10.175–7) and the fire-walkers of Mount Soratte (11.785–8), not to

[25] Cf. my discussion in *Anc. Hist.* 27 (1997) 11 [ch. 32, 382], citing e.g. Men. Rhet. 387.22, 392.23.
[26] Cf. *Anc. Hist.* (n. 25) 10ff. [ch. 32, 380 1].
[27] Sabelli are Samnites, not Sabines, we recall; cf. my summary, 'Sabini', *Enc. Virg.* 4.627 8.
[28] *Acre*; cf. App. *BCiv.* 1.203; no Roman triumph against or without the Marsi.
[29] Cf. my n. on Hor. *Epist.* 1.7.86 (*Atti dei convegni di Venosa, Napoli, Roma* (1993) (Venosa 1994) 315 28); B. Shaw, *P&P* 105 (1984), 9ff.; Plin. *Ep.* 6.25 for endemic banditry even in imperial Italy.
[30] Notoriously, to the annoyance of David Ross ('lies') and Richard Thomas ('serious deficiencies'): see *Companion*, 76f.
[31] *Cristo si è fermato a Eboli*, ch. 14; cf. Horsfall, *Virgilio: l'epopea in alambicco* (Napoli 1991), 87.
[32] In my note on Virg. *Aen.* 7.681 (n. 19); that will be expressed too coolly *sine ira et studio* for many readers today, but the ambiguity in the poet's position has been noted by others, notably J. O'Hara, *Colby Quarterly* 30 (1994) 216.

mention oracular groves,[33] the typically Italic assembly of elders,[34] possibly the dedication of arms hung from a tree (10.423, 11.5ff.), and Turnus' three feathers.[35] That and more, let us note, despite an author working from written texts and in formalized rhetorical traditions and a *princeps* (*supra*) profoundly concerned with Italian unity.[36] Though the poet's choice of toponyms in the Italic Catalogue is at times curiously unevocative,[37] it was long ago noted that among the sources for the poet's choice of names for his native warriors were the toponyms of Italy: Messapus, Umbro, Ufens, Metabus all evoke associatively areas other than those with which they are explicitly connected;[38] not, alas, so much a systematic expansion of the epic's toponomastic riches and erudition, as has been thought, but rather an ingenious technique for expanding the extremely limited range of local hero-names available to the poet.[39] Juno asks Jupiter (12.820–7) that the Latins shall keep name, language, and clothes (the outward signs of national identity) after they synoecize with the Trojans; so Rome's *propago* shall one day be powerful thanks to *Itala uirtute*. Jupiter agrees (*do quod uis*; the Latins shall retain name, *sermo*, and *mores*, 12.833–5).[40] Emasculated, Phrygian-speaking, trouser-wearing Trojans were understandably not to inhabit the *tot congesta manu praeruptis oppida saxis* (*G.* 2.156); beside Turnus' death that was the Italians' greater victory.

Then and now

It might also be as well to offer an historical analogy in support of the notion, compatible, we might think, with the text of Virgil, that we should look a little more carefully before we assume with convenient conviction that *tota Italia* was totally homogenized and uniform, and was thought by the Romans to be so, apart from some technical details of agriculture! I refer to the situation in Italy today, a hundred and thirty years after Unification: government is central, as under Augustus, but also, in the Napoleonic tradition, strongly centralized. Powerful impulses to uniformity have been offered by compulsory military service (now moribund) and by modern communications technology, in particular by [44/45]

[33] e.g. Nemi, Feronia, and the one authentic Italic element in the erudite construct that is Albunea: *Aen.* 7.81–106 with my introduction in *Companion*.

[34] Cf. the articles cited in n. 14, and my notes on *Aen.* 7.611, 617, 727.

[35] 7.785, with *Companion* 254, n. 49.

[36] Cf. Salmon (n. 5), 143–7; Keaveney, *op. cit.* (n. 7).

[37] Less interesting, in short, than it need have been: contrast the brilliant use of *Algido* at Hor. *Carm.* 4.458. See too C. Edwards, *Writing Rome* (Cambridge 1996) 27ff., admirably, on evocative toponyms within the city.

[38] Cf. L. A. Holland, *AJPhil.* 56 (1935) 202ff.

[39] Cf. C. Saunders, *TAPA* 71 (1940) 537ff.; Horsfall, *G&R* 34 (1987) 48 [ch. 17, 204–5]. Note also such names as Erulus and Dercennus, possible hints of lost local mythologies: cf. my remarks at *RMM* 4.

[40] Cf. my remarks, *Riv. Fil.* 117 (1989) (n. 17) 60f. [ch. 20, 260]; Vergilius 35 (1989), 22–5 [ch. 22, 279–82].

television. That said, homogenized centrality and geocultural diversity are irresolubly in conflict. There still remain vast differences (and what follows derives from personal observation over thirty-five years and some relevant reading), in accent, in lexicon,[41] in diet, and names for foodstuffs (see below, n. 45), in agricultural produce and building materials, in architecture, saints venerated, in daily *mores*, in climate, microclimates, and geology, in the plants, and even in the animals that you see. That is but one observer's list of variations that are, personally, interesting. No surprise: not only it is over a thousand miles from Palermo to Trieste, by train (as it once was by chariot), and the effect, in terms of environmental divisiveness, of the geography of the Appennine valleys, can hardly be overestimated;[42] exactly the same, naturally, is true of the Valais in Switzerland, or of the Pennine valleys in England. Microclimate, altitude, and soil still have a dramatic impact on what can and cannot be grown, as Lucretius 5.1370–7 already sensed. For those who farmed to live, these tiny local variants could be crucial (as they still are, *mutatis mutandis*, to the gardener); many veteran settlements will have learned to rue bitterly their imagined good fortune. Even the Northern plain, from Bologna to Como, from Turin to Trieste, is divided by linguistic substrata[43] and interfaces (French in Piedmont, Austrian and Slovene in Friuli, Ladino in some Alpine valleys), just as much as by dialect.[44] The expert ear can still distinguish inhabitants of Agosta, Marano, and Anticoli, three villages within three miles, between Monti Ruffi and Monti Simbruini; variations in diet are not just an interest of the author's, but, still, objectively exist and serve as a
[45/46] key socio-cultural indicator.[45] The old boundary between the Papal State and the Kingdom of Naples remains significant, if you know what to look for; centuries of subjection (e.g.) to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany are still vastly more significant in understanding a town's character than a few decades in a given province under unified Italian rule; Venice and Trieste are great ports, worlds, and ninety miles, apart. 'North' and 'South' remain almost valueless generalizations.

[41] Cf. *SCI* 16 (1997) 73, n. 12 [ch. 33, 391, n.12].

[42] Louise Adams Holland, *Lucretius and the Transpadanes* (Princeton 1979) 4.

[43] For the Celtic element in Emilia, cf. Toynbee (n. 3), 2, 664, n. 1, etc.; G. Devoto and G. Giacomelli, *I dialetti delle regioni d'Italia*[5] (Firenze 1991) 54f.; T. De Mauro, *Storia linguistica dell'Italia unita* (1963, Bari 1986) 299f.; B. Migliorini, *Storia della lingua italiana* (1960, repr. Milano 1994) 19 22; G. Devoto, *Storia della lingua di Roma* (1939, repr. Bologna 1983) 2, 305; note too likely Etruscan elements in Tuscan, notoriously the 'gorgia', or strongly guttural pronunciation of c.

[44] It remains most illuminating to cross a significant dialect boundary, slowly, and listen! Cf. De Mauro (n. 42), 298f.

[45] As Stephen Mennell so beautifully showed, for England and France: an approach now eloquently taken up for antiquity by P. Garnsey, *Food and Society* (Cambridge 1999). For modern Italy, cf. P. Camporesi, *Le vie del latte* (Milano 1993) 105ff.; F. Cùnsolo, *La gastronomia nei proverbi* (Milano 1970); A. Capatti and M. Montanari, *La cucina italiana* (Roma Bari 1999) 3ff.; Alan Davidson, in id. (ed.), *Oxford Companion to Food* (Oxford 1999) 409f.

New evidence

We turn then to the neglected evidence for significant variables within Roman Italy, variables that go far deeper than authors' formal bows to their several *patriae* of origin[46] and range far more widely than Strabo's passing laments on the decline of Greek ways in S. Italy.[47] Here, after all, we are talking about explicit evidence in prose authors of the late Republic and early Empire about ample and specific instances of regional diversity within 'Romanized' Italy; why this notable bulk of evidence should have been so completely ignored remains something of a mystery. The myth of *tota Italia*, however, is powerful, and I realize that this evidence, whose bulk could easily be extended, is inconvenient:

(i) Geology and soil. We have already seen how important soil-types were to Virgil; so already to Varro (local variations, *Rust.* 1.20.4), and likewise later to Columella, in ample detail: see (iv), (vi) below and note e.g. Col. 3.3.2f. (the general principle, with specific instances), 5.8.6 (olive), 9.13.2 (bees). We may also compare Plin. *HN* 36.175 (quarry sand) and Vitr. 2.6 (with 5.12.2) on pozzolana. Cf. (x) below: the facts are just as significant for builders as they are for farmers.

(ii) Water. On local variations, one reads with interest and respect Vitr. 8.3, written with full awareness of their relationship to both soil and crops. Cf. Varr. *Ling.* 6.69, and Plin. *HN* 2.224–34 (with 37.44; Vitr. 2.6.5), for some instances of local oddities. [46/47]

(iii) Climate. On the agricultural implications of climatic variation, cf. Varr. *Rust.* 1.6.3 (Apulia as against mountain areas such as Vesuvius, hill against plain in general). Cf. Cato *Agr.* 1.2f.; Colum. 3.2.10f., 5.8.5 (for growing olives); Plin. *HN* 17.20f. for viticulture in general and 14.60 for the consequences in selecting vine-types; see too Colum. 11.3.14f., Plin. *HN* 18.205 for the implications for sowing-times.

(iv) Agricultural products in general. A vast topic (cf. Mynors on 2.109ff., 177ff. for an introduction to the Greek sources), here only for passing notice, for it was perceived under significantly diverse headings, such as that of local oddities,[48] of regional superiority, as in the instances of cheese, wine, honey, figs, wheat, oil, and all farm animals (see below, (v),

[46] Ovid on Sulmona (*Tr.* 4.10.3 etc.); Horace on Venosa and neighbourhood (see e.g. D. West, in (ed.) C. D. Fonseca, *Non omnis moriar* (Potenza 1993) 110ff.); Virgil on Mantua (*Aen.* 10.198ff., etc.); Lomas (n. 4), 3 well points to Cic. *Leg.* 2.3f. on Arpinum. It is easy to extend the list: see e.g. Prop. 4.1; W. J. Watts, *G&R* 19 (1971), 91ff.

[47] 5.4.4., 5.4.7, 6.1.2; Laurence (n. 5), 99.

[48] Plin. 16.17, 19.146, 21.97, 25.86, on a medicinal herb recently discovered in Marsic territory, 26.87. Note 10.135 arrival of a new (and edible) bird *trans Padum*, *c.*70 AD.

(vi), (vii), (viii), (xiii)), and of limitless local diversity.[49] Cato (*Agr.* 1.2) wisely advised the potential purchaser to go and look at the neighbouring farms: *in bona regione*, their holdings gleamed or glowed (*nitere*). Plautus, Eduard Fraenkel taught us, wrote about food just as you would expect of a true pork-fed Romagnolo.[50] Terrain determines agriculture, agriculture diet, and diet, *mores*! Poet and pedant both knew, and both listed, what the very best areas were for a given range of crops. Naturally, categories, classification, and consequence could all have been developed far more fully. Plin. *HN* 19.16 refers to the Transpadanes' delicious linseed porridge; he was himself a native of Como.

(v) Cheese. For excellence by milk-type and area, cf. Plin. *HN* 11.240–2.

(vi) Wine. Cf. Vitr. 8.3.12 (taste and soil), Colum. 3.2.6 (taste, climate, and terrain; the whole of Book 3.1–2 is indeed devoted to this very topic and we may compare Plin. *HN* 14.21–39; see too 14.124).

(vii) Oil. For Pliny, the very, very best is from the Campi Phlegraei (*HN* 18.111), though Varr. *Rust*. 1.2.6 did not agree. See Colum. 5.8.3.

(viii) Honey. Specially good for its wax among the Paeligni and in Sicily (Plin. *HN* 11.33). Cf. Plin. *HN* 15.70 for excellence in figs and Varr. *Rust.* 1.2.6, Colum. 2.6.2 for wheat.

[47/48] (ix) Agricultural techniques. Distinctive regional variations are noted: Varr. *Rust.* 1.8.6 (wine-making near Reate); 1.51.2 (reaping in (?) Liguria); 1.57.3 Apulian grain-storage; 1.29.2 Apulian ploughing; use of mule-transport in Apulia and the Salento 2.6.5; pitch used for sealing wine-jars in some areas, Plin. *HN* 14.120; 18.205 (sowing; better follow the weather, not the calendar). So too is the existence of limitless regional diversity in the specially specific cases of viticulture (Varr. *Rust.* 1.8.10; Plin. *HN* 14.22) and harvesting cereals (Plin. *HN* 18.296). We have already seen that distinctively Padane and Campanian techniques have been discerned in *Georgics* and will shortly (15) come to the relationship between variation in technique and variation in terminology. Italy on her own was quite complex enough for the agronomist (as though we still needed arguments against the view that the *Georgics* were written to teach farming! Farming just where?) and Colum. 1.1.6 remarks on the unsuitability of Punic precepts to Italian soil. Ways of pruning olive-trees remain, in the country, a topic almost as contentious as football.

(x) Building materials. In part a natural consequence of (1); cf. Plin. *HN* 36.166f. on local varieties of tufa and other stone; *HN* 36.135 (after Varro); Vitr. 2.7.1, 9.14; likewise in the case of building timber: Vitr.

[49] Note particularly flax, Plin. *HN* 19.9, vines, below, and cabbages, Colum. 10.130ff. in hexameters, and Plin. *HN* 19.141. Turnips in Transpadana, Plin. *HN* 18.128.

[50] *Elementi plautini in Plauto* (Ital. edn., Firenze 1960) 408ff. Cf. n. 45 for modern analogies.

2.9.16 (larch), 10.1.ff. (pine). Cf. Plin. *HN* 16.66 on local varieties of maple and their uses.

(xi) Metallurgy. Itself rooted in Varronian panegyric (Virg. *G.* 2.165f., *Aen.* 10.173; Plin. *HN* 3.138, 34.2, etc.); variation likewise in working techniques: for Capuan and other local techniques in the smelting of bronze, cf. Plin. *HN* 34.95.

(xii) Animals. Only in one part of the *Maesia silua*, in Veientine territory, were 'wild' dormice found (Plin. *HN* 8.226); in Italy, the shrew-mouse is venomous, but it is not found east of the Appennines (*HN* 8.227). 'The best' areas for breeding the principal farm animals are commonplaces of panegyric and catalogue (*G.* 2.144–7; Varr. *Rust.* 2.1.14, 6.2: asses, Strab. 5.1.4); note Colum. 3.8.3, 6.1.1f. on the best areas for cattle, by characteristic required (*ipsa quoque Italia partibus suis discrepat*); Varr. *Rust.* 2.7.5 for horses; and Colum. 7.2.3, Plin. *HN* 8.190 for sheep.

(xiii) The farmer with time and money went to particular areas, even particular makers, if he was concerned to acquire the best equipment (Cat. *Agr.* 135). Note also that in Etruria *far*, emmer (still eaten, particularly in Tuscany and Umbria), was ground with a special kind of pestle (Plin. *HN* 18.97).

(xiv) Units of measurement. Cf. Varr. *Rust.* 1.10.1 *in Campania uersibus, apud nos in agro Romano ac Latino iugeris*. See Hyg. *Grom.* p. 147.7 Thulin. There were local variations in the weight of grain (Plin. *HN* 18.66).

(xv) Names for things. My earlier discussion (1997, 72f. [ch. 33, 389–94]) concentrated on cases of local names; the issue of regional names should not have been ignored, for vine-props,[51] names for vine-types,[52] for equipment,[53] in the sense of *agger* and *murus in agro Reatino* (Varr. *Rust.* 1.14.3), in the names used for boundary-markers (Sic. Flacc., p. 102.18 Thulin), for mounds of soil in Campania heaped round newly planted elms (Plin. *HN* 17.77), for a local mineral water (*HN* 18.141), for a poor Piedmontese kind of rye (*HN* 18.141), for soil-types, as in the case of Campanian *pulla* (Colum. 1. *praef.* 24, 2.10.18), for boundaries, which, specified Frontinus (*Limit.* p. 12.16ff. Thulin), may be archaic, or astronomical, or local, even limited to one town. Linguistic variation is exacerbated by levels of technicality, as in the references made to the language of *mechanici* (3.10.2) or *pastores* (7.3.17) and very frequently to [48/49]

[51] Varr. *Rust.* 1.8 *passim*; note 1.8.3 *opuli*, a name for maple at Mediolanum.

[52] Nothing surprising in the wide range of vine types, but some change name when transported and thus *uicinae nationes nominibus earum discrepant uariantque uocabula*, Colum. 3.2.30.

[53] Scythes: *hae in Campania seculae a secando*, Varr. *Ling.* 5.137.

that of *rustici* by Columella.[54] Local variations in terminology are a natural consequence of the variations in the objects themselves.

(xvi) Land-tenure. Even non-specialists know that *condiciones agrorum per totam Italiam diuersas esse*; naturally, given the difference between *colonia*, *municipium*, and *praefectura*, given too variations in an area's relations with Rome and in the degree of *fides* displayed. So, sagely, Siculus Flaccus begins his *De condicionibus agrorum*;[55] such variation leads to differences of *consuetudo*;[56] ditches and boundaries differ[57] as does centuriation itself.[58] To talk about the 'unità giuridica' of Italy[59] is at least in this respect problematic.

[49/50]

Conclusions

Italy, we have remarked, is a long country; the standardization of clocks is generally found to be a consequence of the introduction of railway-timetables, while the Romans wrestled with the problems of the variation in latitude between the Veneto and Sicily, in terms of the length of the shadow cast by the gnomon of a sundial.[60] On the Po, boatmen used rush skiffs (Plin. *HN* 16.178) and in Transpadana women wore amber amulets, for the obvious reason of vicinity to the Baltic trade-route (Plin. *HN* 37.44). *Italia partibus suis discrepat* remarked Columella, as we saw (6.1.1). The topic still arouses strong passions: diversity or difference does not entail dispute or division; it does not help to pretend that the differences are not there and it is perhaps a surprise to discover that they always were, and were known to be, despite the virtual consensus among historians of Roman Italy. *Tota Italia* and the modern state survive despite, or perhaps because of their elements of diversity, individually trivial perhaps, but cumulatively of moment, and to diversity it is possibly now time that historians of Roman Italy faced up. At least there is now perhaps a slightly more ample notion of what evidence there is to be found, and where.

[54] So too Plin. *HN* 16.94; cf. H. D. Jocelyn, *PLLS* 2 (1979), 116.

[55] P. 98.6ff. Thulin; in much greater detail, 99.9ff.; cf. 124.19, 129.6. Note in similar terms Cic. *Balb.* 31, *Off.* 1.35.

[56] Sic. Flacc. pp. 104.1, 106.22, 107.1, 111.20, etc.; Hyg. *Contr.* 92.13, 96.1; Grom. 83.7, 23.

[57] Sic. Flacc. 114.16, 115.6ff., 118.4, 122.18; Hyg. *Contr.* 88.4; Grom. 136.11ff.

[58] Sic. Flacc. 120.20f., 123.19f., 125.12; Frontinus *Art. mens.* p. 16.5, on account of terrain.

[59] E. Gabba, in *La cultura italica* (Pisa 1977) 21f.

[60] Plin. *HN* 6.215ff., 7.182, with Beaujeu (edn. Budé) 235f.; cf. Vitr. 9.7.1.

35

The legionary as his own historian[1]

Outside the Colosseum, in English museums, and even, I gather, tramping from Munich to Italy, you are liable to meet enthusiasts dressed in Roman armour. The exquisitely painful boot-nail which lands on your toe at Juvenal 3.248 (compare 16.24) belongs specifically to a *miles* (who is therefore presumably uniformed). Could you, though, spot a Roman veteran?[2] The hunt for his distinguishing features (and if some of my evidence applies primarily to a soldier out of uniform, it will be cited none the less) was productive and satisfying, as might actually have been predicted, given the deeply rooted links in Greco-Roman thinking (consider Homer's Thersites, or Theophrastus' *Characters*) between appearance or manners and character or activity.[3] So Seneca discusses the emotions (symptoms, we might say) which are preliminary to full-blown passions and cites the case of the *militaris uir* {warrior}, in the midst of peace and wearing his toga: he pricks up his ears at the sound of a trumpet, just as the clank of arms stirs the old army horse (*Ira* 2.2.6). Suetonius, notoriously, owes much to the conventions of ancient physiological writing[4] and says that Vespasian was *statura . . . quadrata, compactis firmisque membris* {of square build, with solid, muscular limbs} (*Vesp.* 20.1): predictably, for he came of solid centurion stock. But the typical soldier did not just look like Vespasian and detail, satiric, to be sure, but also specific, abounds: they had hairy nostrils, short back and sides, wide shoulders, heavy muscular development, bulging calves, varicose veins from too much marching; they did not pluck their leg-hair and they were perceptibly careless of personal hygiene.[5] [107/108]

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[1] I am most grateful for the reactions of audiences in Manchester, Rome, Venice, Lausanne, Groningen, and Stockholm to versions of this paper, as well as to Ramsay MacMullen for inspiration and encouragement.

[2] It was Giovanni Franco who led me to Tib. 1.10.31f.; his scholarship, conversation, and hospitality lend a special enchantment to my visits to Venice. To him I express my thanks and to him this paper would naturally be dedicated, were it not for the untimely death of Norman Austin (Massey), a very dear friend, and a modest, thoughtful veteran of long years of military operations.

[3] Cf. E. C. Evans, *Physiognomics in the Ancient World* (Philadelphia 1969). A. Corbeill, *Controlling Laughter* (Princeton 1996) 55f. (his forthcoming *Gesture in Ancient Rome* contains a rich fund of further material).

[4] Evans (n. 3), 50f., 93f.; A. Wallace Hadrill, *Suetonius* (London 1983) 67ff. misses the link. The *De physiognomonia liber* (edn. Budé 1981, BUR ed. [Italian] 1993) really deserves to be much better known; I know of no English translation.

[5] Nostrils: Juv. 14.194; haircut: ibid.; shoulders: ibid. 195; muscles: Cic. *Phil.* 8.26, Pers. 3.86; calves: Juv. 16.14; varicose veins: Pers. 5.189; hairy legs: Fronto 128.10 van den Hout; hygiene: Pers. 3.77.

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Even Ennius (*Ann.* 249Sk) refers to the *miles* as *horridus*; the word is primarily tactile (cf. my note on *Aeneid* 7.746), though often more emotive than just 'bristly'; Horace's unloved schoolfellows at Venusia were 'hulking boys born of hulking centurions';[6] Persius went one better (5.190) and called centurions *ingentes*, vast; they were after all[7] chosen for strength. Predictably, they were quarrelsome and Cicero cites centurion and *signifer* {standard-bearer} as typical of those who cannot resort to reason and turn therefore to anger;[8] it was you that apologized when one crushed your toe. You also knew a soldier by the way he talked: that is, by the distinctive idiom of the *sermo campestris* {field idiom}.[9] Perhaps also by the bars he frequented.[10] Not to mention his scars: Manlius Capitolinus, who 'saved the Capitol' from the Gallic attack in 390 BC, is said to have had twenty-three.[11] The one-eyed man (Hannibal!) was very likely to be an old soldier; Caesar talks of four centurions in a single cohort who lost eyes at the siege of Dyrrhachium.[12] There were men (*murci*) who cut their thumbs off to avoid further service, but Catiline's grandfather fought left-handed, having lost his right hand in battle and some such story must underlie the *cognomen* Mancinus in the *gens Hostilia*.[13] There must of course have been exceptions, like the soldier in civilian dress who sits down next to you in Rome and begins to talk ill of the emperor![14]

An ugly mob, to judge from hostile sources! Others have charted in alarming detail the recruitment of criminals into the army, the notorious role of the soldier as thief and bully and the easy passage thereafter from 'soldier' to full-
[108/109] time bandit,[15] but the profound and ultimately catastrophic disenchantment felt by civilians towards the army[16] is a development only foreshadowed by the late republican and early imperial sources on which this paper largely rests. We are now warned (justifiably enough) about the danger of using the model of the

[6] On *Sat.* 1.6.73; cf. now G. W. Williams, in *Homage to Horace* (Oxford 1995) 305.

[7] Veget. 2.14; perhaps even fifth century AD, but deeply conservative and derivative. Cf. N. P. Milner's trans. and comm., Liverpool 1993.

[8] *Tusc.* 4.55; *pugnaces*, *Phil.* 8.26.

[9] Cf. C. De Meo, *Lingue tecniche del latino* (Bologna 1983) 187ff.; M. G. Mosci Sassi, *Il sermo castrensis* (Bologna 1983); surprisingly little on the Vindolanda tablets.

[10] Cf. Juv. 8.174, with Mayor's note; T. Kleberg, *Hôtels, restaurants et cabarets* (Uppsala 1957) 92.

[11] *Vir. ill.* 24; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 85.29 ('not *imagines* but *cicatrices*'); Plut. *Cat. mai.* 1 (body covered with scars even when young); Cic. *De orat.* 2.124; Sall. *Hist.* 1.88; Liv. 2.23.4, 6.20.8; Hor. *Carm.* 1.35.3; Sen. *Contr.* 1.8.3; Tac. *Ann.* 1.35.1; Plut. *Mar.* 9.2. For the use of scars in identifying criminals (often old soldiers: see n. 15) cf. G. Majno, *The Healing Hand* (Cambridge Mass. 1979) 316f.

[12] *Civ.* 3.45.4; cf. Sall. *Hist.* 1.88; Tac. *Ann.* 2.9.2; Juv. 10.158; and the *cognomina* Luscus, Luscinus, and Cocles.

[13] Plin. *HN* 7.104f. (on which see Schilling's Budé commentary); cf. Juv. 3.48.

[14] Epict. 4.13.5: N. J. E. Austin and N. B. Rankov, *Exploratio* (London 1995) 136f.

[15] Criminals in: MacMullen (n. 18, 1984/1990) n. 9; soldiers as thieves and bullies: Petr. 82; Juv. 16; Apul. *Met.* 9.39ff.; Millar (n. 16) *cit.*; veterans or deserters as bandits: Courtney on Juv. 16.9; B. Shaw, *P&P* 105 (1984) 29f.; K. Coleman, *European Review* 5.4 (1997) 405.

[16] R. MacMullen, *Soldier and Civilian in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge Mass. 1963) 77ff.; F. G. B. Millar, *JRS* 71 (1981) 67f.; E. Courtney's intro. to Juv. 16 (London 1980).

soldier in modern society when writing about the Roman army,[17] but rigorously correct method can blind the student of military behaviour to invaluable clues; Ramsay MacMullen's use of recent studies of unit solidarity in his engrossing 'The legion as a society'[18] points the way to a more constructive use of parallel material. I confess willingly to a passable collection of military and naval history books and to relishing good (ex-)service talk;[19] if in the end this paper offers an explanation for just where an odd and neglected collection of bits of evidence leads us, it is perhaps precisely *because* for almost fifty years I have listened to, and read, a considerable body of just this kind of anecdotage!

Areas of contact between soldier and civilian during the peaceful years of the early empire need to be measured judiciously: the violence and destruction under the second triumvirate and in 69 AD was geographically limited[20] and that limitation may in turn have conditioned the diffusion and survival in Italy of a collective memory of the *impius miles*' {cruel soldier's} ravages and brutality. Otherwise, we might think that only praetorians (and soldiers of the urban cohorts) were visible in Rome;[21] elsewhere in Italy they seem to have been a particularly rare sight (Nippel (n. 21) 91), but[22] individually were figures of real moment in their towns of origin. However, this paper is not concerned with Italy alone, for though it is Rome where the satirists' caricature of the warrior is located, the impact of the soldier as storyteller is essentially ubiquitous: the 'world of the Golden Ass' is formally located in Central and Northern Greece (Millar (n. 16) 64ff.), yet its author was a North African and in some ways the socio-historical validity of Apuleius' novel is empire-wide (cf. Millar, 66). Nor should we forget that maps which illustrate the distribution of the legions across the Empire perforce obscure an army in continuous movement: the experts, like tunnel-engineers, are a rather special case,[23] and we notice that Nonius Datus[24] travelled *cum meis* {with escort}, little good though they did him in the face of Mauretanian bandits. On imperial bodyguards we are amply informed (Millar (n. 21) 61ff.), but the reality of empire-wide endemic banditry[25] will have meant that officers [109/110]

[17] R. Alston, *Soldier and Society in Roman Egypt* (London 1995) 6ff.

[18] *Historia* 33 (1984) 440ff. *Changes in the Roman Empire* (Princeton 1990) 225ff.

[19] 'Legionary' first marched at Manchester University; I had just dined, fascinatingly, with a Guardsman's daughter and her ex SAS husband, but numerous friends (and relatives) have contributed to my understanding of the naval/military anecdote.

[20] P. A. Brunt, *Italian Manpower* (Oxford 1971) 285ff.

[21] W. Nippel, *Public Order in Ancient Rome* (Cambridge 1995) 90ff.; cf. R. MacMullen, *Enemies of the Roman Order* (Cambridge Mass. 1966, 1975) 164, 167ff.; F. Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World* (London 1977) 64.

[22] Cf. Millar, *cit.* (n. 21) and *CLE* 1320.

[23] Cf. Sherwin White on Plin. *Ep.* 10.37.3.

[24] On Nonius Datus (*CIL* 8.2728, with 18122) I have written at *Omnibus* (1987) 40f. and *BICS* Suppl. 51 (1988) 54ff.

[25] 'Relatively little fear of bandits' wrote L. Casson, ingenuously, in *Travel in the Ancient World* (repr. London 1979), 122; cf. rather Shaw (n. 15) 9ff. The younger Pliny records the disappearance of his friend Atilius Scaurus on the via Flaminia, forty miles north of Rome; no word either, ever again, of Metilius Crispus of Comum and his party (*Ep.* 6.25).

promoted and transferred, special equipment and supplies, and communications of major importance all required proper escorts.[26] Along the great highways of the Empire, I suspect that the inns were full of officials, officers, and small bodies of soldiers, making the best of long journeys. *Militantibus ex omnibus prouincis* {men on service from all provinces}, as the *legatus pro praetore* {praetor's legate} of Pisidia wrote, *c.*15 AD,[27] in his regulations for the requisition of transport.

There was, too, regular leave for soldiers: not just blank spaces on their duty rosters, but actual leave to go home, though the individual soldier was sometimes driven to ask an oracle to know when it was due![28] Before the Marian reforms, military service had not, except in times of crisis, been continuous,[29] and *hiberna*, the winter quarters of the Roman army,[30] was one of the first neuter plural nouns we once learned. There was time for fighting, and time for talking, in the context of the serving soldier's daily routine, on which, thanks to the late R. W. Davies' fascinating work (n. 28), we are now solidly well informed. Drill and bull,[31] not to mention heavy manual work in aid of the civil administration[32] did not (cf. n. 28)
[110/111] entirely fill the soldier's day. The Roman army, inevitably as bored as any other regular army outside its rare moments of appalling activity[33] did have time to drink, on an imperial scale,[34] both wine and beer, as the decurion Mascius has immortalized in his appeal to Cerealis, prefect of the 9th cohort of Batavians: *ceruesam commilitones non habunt* (not a rare mis-spelling) *quam rogo iubeas mitti* {the comrades have no beer; please give orders for sending same};[35] the bars in the *canabae* {shanty-towns}[36] round the regular camps were necessarily the hothouses that bred the military anecdote.

The legions were quintessential closed societies, and it is no idle fancy of mine to suggest that they had a 'culture' of their own: certainly slang, humour, even grammar were distinctive and recognizable.[37] The solidarity which binds together

[26] Shaw (n. 15) 17f.; Friedlaender 1 (n. 14) 295f.

[27] S. Mitchell, *JRS* 66 (1976) 106ff.; line 24 of the Latin text, at 107, 125. Cf. too T. Hauken, *Petition and Response* (Bergen 1998) 334ff.

[28] R. W. Davies, *Service in the Roman Army* (Edinburgh 1989) 66f.; cf. too G. Wesch Klein, *Soziale Aspekte des röm. Heerwesens* (Stuttgart 1998) 91ff. (free time), 96ff. (leave).

[29] Brunt (n. 20) 68, 396, 399, 633, 641; id., *Fall of the Roman Republic* (Oxford 1988) 253ff.

[30] L. Keppie, *Making of the Roman Army* (London 1984) 99f.

[31] Vegetius 2.14, in chilling detail. [32] MacMullen (n. 16) 23ff.

[33] Davies (n. 28) 68 perhaps undervalues *le cafard* (the state of being 'browned off'); cf. rather MacMullen (n. 16) 82f., fully confirmed by Frank Richards' extraordinary (and often reprinted, by Faber, London) memoir of a private soldier's life in India, *Old Soldier Sahib.*

[34] Davies (n. 28) 188, 199; *ILS* 2238.

[35] A.K. Bowman and J.D. Thomas, *Britannia* 27 (1996) 324.

[36] Davies (n. 28) 69; MacMullen (n. 16) 119ff.

[37] MacMullen (n. 18); J. Harmand, *L'armée et le soldat à Rome* (Paris 1967) 422ff.; Y. Le Bohec, *L'armée romaine* (Paris 1989) 248; grammar: Horsfall *cit.* (n. 24, 1988).

a unit's serving soldiers and veterans is not just an inference from modern times, but rests on epigraphic evidence[38] and is the natural product of legionaries' tendency to retire *together*, to unit-based colonies or areas, where they enjoyed relative wealth, status, privileges, and their very own *collegia*, clubs, or associations.[39] The case of the veterans of Octavian's 11th legion is decisive: they settled at Ateste, modern Este, south of Padova, and on their tombstones specified that they were precisely and specially *Actiaci*; that they celebrated the battle's anniversary, 2 September, with riotous solemnity, rather as, of course, Australians and New Zealanders still celebrate Anzac Day, seems overwhelmingly likely![40] The veteran's loyalties and distinguished service were also visible in other ways:[41] the *corona ciuica*, the crown won for saving a fellow-citizen's life in battle, entitled its holder to wear special robes at festivals (Polyb. 6.39.9) and when such a hero, entitled to wear his crown for the rest of his life, went to the *ludi* {games, theatre}, crowned, clearly (cf. Liv. 10.47.3), even the senators rose to him, and he was entitled to sit next to them; usefully, but less showily, he was also exempted from [111/112] civic duties, as were his father, and grandfather (Plin. *HN* 16.13). It matters not at all if the story told at Liv. 3.58.8 is anachronistic or unhistorical, so long as we recognize that the image of a veteran going to court to give evidence wearing twenty-seven campaign medals and eight special awards (*extra ordinem donatus*) was in no way false to usage.

Old warriors will have been specially prominent, too, on certain occasions: not just the anniversaries of their victories, as I have suggested, but also the re-enactment of great naval battles, unsurprisingly including Actium (Hor. *Epist.* 1.18.61f., in private!) and variously attested from Caesar to Titus.[42] Their reactions to displays of booty,[43] to trophies, monuments, reliefs,[44] and processions we can, I suggest, extrapolate from Ovid's famous scene of the young seducer impressing his target at the triumph anticipated on Gaius' return from the East: the girl will ask the names of the kings, the places, the mountains, the rivers. Answer the lot, advises the poet (and add a bit). Get them right if you can; if you don't know, make them sound good, *ut bene nota apta tamen* {as though you knew then; at any rate plausible}(*Ars Am.* 1.222, 228). But just think of the actual veteran in his glory: he had actually been there and doubtless kept talking hours after the procession ended! The hairy thugs with whom we began are after all extraordinarily

[38] MacMullen (n. 18) 226f.

[39] MacMullen (n. 16) 103ff.; id., *Roman Social Relations* (New Haven 1974) 195, n. 64; Keppie (n. 40) 110; and for *collegia*, J. P. Waltzing, *Les corporations* 4 (Louvain 1900) 151f.; note the caveats (for Egypt) of Alston (n. 17) 48ff., 64.

[40] L. Keppie, *Colonisation and Veteran Settlement* (London 1983) 111: apparently a unique case, but startlingly in harmony with the other indications collected (nn. 37, 38).

[41] V. Maxfield, *Military Decorations of the Roman Army* (London 1981) 143.

[42] Coleman (n. 15) 415; ead., *JRS* 83 (1993) 63 *et passim*.

[43] E. D. Rawson, *Roman Culture and Society* (Oxford 1991) 582ff.

[44] Horsfall, *MAAR* 41 (1996), 116 [Ch. 31, 375 6], and more fully in *The Culture of the Roman plebs* (London 2003) 90f.

important, whether serving or retired, as the civilian's closest link with battles, history, Empire, enemies, frontiers, the edges of the known world.

Soldiers' talk and legionary slang are distinct but not jealously protected and it is easy to see how they overflow into common speech, as they had done at Athens:[45] in Plautus' texts, in proverbs of military content, or the use of military metaphors in erotic talk.[46] The yarns told by fighting men are very old: sea stories begin with Odysseus and army anecdotes with Nestor. Service talk and the literary representation of the fighting man (or veteran) have, in general, a long literary history, studied only in part:[47] heroic and aristocratic, widely diffused in the age of
[112/113] the citizen armies, then transmuted again in the day of the Hellenistic mercenary (and his heirs in Roman comedy). The development of the *miles gloriosus* {boastful soldier} is a particular comic-satiric variant of the poetic/theatrical soldier; he swaggers on stage in Aristophanes (when military service has acquired, as in the case of Creon, political importance) and is still swaggering nearly three centuries later. But the *gloriosi* are a distraction:[48] I am more interested in the old men who talked to Herodotus of their wars,[49] in the question posed by Xenophanes in a symposium-song 'how old were you when the Mede came?',[50] in the chronological confusion into which the old men in the *Wasps* and *Lysistrata* fall, as old soldiers will do,[51] in the wonderful fancy of exotic lands rendered yet stranger that we find in a fragment of Antiphanes, of the king of Cyprus fanned by doves over his dinner,[52] and last, but by no means least, of Theophrastus' late-learner who learns his drill terms from his son.[53]

Now that Richard Saller has rehabilitated the historical value of the anecdote[54] and we have learned from various distinguished scholars how hitherto neglected areas of the history of Roman society and institutions can be coaxed back into life on the basis of great scattered masses of miscellaneous and apparently trivial

[45] J. Taillardat, *Les images d'Aristophane* (Paris 1962) 363ff.; Usher on Theophr. *Char.* 7.13.

[46] T. Frank, *Life and Literature in the Roman Republic* (Berkeley 1930) 71 (e.g. *techina*, *machina*, *balist*, *catapulta*, *phylaca*, *machaera*); A. Otto, *Die Sprichwörter der Römer* (Leipzig 1890, repr. Hildesheim 1965) 396f., J. N. Adams, *Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (London 1982) 158f.

[47] I have read with particular pleasure and profit V. Ehrenberg, *The People of Aristophanes* (Oxford 1951) 299ff.; N. Loraux, *The Invention of Athens* (Eng. tr., Cambridge Mass. 1986) 145ff. (esp. 156); R. Thomas, *Oral Tradition and Written Record* (Cambridge 1989) 201, 257ff.; W. Rösler, in *Sympotica*, ed. O. Murray (Oxford 1990) 230ff.

[48] O. Ribbeck, *Alazon* (Leipzig 1882); W. Hofmann, G. Wartenberg, *Der Bramarbas* (Berlin 1973); R. Hunter, *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome* (Cambridge 1985) 66ff.; N. Zagagi, *Comedy of Menander* (London 1994) 33.

[49] R. Thomas, *Literacy and Orality in Ancient Greece* (Cambridge 1992) 110.

[50] Fr. 22 D K; Thomas (n. 47) 257ff.; Rösler (n. 47) 232; Aristotle was fascinated by symposium songs as evidence: cf. also my remarks at *Riv. Fil.* 122 (1994) 71 [ch. 29, 347].

[51] Ehrenberg (n. 47) 298; Thomas (n. 47) 225f.; the still unresolved confusion as to the exact timing of the destruction of the Sittang Bridge during the retreat from Burma (1942) is a remarkable modern parallel.

[52] Fr. 202 Kock Athenaeus 6.257D.

[53] Theophr. *Char.* 27.3; cf. 8.4, 23.3, 25.6 (the sort of combat stories told by cowards).

[54] R. P. Saller, *G&R* 27 (1980) 69ff.

evidence,[55] we can look at last at the Roman military anecdote without worrying unduly about the extremely heterogenous character of the evidence on offer. Perhaps indeed its very variety suggests how widespread it was and how many more instances are out there awaiting resuscitation. For now I offer six specific pieces of evidence which do seem to suggest that legionaries were in truth enthusiastic storytellers; it is worth adding both that Martial has centurion friends[56] and that not only biographers, but serious historians—even the notoriously fastidious Tacitus—record as worthy of interest and permanent record the frequently significant remarks and humours of the rank and file.[57] The specially [113/114]
important army story has every chance of literary immortality and many instances of the legions' oral culture have already been gathered by others, working to quite different ends:

Thus, white charlock (?), Albanian 'kelkass' Lat. *lapsana*, upon which I stumbled in E. Courtney's collection of the fragments of *uersus triumphales*,[58] for Pliny had himself picked it, but as a botanical curiosity, somewhere in his vast reading. Caesar's troops, besieging Dyrrhachium, had been reduced to eating this doubtful delicacy and in his triumph they reproved him (admiringly) for having kept them on such rations. Caesar himself records his soldiers as saying that they'd rather eat the bark off the trees than give up the siege (*BCiv*. 3.49.1). Hardships endured together (cf. MacMullen (n. 18, 1990) 231f.) and oddities of local diet are the very stuff of military anecdote (and unit solidarity), far rather than the bloody detail of combat. Sieges have just the right tempo, as do mutinies, for the generation, and recording, of the common soldier's eloquence and it is no accident that we are so richly informed on the commissariat problems during this very siege, and the unconventional solutions that were tried out.[59]

When the future emperor Galba took over a command from Gaetulicus under Caligula, to avoid bursts of applause he gave orders for hands to be kept under cloaks and *per casta iactatum est, disce miles militare; Galba est non Gaetulicus* {round the camp went the line, 'soldier, learn to serve; it's Galba, not Gaetulicus'} (Courtney, cit. 480): the metre is that of the *carmina triumphalia* {triumph-songs} but this verse may be the lonely survivor of the Roman army's heritage of song; to music they must have marched, if only to keep step and thus to avoid serious injury, and their marching songs will necessarily have been a key element (the key

[55] See e.g. Millar (n. 21); MacMullen (as cited, for example, in nn. 16, 18, 21, 38); Corbeill (n. 3); R. Lane Fox, *Pagans and Christians* (repr. Harmondsworth 1988).

[56] As Prof. Ruud Nauta (Gröningen) remarks to me: cf. 10.6.2; notably *primipilares* (the senior centurion of a legion; an *eques*); 1.31.3 (with Howell's note and 6.58.10); 93.3. At. 11.3.4, though, he imagines with a shudder that his book is read by *rigido . . . centurione*!

[57] Harmand, *cit.* (n. 37); MacMullen (n. 18, 1990) 233f.; see e.g. Suet. *Caes*. 68; Caes. *BGall*. 3.24.5; *BCiv*. 3.19.1, 31.4, 48.2, 49.1; Tac. *Ann.* 1.23.3, 35.1; *Hist.* 1.18.2, 55.3, 2.27.2, 3.10.3. We shall soon see the special importance of the *carmina triumphalia*.

[58] *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford 1993) 483.

[59] Suet. *Caes.* 58; Plut. *Caes.* 39.2; App. *B.Civ.* 2.61; Polyaen. 8.48. See T. Rice Holmes, *The Roman Republic* 3 (London 1923) 140.

element, indeed) in their collective memory.[60] The eagerness with which verses of the *carmina triumphalia* were preserved and cited shows that their importance
[114/115] was perceived rather as Aristotle grasped the crucial importance of symposiac song.[61]

The *SHA* life of Hadrian enshrines (17.6–8) a long and delicious anecdote, whose historicity is not to my knowledge impugned and whose significance needs to be disentangled: the emperor went regularly to the public baths and there one day saw (whence the fame of this *balnearis iocus* {bath-house joke}) a veteran he knew scratching his back and the rest of his body against the wall. 'How so? No slave?' 'No, sir.' The veteran is given a slave and money. The day after *plures senes* {many old men} are rubbing themselves against the wall. The emperor orders them over (*euocari*) to rub each other down in turn (*alium ab alio defricari*). That tells us that an emperor might reasonably stop to chat in the baths with an old *commilito* {cobber, mate}, but, more important, it should be recognized as a subtle parody of weapons drill. Naturally I thought first of Kirk Douglas learning gladiatorial skills under Peter Ustinov's disenchanted eye, net against trident, trident against net, etc., but one rapidly discovers that army weapons training derives from the gladiatorial schools and that numbering off (presumably) to take turns, ones against twos and twos against ones, is a regular element in that training,[62] as the hopeful but thwarted veterans will not have failed to remember.

Or take the centurion Lucilius at Tac. *Ann.* 1.23.3 who had received, in the soldiers' jokes (*militaribus facetiis*) the sobriquet 'Gimme another' *cedo alteram*, from his way of breaking one vine-staff across a soldier's back and yelling (*clara uoce . . . poscebat*) for another and yet another. Mutinies, we have seen, are just the moment at which the soldier's voice has to be heard,[63] and Tacitus at the same time lowers his stylistic level (*cedo*) to characterize the uncouth and brutal types then promoted to centurion.

Real soldiers (and sailors) do not, I repeat, talk endlessly about their battles. It was above all, I think, Emilio Gabba who first taught us to perceive the penetration

[60] Suet. *Galba* 6.2; for marching in step to music, cf. my note on Virg. *Aen.* 7.698 and on army song, cf. *Cultura* (n. 44) 19, 55; see too G. Cupaiuolo, *Tra poesia e politica* (Napoli 1993) 26ff. Some army verses were not written in the trochaic tetrameter; thus e.g. the elegiac couplet cited at Suet. *Cat.* 8.1 was hardly for singing! Note the full discussion of the words sung to 'Colonel Bogey' in Norman Davies' *Europe* (Oxford 1996) 972f.

[61] Cf. n. 50; see further Cupaiuolo (n. 60), 12; Mosci Sassi (n. 9), 43ff.; Courtney (n. 58), 470ff., 483ff.; Horsfall (*Culture . . .*, n. 44) 35, 65. Mosci Sassi's collection of army nicknames (ibid.) 53ff. shows that the Roman soldier had a sharp eye for their officers' build and features (Claudius, Colosseros; Cyclops, Cocles), dress (Caligula, Caracalla) and habits (Calix, Biberius Cadius Mero). Later armies likewise.

[62] Davies (n. 28) 81ff.; G. R. Watson, *The Roman Soldier* (London 1969) 56; Polyb. 10.20.3; Liv. 26.51.4, 40.6.5f.; Val. Max. 2.3.2; Sil. 8.548ff.; (Front.) *Strat.* 4.2.2; Veget. 1.14, 15, 2.23; *ILS* 2487; for gladiatorial schools, see too Juv. 6.247f.; Suet. *Cal.* 32.

[63] MacMullen (n. 18, 1990) 234; Goodyear, Tac. *Ann.* 1, p. 30.

of tales of travel and largely fabulous accounts of distant lands into high literature;[64] others soon followed.[65] [115/116]

Hans Aili has recently proposed a most elegant explanation[66] of the hotly disputed elks of Caes. *BGall.* 6.25ff., not he suggests, to be expelled from the text as a dotty fantasy unworthy of Caesar, but to be understood as a compromise between a literary account, rather like the unknown source of Diodorus 3.27, and an inexpert observer's description (direct or reported) of an elk, shedding its old horns. Certainly strange enough to earn the teller another cup of *posca* {vinegar and water} or *zythum* {beer} (if nothing better was to hand) in the *canabae*. It is worth remembering that Petronius' novella of the widow of Ephesus was told to an audience of sailors (113.1) and that Crassus' officers carried Aristides' Milesian tales with them on campaign (Plut. *Crass.* 32.4). Armies and navies have always had not only enemies, but also time to kill, and audiences used to similar experiences. Though *Matt.* 27:35, the soldiers dicing for Christ's garments, is no more than the fulfilment of *Psal.* 22:18, it is perfectly in keeping with the army's passion for gaming;[67] in camp narrative, that becomes 'And you know what I won in that game? Only a dirty shirt, soaked in blood. Had to throw it away.' And as Tennyson wrote of Ulysses, much had they seen and known: not many had sailed the North Sea with Drusus, or reached the depths of the German forests, not to mention the Yemen, Ethiopia, Fezzan, Mauretania, Armenia, and Fife;[68] but some had gone, and returned to tell the tale. Not a bad way of keeping your glass filled, for a few years. 'Those who have crossed seas and lands are delighted when they are asked about a place on land or some bay of the sea unknown to the multitude. They reply gladly and describe now in words, now with a stick the places, thinking it a proud boast to set before the eyes of others what they have themselves seen': so Macrobius, in the early fifth century AD, but paraphrasing Plutarch,[69] and for that matter perfectly in harmony with Homer! Even Nonius Datus (n. 24 above) was able to relate (to our certain knowledge: his specialist experience may have left him with a far richer fund of stories!) his clash with the bandits and his long struggle to [116/117]

[64] *JRS* 71 (1981) 50ff. and in M. Crawford (ed.), *Sources for Ancient History* (Cambridge 1983) 3 26.

[65] Cf. C. Nicolet, *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire* (Eng. tr., Ann Arbor 1991); T. P. Wiseman, in (ed. C. Gill, TPW) *Lies and Fiction* (Exeter 1993) 131; R. Syme, *Roman Papers* (Oxford 1991) 6.372ff. *et passim* is also relevant.

[66] In *Symbolae Septentrionales. Latin Studies Presented to Jan Öberg* (Stockholm 1995) 15ff.; thanks to Ailsa Crofts and Prof. Egil Kraggerud I owned two copies of this paper within a fortnight of learning it existed.

[67] Davies (n. 28) 67; N. Purcell, *P&P* 147 (1995) 19, n. 70.

[68] I summarized the evidence for Augustan exploration (as against conquest) in A. Setaioli (ed.), *Orazio*: *umanità, politica, cultura* (Perugia 1995) 23ff.; cf. Nicolet (n. 65) ch. 4; J. O. Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge 1948) 222ff.

[69] Macr. *Sat.* 7.2.6 *nec non et qui obierunt maria et terras gaudent cum de ignoto multis uel terrarum situ uel sinu maris interrogantur, libenterque respondent et describuent modo uerbis modo radio loca, gloriosum putantes, quae ipsi uiderant aliorum oculis subicere*; this depends (indirectly) on Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 2.2.

re-dig a tunnel through a mountain to bring water to Saldae, Bougie, working from both ends, and meeting, this time, in the middle.

So we reach Tib.1.10.31f.:

> Ut mihi potanti possit sua dicere facta
> miles et in mensa pingere castra mero.

{So the soldier may tell me his deeds as I drink and draw his camp in the wine.}

The couplet lurks in a rather limp and conventional denunciation of war and warriors; the content might also seem to lie open to a conventional attack along the lines of 'a theme so familiar that we have no idea whether such things ever really happened.' Ovid is full of lovers' messages written in the wine at dinner[70] and we are familiar with the scene of the Athenians busily drawing ambitious maps of Sicily.[71] To Penelope, Ulysses sketched the Trojan War in his wine; he was used to it, for he had already done so to Calypso, in the sand![72] But sometimes, we have learned,[73] commonplaces are so common precisely because they really did correspond to daily usage, and it seems by this point to have emerged that Ulysses is acting exactly as any returned veteran, by land or by sea, would naturally have done, and in fact often did, in taverns empire-wide, and so well that historians in the end pick up the result and immortalize it.

[70] Handily summarized, Smith on Tib. 1.6.19f. [71] Plut. *Nicias* 12.
[72] Ov. *Her.* 1.29, *Ars Am.* 2.131f. [73] J. Griffin, *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London 1985).

36
The *Moretum* decomposed[1]

When the small farmer Simulus in the ps.-Virgilian *Moretum* (v. 87) takes four entire heads of garlic as a start for preparing the cheese-and-herb spread which, along with a fresh loaf of bread will be the midday meal (possibly indeed the only meal of the day) for himself and perhaps for his unlovely *famula* Scybale too, the whole sense of his action, one essential to our understanding of the text and its most singular character, depends not on critical theory,[2] nor on grammar and lexical analysis, but on the reader's readiness to remember that the text in question aims (altogether successfully) to give the appearance of talking about the real world and that this 'real world' present to *Moretum*'s original readers, still remains, for us to taste and smell. To the Roman nose, garlic was, as it still is, a vigorous olfactory challenge, and one not universally welcome: Horace dwells most amusingly on garlic's effect upon young women about to be embraced[3] and the emperor Vespasian (Suet. *Vesp.* 8.3), to a young man, who had just applied successfully for a *praefectura* and came, reeking of scent, to thank his imperial benefactor, remarked sternly *maluissem alium oboluisses* and withdrew [303/304] the grant. The evidence is known, indeed familiar and the absence of garlic from Apicius, like the number of recipes for antidotes to garlic's persistent after-effects, now requires no comment,[4] but here it is the quantity that is significant; in the most strongly garlic-flavoured dish known to the modern European cook, Provençal *soupe à l'ail*, the generally agreed allowance is four cloves per person.[5] Here *Ignotus* has upped the ration to four raw heads, *bulbi*, for two people (at most), for one dish at one meal. A head of garlic contains from six to just over

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[1] Though I first met the Moretum as a text rather too often set for unseen translation, I was delighted, several decades later, to be asked by Prof. J. E. Skydsgaard to talk about it at Copenhagen University; I have had friends in that department for thirty years and it is nearly twenty since I first spoke there, so I offer this article *sodalibus Havniensibus* in gratitude for their long and generous hospitality. Mr A. L. Cubberley offered swift and expert assistance on problems of Roman breadmaking.

[2] At *MD* 43 (1999) 11, commemorating Don Fowler, R. O. A. M. Lyne writes, 'Many "Anglo Saxon" scholars who pride themselves on their absence of theory should discover that actually they have a theory and they had better defend it.' Perhaps the *Moretum* teaches us to follow our noses, in both senses; *alia alibi*.

[3] *Epod.* 3 with the notes of Mankin (Cambridge 1995) and Cavarzere (Venezia 1992).

[4] See the excellent discussion in E. Gowers, *The Loaded Table* (Oxford 1993) 292ff.

[5] Vd. e.g. P. Montagné, *New Larousse gastronomique* (Eng. tr., London 1977) 882; E. David, *French Country Cooking* (Harmondsworth 1967) 43.

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twenty-five cloves.[6] The two randomly selected heads I examined in the interests of research contained respectively sixteen and fourteen. Here, then, a remarkable and neglected instance of the figure of hyperbole, exaggeration, rendered yet funnier by the presence of the number four, rather than the '*sescenti*' or '*milia*' so typical of more conventionally hyperbolic expressions of number.[7] At least, then, a double-barrelled, or two-headed joke in the heart of the poem, which relies on information not present in the text and warns the alert reader that there may be further fun to be had in a poem reverently saluted (and not entirely without justice) as a serious and faithful representation (almost the only one indeed) of the life and ways of the ritual poor.[8] Fun and authenticity are not incompatible, but 'authentic' information in a poem known to be humorous is at very least 'filtered' and has to be weighed with delicacy before being used as evidence by historical agronomists.

The mediaeval attribution of the poem to Virgil still lingers in superseded, uncritical, and credulous introductions; that Virgil was not the author and cannot have been does not require to be argued anew, though it was the attribution that fortunately saved the poem for us and the existence of a corpus of pseudepigrapha is a measure of an author's importance and popularity, from Homer at least to the
[304/305] New Testament! Since we do have two serious recent editions,[9] I shall assume hereafter, following Kenney and Perutelli, that the text under discussion might have been written in the early first century AD, perhaps *circa* the year 25.[10]

The gastronomic part of the poem, or at least the recipe for cheese-and-herb spread or *moretum* (85–116; note the formal conclusion that this is the word's *etymon*, closely analogous to Sueius fr. 1.2), described with wild and many-faceted irresponsibility by the incautious as a 'cake', a 'salad', 'pesto sauce', or even an 'insalata mista',[11] is not only a perfectly comprehensible recipe for a type of dish widespread even today,[12] but, more important and food, this time, for thought, is

[6] A. Davidson, *Oxford Companion to Food* (Oxford 1999) 331.

[7] N. Zorzetti, 'numerali', *Enc. Virg.* 3.782 8.

[8] R. Heinze, *Geist des Römertums* (Stuttgart 1960) 407: the only ancient text 'das sein Stoff dem Leben des Proletariers entnimmt.' Followed by (e.g.) K. Büchner, *P. Vergilius Maro* (Stuttgart 1966) 156.54ff. (repr. from 'P. Verg. Maro, IIA Moretum' *RE* 15A:1169.65ff.); K. D. White, *Country Life in Classical Times* (London 1977) 10; id., in (ed.) J. Wilkins, D. Harvey, and M. Dobson, *Food in Antiquity* (Exeter 1995) 43, n. 8; Kenney (n. 9) xix xx, lvii.

[9] E. J. Kenney, *The Ploughman's Lunch* (Bristol 1984), A. Perutelli, *Moretum* (Pisa 1983); D. O. Ross, *Harv. Stud.* 79 (1975) 254 63 is likewise indispensable. *Contra*, note still e.g. J. L. Vidal (ed.), P.Virgilio Maro *Bucólicas, Georgicas, Apéndice virgiliano* (Madrid 1990) 44 (with bibliography) on V. himself as potential author.

[10] Kenney (n. 9) xxvii; Perutelli (n. 9) 18.

[11] 'Cake' (flavoured with the ingredients that actually go to make the cheese relish!); Tilly on Varr. *Rust.* 1.13.2; 'pizza' F. La Cecla, *La pasta e la pizza* (Bologna 1998) 46, n. 60 (a pretty selection of gastro myths), an 'insalata mista'; Ross (n. 9) 261 refers to 'pesto sauce'; a *moretum* is indeed 'a *pesto*', in the technical culinary sense, familiar to Italian cooks, of a pounded mixture, but that is not what Ross's text suggests, for when he refers to 'pesto sauce', that is necessarily made with basil and not with Simylus' varied ingredients.

[12] Cf. Hungarian körözött liptói; I forbear to cite Russian, or English, equivalents in detail!

the fact that, apart from the fragment of a 'Moretum' by Catullus' older contemporary Sueius, we have recipes for *moreta* (entirely garlic-free but for ours, though one of Columella's contains, let us admit, some chopped leek and spring onion) from the pens of Ovid, Columella (five of them indeed), Apicius, and Plinius medicus:[13] a total, that is, of ten, of which three are in verse, which suggests not only a popular dish, easily and often varied, but one whose very variety and simplicity contained, as we shall see, an inherent appeal to authors writing after the manner of Callimachus and in the vein of Alexandrian realism.[14] Poetic accounts of the preparation of dishes of mixed ingredients have an extremely long history, and their common ancestor is probably the Homeric [305/306] *kykeon*.[15] A *moretum* is not simply a metapoetical metaphor for a short poem of varied elements,[16] as ours certainly is, but it would be ingenuous to insist that our text can *only* be what in appearance it is, a description of how a small-scale farmer starts his day and the extreme complexity of its literary texture is a warning against simplistic evaluations of the information it contains. Peter Garnsey wrote with a certain contempt of evidence for the diet of the poor in works of 'imaginative literature.'[17] There is a lot of it though,[18] and a text like ours requires analysis at once literary and technical, which may be why it has hitherto been rather slow to reveal its peculiar character.

Thus garlic is not only a prime ingredient, but a precise marker, both literary and socio-economic: it is not only used for comic effect but is familiar in our texts as a coarse food characteristic of the traditional diet of the poor;[19] at the same time that very familiarity assigns it a literary history:[20] we think naturally of an allusion here to the midday meal prepared for the reapers by Thestylis at Virg. *Buc.* 2.10f. (garlic, wild thyme, and fragrant *herbae*): there, in largely (but not entirely) elegant bucolic poetry,[21] the sustaining bulk of Simylus' fresh loaf is easily and naturally omitted.

The two actors in our scene are themselves represented with bold, vigorous strokes, of caricature, even.

[13] Sueius fr. 1 (Macr. *Sat.* 3.18.11); I cite from E. Courtney, *Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford 1993) 112. See further Ov. *Fast.* 4.367ff. (the culinary point missed by both Bömer and Fantham); Colum. 12.59.1 4; Apic. 1.21; Plin. *med.* 2.10. On the social level of cheese, see J. André, *L'alimentation et la cuisine* (Paris 1961) 158.

[14] Fundamental is G. Zanker, *Realism in Alexandrian Poetry* (Beckenham 1987) 168, *et passim*.

[15] *Il.* 11.628ff.; Hainsworth's comparison of Eng. 'frumenty' is depressingly irrelevant; food history is a serious topic. Cf. rather the μυττωτός of Ar. *Pax.* 229f.; Gowers (n. 4) 84f., 292, *et passim*.

[16] Gowers (n. 4) 46f., 112; *E. pluribus unum* (v. 112) appears on the great seal of the USA; vd. the delightful note by M. A. Brucia, '*E pluribus unum*: Of Mottoes and the Moretum', *Classical Outlook* 75.1 (1997) 1 3ff.

[17] P. Garnsey, in A. Giovannini (ed.), *Nourrir la plèbe* (Basel 1991) 85.

[18] See also P. Garnsey, *Food and Society in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge 1999) 112ff.; J. Frayn, *Subsistence Farming in Roman Italy* (London 1979).

[19] Gowers (n. 4) 291f. [20] Cf. n. 4.

[21] See A. Perutelli in Horsfall, *Companion* 46f.; N. Tarleton, *CQ* 39 (1989) 267ff.

Scybale was claimed by some as the most detailed ancient textual representation we had of a particular racial type.[22] Apparently, but not explicitly, a slave, her appearance has no redeeming feature of grace or charm and the role of a black
[306/307] female slave or servant (*famulam*, v. 91; cf. *custos*, v. 31) in the Italian countryside remains an impenetrable mystery.[23] Her role in Simulus' life is little clearer; they are not obviously or even implicitly sexual partners[24] and it is worth noting that Scybale does not fetch the grain, nor does she grind it; she does not sift the meal, nor does she mix and knead the flour and water; she does not set down the bread or cover it; she does not fetch the ingredients, peel the garlic, or prepare the *moretum*, let alone add the oil and vinegar. Yes, she brings the mortar, fires up the hearth and heats the water; she also sweeps the hearth to make space for the loaf and takes it off when cooked. But it is not at all clear that she accompanies Simulus to his ploughing, or that she will actually help eat the *moretum*. Arguably, she is left hungry at home to clean the mortar and hand-held rotary quern (for the text shows clearly enough that that is what Simulus uses to grind the corn).[25] There is some, faintly improbable and markedly unequal, division of labour, and the concentration on Simulus may be more for poetic interest and effect than in the interests of strict photographic realism.

In his way Simulus is no less evasive: he is clumsy (as we shall see), improvident (in that he has not even a minimum of flour already ground),[26] arguably disorganized (in that he has to call repeatedly, even shrilly (vv. 28, 91) for Scybale), sparing (mean, even, *quis enim contractior illo?*, asks Ignotus, v. 77; vd. vv. 82–4 on what he eats himself) both in the use he makes of his garden's produce and of his gains from the local market (vv. 77, 81), sings *agresti . . . uoce* (v. 30) and is no beauty, for his name (little snub-nose) is explicitly treated as significant (vv. 3, 106). At home he wears a goatskin (v. 22), while abroad (v. 120), he adds cap and leggings; a glance at our commentaries will confirm that such details were common knowledge to those authors concerned to portray country life with a sufficiency of realistic detail. But it is Simulus' status that is most interesting and least clear; that itself may be a literary inheritance, given the care with which Virgil
[307/308] conceals the existence of slave manpower in Italian farming.[27] The clues present in the text may themselves turn out to be clues not to Simulus' status but to Ignotus'

[22] F. M. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity* (Cambridge Mass. 1970) 9; Kenney (n. 9) on 32 5; Perutelli (n. 9) on 31. The degree of detail is strongly reminiscent of Hellenistic artistic verism (n. 14).

[23] *Moretum* lacks any specific geographical setting; the presence of one black female servant/slave in a humble agricultural worker's (cf. n. 32) establishment in early imperial Italy (?) is unexplained, not inexplicable.

[24] The mention of 'aphrodisiac' rocket at v. 84 leads Kenney (n. 9) to suggest that Scybale's disenchanted partner will have needed some further stimulant. They are indeed a markedly unattract ive couple, but this reading of v. 84 seems slightly fanciful.

[25] L. A. Moritz, *Grain mills and Flour* (Oxford 1958) 42.

[26] Why was there no ready ground grain? Peasant improvidence, or fear of weevils (cf. Col. 1.6.15ff.)?

[27] Discussion and bibliography at Horsfall, *Companion* 68.

reading: Simulus' main activity is arable farming and he owns (or has the use of, or, just as likely, has to work with, as a slave or poor free labourer) a pair of bullocks (vv. 121–2) but he also has the full use (I do not say ownership, for that we are not told) of a well-stocked market garden; it cost him nothing (v. 65) and to it he devoted with much expertise wet days, holidays, and any time when he was not ploughing (vv. 66–8). The results of his expertise were not only attractive to his rich neighbours (v. 64), but enabled him to visit the market in the neighbouring *urbs* and return rich and with few purchases (v. 81). That is all credible, coherent, and also derivative, though none the worse for that.

The neighbouring market is a commonplace of bucolic and related poetry and Ignotus makes play with the motif, in that Simylus goes only to make money, not, as elsewhere, to get drunk or buy small luxuries for the home[28] while the rich man who seeks out his fresh produce is both a general inheritance from the Horatian paradox *pauperemque diues me petit* (*Carm.* 2.18.10f.) and a specific reflection of the familiar and amply discussed economic and dietetic importance of the market garden for the inhabitants of the adjacent city.[29] That said, the origins of the rest of Ignotus' picture are swiftly sketched. Virgil's *senex Corycius* feasted off the *dapibus . . . inemptis* of his own garden (*G.* 4.133; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 2.48), while the notion that the *agricola* may have some free time on account of bad weather is equally Virgilian (*G.* 1.259ff.). However, while the Virgilian farmer is permitted to enjoy himself in the winter (*G.* 1.299ff.) and on holidays (*G.* 2.527ff.), Simulus, by another calculated reversal of two passages of a hallowed text, keeps on digging even during these sacred times of rest: finely worked allusion and successful characterization. The bullocks who draw the plough (vv. 121f.) are a familiar literary motif[30] as is the notion of describing what the countryman eats at midday[31] and, as we shall see, the description of the market garden has deep poetic, and indeed metapoetic, roots. Is Simulus a slave working to increase his [308/309]
peculium (cf. Virg. *Buc.* 1.32) or one of Varro's free *pauperculi* (*Rust.* 1.17.2)? We have no idea, and that might well be just what Ignotus, like Virgil, wanted.[32]

The text's interest, however, runs far beyond a humorous reworking of already familiar details of the realities of country life and it can only be hoped that the remarkable range of elements of fun, at various levels, which it contains will survive yet another analysis. For now, two neglected elements, to add to hyperbole and to the bold strokes of broad characterization that we are offered:

First, a vein of farce: Simulus who burns his hand on the hearth before the lamp is lit (v. 9) with all the simple mirth of the practical mishap,[33] whose nostrils sting

[28] I collect materials and discussion at *Invigilata Lucernis* 13/14 (1991 2) 172 n. 12.
[29] Horsfall (n. 28) 173, n. 15; J. Frayn, *Markets and Fairs in Roman Italy* (Oxford 1993) 61f.; Garnsey (n. 18) 25f.; P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea* (Oxford 2000) 583.
[30] Virg. *Buc.* 2.66, *G.* 2.206, 237; Hor. *Epod.* 2.3; vd. too Kenney's n. *ad loc.*
[31] Hom. *Il.* 11.86ff.; Theoc. 1.51, 15.147, 21.40f., 24.137; Virg. *Buc.* 2.11. [32] Kenney, il f., lvii.
[33] A simple and specific style of humour: cf. Horsfall, *CJ* 74 (1979) 319ff. for its typically Ovidian over use at *Met.* 8.260ff.

with the thirty, or fifty, or hundred cloves of garlic he is pounding (vv. 105f.), while his eyes water from the smoke of his hearth (v. 107f.), who cleans his quern with the tail of the goatskin he is wearing (v. 23), who yells at Scybale for the mortar he needs (v. 91). Simulus and Scybale themselves, we have seen, are droll enough figures and Douglas's old MA thesis did well to point to some affinity with the mime or farce,[34] whose enlivening presence we have learned to suspect behind several passages of Ovid;[35] if elements from the mimic stage have been identified in Theocritus and Virgil,[36] if indeed the *Bucolics* themselves were a great success on the stage,[37] then there is every reason to welcome an element of simple theatrical antics in Ignotus' scene from the life of Simulus and Scybale. Farce, moreover, is very well able to share the stage with the vein of mock-heroic that Ignotus often applies to Simulus.[38]

Secondly, the studied antithesis of subject-matter and stylistic level, neglected in part because it does not have an ancient name (and it will here be called 'euphuism', a convenient English, archaic approximation). There never was a
[309/310] precise correspondence between stylistic or lexical level and dignity of subject-matter; Homer described the lunch of a wood-cutter (n. 31) and the domestic arrangements of a swineherd; Eumaeus (*Od.* 14.48ff.) and the Alexandrian critics predictably censured him for his breaches of *decorum*.[39] It is when authors begin to describe (e.g.) the quotidian and the banal in the lofty language of epic (and it is just that that I mean by euphuism) that the fun begins. In the *Aeneid*, Virgil will use a word from the humbler registers of language, and associated with the simplest actions of our daily existence, with measured calculation and for often brilliant effect.[40] Ignotus, however, has no rules and conventions that bind him—no advantage, this, if there are no set parameters against which to react[41]—for it would be very hard to offer a formal definition of the stylistic level and generic character of the *Moretum*,[42] at least as a whole. His subject-matter is almost exclusively of the humblest and much of his best fun lies in the continuous shifting

[34] F. L. Douglas, *A Study of the Moretum* (Syracuse 1929) 154ff.

[35] Horsfall (n. 33) 331f.; R. E. Fantham, *CW* 82 (1989) 157; T. P. Wiseman, *Catullus and his World* (Oxford 1985) 28ff., 192ff.

[36] Douglas (n. 34) 151ff.; Perutelli, in Horsfall, *Companion* 54; P. Green, *Alexander to Actium* (Berkeley 1990) 242f.

[37] Horsfall, *Companion* 249f. [38] Ross (n. 4) 258; Kenney (n. 9) il.

[39] On Eumaeus' domestic arrangements, cf. T. D. Seymour, *Life in the Homeric Age* (New York 1907) 206. On criticism of *decorum*, cf. M. Coffey, *BICS* 8 (1961) 63f.; A. F. Garvie, ed. Hom. *Od.* 6 8, index s.v. 'propriety'; *Od.* ed. J. Russo etc., cumulative index, s.v. ἀπρέπεια.

[40] Cf. Horsfall, *Companion* 76; id., *Maia* 41 (1989) 251ff. [ch. 21, 262 5]; id., *Aen.* 7, index s.v. *euphuism*; Russell on Longinus 43.

[41] Cf. Kenney (n. 9) xxx, xlviii.

[42] Macrobius (n. 13) calls Sueius' poem an *idyllion*; note Courtney, 114; Gow, ed. Theocr. 1, lxxi; Kenney, xxix: *idyllion* not a synonym of *epyllion*.

of stylistic levels that he employs, with consequent variation of effect in interaction with the constant of subject-matter.[43] Thus the text opens (cf. Ross, 255) with a grand epicising pre-dawn (see my note on *Aen.* 11.183 (Leiden 2003)) in elaborate periphrastic language (v. 2 *excubitor . . . ales* for *gallus*, the first of Ignotus' 'euphuisms') but the very name *Simulus* heralds verbal play close at hand, and the notable elegance of the scene-setting (thus v. 4, a 'golden line' used of Simulus' impending hunger) is brought joyfully to earth with the vulgarism *grabato*, for 'bed'.[44] But the language of *Moretum* is *terra uix incognita* and with that lightly sketched frame of reference we pass to the less clearly understood origins of Ignotus' subject-matter. To call certain elements in it familiar (or at least attested elsewhere in surviving literary texts), conventional, even derivative is not to seek to devalue the clarity and precision of Ignotus' sketch, but that sketch needs to be recognized as an artful and literary precision, not as unique and remorseless realism.[45] [310/311]

The generous occupants of an humble dwelling who offer hospitality to the distinguished, even divine traveller constitute a 'theoxeny'; the theoxeny-scene[46] is born with Eumaeus and Odysseus, is most classically set forth in Callimachus' *Hecale* (in which she entertains Theseus), and survives vigorously in Latin (so Evander and Aeneas, Philemon and Baucis, and the country mouse of Horace, *Sat.* 2.6). The scene-setting and the details of the hospitality offered (cf. Call. *Hec.* frr. 38, 39; Hollis, Ov. *Met.* 8.631ff., 661ff.) themselves become vignettes[47] sufficiently regular and conventional as to prompt the further development of parodic variations, such as (at least in some measure) Horace's and the *Moretum* itself.[48]

It might seem cruel, but may also prove illuminating, to ask of the champions of Ignotus' unique realism, 'but what does the text tell us about country life that we did not know before?' Let us return briefly, therefore, to some *Realien*, no less sure a guide than garlic to the poem's orientation with reference to the 'real' world.

Simulus' wardrobe has already been noted, the goatskin descends from Hesiod and Callimachus, as the peasant's typical clothing (Kenney on v. 22); his cap, *galerus*, is Homeric in character (vd. Kenney on v. 120, for *Od.* 24.230f.), though the word itself comes from Virgil or Virgil's source for arcane items of clothing (cf. my note on *Aen.* 7.688), while the leggings, *ocreae*, are listed, as here, next to *galerus* by Varro, in his etymologies of items of clothing[49] (*Ling.* 5.116) and are

[43] Kenney, xli and Perutelli (n.36) 34, in the footsteps of Ross (n. 9) 235f. offer helpful remarks on shifts of lexical level, upon which 'euphuism' is a sort of refinement.

[44] *Ev. Marc.* 2.4; Ross (n. 9) 255f.; Perutelli (n. 36) 34.

[45] Cf. Ross (n. 9) 255f; Kenney xlvii f.

[46] On theoxeny, cf. A. S. Hollis's comm. on Ov. *Met.* 8.611 724; and, formidably, id., ed., Call. *Hec.*, pp. 341ff.

[47] The analogy between *Moretum* and certain Dutch interiors (cf. Kenney, xxx) is attractive: cf. P. C. Sutton's introductory chapters to the catalogue, *Masters of Seventeenth century Dutch Genre Painting* (Philadelphia 1984). The home life of Theocritus' fishermen (*Id.* 21) should not be forgotten.

[48] Cf. Ross (n. 9) 260f.; Kenney xxxii ff.; Perutelli (n. 36) 23.

[49] *Ling.* 5.116: that does not mean that Ignotus is parading gloss words, as Virgil sometimes does, but it does suggest quite strongly the use of a written source.

attested[50] both for huntsmen in snowy Lucania by Horace (*Sat.* 2.3.234) and for specialist rough work on the land by the elder Pliny (*HN* 19.27).

[311/312] Simulus lights his lamp from the embers of his hearth (vv. 8–14); the morning use of the previous day's embers is a venerable poetic motif, which Kenney traces back through Ovid and Virgil to Callimachus;[51] lamp and wick are new, though, and it is interesting to note that we have an imperial relief depicting a much larger, horse-powered milling scene, illuminated, just as here, by a lamp set on a shelf.[52]

The precise, modest detail of the interior is itself typical of the theoxeny-scene, as is, notably, the concentration on the frugal fare ready to hand:[53] Ignotus denies his participants the luxury of some salt pork on a meat-hook, and limits them to some hard cheese[54] hung from plaited straw and a bunch of dried, but also Virgilian (*Buc.* 2.48), dill (vv. 55–8): the absence of pork[55] is another very pretty literary reversal (remarked by Perutelli (n. 9) with undue caution), for Philemon and Baucis *did* have a grimy old chine of pork in *their* hut (Ov. *Met.* 8.649f.)! Note, though, that Ignotus assigns no moral character, no archaic, virtuous, rustic frugality to the diet of Simulus and Scybale. Neither for the grinding of the corn, nor for the kneading, nor for the baking can I propose a precise, extant literary source: the size of the loaf (v. 18) is, by Cato's prescriptions for the daily diet of a manual worker in the Roman world, ample for one and scanty for two, for a single day (Kenney, after Duncan-Jones), the grinding is described, we have seen, with notable precision (n. 25), as is the sieving, while the baking technique, so well analysed by Tony Cubberley, is half-way between that of the old *coloni*, according to Ovid (*Fast.* 6.135f.), directly on the ashes, and the *sub testo* method, described by Cato (*Agr.* 74), which involves an enclosed pottery container. Ignotus

[312/313] may be using observation, or as elsewhere a written source, or indeed both. I do not think we know, and the same holds for his equally full account of the slow and painful mixing of the *moretum* itself.[56] Such precise descriptions (though less full)

[50] Kenney did not actually need to go as far as Palladius; it should be stressed here, though, that his delightful commentary makes work on *Moretum* a great deal easier.

[51] Cf. Hollis on Call. *Hec.* frr. 31 3; V.'s euphuism at *Aen.* 1.174ff. (firelighting) I note at *Maia* 40 (1989) 252 [ch. 21, 263].

[52] Moritz (n. 25) 89, with pl. 5b.

[53] Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.366ff.; Hor. *Sat.* 2.6.83 9; Ov. *Met.* 8.639 70; Petr. 135, with Courtney's notes. Cf. Sutton (n. 47), pll. 78, 90!

[54] Gowers (n. 4) 292 mysteriously calls the cheese soft; cf. Frayn (n. 18) 41ff.; André (n. 13) 158 for cheese, the simple diet and the availability of rennet. In modern Italy, I would expect to find very old pecorino, intensely strong and strictly for grating only (unsafe to bite, hard to cut)!

[55] Well discussed by Kenney as an element in the classic 'simple diet' (in the Horatian parody at *Sat.* 2.6.85f.); the priamel form (no pork . . . but) may be compared with (or even derive from) Hor. *Carm.* 2.18.1ff. *non ebur neque aureum mea renidet in domo lacunar.* In its clearest form at *Culex* 64ff.

[56] The stripping of the individual cloves of garlic (vv. 92 4) recalls Baucis at work cleaning vegetables (Ov. *Met.* 8.646f.); garlic, herbs, salt, and dry cheese are pounded in the mortar and it is the bit of water which Simulus adds at the outset, along with the liquids naturally yielded by the garlic and the herbs that bind the whole together. On baking techniques, cf. A. L. Cubberley in Wilkins (n. 8) 55ff.

of quotidian activities are present in Homer (cf. n. 39) and in the tradition of Alexandrian realism; all that surprises here is the continuity of detail, from unground corn[57] to the finished loaf. One element merits fuller comment, Simulus' grinding-song (vv. 29–30): the Etruscans kneaded dough to flute music and Plutarch preserves the famous fragment of a grinding-song (*Conv. Sept. Sap.* 157e) ἄλει μύλα ἄλει καὶ γὰρ Πίττακος ἄλει, while the Romans' musical life in general, work-songs in particular, and the interest in their existence shown by Latin authors have been systematically underrated:[58] work-songs (and popular songs in general) were, it turns out, precisely a type of detail that regularly attracted literary comment in authors not only Greek but, as we discover, Latin too.

The *Moretum* counts as what is loosely called an *epyllion* and unsurprisingly, therefore, contains numerous digressions,[59] of which much the longest (vv. 60–76) describes Simylus' vegetable-garden. The theme (description of a rich and varied garden) was particularly attractive to poets from Homer on (that of Alcinous' palace), as also to Xenophon and Cicero; now the *senex Corycius*' plot is revealed as unsurpassedly complex in its poetic and referential texture,[60] while we also have an ample commentary that draws attention to some real merits in Columella Book 10, his verse account of the market garden,[61] itself indebted *passim* to the *Moretum*.[62] I suspect, however, that we have not yet picked Ignotus' garden [313/314]
quite clean, for this is after all a long, nearly central digression in a poem rich in refined literary play, in its diversity of levels of language, and of humour, as in the variety of sources there to be recognized and enjoyed.[63] The *Moretum* coruscates.[64] It is very tempting therefore to see in the varied *nitor*[65] of Simulus' garden something rather more than just a garden. If the poem as a whole dazzles by *poikilia*, if the mixture of the *moretum* itself can be taken as a metaphor for just this variety (cf. n. 16), then we begin to suspect that vegetables too might be more than vegetables. If garlands of flowers can represent the varied contributors to anthologies of Hellenistic epigram,[66] then in a richly comic piece such as the

[57] Cf. Colum. 1.6.15ff., weevils and grain. But baked bread is just as attractive a prey to household pests. Simulus' morning grinding and baking delays his departure for the plough and might suggest, by way of characterization, peasant improvidence, or else actual country usage.

[58] *PMG* 869 (also *Lyra Graeca*, ed. Edmonds, 3, 532). For the Etruscans, cf. Alcimus *FGrH* 560 F 3 Ath. 14 p. 518B.

[59] Cf. Horsfall, *Cultura della plebs romana* (Barcelona 1996) 55ff. and n. on *Aen.* 7.12; *G.* 1.293; Tib. 2.1.66. Much of the material had been gathered, a little joylessly, by G. Wille, *Musica romana* (Amsterdam 1967). Cf. Calp. *Ecl.* 4.25f. with Horsfall (n. 28) 172f. for street cries.

[60] Ross (n. 9) 244; Kenney xxvii xxviii; Perutelli 28ff.

[61] On the *senex*, cf. R. Thomas, *MD* 29 (1992) 35ff. id., *Reading Virgil* (Ann Arbor 1999) 173 ff; and M. Leigh, *MD* 33 (1994) 181ff.; Perutelli (n. 36) 22; Kenney xxxiv xxxv, xlvi xlvii. On Cic. *Cato* 51ff., cf. my note, *Vergilius* 41 (1995) 55f. For Xen. *Oec.* 5.1ff., see S. Pomeroy's rich and delightful notes.

[62] F. Boldrer (Pisa 1996), with my rev., *Riv. Fil.* 126 (1998) 320ff.

[63] Kenney, xxv; Perutelli (n. 36) 15.

[64] *Pace* Kenney, xx, a champion of the poem's essential seriousness.

[65] In the sense Cato applies to *nitere* at *Agr.* 1.2.

[66] Cf. Gow Page on *AP* 4.1 (*HE* 1, 593f.).

Moretum, for roses and lilies read cabbages and gourds and let us allow that Simulus' garden may indeed be a rather spectacular metapoetic play[67] on the classic garland of poetic variety.

The word 'parody' however, has been almost entirely absent from my discussion, though it looms large in much work on the *Moretum*; it does not seem to me quite the right term to apply to Ignotus' multiform sense of literary fun,[68] nor is its target (or choice of targets) altogether clear. Can the Baucis and Philemon scene really be thought of as a target (Kenney, xxvi)? Ignotus enjoys playing with Ovid's lines and motifs and *Met.* 8 seems rather a text he loves and admires, in his playful way. That Ignotus might have been thinking to re-work and indeed rival elements of theoxeny-parody from Horace's mice-fable is another rather seductive and apparently neglected notion. Kenney does well to point to Persius' parody of bad poetry about country life (1.69–75, K., xxvi): a favourite topic and an easy target. But that, perhaps, is just the trouble: the best extended parody depends
[314/315] on specificity and the spread of *amor ruris* from Leonidas of Tarentum (Kenney, xxxi, Perutelli 20) to the elder Cato (Kenney, xxxviii, Perutelli, 21, 31), from the mannered realism of theoxeny to the pretty pictures of a Tibullus[69] makes it much harder to attribute to Ignotus specifically parodic intent, while to settle for 'parody' of idealistic writing about the countryside in general (whether in idealizing or 'good old Roman' vein)[70] does seem to do scant justice to the complexity and singular variety of Ignotus' humour. There seems no good reason then why Ignotus, that richly inventive author, should not have written an 'idyllion' that engages with a wide range of its predecessors in many different modes of predominantly humorous literary dialogue, parody not necessarily excluded.

It is of course perfectly possible (and indeed at several points positively helpful) to read the *Moretum* for information on (e.g.) techniques of milling, sifting, and baking, though not all the information it yields is quite new or original: Ignotus' genius lies, though, in embedding this ample technical information in the heart of an unusually complex and richly amusing literary *jeu d'esprit*; it may at this point occur to others too that we possess a second text of the very highest quality and rather the same date, which reveals its author as a poet exceptionally subtle and learned in his imitative understanding of the idiom and manner of his predecessors, in this case, Virgil:[71] I refer to the Helen episode. The real and lasting

[67] Cf. A. Kuttner, *Dynasty and Empire* (Berkeley 1995) 208f. on parodic vegetables in art (Prof. Kuttner, with typical generosity, has lent warm encouragement to my wilder flights); Ross (n. 9) 259f. offers welcome remarks on the humour of our garden ekphrasis.

[68] Cf. Horsfall (n. 33) 330 for some comparable doubts on the terminology used for humorous writing.

[69] Kenney, xl. Cf. now Mankin's nuanced discussion of Hor. *Epod.* 2; older interpretations of this tricky text have done some harm to our understanding of the *Moretum* (cf. Kenney, lii liii).

[70] Unsurprisingly, amid such a range of possible targets, exponents of parody are little inclined to agree: cf. Kenney, xl, lii, lvii, against Ross (n. 9) 259, 261 (parody of Alexandrian domestication of the heroic), etc.

[71] Cf. above all C. Murgia, *CSCA* 4 (1971) 203ff.

triumph of Helen's Ignotus lies in that he continues even now to befuddle quite numerous Latinists.[72] While our other Ignotus, Simulus' (the hand that crushed a thousand cloves) perhaps only now, after Emily Gowers's acute remarks (n. 16) and, yet a little further, if a few readers are persuaded by these pages, begins to emerge as a literary joker yet more ambitious in his range of targets and even more successful in having maintained his anonymous concealment so long. Two hands, perhaps, but kindred minds.

[72] See e.g. my remarks at *CR* 45 (1995) 162f.; belief in authenticity is, depressingly enough, alive and well.

37

Fraud as scholarship

The Helen Episode and the *Appendix Vergiliana*

There was never enough genuine Virgil to satisfy the enthusiasm and curiosity of his ancient readers and this paper is written in the belief that it will prove useful to discuss, all together, the many and varied aspects of the Romans' attempts to supply the need for more.[1] The real Virgil, helpfully, started writing quite late in life, thus leaving some biographical space (his teens and early twenties) for spurious *iuuenilia*.[2] In the ancient world, as on the present-day art market, you could measure fame by the accumulation of forgeries. Thus Suetonius' life of Horace refers to *elegi uulgares* and to an *epistula etiam obscura*.[3] Fame provoked curiosity, particularly in personal and biographical matters, and curiosity engendered *pseudepigrapha*. At a more modest level, though in the long run perhaps yet more insidious, because often harder to spot, it would be a major triumph for
[1/2] some relatively obscure grammarian to introduce a couple of interpolations into the text of Virgil and to provide convincing supplements for some of the half-lines. Many ventured, and the successful enjoyed a sort of parasitic immortality;[4] it was less easy in Horace's lyrics, though some tried.[5] Sir Ronald Syme's two pages[6] on 'motives' for fraud are a delight, and Wolfgang Speyer offers a full and informed survey in the early pages of his *Die literarische Fälschung*.[7] Some effort, though, will be made not to stray into ampler accounts of *comparanda*.

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[1] Hereafter, HE Helen Episode. Once I had started work on a commentary on *Aen.* 2, the choice of a topic for lectures to be delivered at Basel and Trier (April 2006) was not difficult. I am most grateful to my hosts at both universities, to the friends and colleagues who have sent me relevant offprints and photocopies (in particular Niklas Holzberg), to Gian Biagio Conte (Pisa), Aldo Lunelli (Padova), and Maria Luisa Delvigo (Udine), patient and serious exponents of a view of HE that I do not share, but do not here set out to assault, preferring rather to offer an unpolemical alternative, and of course to Margaret Hubbard, with whom I gave a class on *Aen.* 2 at St Anne's College, Oxford, circa 1969. Correspondence with Irene Peirano (Harvard and now Yale) has been a powerful stimulus to further thought on *dubia* and *spuria*.

[2] See Eduard Fraenkel, 'The Culex', *JRS* 42 (1952) 1 9 at 7 *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* 2 (Roma 1964) 181 97 at 192f.

[3] Suetonius *Vit. Hor.*, p. 3.20ff. Klingner (in ed. Teubner); E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 21f.

[4] Cf. my note on *Aen.* 3.661 and nn. 24 5 *infra*.

[5] Fabio Stok, *Enciclopedia oraziana* 1 (Roma 1996) 348ff.

[6] Ronald Syme, *Historia Augusta Papers* (Oxford 1983) 4f.

[7] München 1971.

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It will help to look briefly at how the poems of the *Appendix* are presented in the biographical tradition, about which something more needs to be said.[8] Virgil wrote[9] as a *puer* the epigram on Ballista, and then *Catalepton*, *Priapea*, *Epigrammata*, *Dirae*, *Ciris*, *Culex*, *cum esset annorum xvi. Scripsit etiam de qua ambigitur Aetnam*. Compare exactly enough the παίγνια or 'fun poems' in their context, §24 of the pseudo-Herodotean *vita* of Homer.[10] Servius adds *Copa* to the list (preface, p. 1.15, ed. Harvard); perhaps no more than a banal omission by a copyist of the *Vita Suetonii-Donati*. *Moretum* and *Elegiae in Maecenatem* are not included in the list until an entry describing a lost MS in a ninth-century catalogue of the library at Murbach (Alsace).[11] The physical homogeneity of a modern edition of the *Appendix* is therefore a formal illusion, but analysis of manner and matter rescues a significant degree of unity. But this brief glance at the list itself may serve as a specimen anthology of the vices of the biographical tradition: [2/3] note adolescent composition, Homeric analogies, attribution of *spuria* to the poet, incompleteness, for whatever reason.

When we come to our 'central' problem, the HE in *Aen.* 2, we shall see that almost all recent discussion[12] cites the relevant biographical evidence as though it were as reliable as, let us say, a good, old article in *RE*. Intellectually speaking, there is something very badly wrong with (most) Latinists. Critical analysis of the lives of the Saints begins somewhere round 1607, and of the Bible, not much later.[13] Why is it clearly harder to write sensibly about Virgil than about Christ? Is Virgil really that much more sacred than the theologians' material? For a satisfactory answer to these questions, put slightly over ten years ago, I am still waiting. There has been much excellent work, particularly in the last forty years, on Greek literary biography.[14] The Roman evidence, strikingly similar at times in manner and

[8] To the bibliographical summary offered at *Companion*, 10, add *Die Appendix Vergiliana*, ed. Niklas Holzberg (Tübingen 2005): mercifully, good literary analysis, not old battles re fought on the issue of authenticity.

[9] *Vita Suetonii Donati* 17.

[10] Tr. M. L. West, *Homeric Hymns* (Loeb ed.) 383. Cf. Janet Fairweather, 'Fiction in the Biographies of Ancient Writers', *Anc. Soc.* 5 (1974) 231 75 at 260 on the attribution of the Homeric pseudepig rapha.

[11] M. D. Reeve, in *Texts and Transmission*, ed. L. D. Reynolds (Oxford 1983) 437.

[12] Cf. (e.g.) Michael Fleck, 'Helena und Venus im zweiten Aeneisbuch', *Hermes* 105 (1977) 68 79 at 69ff.; Jeffrey Fish, 'Anger, Philodemus' Good King and the Helen Episode', in *Vergil, Philodemus and the Augustans*, ed. D. Armstrong, P. A. Johnston, M. B. Skinner (Austin 2004) 111 38 at 128f. (though not on all points); Thomas Berres, *Vergil und die Helenaszene* (Heidelberg 1992) 224f.; Giampiero Scafoglio, 'La scena di Elena tramandata da Servio: discussione filologica', *Vichiana* 4.2 (2000) 181 200 at 18. G. P. Goold, 'Servius and the Helen Episode', *Harv. Stud.* 74 (1968) 101 68 at 122ff. is unanswerable on Varius and Tucca.

[13] References at Horsfall, *Companion*, 2.

[14] Mary Lefkowitz, *Lives of the Greek Poets* (London 1981), remains exemplary. Likewise, Janet Fairweather, 'Traditional Narrative, Inference and Truth in the Lives of the Greek Poets', *PLLS* 4 (1983) 315 69 and eadem, 'Fiction' (n. 10). There is also much valuable work by William Slater and W. M. Calder.

content has by contrast attracted little sustained interest:[15] serious work on the *Vitae* of Virgil began only in 1911,[16] and the fullest recent statement of the radical, 'critical' position is, for want of anything newer and yet more hostile in its
[3/4] treatment of the evidence, probably my own.[17] The natural implication of the analytical techniques employed and improved over the years by Giorgio Brugnoli and Heinrich Naumann is that on a sober view of the material we know virtually nothing, in terms of hard fact, about the life of Virgil, apart from a couple of dates. That makes no difference at all to our understanding of his poetry. However, progress towards a better understanding of the biographical material seems to be curiously unwelcome and under-recognized. Two instances only: in vol. 5 of the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana* there are ninety-six double-column pages of *Biografia* by Francesco della Corte, while in the previous volume, six were enough for Naumann and Brugnoli to analyse the evidence.[18] Secondly, note 248 pages on 'Virgil: His Life and Times' in 1998, from a serious London publisher, and in the same year, as honey on the cup-rim of a recent book on Virgil and St Augustine from Berkeley,[19] fifteen pages on Virgil the Man. Conceptually, such accounts are still squarely in the same realm as the apocryphal miracles (or numerous venerated prepuces) of the infant Jesus and the frequent aerial flights of San Giuseppe di Copertino.[20] Unfortunately, even serious defenders of the HE try to buttress their case with enticing scraps of biographical detail,[21] and thus reduce the goodwill of competent readers towards the case for authenticity.

Scholiastic fantasy and the text of Virgil

It is not biography alone that brings out a strong preference for fiction over fact in Servius and his predecessors. From the late first century AD on, we find references (in Quintilian, then in Gellius) to ancient MSS of Virgil, even to an *idiographum librum* or to a *liber ex domo atque ex familia eius*.[22] When Gellius 13.21.4 reports
[4/5] that Probus said he had seen a *librum manu ipsius correctum*, the claim is not

[15] Cf. Janet Fairweather's excellent account (n. 10) 231ff. and my discussions, *Companion*, 1ff.; 'Problemi della biografia letteraria: Terenzio; Orazio; Virgilio', *Atti dell'Accademia Peloritana dei Pericolanti* 68 (1992) 41 53; and 'The First Person Singular in Horace's *Carmina*', in *Style and Tradition: Studies . . . Clausen*, ed. Peter Knox and Clive Foss (Stuttgart 1998) 40 54.

[16] E. Diehl, *Die Vitae Vergilianae und ihre antiken Quellen* (Bonn 1911, Kleine Texte 72), in particular 4 7.

[17] As in n. 15. [18] *Enc. Virg.* 5 (Roma 1990) 574 (Naumann), 575 80 (Brugnoli).

[19] Peter Levi, *Virgil: His Life and Times* (London 1998); S. MacCormack, *The Shadows of Poetry* (Berkeley 1998) 1 14.

[20] M. R. James, *The Apocryphal New Testament* (Oxford 1924) 38 90; N. Douglas, *Old Calabria* (many edd.), ch. 10. For prepuces, http://sxws.com/charis/relics3.htm must here suffice.

[21] See n. 12.

[22] See my discussion, 'Autograph mss of Virgil: A Note', *Vergilius* 41 (1995) 57 9, with further bibliography; add M. L. Delvigo, 'Verg. *Aen.* 3.204a c (con un problema di lessico filologico antico)', *Riv. Fil.* 117 (1989) 297 315.

impossible, but neither is it verifiable. No one ever dared, though, refer to 'the autograph(s)' of the *Aeneid*, held—if indeed they existed at all—perhaps in the Palatine archives. To some MSS, the *fama* of antiquity was given, to increase the interest and 'authority' of the readings they contained. We should not imagine that Roman scholars, 150 years after Virgil's death, were honest and competent palaeographers, able to date MSS by proper and balanced criteria.[23] When we look at what the posthumous editor(s) of the *Aeneid* were said to have found in Virgil's MSS or were said to have *done*, our only problem, as critical scholars, is that of deciding between tears of laughter and tears of rage. At 6.289, Servius Auctus reports that *quidam dicunt* that the four wretched interpolated verses he reports here were *a poeta hoc loco relictos, qui ab eius emendatoribus sublati sint*.[24] At 3.204, the interpolated verses are said to have been found 'ringed', *circumducti*, in the margin.[25] It is perhaps surprising that there are not more such verses. At *Aen.* 1.1, *Vita Suetonii-Donati* 42 relates that the grammarian Nisus said that he had heard *a senioribus* that Varius had corrected the *Aeneid*'s *incipit* by the removal of the *ille ego* lines. Virgil could not possibly have written them, as a neat argument from usage makes plain (n. 47). There is no need to repeat here what George Goold wrote[26] to explain how at *Aen.* 4.436 and *Aen.* 5.871 what Servius attributes to Varius and Tucca is, at best, highly improbable. At *Aen.* 7.464f. *furit intus aquai fumidus atque alte spumis exuberat amnis*; the archaic form *aquai* completely unnerved Virgil's scribes and what Servius attributes to Virgil himself there (*aquae amnis*) the poet could never possibly have written, with *exuberat amnis* to follow at the end of the next verse. The 'correction' to *aquai* (which is clearly what Virgil wrote here) cannot therefore have *really* been carried out by Varius and Tucca.[27] The story told by Servius on *Buc.* 10.1, about the Aristaeus-epyllion having been written to replace the *laudes Galli*, still attracts believers, unaware that evidence of this kind in Servius is *prima facie* not credible. It has long [5/6] been realized[28] that behind Servius' tale there lies a confusion between the end of *Buc.*, which does contain a complex extended reference to the poetry of Cornelius Gallus and the end of *G.* 4, where, for numerous good reasons, there can never have been one.[29] It should therefore have been generally recognized, long ago, that Servius is not a scrupulous and reliable source for stories of this kind, and it is a matter for deep regret that it has not been.

[23] See, in addition to the previous note, the good discussion by L. Gamberale, 'Autografi virgiliani e movimento arcaizzante', in *Atti del convegno virgiliano sul bimillenario delle Georgiche (1975)* (Napoli 1977) 359–67.

[24] See Goold (n. 12) 133f. See Delvigo (n. 22).

[25] See Delvigo (n. 22). Berres (n. 12) 219–33 actually maintains the Virgilian authorship of 3.204a–c and 6.289a–d.

[26] (n. 12) 126. [27] See my commentary on *Aen.* 7.464.

[28] *Companion*, 86f., after W. B. Anderson, 'Gallus and the Fourth Georgic', *CQ* 27 (1933) 36–45.

[29] See *Companion*, 86–9.

We should distinguish carefully between various types of accretion which enjoy a parasitic existence (indeed, a vicarious immortality) thanks to the vitality and fame of Virgil's three authentic works:

(i) The supplements to the half-lines.[30] Some appear to be old; just how old, we do not know. The story about Virgil himself supplementing *Aen.* 6.164 and 165 is one of the most foolish in the whole corpus of textual 'legends', for certainly you cannot have two successive half-lines in a text that could conceivably have been read aloud, whether by Virgil or by some other person.[31]

(ii) In the course of copying, even Virgil, for all his excellent transmission, was liable to echo-corruption,[32] often on account of the essentially formulaic character of the composition of certain stock scenes and passages. So for example at *Aen.* 3.230 *arboribus clausam circum atque horrentibus umbris* is inserted from *Aen.* 1.311, for the second half of *Aen.* 3.229 had already repeated that of *Aen.* 1.310.[33]

(iii) The interpolations reported at 3.204 and 6.289 we have already considered.

(iv) At 1.1, we have seen that there was a complicated story about the removal of the 'pre-proemium'; under Tiberius, Nisus the grammarian may have
[6/7] had views on the four lines, but the oral character of the authority he cites falls under the same suspicions as do all references to *fertur* and *dicitur* in the biographical tradition.[34] The *seniores* whom Nisus, as cited by the *Vita Suetonii-Donati* 42, quotes are reminiscent of a passage in Virgil himself, when Latinus says he remembers *Auruncos ita ferre senes* that Dardanus had originally come from Corythus; there the old men are quoted to add the authority of age to the probably invented or recent story.[35] At 1.1, the verses quoted are anyway not to be thought of as Virgilian (n. 47). Worse, almost, Nisus' source is also reported as claiming that the original order of books placed what is now Book 2 in the third place, before Varius' editorial improvement. This is hopeless nonsense and possibly even corrupt. Goold lets himself be seduced by the unhappy idea that Book 3 was once written in the third person;[36] that is most

[30] See my notes on *Aen.* 3.340, 661f.; *Companion*, 23f.; Charles Murgia, 'More on the Helen Episode', *CSCA* 4 (1971) 203–17 at 207.

[31] See *Companion*, 19; *aliter*, Berres (n. 12) 106 n. 39.

[32] See J. Sparrow, *Half lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (Oxford 1931) 130–54; perhaps best studied in J. Götte's ed. (München 1958).

[33] See my commentary on *Aen.* 3.230. Some material at G. Polara, 'Interpolazioni', *Enc. Virg.* 2.996–7.

[34] *Companion*, 3 and see Fleck (n. 2) 72f.

[35] 7.206. A trope I discussed in *Athenaeum* 66 (1988) 31–51 at 32ff. [ch. 18, 212–3].

[36] Goold (n. 12) 127.

unlikely and does not explain the confusion here, which may be no more than a garbled statement of the inescapable fact that while the order of the books is 1, 2, 3, the chronological sequence of events is 2, 3, 1.[37]

(v) The twenty-two lines of the HE, transmitted only by Servius and ignored completely by the grammatical tradition, in stark contrast to the rest of the *Aeneid*,[38] on which we shall shortly concentrate undisturbed.

The *Appendix Vergiliana*

Unlike the additions to the text of Virgil that we have been discussing, the *Appendix* does not at any point aim to reproduce exactly and indistinguishably the style of authentic Virgil, but rather to offer a Latin that a younger Virgil could have written. Niklas Holzberg writes well of those Latin pseudepigrapha 'in which anonymous writers slip into celebrity roles';[39] the exercise is even one that enjoys a respectable ancient label, prosopopoeia[40] and we turn naturally to [7/8] the pseudepigraphic *corpora* which accumulated around Cicero, Sallust, Ovid, and Seneca. Suetonius' remarks on the *corpus* of pseudo-Horatiana give a neat picture of the interplay of motives, genres, and even critical reaction: *uenerunt in manus meas et elegi sub titulo eius et epistola prosa oratione quasi commendantis se Maecenati, sed utraque falsa puto; nam elegi uulgares, epistola etiam obscura, quo uitio minime tenebatur*. The harmless rhetorical exercise, executed with sufficient verve and stylistic credibility will naturally, by the Renaissance, be accepted as authentic.[41] Ronald Syme expounded memorably[42] the fallacy inherent in writing 'Sallustian' letters and pamphlets in the style and language appropriate to history (the only Sallust known). One could still today write, under compulsion, (droll and awkward) Horatian elegiacs. *Catalepton* assumes (reasonably enough) that the young Virgil wrote rather like Catullus; *Catalepton* are now recognized as an important early document in the ancient reception of Catullus.[43] The epigrams in the *Anthologia Latina* attributed to the younger Seneca may be

[37] See G. W. Williams, *Technique and Ideas in the Aeneid* (New Haven 1983) 271ff.; answered in some detail in my commentary, *Aen.* 3, xxxviif.

[38] Goold (n. 12) 162ff.

[39] 'Impersonating Young Virgil: The Author of the Catalepton and His Libellus', *MD* 52 (2004) 29 40 at 31; see too Fraenkel (n. 2).

[40] Syme (n. 6) 3; id., *Sallust* (Berkeley 1964) 297n, 317, 324; Niklas Holzberg (n. 8) 226f.; id., 'Four Poets and a Poetess', *CJ* 94 (1998 9) 169 91; D. C. Innes, in *Cambridge History of Literary Criticism* 1, ed. G. A. Kennedy (Cambridge 1989) 262 (with further bibliography); G. A. Kennedy, ibid., 199; Janet Fairweather, *Seneca the Elder* (Cambridge 1981) 109; Heinrich Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (München 1960) 1.411f.; and especially Speyer (n. 7) 124 n. 1. I am here very careful to try not to anticipate various papers in whole or in part on the *Appendix* as prosopopoeia(e) on which I have recently been asked to comment in draft.

[41] Eduard Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 21f.

[42] (n. 40) 323, *et passim*.

[43] See now Holzberg (nn. 8, 39). The 'biographical' detail derived, I have suggested, from early exegesis of the *Bucolics*; *Companion*, 10f.

compared.[44] But such writing does not entail precise imitation of a distinguished poetic original: it is still not fundamentally a scholarly activity but has something to do with both rhetorical training and verse composition. The number of poets present in our collection of Ovid, *Heroides* is currently a matter for intense
[8/9] discussion. Ovid was pretty clearly not the only writer at work,[45] but our complete inability to identify the other writer(s) remains a major problem; the few apparent, occasional divergences from orthodox Ovidian style and metre indicate that if there are several other Ovidii Nasones at work, they are of impressive, if not perfect, quality. R. G. M. Nisbet has argued that the *Hercules Oetaeus* may after all be Senecan; if it is not, it is a substantially competent display of Senecan style and manner.[46] Pseudepigraphic texts unmasked by one or two grave and unanswerable flaws are of less interest.[47] Note lastly the bizarre case of Calpurnius Siculus, meticulous in his historical details of the first century AD, but written in the distinctive idiom of the later third century.[48]

In comparison with the authors of the poems just mentioned, the poet of HE stands out as exceptionally skilled. Many would say, that that is because he *is* Virgil. If, though, he is *not* Virgil, he reveals himself as a remarkably subtle and accurate student of the style of the *Aeneid* and as an important figure in any account of how Virgil was read and studied. In the HE, there are no indefensible lapses (though they have been claimed) in Virgilian style or usage; rather,
[9/10] the opposite, for most of the stylistic objections have been at points where the writing is *too* Virgilian. And it is that on which this paper will ultimately be focused.

[44] Holzberg (n. 39) 31.

[45] *Her.* 15, Sappho to Phaon is a special case: cf. R. J. Tarrant, 'The Authenticity of the Letter of Sappho to Phaon (*Heroides* xv)', *Harv. Stud.* 85 (1981) 133 53; Peter Knox, in *Brill's Companion to Ovid*, ed. Barbara Boyd (Leiden 2002) 121; and ed. Ovid, *Heroides, Select Epistles* (Cambridge 1995) *passim*. But authenticity is still advocated, E. Courtney, 'Echtheitskritik: Ovidian and Non Ovidian Heroides Again', *CJ* 93 (1998) 157 66 at 163.

[46] In *Homo Viator. Essays for John Bramble*, ed. Michael Whitby et al. (Bristol 1987) 243 51 at 249f. *Collected Papers* (Oxford 1995) 202 12 at 209f.

[47] Leopoldo Gamberale demonstrated that at *Aen.* 1.1.a, *ille ego qui* was a distinctively Ovidian stileme and that the lines therefore simply could not be by Virgil: 'preproemio', *Enc. Virg.* 4.259 61; id., in *Studi di filologia classica in onore di Giusto Monaco* 2 (Palermo 1991) 963 80. The interpolator either did not know, or did not care, that the idiom was anachronistic. Compare Wendell Clausen on the use of *neque* and *nec* in the *Ciris*, 'On Editing the *Ciris*', *CPhil.* 59 (1964) 90 101 at 100, with B. Axelson, *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund 1945) 115ff. Or note, in the *Copa*, the chronological significance of the number of pentameters that do not end in a disyllabic word: R. J. Tarrant, 'Nights at the *Copa*', *Harv. Stud.* 94 (1992) 331 47 at 347. Cf. E. J. Kenney, 'Two Disputed Passages in the *Heroides*', *CQ* 29 (1979) 394 431 at 395 and Courtney (n. 45) 157f. for the theory of negative and positive arguments in such cases.

[48] Nicholas Horsfall, 'Criteria for the Dating of Calpurnius Siculus', *Riv. Fil.* 125 (1997) 166 96. There seems so far to have been no considered, detailed re statement of the conventional Neronian date.

Servius

The HE is preserved for us not by the MSS of Virgil, but by his commentator Servius, writing very slightly before 410 AD,[49] a pupil, like St Jerome, of Aelius Donatus. Servius refers to the HE three times, and George Goold's magisterial discussion of Servius and the HE[50] means that I can be very brief. In their prefaces to the *Aeneid*[51] both Servius and Servius Auctus (an early mediaeval compilation, deriving from both Servius and from Aelius Donatus) cite the HE, verses *quos constat esse detractos*. At 2.566, Servius Auctus, following Servius' preface, quotes them again, writing *hi versus qui a Tucca et Vario sublati sunt*. *Sublati* here is an emendation by Bergk, described as 'mandatory' by Goold;[52] the mention of Plotius Tucca alongside Varius was long ago identified by Friedrich Leo as a learned mannerism typical of Servius' own notes on the transmission of Virgil,[53] whereas the mention of Varius alone is typical of Suetonius. Lastly, there is the note on 2.592, in both Servius and Servius Auctus, *hinc* (which is not precisely true) *versus constat esse sublatos, nec immerito*.[54]

It has long been clear, at least to those scholars ready to view critically biographical material in the scholia, that a note in Servius about the posthumous editing of the *Aeneid* serves not to guarantee, but rather to cast doubt upon the details of the HE and its alleged preservation. The more details introduced [10/11] from the biographical tradition to create a credible historical context for the elimination of the HE, the weaker the argument becomes. Almost worst of all,[55] the supposed reading of Book 2 to Augustus; the whole story of the reading and of Octavia fainting has fallen under grave suspicion,[56] but perhaps worse still, the three books which it was claimed that Virgil read to the *princeps* were most probably *not* 2, 4, and 6 but 1, 4, and 6, as has long been realized.[57] So there is no point in arguing that this or that aspect of the HE would not have been appreciated at court, when we do not know if the reading took place, or, if it

[49] See now Charles Murgia, 'The Dating of Servius Revisited', *CPhil.* 98 (2003) 45ff. Murgia's firm dating of the decisive banning of pagan cult acts to 391 5 is not one shared by historians, who see in the multiplication of legislative acts both determination, and something short of complete success, until *c.*407 10: see e.g. Ramsay Macmullen, *Christianising the Roman Empire* (New Haven 1984) 86 101; id., *Changes in the Roman Empire* (Princeton 1990) 213; A. H. M. Jones, *Later Roman Empire* (repr. Oxford 1973) 1.167 9. No one, however, is eager to shift the completion of Servius' work from *c.*410; cf. R. A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language* (Berkeley 1988) 357f.

[50] As in n. 12; note the clarification offered by Murgia (n. 30) 203f.

[51] Goold (n. 12) 131f.

[52] Goold (n. 12) 132.

[53] Goold (n. 12) 124f., 132; cf. *Companion*, 23 n. 141 for further bibliography.

[54] Goold (n. 12) 131.

[55] Fleck (n. 2) 79. Cf. also K. Matthiessen, 'Überlegungen zur Helenaepisode der Aeneis', in *Vir bonus dicendi peritus. Festschrift für Alfons Weische* (Wiesbaden 1997) 291 7 at 297; G. Funaioli, *Studi di letteratura antica*, 2.1 (Bologna 1948) 243; V. Estevez, 'Aeneid 2.624 31 and the Helen and Venus Episodes', *CJ* 76 (1980/1) 318 35 at 329; Berres (n. 12) 225.

[56] My note 'Virgil Reads; Octavia Faints: Grounds for Doubt', *PVS* 24 (2001) 135 7, taken up with enthusiasm, in Holzberg, *Vergil* (München 2006) 17.

[57] The evidence collected and discussed, with bibliography, my commentary on *Aen.* 3.24.

did, which books were read. Certainly, if the reading occurred, it does not seem to have included Book 2. It is, equally, useless to invoke Virgil's instructions to Varius for the posthumous editing of *Aen.*, when the evidence for their historicity has been seriously impugned.[58] Let us be quite clear: the HE is of the highest quality, but its textual credentials are deplorable and Servius' credibility in such matters is negligible.

The first argument for rejection of the verses that Servius offers at *Aen.* 2.592 is moral unsuitability: *nam turpe est viro forti contra feminam irasci*. He points out, secondly, the incompatibility between HE and *Aen.* 6, where Helen herself is found in Deiphobus' house. Thirdly, the removal of HE is demonstrated by Virgil's words at *Aen.* 2.601, *non tibi Tyndaridis facies inuisa Lacaenae*; Servius has just told us that Varius and Tucca had indeed removed precisely the verses which contained the mention of Helen and this was not what now he needed to prove.[59] The remark about the inconsistency with Book 6 is of little weight: the *Aeneid* is full of such inconsistencies of plotting and detail;[60] in some cases, you
[11/12] may wish to argue that both versions are suited to their contexts[61] and in others that Virgil alludes to an inconsistency in his sources.[62] In either case, the undeniable inconsistency between HE and *Aen.* 6 is no proof that HE really was Virgilian but had had to be deleted because inconsistent: if Varius really had worked on such principles, little of the *Aeneid* would now be left. We shall have to look briefly at the philosophical aspect of Aeneas' anger against Helen, but here Servius remarks that it is *turpe*, 'bad manners', almost, for a brave man to be angry with a woman. Readers, from Servius on, have admired Virgil and his hero for their observation of *decorum*;[63] it is no surprise to find an ancient critic who would like the gentlemanly Aeneas, even during the fall of Troy, to treat Helen with the respect due to her sex. The use of *turpe* is interesting: compare the notes[64] which suggest that Virgil tries to justify Aeneas' flight, which might otherwise seem *turpe*. During the fall of Troy, it is plain that Aeneas is prey to anger and mental confusion;[65] this is perfectly credible, and excellent characterization. If the hero sometimes does not behave like a practising philosopher or a perfect gentleman,

[58] *Companion*, 22f.; contrast e.g. Ussani and Perret *ad loc.* (on HE). [59] Goold (n. 12) 139.

[60] Nicholas Horsfall, *L'epopea in alambicco* (Napoli 1991) 91ff.; M. Squillante Saccone, 'discor danze', *Enc. Virg.* 2.95 7; E. Kraggerud, 'Die interpolierte Helenaszene in der Aeneis', *Symb. Osl.* 50 (1975) 105 19 at 111f.; G. Highet, *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton 1972) 173; Berres (n. 12) 75ff. See also now J. J. O'Hara, *Inconsistency in Roman Epic* (Cambridge 2007) 91 3.

[61] T. E. Kinsey, 'Helen at the Sack of Troy', *P&P* 42 (1987) 197 8; Scafoglio (n. 12) 192ff.; C. J. Mackie, *The Characterisation of Aeneas* (Edinburgh 1988) 134f.

[62] See Horsfall (n. 60).

[63] W. V. Clausen, *Virgil's Aeneid* (München 2002) 1ff.; Horsfall, '*Barbara tegmina crurum*', *Maia* 41 (1989) 251 4 [ch. 21, 262 5]; Richard Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* (ed. 3, Leipzig 1915, repr. Stuttgart 1965) 46; Matthiessen (n. 55) 296f.; Highet (n. 60) 169; Berres (n. 12) 77f.

[64] Servius *ad Aen.* 2.13, 196. Cf. Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.547 *nam si procos rogare turpe est*; Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 11.357.

[65] Fish (n. 12) 123f. Note also Mackie (n. 61) 48ff.

that, as we shall see more clearly soon, does not matter much, if at all. Readers who prefer to mark Virgil's hero through the twelve books as passing, or failing in some great examination for Stoic qualifications do of course find the fall of Troy a low point.

The narrative context is crucial to this discussion: Virgil had not yet mastered the complexities of simultaneous narrative when he wrote *Aeneid* 2; he would [12/13] learn, I have suggested, from reading the historians.[66] For now, events in Priam's palace and in the city at large were not neatly coordinated. Complex diagrams and hypotheses exist to show how Virgil might have been working towards a solution of the problem,[67] but any reasonably attentive reader could see that between 2.566 and 2.589 something was missing; even without further arguments (of which there are a good many), the *cum*-clause of 589, apparently inverted and with no clear antecedent, is quite enough to settle the point.[68]

Lacunae and interpolations

The phenomenon of a lacuna which serves to generate the composition of an (inevitably spurious) supplement to fill it is common enough;[69] such supplements are regularly present only in part of an author's transmission:

(i) At Livy 26.41.18ff., there are preserved in different parts of the tradition *both* a lacuna with a spurious supplement *and* the genuine text of Livy.[70]
(ii) Livy 29.22.10 is absent in part of the tradition and may not be authentic.[71]
(iii) Livy 34.16.1f. exists in part of the tradition and is probably an interpolation.[72]
(iv) Ovid *Her*. 15, the *Epistula Sapphus* has an anomalous transmission and far more enemies than defenders.[73]
(v) At Ovid *Her*. 7.97ff. and *Ex Pont*. 1.18.17–20, there are lacunae containing [13/14] interpolated verses.[74]

[66] Cf. commentary on *Aen.* 11, p. 472, on *Aen.* 3.38 n. 94.
[67] Cf. Goold (n. 12) 155ff. and note Fleck (n. 2) 77; Highet (n. 60) 172f.; E. L. Harrison, 'Divine Action in *Aeneid* Book 2', *Phoenix* 24 (1970) 320 32 at 328ff.
[68] R. G. Austin, 'Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.567 88', *CQ* 11 (1961) 185 98 at 194; Goold (n. 12) 160; Kraggerud (n. 60) 106f.; Murgia (n. 30) 207.
[69] I am most grateful to Michael Reeve for a typically terse and generous list of instances, here both reduced and expanded. Cf. Giorgio Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione* (ed. 2, Firenze 1962) 347; Murgia (n. 30) 207.
[70] M. D. Reeve, 'The Transmission of Livy 26 40', *Riv. Fil.* 114 (1986) 129 72 at 146ff.
[71] Stephen Oakley, 'Livy and Clodius Licinus', *CQ* 42 (1992) 547 51.
[72] See Briscoe's note *ad loc.* [73] See n. 45.
[74] R. J. Tarrant, 'The Reader as Author: Collaborative Interpolation in Latin Poetry', in *Editing Greek and Latin Texts*, ed. J. N. Grant (New York 1989) 121 62 at 127ff.

(vi) The Oxford verses in Juvenal 6 have never been satisfactorily defended against Axelson's attack[75] and the case for their being interpolated is undervalued.

(vii) Silius 8.144–223: on the humanist interpolation, see Delz, introduction, lxiv ff. (ed. Teubner). Giorgio Brugnoli[76] offers no answer of substance.

Occasionally, though, we benefit by the survival in only part of a transmission of substantial and probably authentic passages:

(i) Ovid *Her*. 16.39–144 and 21.145–248 are present only in the Parma ed. of 1477 and have been twice admirably defended by E. J. Kenney.[77]

(ii) The end of *De viris illustribus* (chh. 78–86) was not published until 1579 (editio princeps ?1470), but is unlikely to be a humanist supplement.[78]

(iii) At Livy 26.41.18ff. (see above, with n. 70), note the survival of Livy's text in part of the transmission.

(iv) *Il*. 9.458–61,[79] lines (probably Homeric) preserved by Plutarch, *Mor*. 26F not the vulgate, through his account of Aristarchus' role in their removal.

[14/15] But though such instances serve to establish positively what is not at all in doubt, that authentic passages of ancient authors can indeed survive in indirect transmissions, or in only part of a text's MSS, such an argument is scarcely applicable to the HE, given the miserable evidential quality of the information preserved by Servius about the of *Aeneid* that survived Virgil's death and about the methods used by his editor in handling them. 'Perhaps just this once authentic material was preserved, as could well have happened, given the many stories about the state in which the poet's papers were left'[80] is a line of argument in defence of the HE that has impressed unwary readers, but critical study of the methods and scruples repeatedly displayed by Aelius Donatus and Servius elsewhere demonstrates the very long odds against the likelihood of such survival. That sceptical position is strongly reinforced by consideration of some curious features of the style and sources of the HE, to which we now turn.

[75] B. Axelson, 'A Problem of Genuineness in Juvenal', in *Dragma: M. P. Nilsson* (Lund 1939) 41 55, given due weight in James Willis's Teubner edition.

[76] 'L'additamentum Aldinum di Sil. 8.144 223 è di Silio!' *GIF* 44 (1992) 203 14.

[77] E. J. Kenney (n. 47) 394ff. and '*Vt erat* novator: Anomaly, Imitation and Genre in Ovid, Heroides 16 21', in *Aspects of the Language of Latin Poetry*, ed. J. N. Adams and R. G. Mayer (Oxford 1999) 399 414; cf. also Courtney (n. 42) 161f.; C. Murgia, 'The Date of the Helen Episode', *Harv. Stud.* 101 (2003) 405 26 at 418 n. 30.

[78] R. J. Tarrant and M. D. Reeve, in *Texts and Transmission* (n. 11) 151f.

[79] H. Erbse, 'Zwei unstrittene Abschnitte in der "Aeneis" Vergils', *Hermes* 129 (2001) 431 8 at 432 and the commentaries of Griffin and Hainsworth *ad loc*.

[80] Karl Büchner's discussion in *RE* may stand for many: 'Aeneis II' 16A:1355.44 1356.49.

We need to consider, first, how a writer other than Virgil could reasonably have arrived at the conception of the HE, and secondly, how he might have learned to write the HE in a manner so very close to Virgil's own.

Sources, stimuli, and other suggestions on the author's reading

The plot of the HE, wonderfully powerful in its context, is not, however,[81] all that difficult to excogitate.

Venus' reference to Aeneas' *irae* at 2.594 sets the tone for what now precedes (see *ad finem*). Her words to Aeneas at 601f. are yet more significant: it was the gods' malignity, *diuum inclementia, diuum* that destroyed Troy for you, not the *Tyndaridis facies inuisa Lacaenae culpatusue Paris*. Is this assignment of blame just part of a general observation on what has happened?[82] Or does it refer (as well, perhaps) to what precedes?[83] The HE neither blames Paris, nor refers to Helen's beauty; however, Virgil's passing reference to her might have been stimulus enough to a scholar thinking to fill the lacuna. A crucial and very obvious model was Helen's encounter with Menelaus during the sack: in Ibycus, he [15/16] pursued her, sword in hand; in Stesichorus, at the sight of her, stones fell from the Achaeans' grasp.[84] Paris is dead, by Philoctetes' hand, and she has passed to Deiphobus' bed,[85] but in the chaos of the sack, it is only her beauty that will protect her against every man's rage. So why not Aeneas' rage too, to balance Menelaus', if you will?[86]

The figure of the goddess who stays Aeneas' hand, or Menelaus', has been discussed admirably, with ample citation of parallels, by Charles Murgia:[87] the scene is of a familiar type and thus requires no specific literary model,[88] though the relevance of Euripides *Orestes* 1628ff. (Apollo who checks Orestes' attack on

[81] Still mysterious to Sebastiano Timpanaro, *Virgilianisti antichi* (Firenze 2001) 2 n. 2. Cf. id., 'Dall'*Alexandros* di Euripide all'*Alexander* di Ennio', *Riv. Fil.* 124 (1996) 5–70 at 53.

[82] Goold (n. 12) 157f. [83] Cf. Austin on *Aen.* 2.602.

[84] Horsfall, 'Stesichorus at Bovillae?' *JHS* 99 (1979) 27–48 at 38; Eva Cantarella, *Les peines de mort* (transl. Paris 2000) 68f.; Scafoglio (n. 12) 116; C. Robert, in L. Preller and C. Robert, *Die griechische Mythologie* (ed. 4, Berlin 1926) 2.1263f.; Frazer on (Apollodorus) *Epit.* 5.22, 6.29; Michael Anderson, *The Fall of Troy in Early Greek Poetry and Art* (Oxford 1997) 153f., 164f.

[85] (Apollodorus) *Epit.* 5.9; Robert (n. 84) 1216; C. Vellay, *Les légendes du cycle troyen* 1 (Monaco 1957) 287ff.

[86] Cf. already Heinze (n. 63) 48f.

[87] Murgia (n. 77) 405 n. 2, altogether superseding my remarks at *CR* 45 (1995) 162f., as he (fairly enough) does not fail to point out. G. B. Conte, 'Questioni di metodo e critica dell'autenticità', *MD* 56 (2006) 157–74 at 165f. offers an answer to Murgia, not at all decisively, for enough fairly close analogies for the scene do exist to blur the outlines of any one preferred antecedent: see next note.

[88] If the scene is clearly typical, then Conte's specific, Homeric, intertextual argument in 'L'episodio di Elena nel secondo dell'*Eneide*', *Riv. Fil.* 106 (1978) 53–62 at 57f., *et alibi* for Virgilian authorship is gravely weakened.

Helen) was noted as long ago as the late seventeenth century (Emmenessius; see Murgia, n. 87).

It is no decisive argument[89] to note that the HE contains the only monologue reported by Aeneas in the course of his two-book narrative. The same is true of Murgia's acute observation[90] that here Aeneas speaks in terms of external *laus* or *nomen*, which is strange for a hero normally prompted by his own internal *pietas*, though we should perhaps also recall that when Dido, impeccably Homeric, fails
[16/17] to take thought for *fama* and *species*, 4.170,[91] those goals are in themselves also impeccably Homeric. Great effort has been expended on identifying echoes of Greek poetry in the HE, from the days of Emmenessius on; those echoes do derive primarily from Euripides' *Orestes*[92] and we might wonder whether careful use of that one play was so ample, or so thoughtful as to point inevitably to Virgil himself. Or might there have been some profound reader of Virgil so acute as to be able to reproduce extended reworking in Virgil's manner of one single play? The HE also shows knowledge perhaps of Ennius and certainly of the end of Lucretius 3.[93] Murgia has now advanced a complex argument[94] to show that it was the HE which imitated Lucan and not *vice versa*. That alone will not persuade those convinced that Virgil was the author of HE. Once, however, that the possibility of non-Virgilian authorship is admitted, post-*Pharsalia* is not significantly more difficult than pre-; it has even been suggested that Lucan himself could have been the author.[95]

Lexicon, style, grammar, and metre

It was injudicious on Fish's part[96] to treat with apparent levity the definition of HE's author as a 'super-Virgil'.[97] For here there is a serious point, or nexus of points, to be made. I do not, alas, propose to offer anything so simply decisive as usage typical of the 'wrong' century (supra), but the subtle and persuasive
[17/18] arguments advanced by Murgia in 1971[98] can now be reinforced in the light

[89] Heinze (n. 63) 46f.; Highet (n. 60) 169f.; Kraggerud (n. 60) 114; Berres (n. 12) 79f.
[90] Murgia (n. 77) 406f.
[91] On 1.379, see Murgia (n. 77) 407 n. 5. Cf. Homeric heroes forgetful of χάρμη or ἀλκή.
[92] Cf. Heinze (n. 63) 48 n. 1; Fish (n. 12) 127f. Aeschylus *Agam.* 749 is not necessarily the origin of the *Erinys* of 2.573; Euripides *Orest.* 1388 would do very well. See Murgia (n. 77) 424 n. 40; Conte (n. 87) at 160f.
[93] Cf. Conte (n. 88) 60f. and (n. 87) 160f.: the Helen as Fury of *trag.* 49 Jocelyn may bear on 2.573; the metaphorical *sudarit* of 582 *could* be compared to *trag.* 165 Jocelyn, but Jocelyn's note there points to Homeric and Euripidean analogues; see too Austin (n. 68) 194, citing Lucretius 5.1131. For Lucretius, see Goold (n. 12) 147.
[94] Murgia (n. 77). Cf. now the thoughtful and penetrating reply by Conte (n. 87) 158 64.
[95] Goold (n. 12) 167. [96] Fish (n. 12) 125.
[97] Murgia (n. 30) 216; cf. Goold (n. 12) 145 7. [98] Murgia (n. 30) 210 16.

of recent work on the finer, or stranger, points of Virgilian style and the results seem gravely disconcerting.

The language of the HE is markedly repetitive (*poena* 4x); fire, anger, and revenge dominate the author's choices.[99] Is this because the author is deliberately imitating Virgilian 'use of conscious repetition as a unifying device and as a means of underlining important elements', as Murgia puts it?[100] A schematic representation of the themes and internal echoes of the HE[101] reveals an author determined to handle big themes on a small scale. These lines are tremendous stuff, but at the same time rather breathless and claustrophobic: lexical and thematic repetition is used immoderately and there is little trace here of the restraint and economy of Virgil at his majestic best. If the author is Virgil, then he is beginning to emerge as truly *nimium amator ingenii sui* (Quintilian 10.1.88 on Ovid), and worse is shortly to come. But if the author is not Virgil, he has only twenty-two lines (more might have looked strange) to stake a claim to immortality. Of course, fire, anger, and revenge are wonderfully Virgilian themes. But it should have troubled more students of the HE that Goold had no trouble in showing[102] that the lexicon of these verses derives from minute imitation of a small range of familiar Virgilian passages. No real invention, or innovation, though, but brilliantly meticulous warming-over of ingredients whose familiarity emerges more and more clearly from close study. The result seems almost ponderously, excessively Virgilian, rather as though equipped with footnotes, as you sometimes find after modern Latin hexameters. The identification of sources has always been a source of particular illumination in the hunt for means towards the identification of a forger's work.[103]

The few deviations, or near-deviations from attested Virgilian usage are almost more significant, for they are the work of a writer who has studied this specialized idiom of the *Aen.*—one both extremely complex but ultimately finite—in the [18/19] finest detail. It is highly probable, though perhaps not quite certain, that we should read *animumque explesse iuuabit ultricis flammae* at 2.586f.—'it will please me to fill my spirit with the flame of vengeance.' No exact Virgilian parallel, so (e.g.) Mynors regards the passage as textually hopeless. But the case for reading *animumque explesse iuuabit ultricis flammae* was made excellently by Murgia and Renehan:[104] the verb is Lucretian, predictably from the end of Book 3 (1004) and the use of the genitive for 'fill with' is easily justified by comparison with the genitive with *impleri* at 1.215 (*implentur ueteris Bacchi pinguisque ferinae*). Such

[99] Austin (n. 68) 194; Goold (n. 12) 148; Berres (n. 12) 37ff.
[100] Murgia (n. 30) 215f.
[101] Murgia (n. 30) 215.
[102] Goold (n. 12) 145f.
[103] Syme (n. 6) 6; see too id. (n. 40) 323: the style of Ps. Sallust perfectly Sallustian, which it should not be in non historical works. Or consider the importance of identifying the historical sources used by Calpurnius Siculus in the later third century AD, to re create the flavour and detail of Nero's age, Horsfall (n. 48) 166 73.
[104] Murgia (n. 30) 210f.; R. Renehan, 'Pseudo Vergil's *ultrix* flamma: A Problem in Linguistic Probabilities', *CPhil.* 68 (1973) 197 202 at 197f.; note Berres (n. 12) 9f.

use of the genitive is perfectly common elsewhere in classical Latin (compare e.g. Lucretius 5.1162 *ararum compleuerit urbis*)[105] and to criticize the usage because other instances of *this* compound + genitive are lacking *in Virgil*[106] (and indeed apparently elsewhere too, Klepl-Hiltbrunner, *TLL* 5.2.1714.43f.) is to deny entirely, and absurdly, the force of analogy in linguistic invention. It was in the context of Servius' discussion of 1.215 (*'impleo' duos casus regit* . . .) that Murgia remarked 'I frequently gain the impression from the Helen Episode that its author was steeped in Virgilian scholia';[107] we will shortly see that this observation was altogether correct. The excellence of HE is to be understood as a tribute to the excellence of the best ancient analysis of Virgilian style, and this paper hopes to be able to enlarge somewhat our understanding of that tribute. *Vltrix flamma* as 'the fire of vengeance' is also admirably Virgilian in manner; the flame takes up the psychological *ignes* of 575 and I am relieved to discover that when commenting on
[19/20] 7.577 *medioque in crimine caedis et igni*,[108] I remembered to quote 2.575.[109] What we have there is not precisely Virgilian, but rather a wonderfully thoughtful small extension of attested Virgilian usage. See n. 114 below for emotional fires in Servius.

We pass to less clamorous instances, for which it is rewarding to look at Goold's handy list[110] of those obstacles to Virgilian authorship which Austin admits in his commentary. While Goold asserts simply that Virgil could never have used such expressions, I find them repeatedly most helpful and illuminating as clues to a non-Virgilian author's *modus operandi* in the re-creation of his master's voice:

(i) 569 *aspicio* in the sense of 'I catch sight of'; that sense, *pace* Austin, is indeed Virgilian.[111] *Aspiciet* 578 is rather 'will set eyes on, behold'; the variation of meaning within a short space is itself extremely Virgilian[112] and was noted with approval long ago: on *Aen.* 9.570, Servius quotes Lucilius[113] *bonum schema est quotiens sensus uariatur in iteratione*

[105] Ferdinand Antoine, *De casuum syntaxi Vergiliana* (Paris 1882) 90 (still very useful); W. M. Lindsay, *Syntax of Plautus* (Oxford 1907) 17; C. E. Bennett, *Syntax of Early Latin* (Boston 1914) 2.91f.; Manu Leumann, J. B. Hofmann, Anton Szantyr, *Lateinische Grammatik* 2 (München 1965) 82; Renehan (n. 104); against Goold (n. 12) 144f. For *impleo* and genitive, cf. Labhardt, *TLL* 7.1.629. 11ff. (comedy, republican prose, later Latin); for *oppleo*, cf. Keudel, *TLL* 9.2.761.73ff. (comedy and late prose); for *plenus*, *OLD* s.v. §1a, citing Hor. *Carm.* 4.11.2 *plenus Albani cadus* (and note *Aen.* 1.460 *plena laboris*); for *repleo*, *OLD* s.v. §3a.

[106] See also *Buc.* 3.60 *Iouis omnia plena.* [107] Murgia (n. 30) 212.

[108] 'Und mitten in der flammenden anklage des Mordens' Binder. The Binders' six admirable paperback volumes in the Reclam series (Stuttgart 1994 2005) offer text, scrupulous translation, and some sober notes.

[109] Cf. *Buc.* 5.10 *Phyllidis ignes.* [110] (n. 12) 154f. [111] Compare *Aen.* 4.664, 12.558.

[112] For the verb, cf. my notes on *Aen.* 3.443, 11.56. For the repetition, cf. my note on 7.554, with bibliography; though Austin (n. 68) 194 notes the repetition with concern, his note on *Aen.* 2.505 is a splendid exposition of the idiom of repetition with variation of sense. Cf. too J. Wills, *Repetitions in Latin Poetry* (Oxford 1996) 469ff.

[113] 1133 Marx, 40 Funaioli, *Gramm. Rom. Frag.*; cf. Wills (n. 112) 329.

uerborum, so ancient readers of Virgil did remark upon this frequent refinement.

(ii) 575 *exarsere ignes animo* is called 'very bold' by Murgia. Compare 11.376 *talibus exarsit dictis uiolentia Turni*. *Ignes*, in the sense of 'fires of anger', are close to Virgil's use in *Aeneid* 7;[114] on 7.577, Servius helpfully glosses *feruore seditionis*.

(iii) 576 *sceleratas sumere poenas* and 585f. *sumpsisse merentis laudabor poenas* are excellent examples of enallage, transferred epithet, rather too close to each other.[115] Along with hypallage, a closely related figure, enallage is [20/21] one of the distinguishing difficulties of Virgilian writing[116] and is repeatedly noted by Servius (who, confusingly, often uses *hypallage* for what we call *enallage*):[117] just, that is, the sort of stileme that any first-century AD poet would have studied with minute care when he read the *Aeneid* at school. Perhaps the temptation to be seen to have used two, where one was really enough, in twenty-two lines, was too strong to be resisted; it will not do (*pace* Erbse) to invoke the speaker's strong emotions, here or elsewhere, as justification for more.

(iv) 577 *patrias* 'could obviously not have stood in a single, finished passage'[118] after 576 *patriam*. That was incautiously formulated and should not have been applauded: see for example 7.553 *armis* and 554 *arma* at successive line-ends; such repetition is not specially rare.[119]

(v) Note 581 *arserit igni* after 575 *exarsere ignes*. *Sensus uariatur in iteratione uerborum*, yet again (see *a* supra), a double, literal echo of the earlier, [21/22] metaphorical expression. Just as we have seen that enallage was

[114] See my notes on 7.355, 577; and Renehan (n. 104) 200.

[115] Close, that is, if judged by the sort of frequency that emerges from my commentaries on Books 7, 11, and 3 (and some part of that on Book 2), in which I have been particularly eager to seek out and discuss these figures.

[116] Cf. G. B. Conte, *Virgilio* (Torino 2002) 5ff.; G. Calboli, 'enallage', *Enc. Virg.* 2.217; indices to my commentaries; s.v. G. Maurach, *Enchiridion poeticum* (ed. 2, Darmstadt 1989) 96ff.; A. J. Bell, *The Latin Dual and Poetic Diction* (London 1923) 315ff.; W. Kroll, in *La lingua poetica latina*, ed. A. Lunelli (ed. 2, Bologna 1980) 27f., with ample bibliography. For enallage in HE, cf. Murgia (n. 30) 213f.; Berres (n. 12) 10f.; Kraggerud (n. 60) 115f.; Erbse (n. 79) 433; Highet (n. 60) 170. Note that 576 *sceleratas sumere poenas* looks like a more 'difficult' variation (with enallage) upon 12.949 *poenas scelerato ex sanguine sumit*.

[117] *Enallage* is not used by Servius. For *hypallage* as 'transferred epithet', cf. Rubenbauer, *TLL* 6.3.3146.72f.; Servius *ad Aen.* 1.392, 403 (Servius Auctus) 518, 2.99 (Servius Auctus), etc.; Conte (n. 116) 56 n. 72, 58 n. 81, 61 n. 89, and now (n. 87) 169, n. 2; further instances can be found from PHI or the index of Mountford Schulz. Servius also uses *hypallage* just as we might (it is after all a related phenomenon), on *Aen.* 1.9, 2.361, etc. Conte (n. 87) 169 rightly remarks on such enallage as quintessentially Virgilian; so it was recognized in the schoolroom too. So too the *meorum* of 12.947 (Conte, as in n. 87, 171): the genitive plural of the personal pronoun so very Virgilian that the brilliant grammarian I take to have been the author would naturally have memorized it.

[118] Austin *ad loc.*, approved by Goold (n. 12) 155.

[119] Cf. Wills (n. 112) 422 for other instances in Virgil and elsewhere.

irresistible, so too is variation with altered sense, except that the second time, it is of two words and in changed *sedes*.[120] The author of these lines might reasonably be suspected of enjoying himself, once more in the over-use of a stylistic turn recognized and discussed by Servius.

(vi) 585 *nefas* is used of a person, 'a piece of sin', in Austin's words (*ad loc.*). No obvious parallel in Virgil, but there is a comparable instance in Ovid's friend, Cornelius Severus.[121] More important, Virgil uses the word strangely elsewhere, notably at 5.197 *prohibete nefas*, the shame of defeat, *obprobrium*, as Servius paraphrases. Perhaps, then, a word that had, like *poena*, been indicated in the schools as specially dear to Virgil as a field for varied and experimental use.[122]

(vii) 587 *satiasse* 'not used elsewhere by Virgil'. That objection could be used in theory against every *hapax* in the *Aeneid*;[123] actually, like 586 *explesse*, it comes from Lucretius 3.1004 and it is clearly unwise to deny either to Virgil, or to so skilled an imitator such a respectable word.[124] Predictably, the much-criticized *praemetuens* of 573 is another Lucretian echo (3.1019), from the same passage, as Goold noted (n. 124).

(viii) It is said that 588 *talia iactabam et furiata mente ferebar* 'looks like a stopgap';[125] Austin takes particular objection to *furiata mente*. But what Austin dismisses as a 'patch' Renehan has expounded with skill:[126] he, and Nisbet–Hubbard, think Virgil found the word in Horace *Carm.* 1.25.14 *quae solet matres furiare equorum*. But perhaps *Aen.* 2.407 *furiata*
[22/23] *mente Coroebus* was earlier than *Carm.* 1.25. Certainly, Servius was interested by the new word, as Renehan explains, and at 407 he distinguishes it carefully from *furiosus*. 588 looks therefore to be the careful result of attention drawn to a new idiom in the schoolroom.[127]

(ix) Lastly, 579 *coniugiumque domumque patres natosque uidebit*, the use of *patres* in the sense of *parentes*.[128] It has been claimed[129] that the next clear instance does not occur before Statius. But the sense 'father and mother' is of a familiar type: note *fratres* for *fratres et sorores*, *nurus* for *filiae et*

[120] Servius on *Buc.* 3.44 (note v. 37) 8.50; Wills (n. 112) 181.

[121] See Austin (n. 68) 190; Cornelius Severus fr. 13.6 Courtney *patriciumque nefas exstinctum* (Catiline).

[122] See my commentary on 7.766; Austin (n. 68) 194, 197; and the material gathered by V. Marotta, 'poena', *Enc. Virg.* 4.153 5. Note (e.g.) Servius on *Aen.* 1.136, 6.598, 7.307, 8.668, 9.230; Servius Dan. on 2.366: the word's usage was amply studied.

[123] C. Salemme, 'hapax', *Enc. Virg.* 2.831 3.

[124] Goold (n. 12) 147; Berres (n. 12) 17f.

[125] Austin (n. 68) 194; Murgia (n. 30) 209f.; Goold (n. 12) 154.

[126] Renehan (n. 97) 201f.; cf. Berres (n. 121) 45f.

[127] As well he might have: see Murgia (n. 30) 212 n. 18.

[128] *Patres*, rather than *patris* to be read: Goold (n. 12)143f., against Austin (n. 68) 191f.

[129] E. Fahnestock and M. B. Peaks, 'A Vulgar Latin Origin for Spanish Padres Meaning Father and Mother', *TAPA* 44 (1913) 77 86 at 80; see now von Kamptz, *TLL* 10.1.674.75ff.

nurus, *filii* for *filii filiaeque*.[130] There are also cases of *patres* where the elliptical sense seems likely, if not mandatory, even in Virgil: *Aen.* 1.95 *ante ora patrum* (*parentum* at *G.* 4.477, *Aen.* 6.308); compare Horace *Carm.* 4.4.55 *natosque maturosque patres*. In Virgil's phrase here, *patris natosque*, *natos* may also be 'interesting,' or challenging, if only the familiar Hermione comes to mind;[131] in that case, an elliptical sense for *patres* becomes easier (perhaps with the closely parallel use of *parentes* in mind), and we might even suspect that the author has had a lesson on anomalous (and indeed elliptical) plurals.

Murgia noted,[132] admirably, the author's tendency to 'rhetorical amplification, in which everything happens in twos,' *poenam . . . et iras*, *Troiae et patriae*, etc.; there are thirteen instances in the published list for these twenty-two verses. 'Theme and variation' is good, and very Virgilian, but perhaps not quite *that* good.

A very strong partiality for synaloepha at the caesura, particularly of spondaic [23/24]
words, was noticed, long ago:[133] eight cases in twenty-two lines. It was also observed, long ago, that in Virgil such metrical phenomena come in groups.[134] never, though, in quite such large groups.

It seems therefore as though a paradox has emerged: where the author of HE does *not* follow in minutest detail Virgil's usage (discussion of *Aen.* 2.586f. and *f*, *g*, supra), what is revealed is thoughtful, even expert variation upon familiar phenomena of style. Normally, though, the author deploys lavishly, and sometimes with droll frequency, items familiar from any modern discussion of figures and stilemes notably characteristic of Virgil's epic style, above all, as we discover, details provably studied by the ancient commentators. It is the writing of one who has never learned that *ars est celare artem*.[135] Repeatedly, the writing is *excessively* Virgilian, the work of one who spares no effort to prove that the author is Virgil.[136] His efforts have convinced many distinguished Latinists,[137] but the

[130] Cf. E. Löftstedt, *Syntactica* (ed. 2, Lund 1942) 1.69; Bell (n. 116) 19f.; Leumann et al. (n. 105) 19.

[131] Austin on *Aen.* 2.579 for a son, Nicostratus, in the mythographers (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.1, where see Frazer's ample note); he derives ultimately from Hesiod *Eoeae* fr. 175 M W.

[132] (n. 30) 214. [133] Eduard Norden, *Aen. 6* (ed. 4, Stuttgart 1957) 454.

[134] S. K. Johnson, 'Elided Spondees in the Second and Third Foot of the Vergilian Hexameter', *CR* 41 (1927) 123; F. W. Shipley, 'The Virgilian Authorship of the Helen Episode', *TAPA* 56 (1925) 172 84; Berres (n. 12) 29f. against an aberration of Norden's.

[135] Not classical as formulated, but see (my thanks to Denis Feeney for a reference to the 'Golden threads' section of the web site Atrium: www.atrium media.com) Ovid *Met.* 10.252, *Ars Am.* 2.313; Quintilian 1.11.3, 9.3.102. Significantly absent from the good dictionaries of Latin proverbs and sayings.

[136] Murgia (n. 30) 214. Maria Luisa Delvigo, 'Elena ed il serpente', *MD* 57 (2006) 207 10, and Harrison (n. 62) 331f. point out the presence of serpent and flame language in the HE; that is precisely what you would expect, given the author's meticulous study of *Aen.* 2. *Vixere fortes ante* Pöschl, Knox, and Putnam.

[137] Given the very nature of a problem such as that of the HE, textual analysis is here preferred to literary discussion as likelier to lead to a correct solution. Well put, Murgia (n. 30) 405: neither of Conte's discussions (as in nn. 87 and 88) come to terms with the issue of transmission and lose weight

sweat of his efforts has stained the page and in the end it is those sweat stains that give him away.

Now that the non-Virgilian transmission of the HE has been given due prom-
[24/25] inence, and now that the author's careful training, simple but sensible sources and flawed techniques are more clearly understood, we may conclude with a brief look at a recent 'philosophical' defence of the HE. Roman anger has recently been the object of much attention,[138] little to the advantage of *Aen.* 2. Recently, Jeffrey Fish,[139] with quite insufficient understanding of the textual and stylistic issues, has addressed anger and the HE. Note in particular[140] 586f. *animumque explesse iuuabit ultricis flammae*.[141] Pleasure in anger, as shown also by Mezentius (*Aen.* 10.742) and Turnus (*Aen.* 10.500), is a special target of Philodemus' criticism.[142] Here, the sense of joyful vengeance deriving from Helen's death is markedly Euripidean—from *Orestes*, as we would expect,[143] and only here is there any suggestion that Aeneas might take *pleasure* in anger, at some point in the future; not the same thing as Homeric joy in battle, χάρμη, which Fish very strangely denies to Aeneas, against the evidence of the text.[144] On Fish's argument, Aeneas' future joy in vengeance must be integral to the poem, as a perfect example, in Philodemean terms, of how the fool behaves.[145] But the passing coincidence of Aeneas' intended behaviour with Philodemus' argument can have no textual force, and it should also be remembered that Virgil, as a matter of observed fact, slips imperceptibly from one fleeting appearance of a philosophical position to another,[146] which should suggest that no general arguments about Aeneas' progress towards mastery of his emotions are to be based on occasional coincidences. That Aeneas rushes through Troy in a confused state, that he commits errors of
[25/26] judgement in the stress of battle and has to be recalled, repeatedly even, to his duty[147] is excellent, realistic characterization, rather than an elevated discourse on the ills of anger. Not 'a case study in anger,'[148] but the awkwardly repetitive working out of a single idea, several times over, with insufficient lexical variation. Of course it is only natural that there is some coincidence between Philodemus and the emotions expressed in HE; you would expect that, given the care with

thereby; many other studies (often passionate, sometimes erudite) of HE do not appear at all in these notes, for the same reason.

[138] W. V. Harris, *Restraining Rage* (Cambridge Mass. 2001) 246f. ignores HE entirely; C. Gill, in *Ancient Anger*, *YCS* 32 (2003) 218f. discusses HE with no suspicion that it might be un Virgilian.
[139] Fish (n. 12) 111ff.; on the technical side of the HE problem, cf. 125 8. [140] Fish (n. 12) 120.
[141] Goold's discussion of the textual issue at 586f. (n. 12) 144f. is hampered by his opposition to *explere* + genitive (cf. 19). Cf. rather Murgia and Renehan (n. 104).
[142] *De ira* 15.15 19, 42.20 9; Fish (n. 12) 121 2. [143] Fish (n. 12) 127.
[144] Fish (n. 12) 119 n. 42; contrast *Companion*, 200. To *Aen.* 10.787, which Fish considers, add *Aen.* 10.874 and notably *Aen.* 12.700.
[145] Fish (n. 12) 121. [146] *Companion*, 198ff. [147] Fish (n. 12) 124.
[148] Fish (n. 12) 127.

which the author has studied the narrative of *Aeneid* 2, which involves so much rage and madness.[149]

Conclusions

Once the author of HE begins to reveal his methods (or rather, once George Goold and Charles Murgia revealed where they were likely to be found), the bolt on the door of his *Dichterwerkstatt* slid complainingly open, and the effortful concentration of his scholarly efforts revealed at least who he was *not*.[150] Once it becomes clear that it is far easier to explain the many oddities of the HE on the hypothesis that the author was *not* Virgil, the same argument points to the conclusion that he was in significant ways closer to scholarship than to poetry.[151] Or at very least a poet who read Virgil much as Virgil had read Homer, with the scholia close to hand. Possibly not Lucan (n. 95), and conceivably, as it might be, Probus, for grammarians at Rome had written poetry since Livius Andronicus, as is well known (e.g. Courtney, *FLP*, 118); at any rate an author technically flawless, but wayward in poetic judgement and short on moderation,[152] at least by the standards of modern stylometrics. If, though, an interpolator's skill is measured by the number of scholars he has hoodwinked, the author of HE has been wonderfully successful, unmatched, indeed, among the interpolators:[153] that he emerges as sometimes rather too Virgilian to be Virgil is offered both as (negative) proof of his identity and as tribute to his skill. [26/27]

[149] *Aen.* 2.244, 316, 355, 594.

[150] Personal experience is undeniably relevant here the writing of 150 verses in the manner of Ovid for a prize poem in Cambridge forty years ago (*Prize Exercises*, Cambridge 1966, 15 19). Not grimly, meticulously Ovidian (there was no call to be), but I have not yet forgotten how you sit down to write at some length and deliberately in the manner of a given poet, and that recollection will have had, I suppose, some bearing on the argumentation here offered.

[151] Now that *dubia*, *spuria*, and interpolations begin to be studied *also* as documents for the reception of earlier authors, we may expect some interesting reattributions.

[152] The elder Seneca's verdict on Ovid comes to mind: *nescit quod bene cessit relinquere*, *Contr.* 9.5.17.

[153] Perhaps rivalled by some of the (allegedly) non Ovidian material in Ovid *Her.*, at least to judge by the intensity of the unresolved debate between competent scholars (n. 45).

38
Excudent alii[1]

This paper will offer a detailed analysis of *Aeneid* 6.847–53, but before we return to that old battlefield, we have to settle, for good, an apparent problem about what Virgil actually wrote at verse 852; the issue is not simply one of textual criticism, but has substantial implications for the sense and for the ideology expressed. It will very soon be clear that Virgil wrote *pacique imponere morem*—'to impose the force of habit upon peace'—but in many older editions you will find *pacisque imponere morem*—'to impose the habit of peace'. That is, by Virgil's standards, too simple and obvious a sense; worse, *pacis* is a reading without adequate manuscript support, being present in one single MS, and that not of Virgil but of the commentator known as 'Servius Auctus'; he writes here *pacique imponere morem, id est pacis morem*, that is [paraphrasing] *pacis morem*, the custom of peace, *quod est*, that is [a paraphrase of the paraphrase] *leges pacis*, the laws of peace.[2] I suppose that *pacis morem* is a reading (even quite an old reading) somehow preserved by the scholiasts' tradition, which crept into the tenth-century Virgil MS known as 'Mentelianus Alter'. E. Paratore, long considered the *doyen* of
[63/64] Italy's Virgilians, wrote in his commentary of 1979[3] 'i manoscritti sono divisi'—'the manuscripts are divided'—and to that gross error no reply is called for. *Paci* on the other hand is a difficult and challenging reading: interpreters seem divided between 'adding civilization to peace' (cf. Goold, Loeb ed.) and 'adding [the force of] habit to peace' (so Fletcher's ed., 1941, etc.). Despite a steadily swelling bibliography,[4] there seems to be no detailed discussion of the exact sense of these three words. *Imponere* conceals no traps; you can talk about *imponere*

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[1] When first confronted with the challenge of writing a short lecture to give after the award of the Premio Internazionale of the Accademia Virgiliana of Mantova, I had recently commented on *Aen.* 6.847 53, and, naturally enough, extracted a lecture from those verses; it had a trial run at the University of Verona (my thanks to Prof. Licinia Ricottilli, not only for a splendid lunch that day, but for more than twenty years' learned and delightful friendship), but it proved just a little too weighty for the rather non specialist Mantuan celebrations [where the paper given was *Le api nell'Elisio*, translated and published in *Vergilius* 50 (2010) as 'Bees in Elysium']. There was, however, good reason to make the earlier paper available to a wider public and I am most grateful to the editor of *Vergilius* for her swift encouragement of an English translation.

[2] Cf. E. Fraenkel, *Mus. Helv.* 19 (1962) 133 4 *Kleine Beiträge* 2 (Roma 1964) 143 4.

[3] In his comm. to the whole *Aen.*, vol. 3; in the Fondazione Lorenzo Valla series, pub. Mondadori, Milan.

[4] P. Tremoli, 'Mos (contesto lessicale)', *Enc. Virg.* 3.602; Horsfall, *Symb. Osl.* 68 (1993) 38f.; E. Kraggerud, *Symb. Osl.* 66 (1991) 115 17; F. Bömer, *Gymnasium* 64 (1957) 18. See too W. Buchwald, *TLL* 8.1525.63f.

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finem, *leges*, *iura*, *regnum*, *imperium*, to impose a conclusion, laws, rules, a reign, empire.[5] *Morem imponere* seems to be a new expression, but it is not for that reason specially difficult: the issue turns upon the use of *morem* in the singular; 1.264 *moresque uiris et moenia ponet*—'he will establish walls and behaviour for men'—is not the same thing; no more is Val. Max. 2.6.3 *prudentissimi pacis moribus*—'most expert in the ways of peace'.[6] Closest to Virgil here is perhaps Horace's *mos et lex maculosum edomuit nefas* (*Carm.* 4.5.22)—'custom and law have tamed stained wrongdoing'. However, in the expression 'to impose good behaviour upon peace', one is strongly inclined to suspect too much of a concentration of concepts to leave the reader comfortably convinced. Was it really always essential and inevitable to impose on the conquered the good Roman habits of schools, baths, and toga?[7] The singular *morem* is most easily understood as 'use' or 'habit'. That is easily explained:[8] the conquered will need to add to their submission a good habit, that of not rebelling. The sense of a common word like *mos* emerges from the context: so, at *Aen.* 8.316 *quis neque mos neque cultus erat* (of the earliest inhabitants of Latium)—'they did not yet have the habits of civilization'—which are then explained; here, *mos* is necessarily that of remaining *subiecti* and *sine superbia*, tamed and pride-free.[9] The expression is dense, challenging, and almost necessarily without exact analogies.

The structure of these verses corresponds perfectly to a rhetorical definition (modern, but good), just as their content fits exactly an ancient description. Let me start with the ancient *synkrisis* or *comparatio*, so often performed between Greeks and Romans,[10] between generals by Cornelius Nepos, Velleius, [64/65] and Plutarch,[11] between authors by Quintilian,[12] between constitutions by Polybius,[13] and between cultures by Cicero and Virgil.[14] The *synkrisis* in itself is no great surprise and we shall soon pass to the details.

The question of the *form* is a little more tricky, and not only because we do not have a definitive definition of the *Priamel* (from late mediaeval German; Lat.

[5] Hofmann, *TLL* 7.1.657.37 66, etc., *finem*, Virg. *Aen.* 2.619.

[6] See too Hor. *Carm.* 4.4.35, *Carm. Saec.* 45.

[7] See Tac. *Agr.* 21.2, with Ogilvie's commentary.

[8] See Buchwald (n. 5).

[9] Horace's *mos unde deductum per omne tempus Amazonia securi dextras obarmet*, *Carm.* 4.4.19ff. is simpler 'from which the custom, passed down through all ages, arms their right hands with an Amazonian axe'.

[10] F. Focke, *Hermes* 58 (1923) 327 68; S. Costanza, *Messana* 4 (1955) 127 56; N. Petrochilos, *Roman Attitudes to the Greeks* (Athens 1974) 61 5, 93 104; D. C. Feeney, *Caesar's Calendar* (Berkeley 2007) 24; W. Kroll, *Studien zum Verständnis der römischen Literatur* (Stuttgart 1924, repr. 1964) 14; C. P. Jones, *Plutarch and Rome* (Oxford 1972) 105f.

[11] See Focke (n. 10); Costanza (n. 10); A. J. Woodman on Vell. 2.41.1.

[12] See my remarks, *G&R* 40 (1993) 60 [ch. 27, 320 1].

[13] See the indices to Walbank's three vols. of commentary (Oxford 1970, 1967, 1979) s.v. *synkrisis* and his *Polybius* (Berkeley 1972, repr. 1990, *Sather Classical Lectures* 42) 133.

[14] See Cic. *Tusc.* 1.1; Petrochilos (n. 10) 59.

praeambulum). As a result at least one serious scholar[15] does not accept this Virgilian *synkrisis* as a *Priamel*,[16] because the structure is very slightly anomalous.17 For once, we are well advised to be less demanding. Let me quote the two 'classic' examples of *Priamel* from the beginning of Horace *Carmina* 1: in the first *carmen*,[18] Horace writes (3ff.) *sunt quos curriculo puluerem Olympicum collegisse iuuat*—'there are those who delight in gathering up the dust with an Olympic chariot', to reach finally (29) *me doctarum hederae praemia fontium . . .*,—'as for me, the ivy, reward of poetic brows . . . '. In *carmen* 7 of the same book, Horace begins *laudabunt alii claram Rhodon aut Mitylenen*—'others will sing the praises of famed Rhodes or Mitylene'—and at verse 10ff. reaches *me . . . Albuneae resonantis . . . Tiburni . . .*—
[65/66] 'for me . . . the waterfall of Albunea . . . and Tiburnus . . . '. So here, the structure *alii . . .*,[19]—'others . . . ',—the sequence of more or less concessive futures,[20] *excudent*, etc., the 'hinge' of the contrast, *tu*, with the imperative *memento*—'do you remember', that follows (with the change of grammatical structure from third-person futures to second-person imperative) are all details analysed in Race's fine study of the *Priamel*.

Let us go back to the content, to the list of the panegyric topics mentioned in these verses and to their principal parallels (see appx. 1). When Norden's commentary first appeared (1903), specialists did not yet have a clear idea of the role of Menander Rhetor's two treatises (late third century AD).[21] As a result, Norden suggested that Virgil had consulted manuals (on how to construct a panegyric) not unlike Menander's own. Some reactions were excessively scornful.[22] Actually Menander's works, as we have begun to understand more clearly,[23] have a different function, that of analysing epideictic texts. The many analogies between Menander Rhetor and these verses (see appx. 1) show simply that both authors, poet and rhetorical analyst, knew their epideictic literature rather well; in plainer

[15] W. Görler, in *Filologia e forme letterarie. Studi . . . Della Corte* 2 (Urbino 1987) 25 46, above all, 40, n. 24. See however the notes of Austin and Norden, R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Further Voices . . .* (Oxford 1987) 214f., and W. H. Race, *The Classical Priamel* (Leiden 1982, *Mnemos. Suppl.* 74) 121. Norden avoids the modern term, but cites enough parallels to make it quite clear that he understood the passage as what we now call a *Priamel*.

[16] Race (n. 15); see too G. F. Gianotti, *Enciclopedia Oraziana*, 2, 726 7; R. G. M. Nisbet and M. Hubbard, on Hor. *Carm.* 1, pp. 2f., n. on *Carm.* 1.7.10.

[17] That is because there is no syntactical harmony between *alii . . .* and *tu . . .* as there is in the 'perfect' form of the *Priamel*; in other respects, though, the *Priamel* is quite perfect enough.

[18] Written in the same months, probably, as these lines of Virgil's: the first poem in a collection is usually the last to be written. Compare too Tib. 1.1.1, another Latin *Priamel*, written in the same years; F. Cairns, *Tibullus* (Cambridge 1979) 1.

[19] In a fine note, Norden cites Greek instances. According to J. Griffin, *G&R* 26 (1979) 65f., and R. Jenkyns, *JRS* 75 (1985) 79, n. 41, Virgil could not bear to admit the *Greeks*' superiority, whence *alii*.

[20] See Nisbet Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.1 (p. 95); G. Maurach, *Lateinische Dichtersprache* (Darmstadt 1995) 59; see too n. 40 below.

[21] See ed. by D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson (Oxford 1981) xxxiv xl.

[22] But A. Guillemin, *Quelques injustices de la science allemande . . .* (Chalon sur Saône 1921) 22ff. remains very amusing at Norden's expense.

[23] See Russell and Wilson, introduction, xxxii xxxiv; Horsfall, *SCI* 11 (1991 2) 126 7; F. Cairns, *Generic Composition* (Edinburgh 1972) 34 40.

terms that both of them had read most, or all, of the city-panegyrics we have from the time of Alexander on.

We have over a hundred pages of Menander, we have Aelius Aristides' panegyric of Rome (after 144 AD),[24] the younger Pliny's panegyric on Trajan,[25] an entire anthology of shorter panegyric texts in verse and in prose from Theocritus to Claudian and beyond,[26] and an endless list of short passages of panegyric character in Cicero, Velleius, Plutarch, and others. Let us look briefly at some of the detail, to insert *excudent alii* . . . in this tradition (and for the themes here covered, see appx. 1).

Menander analyses the praises of a city on the basis of science (ἐπιστήμης), of art (τέχνας), and of abilities (δυνάμεις); entering into detail, he draws nearest to Virgil when he writes of astronomy, of the worker in bronze, of the sculptor, and of the orator.[27] A century ago, Norden (p. 335f.) discussed the many analogies between Virgil and Aelius Aristides' treatment of the Romans' *artes*. Menander actually discusses the contrast between the Greeks, devoted to literature (λόγους) and the acquisition of virtue, and the Romans, people of the law (νόμιμον).[28] We should not neglect Menander on the Romans' gift of the law to the Greek world.[29] The Romans' innate ability to hold imperial power is already there in Melinno's *Hymn to Rome*[30] (probably *c.*150 BC).[31] It would not be hard to multiply instances of these topics in Greek texts;[32] not hard, but not necessary here, either. And there is no need to collect here yet another time Hellenistic and Roman expressions of approval of the victors' clemency.[33] All,—and I underline *all*—the themes of Virgil's panegyric are recognized as such elsewhere, above all (but not exclusively) in the Greek tradition. [66/67]

At this point, it would be only too easy to slip into a discussion of the compatibility (or incompatibility) between *parcere subiectis*, to spare those who submit, and the death of Turnus. My discussion of 1995[34] was quite complicated enough, though, and little expansion or alteration of that position seems called for.

[24] J. H. Oliver, *The Ruling Power* (Philadelphia 1953, Trans. Am. Philosophical Soc. 43.4, 871 1003, repr., Whitefish MT 2006).

[25] M. Durry's ed. (Paris 1938) is still useful.

[26] For Theocr. 17, see Richard Hunter, *Theocritus. Encomium of Ptolemy Philadelphus* (Berkeley 2003); for Claudian on the city of Rome, inside the *Laudes Stilichonis* (3.130 66), see Alan Cameron, *Claudian* (Oxford 1970) 352 6. For Melinno (nn. 30, 31).

[27] P. 359.19f.; 360.16 361.3 Spengel; these handy old page and line references (my Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci* is of 1856) are printed in the margins of Russell Wilson.

[28] P. 369.29 31 Spengel.

[29] P. 364.13f. Spengel; not noted by Norden, apparently.

[30] *Suppl. Hell.* 541.5ff.

[31] See C. M. Bowra, *JRS* 47 (1957) 21 8.

[32] For a start, cf. appx. 1.

[33] F. Christ, *Die röm. Weltherrschaft* (Stuttgart 1938) 27, 107, 153; Horsfall (n. 4) 39; Bömer (n. 4) 18; Dyke's n. on Cic. *Leg.* 3.14 *sociis parcunto*; P. A. Brunt, *Roman Imperial Themes* (Oxford 1990) 316 22; A. Traina, 'superbia', *Enc. Virg.* 4.1074 5; G. Thome, *Gestalt und Funktion des Mezentius* (Frankfurt 1979) 297 315; E. S. McCartney, *CJ* 23 (1928) 456 7.

[34] *Companion*, 192 216. Some recent discussions, such as M. B. Dowling, *Clemency and Cruelty* . . . (Ann Arbor 2006) 97 105; D. Konstan, *Pity Transformed* (London 2001) 78f.; W. V. Harris, *Restraining Rage* (Cambridge Mass. 2001) 217f.; M. R. Wright, in *The Passions in*

I prefer to allow that expression of a belief in the anguished compatibility of the two passages to stand.

[67/68] More is to be gained at this point, I believe, if we pass to the place of *excudent alii* within the Parade of Heroes and to the thematic links between *excudent alii* and their immediate context. Many students of *Aeneid* 6[35] have claimed that the Marcellus-episode is added on (written, that is, later than the rest of the Parade, and, of course, after Marcellus' death). But from careful study of the whole Parade, I have long believed[36] that the lament for Marcellus has always been an integral part of the Parade, and that the whole thing, *excudent alii* included, was written as a single, unitary whole after Marcellus' death in 23. We pass to *excudent alii* directly from Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator; after v. 853, we go on directly to Marcus Claudius Marcellus, consul in 222, and victorious both against the Insubrian Gauls and against the Carthaginians. These are years at the heart of Ennius' *Annals* and the verse[37] before *excudent* might be claimed as the most famous quotation from Ennius in the *Aeneid*. Old Marcellus won the *spolia opima* (v. 855) after Romulus himself and the Cossus of v. 841. Young Marcellus is described as *uictor* (856), like Mummius (837) and Bacchus (804). Old Marcellus, a hero of the *gens Claudia*, saved the Roman state *magno turbante tumultu*, with a great invasion creating chaos, just as Quintus Fabius Maximus did. So what of young Marcellus? A classic instance of how to proceed when the subject of the lament/encomium, dies too early to have acquired the achievements conventionally required. His ancestry is commemorated (875), in a way that binds him to the whole *Dardania proles*.[38] The young Marcellus is also of *Latin* origin (875f.), like all the descendants of the union between Trojans and Latins (757, 762). Like Silvius Aeneas (769) and Numa (811f.), Marcellus possesses the virtues of both peace and (like Rome's other heroes) of war (878). He would have been victorious in all his battles, whether on foot or on horseback, which may be a reference to the great cavalry victory of old Marcellus against the Insubrian Gauls at Clastidium. The *superbi* have been defeated, both Carthaginians and Insubrian Gauls; and the Marcelli have been integrated into the binding themes of the Parade in such a way,

[68/69] it seems, as to exclude the hypothesis of *excudent* . . . and the lament for the young

Roman Thought . . . ed. S. M. Braund and C. Gill (Cambridge 1977) 182f., and with C. Gill, ibid., 239f. do seem to offer discussions both rather underinformed and insufficiently nuanced.

[35] So G. P. Goold, in *Author and Audience in Latin Literature*, ed. T. Woodman and J. Powell (Cambridge 1992) 118 21.

[36] Horsfall, *Ancient Society* (Macquarie) 12.3 (1982) 12 18 [ch. 13, 164 70]; *Companion,* 147f.; W. P. Basson, *Pivotal Catalogues in the Aeneid* (Amsterdam 1975) 85ff.; D. C. Feeney, *PCPS* 23 (1986) 15.

[37] The seven vv. of *excudent alii* . . . are in no way Augustan in tone or in context; they seem increasingly to belong primarily to the third century BC; that helps, in part, to remove what looks at first sight like a negative view of Ciceronian oratory. Cf. my remarks (in my review of F. Stok, *Percorsi dell'esegesi virgiliana*) *Riv. Fil.* 117 (1989) 207.

[38] Compare too Procas, 6.767.

Marcellus as some sort of more or less hasty addition, carried out after the young prince's death.[39]

From the context, it is time to go on to Virgil's poetic means, to sound and metre, to *dispositio uerborum*, the arrangement of words, to lexicon, and even to grammar (and the commentaries say little about it). I do not intend now to offer a selection of the drier notes from my commentary on Book 6, but to suggest the possibility of saying something new and even possibly useful about this short passage, despite the great weight of attention that has been devoted to it.

There is much alliteration in these lines, but I should like to focus on a single sequence, in v. 853: the two verbs *parcere*—'to spare'—and *debellare*—'to beat down in war'—are strictly parallel, but only the second is transitive, and followed by an object. The *dispositio* of the words is of the familiar ABAB type and there is a strong link, both of position and of sound, between *subiectis* and *superbis*. We should also note the play of words between *mollius*—'more softly'—and *melius*—'better'. In v. 853, the molossus *subiectis*—'those who have submitted'—is followed by three *more* long syllables, in *debellare*—'to beat down'. Thus Rome crushes her enemies both on the battlefield and to the ear. Initial *excudent*—'they beat out'—is different, suggesting the craftsman's physical efforts, while the other initial molossi, *orabunt*—'they will plead'—and *describent*—'they will portray'—seem only to suggest a grave and solemn effect. The *dispositio* of words is notably orderly and symmetrical: note the four infinitives governed by *memento*—'remember'—three of them with objects in final position, and note too the five parallel verbs, all in the future,[40] from *excudent*—'they will beat out'—to *dicent*—'they will plead'—with elegant variations in the word-order. As between grammar and style, there are a few remarks to be offered; they may even be of some importance, if we bear in mind Virgil's tendency to elevate and complicate the stylistic means he employs as the tone of a passage rises;[41] from the concrete *surgentia sidera*—'rising stars'—probably employed to avoid the abstract *ortus*— [69/70]
'risings'[42]—we may go on to the proleptic use of *spirantia*—'breathing'—and *uiuos*—'living', marble and bronze worked with the intent of creating an effect of vitality, and to the parataxis *parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*—'to spare

[39] My hypothesis (*CQ* 39 (1989) 266f., and *Companion*, 148) of a link between *excudent alii* . . . and the *laudatio funebris* written by Augustus for his nephew was received by R. Glei, *Der Vater der Dinge* (Trier 1991) 175, n. 280 and in *Vergil's Aeneid. Augustan Epic and Political Context* (ed. H. P. Stahl, London 1998) 130, n. 35 with a scornful disbelief he does not explain or justify. Several elements in *excudent alii* . . . would in fact be appropriate in a *laudatio*; Augustus' *laudatio* was a key Augustan text and was delivered very shortly before these vv. were composed, There in nothing in the least odd about a poet making use of quite such a central, recent text.

[40] Real future or concessive? See Görler (n. 15) 33, Bömer (n. 4) 17f.; see also n. 20 above.

[41] See e.g. *Companion*, 241 4.

[42] Actually, *ortus* would have been tolerable; cf. *G.* 1.257. See Cic. *Div.* 2.92, *Aen.* 1.535 *iam subito adsurgens*, Germ. *Arat.* 217, Plin. *HN* 18.268 and West ed., Hes. *Theog.* pp. 378 80. See too my n. on *Aen.* 2.413 for the use of the participle. The paraphrase of Tib. Claudius Donatus offers a sense close to what I propose.

those who have submitted and beat down the proud in war'. In prose, Virgil could after all have written e.g. 'to beat down in war those proud enemies who did not submit themselves to our clemency and goodwill'—*superbos illos debellare qui non se imperio beneuolentiaeque nostrae subiecerunt*. Nothing, though, is more choice than the remarkable 'exchange' of objects, between *uoltus*—'features'—and *aera*—'bronze'—so intensively studied in Germany over the last half-century.[43] Virgil writes *excudent aera*—'they will beat out the bronze'—and *ducent uoltus*—'they will work faces out of marble'—when a conventionally minded author writing in prose would have written *excudent* (they will beat out with the hammer; *incus*, 'anvil', is a closely related word) *uoltus*—'faces'—and *ducent* ('stretch out', as it might be) *aera*—'bronze'. We are unnerved by such exchanges of objects, but they are in fact not rare in poetic Latin.[44]

So we arrive finally at Virgil's *delectus uerborum*—'selection of words': he proves to be dense, sober, richly allusive, but also surprisingly fond of 'standard Latin' and everyday idiom. Ten years before Axelson's *Unpoetische Wörter* (Lund 1945), that famous book's central argument was anticipated by the Italian Giuliano Bonfante, a comparative linguist writing in Spanish, at Madrid, during the siege.[45] Actually, if we take into account the complex categories of usage and
[70/71] level that we find in Latin,[46] the bald distinction between 'prose' and 'poetry' has never been sufficient and it has led many of those who have studied *excudent* and *ducent* to unhappy conclusions.[47] No one wants to *eliminate* the prose/poetry distinction, but there are also other categories to bear in mind.[48] If we look at *memento*—'remember'—a so-called perfect imperative,[49] it seems to have a lofty, solemn tone, but it is a form developed ad hoc, for a verb that exists only in the perfect. According to Franz Bömer, *memento* is an exclusively poetic form,[50] but that is one of those statements that set back our understanding by years. It

[43] W. Görler, 'Eneide', *Enc. Virg.* 2.276; Maurach (n. 20) 40; F. Bömer, *Gymnasium* 64 (1957) 16; id., *Hermes* 80 (1952) 117 23, *Hermes* 93 (1965) 130f.; F. Burkhardt, *Gymnasium* 78 (1971) 407 21; Skutsch, note on Enn. *Ann.* 404.

[44] See the bibl. in previous note; note *Aen.* 8.3, 10.898f., 11.870, 5.507f.

[45] See Bonfante's preface and my introduction to the Italian translation, *La lingua parlata in Orazio* (Venosa 1994); the Spanish original appeared in three instalments in *Emerita* 4 (1936) and 5 (1937), then collected in the rare *Los elementos populares en la lingua de Horacio* (Madrid 1937).

[46] See Nisbet Rudd, comm. on Hor. *Carm.* 3, xxvii; J. N. Adams and R. G. Mayer, *Aspects of the Language of Latin Poetry* (London 1999) 3f.; L. P. Wilkinson, *CQ* 9 (1959) 189; R. O. A. M. Lyne, *Words and the Poet* (Oxford 1989) 1 19; F. Muecke, *Enc. Oraz.*, 2, 772; D. A. West, in *Tria lustra . . . Presented to John Pinsent* (*LCM* Suppl. 3 1993) 293; G. W. Williams, *Tradition and Originality* (Oxford 1968) 743 50; P. Watson, *CQ* 35 (1985) 430 48 (notably 433).

[47] Thus Bömer (n. 4) 18f.; Burkhardt (n. 43) 414, n. 42.

[48] See Watson (n. 46); Lyne (n. 46); H. D. Jocelyn, *PLLS* 2 (1979) 112.

[49] See my notes on 3.388, 7.126; F. Holzweissig, in R. Kühner, C. Stegmann, *Ausf. Grammatik* . . . 1 (repr. Darmstadt 1982) 825; M. Leumann, *Lat. laut und Formenlehre* (München 1977) 571; F. Sommer, *Handb. der lat. Laut und Formenlehre* (Heidelberg 1948) 587; B. L. Gildersleeve and G. Lodge, *Latin Grammar* (London 1948) 174; and above all, W. M. Lindsay, *The Latin Language* (Oxford 1894) 317.

[50] Bömer 1957 (n. 4) 18.

occurs ten times in Cicero outside the *Letters* and does *not* belong exclusively to the loftiest levels of Latin literature: eleven times in Plautus, once in Terence, once in the fragments of Afranius, once in Petronius, six times in Cicero's *Letters* and four in Horace's hexameters. In short, *memento* is the only possible form of the imperative of *memini*: it is inevitable, inescapable, and cannot be paraphrased. Forms for which no alternative exists are not much use when you are discussing distinctions of literary level. *Credo equidem*—'I do believe'—belongs, and I do not think that this has been observed, to spoken Latin,[51] while the expression *hae tibi erunt artes* seems to be close to the language of everyday prose.[52]

In the verses here discussed, Virgil's choice of words exhibits a rich and varied range of tones and allusions: *debellare* is an exquisitely Livian novelty, when the *ab urbe condita* was the latest historical bestseller. *Debellatum* against the Aurunci and Volsci, three times in the first pentad and seven in the second. Augustus' victories *contra mundum* will thus bear the stamp of those Livian campaigns against the non-Latin peoples of southern central Italy. The expressions *uiuos uoltus*, *caeli meatus*, and *regere imperio* are if anything Lucretian,[53] while here, as usual, it is the Virgil of the *Bucolics* and *Georgics* who supplies the poet of the *Aeneid* with a substantial part of his language: *describent radio* (*Buc.*) and statues [71/72]
spirantia (*G.*).[54] Behind *describent radio* there may be Callimachus,[55] while the emphasis on *living* works of art, *uiuos uoltus*, *spirantia*, even *mollis*, is clearly to some degree Hellenistic and perhaps specifically Callimachean.[56]

Thus far, a sheaf of relatively minor details; minor, that is, in comparison with *Romane memento*—'be sure to remember, Roman'—whose clearly Sibylline character was noted by Eduard Norden, who cited in support the words μεμνῆσθαι, Ῥωμαῖε from an oracle perhaps of the late second century BC,[57] which was later cited in legitimation of the *ludi saeculares* of 17 BC. The language of oracles is one adopted by Virgil elsewhere,[58] while here, *Romane,*

[51] Plaut. *Vid.* 44, *Merc.* 914, *Aul.* 307, *Pseud.* 1302; Ter. *Eun.* 739; Cic. *Ad Brut.* 2.6.1. This parenthesis balances the other, *hae tibi erunt artes*; for this *dispositio*, see R. Tarrant, in *Style and Tradition. Studies . . . Clausen* (Stuttgart 1998) 153f.

[52] See Cic. *Fam.* 3.9.4 *haec igitur tibi erunt curae*, *Att.* 7.25 *erat enim ars difficilis*; Mart. 14.21.1.

[53] Note Lucr. 3.655 *uoltum uitalem*, 1.128 *solis lunaeque meatus*, 5.1128 *regere imperio res uelle*.

[54] *Buc.* 3.41 *descripsit radio*, *G.* 3.34 *spirantia signa*. [55] See Clausen's n. on *Buc.*, *cit.* (n. 54).

[56] Cf. Lucr., *cit.* (n. 53); Prop. 3.9.9; AR 1.763 5; Bömer 1952 (n. 43) 121f. and Norden's note here. Virgil's use of *mollius* implies a comparable type of verism: compare Ov. *Fast.* 3.832; at *TLL* 8.1381.22ff. Buchwald should not have cited Plin. *HN* 34.55 (effeminate, not yielding).

[57] See *FGrH* 257 F 37, v.3, p. 1189.33, with W. Hansen, *Phlegon of Tralles, Book of Marvels* (Exeter 1996) 56; for the technical issue (date, authenticity, etc.) see rather K. Latte, *Röm. Religionsgeschichte* (München 1960) 298, n. 5; A. Rzach, 'Sibyllinische Orakel (Rom)' *RE* 4A.2111.32 2112.34, and G. Radke, 'Quinquegentiani' *RE* 24:1148.1 20 (chronology); M. P. Nilsson, 'Saeculares ludi' *RE* 2A.1712.17ff., E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford 1957) 365; Nisbet Rudd on Hor. *Carm.* 3.6.2, and Bömer on Ov. *Fast.* 4.259; M. Beard, J. North, and S. Price, *Religions of Rome* (Cambridge 1998) 1.205, and my n. on *Aen.* 7.260. Lyne (n. 15) 214 badly awry.

[58] See my note on *Aen.* 3.383.

memento connects, with exquisite appropriateness, the roles of Anchises and the Sibyl and confers upon the words of Aeneas' father the tone of a religious admonition.

But, to conclude, let me return for a moment to Axelson's reductive account of the categories of Latin vocabulary, in order to introduce 'standard Latin', which you find widely employed, as you might expect, in prose and verse alike, at a whole range of levels. 'Standard' Servius would define as a *uerbum commune*.[59] At the same time, we should note the *right* word,[60] the *uerbum proprium*, where we are getting close in many cases to the special language of one trade or profession. If you want to trim or clean (*uerbum commune*) twigs and shoots from the trunk of a tree, you might go to your garden shop or ironmonger and ask for a hatchet or knife; they would be *uerba non propria*, not the *right* words. The right word, the *uerbum proprium*, in Britain is 'billhook', but my billhooks are from the hills east of Rome, where each village has its own local form of the conventional Italian name, and old gardeners in Britain may still use similar variants. Lucretius brought
[72/73] technical precision into the language of high poetry, and on his heels Virgil did the same, both in the *Bucolics* (e.g. *frondator*, *cantharus*) and then, more obviously, in the *Georgics*. *Ducere aera* and *excudere de marmore uoltus*, under the influence of Greek ἐλαύνειν or ἐκγλύφειν or ἐκκολάπτειν are used in Latin not as real calques but as expressions best understood by speakers and writers who also know the Greek antecedents, as expressions, that is, brought into Latin through the agency of the thousands of Greek craftsmen present in Italy.[61] By Virgil's time they are no longer technical terms, nor specially prosaic; they belong rather to the category of 'standard' words, *uerba communia*, the natural expression for anyone to use who knows the regular terms for two common activities in the workshop. Virgil himself likes *excudere* in the sense of 'form' in other contexts.[62]

In one of the loftiest passages of the *Aeneid*, we have seen Virgil use poetic, verbal, lexical, grammatical, syntactical means of a simple, sober character (apart, clearly, from the exchange of *ducere* and *excudere*, of course). He may perhaps have had in mind the context, the age of Ennius and Cato the Censor, two writers who might actually have appreciated the content and manner of these verses, and that may be why I have myself preferred to analyse their technique a little drily, rather than sing their praises with florid excess.

[59] See Jocelyn (n. 48) 111f. [60] See Jocelyn (n. 48) 112, 115f.
[61] See Bömer 1952 (n. 43) 119, 120.
[62] See *G.* 1.157, 4.57, *Aen.* 1.174; Bömer 1952 (n. 43) 122f.; Rehm, *TLL* 5.2.1289.76; Schol.Bemb.Ter. *Eun.* 381.

Appendix

(i) *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera.* See Men. Rhet. p. 360.30 Spengler; Ael. Arist. *Orat*. 26K.13, 81, 94; Dio Chrys. 31.146ff.

(ii) *uiuos ducent de marmore uoltus.* For statues, see (1).

(iii) *orabunt causas melius.* See Men. Rhet. p. 361.1 Spengler; Quint. 10.1.105.

(iv) *caelique meatus describent radio.* See Men. Rhet. p. 360.18 Spengler.

(v) *surgentia sidera dicent.* See (4).

(vi) *regere imperio populos.* See Christ (n. 33), 26ff.; Melinno, *Suppl. Hell*. 11f.; Virg. *Buc*. 4.17, *G.* 4.261f., etc.; and note too the lists of conquered peoples carried in triumphal processions; Plut. *Pomp.* 45.2; App. *Mithr*. 576.

(vii) *pacique imponere morem.* For Romans as pacifiers, see e.g. Cic. *Off*. 1.35; Aug. *RGDA* 26.2; *Aen.* 1.291; Men. Rhet. p. 375.6 Sp.; Ael. Arist. *Orat*. 26K.71a; R. G. Austin's note here; Christ (n. 33), 103ff.; F. Eggerding, *Gymnasium* 59 (1952), 31 52.

(viii) *parcere subiectis.* See n. 33; add Konstan (n. 34) 91, 96; Dowling (n. 34), 16 18, 146 8, etc.

(ix) *debellare superbos*. See Hor. *Carm*. 4.14.29ff., *Carm. Saec.* 55; Aug. *RGDA* 26.1; Vell. 2.90.4 (with Woodman's n.); Horsfall (n. 4), 39.

39
Virgil and the Jews[1]

Introduction

Late in 2009, having decided to begin a new commentary on *Aeneid* 6 with the hardest part (that is, the Gates of Dreams), I was writing about 792ff., Virgil's second explicit vision of the Golden Age, and that naturally led me back to *Bucolic* 4. That in turn led me to the question of the poet's Jewish sources, whether present or absent. That is a question on which the commentaries of Williams and Coleman on *Bucolic* 4 are virtually silent, while Clausen states eloquently the 'no Jews here' position, with no suggestion that scholars of the greatest eminence have maintained the contrary.[2] Courtney's recent introduction to *Bucolic* 4 (*Vergilius* 56 (2010), 27–38) raises the 'Jewish question' (33f.) but does nothing to resolve it. In the specialized literature, however, there are traces of a more lively interest.[3] I do not pretend to offer a new or decisive answer of my own, whether for *Bucolic* 4 or for *Aeneid* 6, but hope to have made some progress in understanding the cultural context in which the question(s) of influence should be studied.

[67/68] To anticipate the results of Part 2, it seems overwhelmingly likely, if not completely certain, that there is indeed substantial Jewish influence on *Bucolic* 4. But if the Golden Age of *Bucolic* 4 is in some highly significant ways Semitic, the abbreviated version present at *Aeneid* 6.792ff. is, in detail, not. However, for *Aeneid* 6, the issue is by no means limited to the Golden Age. The apocalyptic text known as 1*Enoch*, largely if not entirely pre-Virgilian, survives principally in a

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[1] Audiences at the universities of Padova and Venice helped me sharpen my arguments, while Robert Lister, along with Profs. G. B. Conte and J. N. Bremmer, helped me with procuring some essential bibliography. Fergus Millar and Tessa Rajak then kindly cast expert eyes over the finished product.

[2] This is not the place to try to explain, in terms of the history of scholarship, why the learned debate has been so peculiarly bitter and unpleasant (specially so Jachmann, n. 17). Note that *Buc*. 4 contains an Etruscan element (polychrome wool; Tarquitius, *ap.* Macr. 3.7.2). If there are Etruscans in the poem, then why not Jews (too)? See R. G. M. Nisbet, *BICS* 25 (1978) 59 78, at 68. This important paper is also available in his *Collected Papers* (Oxford 1995) 47 75, and in (ed. K. Volk) *Oxford Readings in Classical Studies: Vergil's Eclogues* (Oxford 2008) 48 63. Here I quote from *BICS* and refer to it below as 'Nisbet'.

[3] Cf., for example, J. Lightfoot, *Sibylline Oracles* (Oxford 2007) 235 7; W. Kraus, *ANRW* 2.31.1 (Berlin 1980) 639; W. W. Briggs, *ANRW* 2.31.2 (Berlin 1981) 1319f.; Jachmann (n. 17) 13 62; J. J. Collins, *Seers, Sibyls and Sages*… (Leiden 2001) 192 7. See too Perutelli (n. 7). I do not here engage with the older bibliography: see e.g. T. F. Royds, *Virgil and Isaiah* (Oxford 1918); J. B. Mayor, W. W. Fowler, R. S. Conway, *Virgil's Messianic Eclogue* (London 1907); H. J. Rose, *Eclogues of Virgil* (Berkeley 1942); not to mention H. Jeanmaire's *Le messianisme de Virgile* (Paris 1930) and J. Carcopino, *Virgile et le mystère de la IV^e Eclogue* (Paris 1930). Let us leave out the Italian and German equivalents, but not because they are in short supply.

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Ge'ez translation (the old language of the Coptic church in Ethiopia), and for more than a century, learned men have suggested that Virgil was inspired by 1*Enoch* at several points,[4] notably:

(i) The Sibyl acts as guide to Aeneas and points out the detail with a marked use of deictic pronouns, such as the *hae* and *illae* of 320. Such a guide is indeed present in 1*Enoch* (e.g. 18.13; cf. Bremmer (n. 4) 18), but also belongs to the Greek tradition, notably in the case of Hermes' role in Heracles' *katabasis* or descent: see Apollodorus (or whoever the author was), *Bibliotheca* 2.5.12 and H. Lloyd-Jones, *Maia* 19 (1967), 224ff. We might also note the role of Polymnus in Dionysus' *katabasis*, Paus. 2.37.5. Bremmer (n. 4), 18f. is perfectly right to note that the continuous use of 'This . . .' and 'That . . .' in the context of a dialogue between traveller/spectator and informant is also solidly rooted in Greco-Roman literary tradition.[5] The classic instance is the dialogue between Priam and Helen in *Iliad* 3, but we would also do well to remember Ovid's wonderful parody in his account of watching a triumph in female company, *Ars am.* 1.221ff. If Anchises, in the Parade of Heroes, is Aeneas' guide through the Forum of Augustus, then here the Sibyl is showing Aeneas through Polygnotus' painting in the Lesche of the Cnidians at Delphi (Paus. 10.25). At all events, Virgil seems a long way from 1*Enoch* here.

(ii) 428 *dulcis uitae exsortis et ab ubere raptos*. Words, it has been suggested, that refer to infanticide/abortion and are therefore to be linked to the general condemnation of both practices familiar in Judaeo-Christian texts.[6] V.'s phrasing, however, points in a quite different direction: these children are snatched from the breast (*uber*, quite distinctive; cf. Gk., οὖθαρ, Eng. 'udder'); that is to say, carried off from their mother by one of [68/69] the many accidents of early childhood, on which the last chapter of B. Rawson's *Children and Childhood* (Oxford 2003) sheds sufficient detail. Abortion seems actually excluded by Virgil's phrasing (for the mothers are already suckling), and infanticide is at most one of an ample range of possibilities for the loss of a child.

(iii) 658. The river Eridanus pouring in flood (*plurimus*) down (?) from above (generally, though misleadingly, taken to be the sense of *superne*). Bremmer (n. 4), 21 (and cf. his remarks in *Kernos* 22 (2009), 201)

[4] See J. N. Bremmer, in (ed.) W. Ameling, *Topographie des Jenseits* (Stuttgart 2011) 20, with n. 36 on L. Radermacher, *Das Jenseits im Mythos der Hellenen* (Bonn 1903), and his pioneering work on 1*Enoch* and Virgil.

[5] So Bremmer (n. 4); id., in *Other Worlds and their Relation to This World*, ed. T. Nicklas, etc., (Leiden 2010) 318f.; id., *Lampas* 44 (2011) 78f.

[6] Bremmer (n. 4) 9 22, after D. R. Shanzer, *Numen* 56 (2009) 326 65.

compares 1*Enoch* 28.3 'And there was a stream on top of it and it gushed forth from above it. It appeared like a waterfall which cascaded greatly' (E. Isaac's tr. from the Ge'ez version in (ed.) J. H. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* 1 (New York 1983), 27). But is that what Virgil means at 6.658? James Henry did not think so, and neither do I. Virgil suggests that the Eridanus began its course underground, in Elysium; that is familiar ancient geographical lore (Plin. *HN* 3.117; see too Philostephanus—a pupil of Callimachus—*About Extraordinary Rivers*—Müller, *FHG* 1, 32, fr. 22), just like its formidable volume of water (with *plurimus*, cf. *G.* 4.373). We should not forget Virgil's well-attested interest in (partly) subterranean rivers: Alpheus (cf. my n. on 3.694), Timavus, Tanager. *Superne* is deceptive; indeed it *can* mean 'down from above', but the sense of plain and simple 'above' is equally easy, and here Virgil surely refers to the river's subterranean origin (*unde*, 6.658) and later course through the forests (659 *per siluam*) of northern Europe. There is of course no difficulty in Virgil admitting a bit of geographic (or paradoxographic) erudition in the course of his account of Elysium.

(iv) 678f.: the land, or scene, viewed from a height. A Christian and Jewish motif, including 1*Enoch* 17, 18, but also strongly present, as Bremmer (n. 4), 21 concedes, in Greco-Roman texts. Notably, after Priam and Helen on the walls of Troy, in Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*, *Rep.* 6.11 (15), a text crucial to Virgil in his conception of the Underworld, where in a dream the elder Scipio Africanus points out Carthage *ostendebat autem Carthaginem de excelso et pleno stellarum, illustri et claro quodam loco*—'He showed me Carthage from some lofty place full of stars, bright and clear'. Norden, Bremmer, and I (here at least in complete agreement on the Greek background) have collected a number of similar passages from Plato, and I do not repeat the increasingly familiar list here. A fuller discussion of these details appear in my commentary on Book 6 (de Gruyter, Berlin 2013).

[69/70] At that point, we are left with no compelling argument for Virgil's use of 1*Enoch*; it is possible, even attractive to some, but to readers pretty familiar with Virgil's sources and with his treatment of source-material in general altogether unnecessary.

But though the 'issue' of 1*Enoch* and *Aeneid* 6 is now, I hope, as resolved as it can be for now, it may help readers of *Bucolic* 4 (for all the serious points of contact with *Aeneid* 6 have been covered) to have a summary of the evidence for the influence of Jewish texts on that poem too, and secondly to have an account of just *how* Virgil might, in Italy, between 40 and 20 BC have had access to Jewish texts in terms of the steady flow of Jews and other 'Levantines'—a modern term that I use to cover the inhabitants of ancient Syria/Palestine—into Rome and environs during the late Republic, second Triumvirate, and early Empire.

The question of 'how' is twice raised by Nisbet (n. 26), but is left altogether unanswered. The issues in respect of *Bucolic* 4 and of *Aeneid* 6 are closely enough comparable, but the case for Jewish influence—indeed inspiration—seems far stronger in *Bucolic* 4. Furthermore, the unfamiliar background in cultural history and the well-known scholarly problem of whether V. used, or did not use Jewish texts are interdependent and the cultural background helps us, I believe, to accept the answer here proposed.

Before we consider the key texts, it may be helpful to clarify:

(i) that the dramatic date of *Bucolic* 4 is 40, and the date of composition, 39. See the commentaries of Clausen and Coleman and (with some dissent) Courtney (n. 22), 38.

(ii) that the identification of the *puer* is not relevant to this discussion[7] and that though the Old Testament (and dependent texts) does have an important place, or so I argue, in the intellectual background to *Buc*. 4 (to many, 'The fourth *Eclogue*'), the New Testament only becomes relevant to our understanding of the poem's reception in the time of Constantine.[8]

(iii) that we are talking about texts (both prose and verse) in Greek, not in Hebrew or Aramaic. Such Greek texts did exist in abundance[9] and though [70/71] there were immigrants from the Near East in the period under discussion who retained their native languages,[10] no sort of case can be made for Romans, let alone Roman authors, mastering, at Rome, Aramaic or (more to the point) Hebrew.

Lastly, (iv), we need to be very careful over what we accept as evidence. Discussion of what might count as 'features of Sibylline style'[11] does not get us far. Certainly, Virgil does adopt a clearly oracular manner on occasion,[12] but distinctively Sibylline elements have not yet been identified in the style of *Bucolic* 4, and will not detain us in this discussion.

[7] I commissioned, and am therefore specially partial to, Alessandro Perutelli's summary, in *Companion*, 60 1 (not a specific child, but a metaphor for a new era); there are also summaries of the issue in Courtney (n. 22) 32f., Clausen and Coleman.

[8] For a summary in English, cf. S. Benko, *ANRW* 2.31.1 (n. 3) 646 705.

[9] Magisterially surveyed, Schürer, 3.1, 450 704 (E. Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*, revised G. Vermes, F. Millar, M. Black, Edinburgh 1973 87; hereafter, Schürer).

[10] D. Noy, *Foreigners at Rome* (London 2000) 178; J. N. Adams, *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Oxford 2003) 271.

[11] I. M. LeM. DuQuesnay, *PLLS* 2 (1976) 77 80; R. G. Austin, *CQ* 21 (1927) 100 5; Nisbet (n. 2) 72, n. 8.

[12] Cf. my notes on 3.383, 7.70.

Let us pass briefly to the texts; the evidence is carefully stated and discussed by Nisbet (n. 3), and I do no more here than summarize, gratefully, his discussion.[13]

The texts[14]

(i) *Buc.* 4.6 *iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna*. 'Now the Virgin returns; there returns also the reign of Saturn.' Compare *Or. Sib.* 3.744–8:

> *γῆ γὰρ παγγενέτειρα βροτοῖς δώσει τὸν ἄριστον*
> *καρπὸν ἀπειρέσιον σίτου οἴνου καὶ ἐλαίου*
> *πηγάς τε ῥήξει γλυκερὰς λευκοῖο γάλακτος.*
> *πλήρεις δ' αὖτε πόλεις ἀγαθῶν καὶ πίονες ἀγροί*
> *ἔσσουτ'. οὐδέ μάχαιρα κατὰ χθονὸς οὐδὲ κυδοιμός.*[15]

[71/72] The Virgin, all are agreed, is the *Dike*—Justice—of Arat. *Phaen.* 133, who had departed from this earth, but 'the notion of its return is unparalleled in the Western tradition before Virgil';[16] contrast *Or. Sib.*, just cited.

(ii) *Buc.* 4.8, *tu modo nascenti puero*.[17]—'Do you just upon the Child at his birth . . . '.

Compare *Isaiah* 7:14 'Behold a virgin shall conceive and bear a son'.[18] It is difficult not to link these words of Virgil's with the Jewish Messianic tradition.

(iii) *Buc.* 4.22, *nec magnos metuent armenta leones*.[19]—'Nor shall the herds fear great lions'. Peace between animals is *not* a standard feature of Greco-Roman descriptions of the Golden Age, though peace between wolf and sheep appears as an *adynaton*, or paradoxical impossibility,[20] at Aristophanes *Peace* 1076. At

[13] Nisbet (n. 2) wrote at Oxford, while Schürer was being revised, admirably (n. 9). He is, *passim*, inexplicably under informed on the Jewish material. At that period, Oxford was a hotbed of 'Levantine' studies, but the list of those whom he could have consulted but apparently did not (Vermes, Millar, Goodman) is deeply perplexing, and not to me alone.

[14] I assume that readers who need a translation of *Bucolics* will have one; the Greek I translate. There is a full trans. of *Or. Sib.* by J. J. Collins, in (ed. J. H. Charlesworth) *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (1985) 2.317 472.

[15] 'For the earth that bears all things shall bear an excellent crop, with no limit of corn, wine and oil; it shall burst forth sweet springs of white milk. The cities shall be full of good things and the fields shall be fat. There shall be no sword upon earth, nor any din of battle.' On *Or. Sib.* 3, see also the ample ed., with intro., comm., French tr., etc. by V. Nikiprowetzky, *Le troisième Sibylle* (Paris 1970); here he compares the late apocalyptic 1*Enoch* 1.17 22. For more recent work on *Or. Sib.* 3, see Courtney (n. 22) 29.

[16] Nisbet (n. 2) 61, after B. Gatz, *Weltalter, goldene Zeit* . . . (Hildesheim 1967) 25.

[17] The translations of Virgil are my own.

[18] Nisbet (n. 2) 62; G. Jachmann, *ASNP* 21 (1952) 24f., 47 offers no concrete alternative. V. could probably have used the LXX translation. Schürer (n. 9) 3.1, 476. Tessa Rajak's *Translation and Survival* (Oxford 2009) came to my notice too late to be used here.

[19] Jachmann (n. 17) 42, 48; Nisbet (n. 2) 63, 64f.; Gatz (n. 16) 171 4.

[20] See for example Nisbet Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.9.

Theocr. 24.86–7 the wolf shall not harm the fawn in the apparent Golden Age that follows upon Heracles' wedding, but these verses are clearly not by Theocritus.[21] With Virgil here, compare rather *Isaiah* 11:6–7, 'The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lay down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them. And the cow and the bear shall feed, their young ones shall lie down together; and the lion shall eat straw like the ox', also expressed in the hexameters of *Or. Sib.* 3.788–92.[22]

(iv) *Buc.* 4.11, *decus hoc aeui*.[23]—'This glory of the Age'. The form of expression is very close to that of *Or. Sib.* 3.771, *αἰώνιον εὐφροσύνην* and 786 *εὐφροσύνην αἰῶνος*.[24] Both: 'the bounty of the Age'.

little less decisive in character are:

(v) *Buc.* 4.15f., *ille deum uitam accipiet diuisque uidebit permixtos heroas*—'He shall receive the life of the gods and shall behold heroes mingled with deities'. [72/73] Compare *Luke* 1:32, 'And he shall be great and shall be called the Son of the Highest . . . ' (after *Genesis* 17:19). The difficulties of Virgil's lines are resolved[25] if we conclude that Virgil is writing in terms of the eternal kingdom so familiar from the Bible.

(vi) *iam noua progenies caelo demittitur alto*—'Now a new offspring is sent down from the sky on high' (*Buc.* 4.7).[26] In the Greek tradition, it is the soul that descends from the heavens. Here, we might well prefer to compare *Or. Sib.* 3.652 *καὶ τότ' ἀπ' ἠελίοιο θεὸς πέμψει βασιλῆα* ('and then God shall send a king from the sun'), with 8.458 (in Christian terms: the son of Mary, coming from Heaven, shall put on mortal form).

Such an accumulation of parallel passages requires a full and proper explanation. Twice, Nisbet[27] nods at the question of *how* Virgil might have acquired sufficient knowledge of Greco-Jewish texts, but he, and others, have left it almost entirely unanswered,[28] and to that question—one that is answerable, or so I believe—we now turn.

Jewish and 'Levantine' writers in Italy

According to Josephus,[29] King Herod ('the Great', the famous one) sent two of his many sons, Alexander and Aristobulus to Pollio (*Πολλίων*), one of those particularly eager for Herod's friendship. Half a century after Feldman's uncritical

[21] See Gow's commentary.
[22] Where vd. Charlesworth (n. 14) for further biblical passages; J. N. Bremmer, *Rise and Fall of the Afterlife* (London 2002) 124; E. Courtney, *Vergilius* 56 (2010) 29.
[23] Cf. Jachmann (n. 17) 43, 45; Nisbet (n. 2) 56f., 65. [24] 'The felicity of the age'.
[25] Nisbet (n. 2) 60f. [26] Nisbet (n. 2) 53. [27] (n. 2) 50, 64.
[28] But note H. W. Garrod, *CR* 19 (1905) 37f., splendidly learned and ingenious for its date.
[29] *AJ* 15.343.

discussion,[30] the balance of scholarly judgement has shifted. Syme inclines towards Vedius Pollio, a friend of the *princeps* whose services had been so substantial that not even after he sought to cast a living slave to his lampreys[31] did he quite fall from grace.[32] D. Braund, on the other hand,[33] tries to expel the famous Asinius Pollio, long held to be the obvious supervisor of the princes' education, from the discussion. I wonder whether the reaction may not have gone a little too far.

[73/74] We have to start from a potentially tricky detail of naming: Josephus refers to the consul C. Asinius Pollio at *AJ* 14.138 and calls him 'Asinius'; at *AJ* 14.389 he gives Pollio's full name for purposes of consular dating and writes *Πωλίωνος*. Here (*AJ* 15.343) he writes *Πολλίωνος*. But it does not seem a very good idea to trust either the accuracy of Josephus' copyists or the author's consistency in naming Roman consuls, when, on exactly this point, Cicero himself was not consistent.[34] The *cognomen* Pollio was not rare, nor was it limited to Romans: we know indeed of a Pharisee named Pollio, *Πολλίων* according to Josephus.[35] Some years later, Herod sent two more of his sons to Rome, to 'a certain private individual',[36] to be raised.[37] So Herod was no more consistent in the education of his sons than Josephus had been with consuls' names. To send a son to Rome to be educated was also equivalent to leaving a sort of hostage, a guarantee of the king's loyalty and good behaviour. But let us return to Pollio: he was consul in 40 BC, the dramatic date of *Bucolic* 4 and the year in which Herod came to Rome in order to secure recognition as king.[38] Josephus offers us two accounts of this lavish exercise of financial inducements, and in neither does he mention Pollio.[39] But it does seem altogether unlikely that consul and king (would-be, imminent, or real, accepted, and approved) did not meet at all. If, then, we return to (?) 23 when Herod had to make his arrangements for Alexander and Aristobulus, we must ask whether he was to leave them with a gluttonous sadist, however well connected, or with an ex-consul of impeccable culture whom he had most probably known for years.[40] Five years later (*c.*18), Herod went again to Rome to bring

[30] L. H. Feldman, *TAPA* 84 (1953) 73 8.

[31] R. Syme, *Roman Papers* 2 (Oxford 1979) 530, Addendum; on the lampreys, the material is collected by Keil, 'P. Vedius Pollio', *RE* 15A:569.43ff.

[32] Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1.10 for his *luxus*, with Syme (n. 31) 527. At Vedius Pollio's death, though there was a substantial legacy to Augustus, his house was razed and no monument to him was erected, Dio 54.23.5 6 with C. Edwards, *Politics of Immorality* (Cambridge 1993) 164.

[33] *CQ* 33 (1983) 240f.

[34] See Shackleton Bailey on Cic. *Att.* 380.1, 420.1, 12.

[35] Jos. *AJ* 15.370; Schürer (n. 9) 2, 362 *et passim.*

[36] Jos. *AJ* 17. 20 *τινι ἰδίῳ*.

[37] Jos. *AJ* 17.21 *τροφὰς εἶχεν*.

[38] Schürer (n. 9) 1, 281; M. A. Levi, *Ottaviano capoparte* 2 (Firenze 1933) 114f.; V. Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit* 1.1 (repr. Aalen 1964) 227f.

[39] Levi (n. 38) 2, 115; W. Otto, 'Herodes' *RE* Suppl. 2:25.13ff.

[40] Compare, possibly, Cic.'s legal education with Scaevola Augur and Scaevola Pontifex; S. F. Bonner, *Education in Ancient Rome* (London 1977) 88; E. Rawson, *Cicero* (repr. Bristol 1983) 13 18.

the young men home at the conclusion of their studies.[41] The *princeps* received him kindly; they had apparently known each other from the years 31–30.[42]

Some will perhaps still prefer Vedius Pollio to Asinius, but they do need to [74/75] understand the princes' five years in Rome in the fullest context of Roman *hospitium*.[43] The episode stands at a specially significant point of interaction between cultural and diplomatic usage. We might want to compare the case of Polybius:[44] starting as a distinguished internee, he becomes tutor to Scipio Aemilianus (son of Aem. Paullus, and adopted into the Scipiones) in the household of Aemilius Paullus, perhaps on account of a pre-existent acquaintance between the Aemilii Paulli and the historian's father, the Achaean statesman Lycortas.[45] Embassies had also long been a regular source of cultural contacts: the rhetor Apollonius Molon came to Rome to represent the island of Rhodes, and while there acquired his future pupils;[46] at that period, the great Posidonius too was representing Rhodian interests in Rome and while so engaged acquired a wide range of acquaintances among the Roman nobility.[47] At this point, Asinius Pollio's 'support of Jewish interests' and 'interest in Judaism' is not about to re-enter the discussion, as it used sometimes to do. But we shall see very soon both that there were numerous embassies from the Maccabees to Rome and that among princes and diplomats there were also numerous men of letters.

This is not the place to sketch the history of a Jewish presence in Greek and Latin literature; that history was drawn definitively by Menachem Stern.[48] However, the impact of the 'Levantine' element in that of Hellenistic literature at Rome has been seriously undervalued, and a few details need to be sketched, in order to see more clearly just how very credible an interest in Jewish Messianic texts on Virgil's part might have been. Such a sketch should perhaps start [75/76] from Peter Fraser's immensely learned discussion[49] of possible Jewish influences

[41] So an Arab potentate today might come to Britain for his son's (or sons') passing out from Dartmouth or Sandhurst (Annapolis and West Point, that is).

[42] Schürer (n. 9) 1, 318.

[43] Cf. Elizabeth Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London 1985) 7f.; E. Badian, *Foreign clientelae* (Oxford 1958) 11f.

[44] A. E. Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus* (Oxford 1967) 3, 19, 49, and 12f. for the adoption.

[45] F. W. Walbank, *Polybius* (Berkeley 1972, repr. 1990, *Sather Classical Lectures* 42) 8.

[46] Rawson (n. 43) 7. On the cultural role of ambassadors, see H. D. Jocelyn, *Bull. Rylands Libr.* 59.2 (1977) 336; J. Kaimio, *Romans and the Greek Language* (Helsinki 1979) 103 6.

[47] Kaimio (n. 46), 8. On Antiochus of Ascalon, see, strongly, against Rawson (n. 43) 7, n. 20, W. Görler, in F. Ueberweg, *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie. Die Philosophie der Antike* 4 (revised ed., by H. Flashar, etc. Basel 1994) 942. For Posidonius on the Jews, see Stern (n. 48) 1, 141 7; Posidonius, fr. 278 Edelstein Kidd (with commentary). Momigliano's remarks on Posid. as the author who first acquainted Rome with Judaism, *Alien Wisdom* (Cambridge 1975) 121 perhaps oversimplify the issue. See also Rawson (n. 43) 255.

[48] M. Stern, *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem 1974 84).

[49] Callim. *Epigr.* 55 and *Isaiah* 14:12: see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* 2 (Oxford 1972) 1000f., n. 255.

in Callimachus (a Greek version of Isaiah; probably)[50] and Theocritus (in the end, probably not).[51] We should also note Strabo's acute and informed remark that Philodemus, Meleager and Menippus all came from Gadara, to the south-east of the Lake of Tiberias:[52] not Jews, any of them, but Greeks from an area of mixed language, religion and culture (for their knowledge of Judaism, see below, n. 78).

If we look to Italy, Stern has once again collected all the *testimonia*, and I do not want to survey once again the first references to the Jews in Latin literature in any sort of detail; let us bear in mind a distinction between (i) some sort of political, social, or even religious contact and (ii) the first traces of some understanding of Jewish literature in Greek translation. I pass swiftly over Cicero's references in the *pro Flacco* and *de prou. cons.*,[53] over Varro's references to the cult of 'Jupiter' among the Jews,[54] Livy, *Per.* 102 and 128,[55] and Horace's early hexameters,[56] not to mention Ovid.[57]

Now while the scholar–philosopher Posidonius, a Syrian Greek from Apamea, whom we have already seen as a diplomat at Rome, seems to have detested the Jews (n. 47), it is more illuminating to look at Alexander Polyhistor: born at Miletus *c.*100 BC, he arrived at Rome after the Mithridatic War, originally as a slave; he was freed and ended as a Roman citizen. He was not a Jew, but evidently
[76/77] knew the third book of the *Sibyllina*,[58] as a whole, or in part, or at least something very like it, for he wrote[59] of the Tower of Babel, and its destruction, 'according to the *Sibyllina*', ὡς ἐκ Σιβύλλης, perhaps because he felt that for Roman readers a Sibyl would lend dignity to his account. The alternative (Potter, n. 58), logically possible, that the author of the *Sibyllina* used Alexander Polyhistor as a source seems altogether unlikely, given that the historian here cites a poetic source in an entirely usual and acceptable way.[60]

[50] Vd. further D'Alessio, *Callimaco: Inni, Epigrammi*..., 2 vols. (*BUR* Milano 2007) note on *Epigr.* 55.

[51] Fraser (n. 49) 1002. [52] See Schürer (n. 9) 1, 258, n. 5. [53] Stern (n. 48) 1, 193 206.

[54] Stern (n. 48) 1, 207 12; H. Hagendahl, *Augustine and the Latin Classics* (Gothenburg 1967) 2.606 (fr. 685, from Aug. *CD* 4.11).

[55] Stern (n. 48) 1, 328 31.

[56] Stern 1 (n. 48) 321 7, *Sat.* 1.4.139 43, 5.96 104, 9.60 78 with *Epist.* 2.2.183 9.

[57] *AA* 1.75 80, etc.; Stern 1 (n. 48) 347 9.

[58] This text is an almost impenetrable thicket of scholarly problems: see D. Potter, *JRA* 3 (1990) 471 83; Schürer (n. 9) 3.1, 632 41; J. J. Collins, in Charlesworth (n. 14) vol. 1 (1983) 354 61, summarizing *Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (Missoula 1974) and *Seers, Sibyls, and Sages in Hellen. Rom. Judaism* (Brill 1997 and 2001); Nikiprowetzky (n. 15) 55 70. Much, but not all, of the book (whose degree of fragmentation is itself controversial) is likely to belong to the second century BC and therefore to have been in principle accessible to Virgil: Potter, 478f.; Nikiprowetzky, 17 19.

[59] *ap.* Georg. Syncellus, p. 45.29, *FGrH* 273 F 79 (p. 110.27).

[60] See D. Dueck, 'Strabo's Use of Poetry', in *Strabo's Cultural Geography* (ed. D. Dueck, etc., Cambridge 2005) 86 107, and ead., 'When the Muses Meet. Poetic Quotations in Greek Historiography', in *Greeks between East and West... in Memory of David Asheri* (Jerusalem 2007) 93 114.

We need briefly to return to authors who arrived at Rome not as authors but as diplomats, and in particular to Nicolaus of Damascus,[61] not himself a Jew, but sent repeatedly by Herod on diplomatic missions to Rome and elsewhere. Nicolaus also took care to seduce Augustus with presents of peculiarly delicious dates,[62] and after Herod's death continued to serve his successor Archelaus in a similar role.[63] Full details of all these diplomatic contacts are easily available in Schürer.

If we begin now to think of the young Virgil and his poetic development, it is worth mentioning the embassy sent to Rome by Hyrcanus, ethnarch and High Priest, in 45.[64] Five years later, Herod in person arrived to buy himself confirmation as king.[65] In the period 70–20, Rome was full—as has not been generally realized[66]—of Levantine *literati*, of whom only a few had come as diplomats. They are spread over a wide range of literary activities, and those who were not themselves Jews had nevertheless emerged from a multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-religious society, in which Judaism was a powerful element.[67] We have just seen that the first man to bring some knowledge of Jewish literary *texts* to Rome was probably a Greek from Mitylene. If we look further East, and pass by the hostile Posidonius (n. 47), we find, in addition to the literary diplomats, the Stoic Sosus of Ascalon, who opened a school at Teanum Sidicinum and another Stoic, Athenodorus Cordylion of Tarsus, who died at Rome in the house of the younger [77/78] Cato.[68] The distinguished poet Antipater of Sidon (or Tyre) spent a long time in Italy and acquired a sufficiency of noble friends.[69] The poet Archias was a native of Antioch;[70] of Nicolaus we have already spoken; during the 30s, Strabo, well informed on Jewish history, geography, and habits, studied in Rome with the philosopher Boethus of Sidon,[71] and to the many Levantine writers of the period without explicit Roman connexions we will shortly come.

Fortunately, we can get a good deal closer to Virgil. It is odd that more attention has not been paid to Philodemus of Gadara in this context.[72] There is not a word (or not so far) in his extant works (epigrams and fragmentary philosophical treatises) to suggest any Jewish interests. But it is very hard to imagine a native

[61] Schürer (n. 9) 1, 28 32; Stern (n. 48) 1, 227 60. Note the ed. of Nic. Dam. *Vit. Aug.* by J. Bellemore (Bristol 1984).

[62] Known not only from Athenaeus: see Schürer (n. 9) 1, 29.

[63] For Archelaus and Nic. Dam., see Schürer (n. 9) 1, 28f., 331, 333.

[64] Schürer (n. 9) 1, 273.

[65] See n. 37.

[66] But see Rawson (n. 43) 15.

[67] See n. 78.

[68] Rawson (n. 43) 22 3, and 58.

[69] E. Malcovati, *Cicerone e la poesia* (Pavia 1943) 84; Hardie (n. 70) 81f.; Cic. *De orat.* 3.194.

[70] Syrians were renowned improvisers of poetry (vd. A. Hardie, *Statius and the Silvae* (Liverpool 1983) 84, etc.): Antipater, Archias, the poets of Sidon (Strab.14.5.14), Pub. Syrus. Parodic confirmation offered by the Syrian Trimalchio; vd. my remarks, *G&R* 36 (1989) 79 [ch. 19, 237].

[71] Strab. 16.2.24; Rawson (n. 43) 290f. For S. and the Jews, see Schürer (n. 9) 1, 25f., 64f., 3.1, 154f., Stern (n. 48) 1, 261 315.

[72] We now have papyrological confirmation that V. studied with Philodemus: *Pap. Herc.* 2; see *Companion*, 2.

of Gadara, at Philodemus' date,[73] without a word of Hebrew or Aramaic, with not a scrap of familiarity with Judaism. With Philodemus' silence, we need to contrast the other Gadarene epigrammatist, Meleager,[74] born at Gadara ('in Syria', Gow–Page, *HE* 2.2), and self-defined as a 'Syrian' (Gow–Page, *HE* 2.5), but raised at Tyre (Gow–Page, *HE* 1.58) and as an author settled at Cos (Gow–Page, *HE* 3.3). There are two Meleager poems to consider: in Gow–Page, *HE* 4.7 (= *AP* 7.419) he explains that if you are Syrian, you say 'salam', if Greek, χαῖρε, if Phoenician—the word has perhaps been corrupted in transmission and is not recognizable. In
[78/79] Hebrew, the word is SHALOM, in Aramaic ŠLM[75] (the same word). Meleager's use of the defining *Syros* (*supra*) seems to show that he is thinking in terms of the Aramaic, not the Hebrew word. More challenging is Gow–Page, *HE* 26 (= *AP* 5.160): if Demo is in the arms of Another, that is upsetting, but if she is filled with desire on the Sabbath, that is no surprise: even on the chilly Sabbath, love is warm. The Sabbath is most obviously cold, because no fires might be lit on that day, as Juvenal too knew well:[76] a familiar detail of Jewish observance, or otherness. But there might be more to it, for to many Jews, sexual intercourse on the Sabbath was forbidden:[77] the Sabbath was therefore cold, but Demo was on fire. Perhaps both meanings were present: either way, Meleager is revealed as having a scrap (or two) of knowledge of Jewish usage.[78] So it becomes a little easier to suppose that Philodemus of Gadara, fifty years later, could likewise have known something of Greco-Jewish literature; enough, even, to have pointed his gifted pupil in that direction.

That is almost the end of the story. With Meleager and Philodemus, we might seem to have reached the end of the revised list of Jews or Levantines present in

[73] Philodemus: one author, not two: cf. Nisbet on Cic. *Pis*., p. 183; Gow Page, *Garland of Philip* 2, 371f.; Rawson (n. 43) 23f. *Floruit*, mid first century BC. For the probable identification of Gadara, see above n. 51.

[74] He 'flourished under the last Seleucus'; so the 'Lemmatist', an annotator of the *Codex Palatinus* of the *Greek Anthology*, see Alan Cameron, *The Greek Anthology*...(Oxford 1993) 49f.; Gow Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 1.xxxiii, xxxiv, and on Meleager *HE* 1; more probably, the last Seleucus but one, Seleucus VI (Gow Page, *Hellenistic Epigrams* 1.xv). Meleager calls himself a Syrian, and the lemmatist therefore gives him a Seleucid dating; for a Gadarene, a Maccabean regnal *floruit* would have been more appropriate, but much less understandable to the mass of Greek readers: see C. Préaux, *Le monde hellénistique* 2 (Paris 1978) 578 86. A glance at *OLD* and LSJ is enough to show that 'Syrian' in both Greek and Latin would do to cover almost anything from Antioch to Gaza and from Beirut much of the way to Baghdad.

[75] I am most grateful to my old and dear friend, Prof. H. Cotton (Jerusalem) for her expert clarification, as to her cousin and colleague, Dr Shlomi Naeh, for even more specialized guidance on Sabbath prohibitions.

[76] Juv. 3.14, where vd. Mayor, Courtney, etc.; Stern (n. 48) 1, 140.

[77] Cf. *Jubilees* 2:29, 50:8. Available in Sparkes's ed. of the *Apocr. OT* (1984), as also in Charlesworth 2 (n. 14). I have not been able to consult C. Albeck, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (Berlin 1984). The prohibition was also found among Samaritans and Karaites; some rabbis, however, actively encouraged intercourse on the seventh day.

[78] See F. G. B. Millar, *The Greek World, the Jews, and the East* (Chapel Hill 2000) 70 80; Schürer (n. 9) 1, 143 6; E. S. Gruen, *Diaspora* (Cambridge Mass. 2002) 106; id., *Heritage and Hellenism* (Berkeley 1998) 28ff., for multiculturalism in late Hellenistic Syria and Palestine.

Rome (or Naples, or thereabouts) whom Virgil might have consulted. Before concluding, though, there are two additions, of a sort, to be noted. First, a short list of Greek authors of the Levant at, or near, the dates in question, for whom no connexion with Italy can be proved. I list them, not because they actually demonstrate anything, but because they serve as evidence for the lively state of literary culture in the area at this period.

Theodorus of Gadara (orator), Harmodius of Tarsus (tragedian), Boethus of Tarsus (epigrammatist), Boethus of Sidon (philosopher), Dorotheus of Sidon (astrologer) and several Stoics of the school of Tarsus, Athenodorus (two of them, perhaps), Antipater, Archedemus, and (?) Sosigenes.[79] Secondly, a possible [79/80]
Jew[80] of the Diaspora, the literary critic Caecilius of Kale Akte (twenty miles East of Cefalù on the northern coast of Sicily, modern S. Stefano di Camastra), but he is at best late Augustan (and has been thought to be much later, e.g. by the *Suda*)[81] and is present here only as a figure representative of 'wandering Jewish intellectuals of the Diaspora'.

Conclusion

These pages are not meant to imply that Virgil had only to stroll into the libraries founded by Caesar and Pollio to find a translation of *Isaiah* or a text of *Or. Sib.* 3. Not only were they most unlikely to be there, but such texts were quite clearly not, *c.*40 BC, the sort of thing he would naturally have read without being told about them by some sort of specialist or expert. *c.*40, the Greco-Jewish texts at the centre of this paper were certainly a rarity, an oddity at Rome, but the textual evidence that there had been cultural contact between the Jewish and Roman literary traditions is very strong, and the existence of a cultural context in Rome which could account for fruitful contacts proves unexpectedly easy to sketch. If the balance of probability in the old debate over Virgil and the Jews should be thought to have shifted slightly, that would be a real step forward.

If I am indeed right, however, then a substantial problem remains unsolved: suppose that Virgil has indeed filled *Bucolic* 4 (and passages of *Aen.* 6) with substantial Messianic/Jewish imagery, what were his Roman readers to make of it? How much of it could his Learned Contemporary Reader have understood and appreciated? Perhaps in this quite exceptional case, rather less than we do.

[79] Names culled from a variety of sources; most of them are found in Pauly Wissowa, *RE*. None of them are invented, though it would not have been hard to do so.

[80] *Suda* s.v. (K 1165); cf. Plut. *Cic.* 7.6; Stern (n. 48) 1, 566.

[81] G. P. Goold's brilliantly ingenious reconstruction, *TAPA* 92 (1961) 168 92, has not been generally accepted: cf. D. Russell on Longinus 1; G. Kennedy, *Art of Rhetoric in the Roman World* (Princeton 1972) 364f.

40

Poets and poetry in Virgil's Underworld[1]

Virgil's use of mottos and signposts has been sorely neglected: nothing to do with Hellenistic allusion; indeed, rather the reverse, in that I refer to a bold and unmistakable signal to the reader, marking the tone and character of a passage,[2] usually at its outset. The literary character of *Aeneid* 6.14–36 is where this enquiry began; almost at the beginning of the book, Virgil offers his readers an *ekphrasis* of the doors of Apollo's temple at Cumae;[3] these verses are a tribute to Catullus 64 and probably to Gallus too; at the book's outset they signal the poet's roots, in a concentration of Catullan references and stylistic mannerisms of distinctively 'neoteric' character. It was no surprise therefore to recall a comparable, parallel tribute at the book's end, not the Gates of Dreams, unproblematically Homeric, but rather the funeral tribute to the young Marcellus, 6.868–86. Though R. Glei[4] [23/24] continues, quite without arguments, to deny the obvious prose source of these lines, there is nothing new, improbable, or surprising in the suggestion[5] that Virgil bases his *epicedion* on the *princeps*' own *laudatio funebris* on the young Marcellus, presumably one of the great monuments of Augustan prose. Unsurprisingly, points of contact, however conventional, are easily identified between the two texts: references to the older Marcellus (cos. 222) in the funeral speech for the younger (Aug. *orat*. fr. 14 Malcovati, *Aen.* 6.860), and a lament for the younger's *immatura mors* (fr. 11 Malcovati, *Aen.* 6.869f., *et passim*). Not poetry, clearly, but an intensified reference to a major literary text in a balancing position.

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[1] I am most grateful to Profs. Licinia Ricottilli (Verona), Elisa Romano (Pavia), and Aldo Lunelli (Padova) for their kind invitations to lecture in Oct. 2012, and for their tolerance in allowing me to slip away from my original, and less unconventional, paper on the Parade of Heroes to explore metapoetic aspects of Book 6, a topic which came to mind while I was checking references in the MS of my commentary to Book 6.

[2] For Horace's use of the 'motto', vd. A. Cavarzere, *Sul limitare* (Bologna 1996); for 'signposts' in Virgil, vd. ch. 7 of my *Virgilio: l'epopea in alambicco* (Napoli 1991) of which a fully revised and rewritten English version is now in hand [*The Epic Distilled* (Oxford 2016)].

[3] C. Weber, 'Gallus' Grynium and Vergil's Cumae', *ARCM* 1 (1978) 45 76 is richly informative but not easily accessible; the author kindly sent me a xerox and (correctly) informs me that *ARCM* indicates the Japanese journal *Annual Report of the Collegium Mediterranistarum*. See also M. C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Epic Designs* (New Haven 1998) 75 96 and helpful remarks by R. Armstrong, *Cretan Women* (Oxford 2006) 124 9, 134 6.

[4] *Der Vater der Dinge* (Trier 1991) 175, n. 280, and in *Vergil's Aeneid: Augustan Epic and Political Context* (ed. H. P. Stahl, London 1998) 130, n. 35.

[5] So too e.g. A. Traina, *Virgilio, l'utopia e la storia* (Torino 1997) on 6.861; cf. already Serv. *ad Aen.* 1.712. on *deuota, de oratione Augusti*; cf. too Dio Cass. 53.30.5 on Aug.'s *laudatio funebris*.

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If then we are right to suggest that *Aeneid* 6 is *framed* between two massive literary references, it is clearly worth looking for other such prominent statements of indebtedness: relatively unexciting is the sequence of funerary epigrams on Misenus, Palinurus, and Caieta, deriving (with probably some help from Naevius) from the antiquarian tradition of places associated with the legend of Aeneas (cf. my note on 7.1–4), but a good deal more interesting are 6.179–82, not only (perhaps) a lament for the forests destroyed by Agrippa's construction of a fleet base at Misenum (vd. Strab. 5.4.5), but certainly a meticulous reworking of Ennius, *Ann.* 175–9 Skutsch; in the detail lies both what was lost and what was gained by the development of Latin poetic diction between *Annales* and *Aeneid*.[6] Does Virgil then lament *both* the destruction of the old forest, perhaps to be understood in part symbolically, and the loss of archaic epic grandeur? A deep and respectful bow to Lucretius at 6.724–52 is signalled by the 'motto', *principio* (724), and reinforced by a remarkable concentration of Lucretian idiom (in a passage of distinctively Platonic content).[7]

But I would like to focus on a singular concentration of material pointing towards archaic Latin poetry and present in the text leading up to and including the famous verses *excudent alii* . . . (6.847–53). We may start from two triple alliterations in the second half of the verse:

833: *in uiscera uertite uires* [24/25]

844: *sulco, Serrane, serentem.*

Such groupings have long been recognized as references to the pre-hexametric Saturnian metre, famously used by Naevius in the *Bellum Punicum*.[8] At that point, it becomes easier to understand 6.846, *unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem*, in a fuller literary context. Of courses it remains a close reference to Ennius,[9] but that reference's context belongs ever more densely to the era of the second Punic War. For that matter, Virgil here displays an increasingly conscious awareness of the place of the *Aeneid* in the history of Latin epic. And not only literary epic: let us not forget the distinctive literary flavour of 6.851, *tu regere imperio, populos, Romane, memento*. That vocative is extremely rare and points distinctively to the language of the Sibylline oracles, not the later collection now called *oracula Sibyllina*, but the few authentic fragments of oracles long ago attributed to the Sibyl.[10] The Sibyl

[6] For a recent and skilful discussion, vd. G. Maurach, *Lateinische Dichtersprache* (Darmstadt 1998) 237f.; see also e.g. S. Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext* (Cambridge 1998) 11 14.

[7] E. Romano, *Pan* 5 (1977) 91 9 offers a very good summary of the material.

[8] Cf. my notes on 7.190, 2.452.

[9] *Ann.* fr. 363 Skutsch, *unus homo nobis cunctando restituis rem.* Had we more of Ennius' account of Marcellus, cos. 222, we would understand Virgil's *epicedion* far better.

[10] Phlegon of Tralles, *FGrH* 257 F 37, v. 3, p. 1189.33 (cf. W. Hansen, *Phlegon of Tralles, Book of Marvels* (Exeter 1996) 56 and now Phlegon, ed. Stramaglia, p. 84.2) and Zos. 2.6.1 (v. 3). My commentary contains sufficient bibliography on the tricky topic of the (demonstrable, I believe) authenticity of the Sibylline verses preserved by Phlegon of Tralles and Zosimus.

is there listening, and Virgil puts into Anchises' mouth language distinctively and historically used by her.

At that point, it becomes easier to suggest a possible solution to one of the difficulties of *excudent alii* . . . : 849, *orabunt causas melius*, has provoked a chorus of perplexity and dissent, summarized by the question 'so did Virgil mean to offer a negative judgement on Cicero?'[11] Hardly, if he were writing primarily about the age of the second Punic War. That is an era into which the climactic verses about Rome's capacity for rule fit extraordinarily well into the chronological context here suggested. 'Rome crossed the Adriatic in arms for the first time in 229 BC[12] and the narrative detail I leave in the hands of Gruen and Nicolet;[13] the near-contemporary explosions of Roman empire and Latin literature are hardly to be viewed separately.[14]

[25/26] That said, we may pass to Virgil's view of poets and poetry at large in *Aeneid* 6, not to mention his implicit view of his own place in the wider order of things: once more, the concentration of instances is so marked that it cannot be considered in some way accidental:

644: *plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt*

645–7: Orpheus in person sings

657: *laetumque choro paeana canentis*

662: *quique pii uates et Phoebo digna locuti*[15]

667: Musaeus, one of the great poets of the mythological world, converses with Aeneas and the Sibyl and directs their steps towards Anchises.

Elysium is, in short, filled with poets; we should compare the Orphic fr. 717. 103f. Bernabé (*Poetae epici Graeci* 2.2); the relationship of this text to *Aeneid* 6 I hope I sorted out (*ZPE* 96 (1993), 17–18: the Orphic text as it stands probably post-Virgilian, but both it and *Aeneid* 6 depend on a pre-Platonic verse original); the fragmentary text appears to refer to those who recount in song the births of men and of gods. In short, poets, who turn out to have a crucial role in worlds both mythological and Roman.

Why poets are so peculiarly important for Virgil will emerge from a brief look at the rhetorical structure of the last third of *Aeneid* 6, in which there is a clear

[11] An intelligent view of the content of 6.847 53 in H. Hine, 'Aeneas and the Arts', in *Homo viator. Classical Essays for John Bramble* (Bristol 1987) 173 83, see 178ff.

[12] E. S. Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome* (repr. Berkeley 1986) 359.

[13] *Rome et la conquête du monde méditerranéen* 2 (Paris 1978).

[14] Vd. Gruen (n. 12), ch. 7; W. V. Harris, *War and Imperialism* (Oxford 1985) 24, 35.

[15] It is not clear whether V. is writing of poets, or of seers, or of both; hard to see how either category could be excluded.

dynamic function, an energy which drives the text's expository role. What I am trying to explain should become clear from the sense of four passages:

> 717f.: *hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta*—'I long to recount the offspring of my descendants, so you may rejoice all the more along with me at the discovery of Italy'.
>
> 751 (the last line of the long philosophical section introduced by Lucretian *principio*): *et incipiant in corpora uelle reuerti*—'and begin to *want* to return into human bodies'.
>
> 806: *et dubitamus adhuc uirtutem extendere factis?*; actually I believe Virgil is likelier to have written here *uirtute extendere uires*,[16]—'do we still hesitate to unfold their display of strength?'
>
> 889: *incenditque animum famae uenientis amore*—'and Anchises fires Aeneas' spirit with the love of the fame to come'.

Note successively 'so you may rejoice', 'begin to *want* to return', 'do we still hesitate . . . ?' and 'fires Aeneas' spirit with the love . . . '. A common element of inner energy, of the will or desire to extend the process whereby Rome's might is to grow. The sixth book develops in the form of a crescendo, emotional, intellectual, spiritual, from Cumae to Tartarus, from Tartarus to Elysium, from Aeneas' past (and Troy's) to Rome's future. At its peak, Augustus, but also the tragic Marcellus. Driven growth at tragic cost. And what is the energy that drives this desire for Rome's growth? It derives from a mode of exposition that in an article of thirty-five years ago I called 'genealogical protreptic',[17] rhetoric that is aimed to convince its hearers on the basis of genealogical arguments. In that old article [ch. 6, 000], I pointed out three important texts, earlier than Virgil, where the poet could have found an exposition of the use made of the inspirational energy to be found in the contemplation of Roman history viewed through the continuity of Roman *gentes*: behind, that is, 6.717, 756–8, 762, etc. there lies an old mode of thinking, which I have already discussed more than enough.[18] It is very far from my attention to offer some sort of neo-fascist re-reading of the end of *Aen.* 6; 'genealogical protreptic' has at least the virtue of concision and corresponds closely enough to the republican, Virgilian, and Augustan texts. [26/27]

In *Aeneid* 6, it is of course the poet himself who 'reads' Roman history in this manner for his readers' instruction and inspiration. We can hardly forget that

[16] I offer a detailed textual discussion in my commentary.

[17] See *Prudentia* 8 (1976) 84 [ch. 6, 71 2], and more recently in *Companion*, 145.

[18] See *Companion*, 145, after *Prudentia* (n. 17) 82 5 [ch. 6, 70 3]; of particular significance are Polyb. 6.53.10, Cic. *Rep.* 6.13, and Sall. *Iug.* 4.5. It is also useful to compare Augustus' declaration of the intent of the statues in the Forum of Augustus, Suet. *Aug.* 31.5 *Edicta* fr. xiii Malcovati.

Elysium is already full of poets who have done their duty, *Phoebo digna locuti*. A quarter of a century ago, Antonio La Penna wrote an excellent paper entitled 'Brevi considerazioni sulla divinizzazione degli eroi e sul canone degli eroi divinizzati'[19] which explains in detail the arguments and analogies offered for the way in which Augustus might be thought to have secured for himself a place in Elysium. It is helpful at this point to compare poets and *princeps*: poets who have done their duty are already in Elysium, like valiant warriors; that, by discreet implication is where Augustus too will one day end up. In practice, Virgil's Elysium seems also to imply a sacred role for the poet, and one which will receive lofty reward. Does he even think of his own eventual place in the order of things?
[27/28] Of a place for himself, in Elysium even? We cannot say that that is not admitted by the network of (altogether discreet and not at all vainglorious) arguments from analogy.

At that point, it would be very easy to slip off into discussion of the Horatian material, particularly since we do now have to hand detailed commentaries on *Carmina* 3 and 4,[20] but here it will be enough to indicate a few of the more striking points of intellectual convergence.[21]

Once more our attention is drawn, not only to Horace, but to the late third century BC: the first occasion on which the *res publica* seems to call upon the poet is in 207 BC,[22] when Livius Andronicus composed a hymn in Juno's honour, establishing the utility of the poet in the Roman state, precisely in the classical Greek tradition. In *Aeneid* 6 that role will be comprehensively embedded, metapoetically, in a developed theological, historical, political, and above all literary, context.

[19] In *Hommages à Henri Le Bonniec*, ed. D. Porte, etc. (Bruxelles 1988, *Coll. Latomus* 201) 275 87.

[20] For *Carm.* 3, see Nisbet Rudd (Oxford 2004); for *Carm.* 4, see Fedeli Ciccarelli (Firenze 2008), and Thomas (Cambridge 2011). The absence of articles on 'poeta' or 'vates' in the *Enc. Oraziana* I do not understand.

[21] For deification, vd. La Penna (n. 19); for the tradition of music in the Underworld, see Nisbet Hubbard, *Carm.* 2, p. 204f.; for the immortality of the poet, vd. Nisbet Rudd on *Carm.* 3.30.6f. and Fedeli's (n. 20) index, s.v. 'poesia'.

[22] See e.g. W. Suerbaum, in *Handb. der lat. Literatur*, ed. R. Herzog and P. L. Schmidt (München 2002) 99; Liv. 27.37.13; Fest. p. 446.29L. Proper attention is paid by E. S. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (Leiden 1990) 86 8.

41
Exempla in Virgil's Underworld

Fifty years and more ago, in a standard, national examination, taken when I was fifteen, I had to study, in some detail, *Aeneid* 6. There was an element of common sadism in the choice of text, or so it appeared, for the book was full of proper names, mythological and Roman, and without ever really knowing *why* the names were there in the text, we were expected to memorize one or two relevant facts about each. A simple, but not a small, exercise in memorization.[1] *Labuntur anni*, and my own overweight commentary on that book and those names has appeared (n. 1). It was a great help, while writing that commentary, to be able to talk about problems in *Aeneid* 6 to university audiences, and several articles appeared as a result. I refer in particular to (A) 'Poets and Poetry in Virgil's Underworld', *Vergilius* 59 (2013), 23–8 [ch. 40, 468–72]. I talked about those poets at Parma in the autumn of 2013, and Prof. Gilberto Biondi's exceptionally acute reaction led to another paper, (B) 'Poetic Immortality and Virgil's Elysium', which he very fairly claimed for *Paideia* (69, 2014, 363–5). I have also been chasing through my memory and notes an idea, (C), mislaid while writing my commentary, about the heroes who preceded Aeneas in descending to the Underworld.

It was clearly high time to orchestrate (A), (B), and (C), not least because there is no article on *exempla* either in the *Enciclopedia virgiliana* or in the new *Virgil encyclopedia*, nor indeed any discussion in Gilbert Highet's still useful *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton 1972). To 'genealogical protreptic' we [63/64] shall have to return; that is a definition about which I have written *sparsim* since 1976,[2] but I doubt that I should ever have continued to try to clarify Virgil's use of mythological and historical names but for a typically formidable article by Antonio La Penna,[3] which showed what could be done with those endless lists (or at least with some of the details). Why were they there? Let me

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[1] For what it was like to read *Aeneid* 6 in the early, middle, and late 1960s, see Appendix 2 to my commentary on that book (2 vols., Berlin 2013) 2.631 3.

[2] Horsfall, 'Virgil, History and the Roman Tradition', *Prudentia* 8 (1976) 84 with n. 102 [ch. 6, 72, n. 102]; *A Companion to the Study of Virgil* (ed. NH, Leiden 1995; repr. 2000) 144; Horsfall, *Aeneid* 6, 2.514. The definition is my own, and it really should not have been appropriated unacknowledged, D. C. Feeney, *PCPS* 32 (1986) 1.

[3] 'Considerazioni sulla divinizzazione degli eroi', in *Hommages à Henri Le Bonniec. Res sacrae*, ed. D. Porte and J. P. Néraudau (Bruxelles 1988, *Coll. Latomus* 201) 275 87, on the mythological precedents employed by the Augustan poets to hint at the future deification of Augustus. See further below. See now my n. on 6.801 3.

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first try to summarize selectively the argument of (A) and (B), *supra*, and then pass to the strikingly similar case of (C).

Now that La Penna has shown that Hercules at 6.801–3 and Dionysus at 6.804–5 both point towards Augustus' eventual deification, the next step was small enough, to identify the mythological poets present in Elysium. I listed ('Poets and Poetry', 26 [ch. 40, 470]) 6.644: *plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt*; 645–7: Orpheus in person singing; 657: *laetumque choro paeana canentis*; 662: *quique pii uates et Phoebo digna locuti*; and 667: Musaeus, one of the chief poets of the mythological world. Elysium proves to contain a remarkable concentration of poet-singers (two named; three other passages; all within twenty-four lines). More important even than the fact is the explanation. First, the need to show that Elysium was a goal attainable by any poet who has rendered good service.[4] To humanity? To his calling? To the *res publica*? That may become a little clearer. This view of the poet and of poetry is of course familiar from the late Horace (*Carm.* 4 and *Carm. Saec.*); never should we forget the indissoluble bond that links Livius Andronicus' hymn of 207 BC and Horace's *carmen* of 17. So Virgil suggests the greatest of rewards (eternal bliss after all) for the greatest of poets. Might he even imply obliquely, subtly, delicately that he writes himself in the expectation of Elysium? The argument seems to be present, but that does not mean that we are meant to see it as recognizable, active, significant in the text.

Now before we turn to (C), the argument from *exempla* as applied to the ability of a very few heroes to descend to the Underworld and to return thence to the world above, we do need to look briefly, (B), at the exemplary aspect of Virgil's *Heldenschau*.

[64/65] It has long been recognized that there is a close affinity between Virgil's choice of names in the Parade and the names so often paraded by Cicero in his choice of historical *exempla*.[5] Norden, inevitably, went straight to the point in his own Greek (*Aen.* 6[4], p. 313): λόγος παραινετικός (προτρεπτικὸς συμβουλευτικός). The exemplary force of historical names was to some degree familiar even to Cicero's popular audience.[6] Can these same names possibly *not* have had an exemplary function in the *Aeneid*? And if they do indeed have such a function in the *Aeneid*, can the reader risk not pausing for a moment to consider with some care what that function might be? Now 'genealogical protreptic' was a lofty definition, in, I hoped, the tradition of Norden, but it was and has remained till now bound to three significant classical texts about the exemplary function of historical names: I refer to Polyb. 6.53.10, Cic. *De rep.* 6.13, and Sall. *Iug.* 4.5.[7] But it would be quite misleading to limit ourselves to a mere three texts, for this way of presenting and

[4] See above all 6.662, *supra*; note too *PEG* 2.2.717.103f. Bernabé: there are poets in the Orphic paradise too. Is Virgil's argument here tinged with Orphism? Maybe.

[5] Summarized in my commentary on *Aen.* 6, 2.516f.

[6] Discussed in my *Culture of the Roman plebs* (London 2003) 88 93.

[7] *Vergilius* 59 (2013), 23 8, 27 with n. 19 [ch. 40, 000]; after *Companion*, 145, and *Aen.* 6, 2.517.

employing historical names turns out to be deeply and widely rooted in Roman ways of thinking about the past. I offer a further five passages in support, increasingly confident that yet more could easily enough be found:

(i) the Scipionic *elogia*: *ILS* 4 *facile facteis superasses gloriam maiorum*, *ILS* 6 *uirtutes generis meis moribus accumulaui*.[8]
(ii) The *carmina antiqua* sung by *pueri modesti, in quibus laudes erant maiorum*.[9]
(iii) Virg. *Buc*. 4.26f.: (the *puer*) *ac simul heroum laudes et facta parentis iam legere et quae sit poteris cognoscere uirtus*.[10]
(iv) Men. Rhet. p. 421.31f. Spengel: τοὺς δὲ παῖδας ζηλοῦν τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρετάς; at *Aen*. 6, 2.517, n. 1, I cite, after Russell and Wilson, Thuc. 2.45.1. In the funeral oration, according to Menander, the speaker advises the children of the deceased to imitate the virtues of their father.
(v) Augustus *edicta* fr. xiii Malcovati (the intent of the statues in the Forum of Augustus); cf. *Companion* (n. 2), 145: *ut ad illorum <...> uelut ad exemplar et ipse, dum uiueret, et insequentium aetatium principes exigerentur a ciuibus*.

The Romans at large are presented to Aeneas as *tuos*: 6.788f. *hanc aspice gentem Romanosque tuos*, as Aeneas himself is (12.166) *Romanae stirpis origo*. Aeneas is the *Stammvater* not only of the *gens Iulia* but of the *gens Romana*, though Virgil advances no detailed case for the latter point. But the 'genealogical protreptic' argument is peculiarly relevant here, for it is no arduous task to identify the statements of *intent* made in the course of Aeneas' *katabasis*.[11] But the rhetorical consequence is simple: the future Romans who inhabit the *Heldenschau* are there in no small measure as *exempla*, from the future, and not, as conventionally, from the past (in itself a remarkable rhetorical *aprosdokēton*), to help persuade in the first instance Aeneas as the original viewer of the Parade, and in the second the reader/listener, whether Augustan or modern—at least if the latter will pause long enough to try to make the effort to view the text through a Roman lens, and indeed *as* a Roman—to help persuade them to share in the common joy at the discovery of Italy, to have the desire to enter anew into human bodies, and become heroes of the [65/66]

[8] Horsfall (n. 2) 1976, 84, n. 101 [ch. 6, 72, n. 101]; for exceeding the deeds of your ancestors, cf. also *Rhet. Her*. 3.13. Note good discussion, H. Roloff, *Maiores bei Cicero* (diss. Göttingen 1938) 22ff.
[9] Varr. *De vit*. fr. 84 Riposati, with my remarks, *Riv. Fil.* 122 (1994) 70 5 [ch. 29, 346 50]; see too *Hermathena* 181 (2006) 251 for some comment on recent work.
[10] Horsfall (n. 2, 1976) 84 [ch. 6, 72]; see now Cucchiarelli's note.
[11] Horsfall (n. 7, *Vergilius*) 26 [ch. 40, 471]; I cite there 717f. *hanc prolem cupio enumerare meorum / quo magis Italia mecum laetere reperta*, 750 *et incipiant in corpora uelle reuerti*, 806 *et dubitamus adhuc uirtute extendere uires*, and 889 *incenditque animum famae uenientis amore*.

Roman state, to spread by means of valour the Trojans' might[12] and to be fired with desire of the fame to come. In such a case, it is the *exemplary* function of the names listed that fires Aeneas, and the reader of whichever age, to action, and it may advance our understanding of *Aeneid* 6 a little if we now ponder this role for the Roman heroes.

So what can be said, lastly (C) of those who preceded Aeneas into the Underworld? Virgil takes much, almost too much care to integrate Aeneas into the select group of those who have visited the Underworld *alive*: Orpheus, Castor and Pollux, Hercules, Theseus; Pirithous is not relevant to the present argument. Most significant is Virgil's view of their qualifications for the journey: (i) Jupiter's benevolence, in some cases but not all, towards his children or descendants;[13] (ii) exceptional *uirtus* (6.129), with which we might wish to compare 394: *inuicti uiribus*; (iii) divine descent in itself (as specified at 123, 131, and 394). That gives particular point to the Sibyl's resonant address to Aeneas at 322: *Anchise generate, deum certissima proles* (he is after all descended from Jupiter both via Venus and via Dardanus and is therefore qualified to return, in the Sibyl's view). Charon grumbles that he regretted having given passage to Hercules, Theseus, and
[66/67] Pirithous, for all that they were *dis geniti atque inuicti uiribus*. The Sibyl has to explain that Aeneas really is different (6.399–405), and the manner in which she displays the Golden Bough as his unanswerable claim to passage might seem to suggest that his predecessors have likewise displayed it (see my commentary, 2.155f.).

The argument from Aeneas' mythological predecessors is essentially different from the other sets of *exempla* that we have considered, for it is aimed either at the Sibyl or at Charon, and not at Aeneas, nor, at least explicitly, at Virgil's readers. But the method is closely similar. At this point it is surprising to discover how neglected arguments from historical *exempla* have been in the Virgil bibliography.[14] An inviting topic for a doctoral dissertation, I should have thought.

[12] If I am right to want to read *uirtute* . . . *uires* at 6.806; see my commentary there.

[13] Cf. my n. on 6.129 for the relevant genealogies.

[14] No illumination in the bibliographies of Suerbaum and Holzberg. Lausberg's *Handbuch* is quite another matter, but not directly relevant to Virgil. I consulted Servius via PHI and via the Mountford Schulz index, and also did an electronic search of Tiberius Claudius Donatus, so I add here:

(i) See *Aen.* 12.240; cf. my n. on *Aen.* 3.343.

(ii) See Serv./Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 1.39, 200, 242, 731; 6.119, 121, 122; 7.304; 8.374; 9.134; 11.258, 276f.

(iii) For Tib. Claud. Don., see 1.6106, 18 Georgii and P. Marshall, *Manuscripta* 37 (1993) p. 12, line 11 on 6.119.

42
The Poetics of Toponymy

Names are signposts in a child's imagination and thereafter in an adult's memory: my mental map of childhood London is not a visible map at all, but remains an elaborate tissue of homes, aunts, toyshops, dentists, friends' homes, favourite walks, cinemas. These private gazetteers of ours are perforce idiosyncratic and disorderly; they interrupt unpredictably and inconveniently those slightly more disciplined maps-in-the-mind which we acquire at school, and, if we are very lucky, from parents who read or, better still, recite to us the poetry they love. For that poetry (and all I say is just as true of song) will prove to contain *names*: 'silent on a peak in Darien', 'down in Demerara', 'at Flores in the Azores', 'silently rowed to the Charlestown shore', which will, many of them, sink into the mire of the not-explained and not-understood, only to emerge, many years on, gleaming, and weighed down with some relevant information. For names are also an integral part of our social memory. The poetry of Macaulay will become important as I proceed and indeed my father used sonorously to begin 'Lars Porsena of Clusium, by the nine gods he swore'. (Lars? Large, perhaps, in a child's mind. And Clusium? More than thirty years would pass until I habitually changed at Chiusi on my way to Siena!) But Macaulay's *Lays* were (and actually remain) part of a socially defined and limited corner of the English social memory: thus I picked up by the purest chance *Aileen: A Pioneering Archaeologist*, the autobiography of Aileen Fox (Leominster, 2000), and there indeed we find her childhood (*c.*1915) reading of Macaulay (16), a poet so peculiarly rich in names! 'Rich in names', then, is in turn a parody of the sort of epithet Homer uses of place-names! So is Wellington a town and school in Berkshire, UK (or for that matter a university city in New Zealand), a great general, or a rubber boot? All three (or four) associations *ought* to be present in the social memory of a passably educated British reader. I write, therefore, because I was asked to talk about toponyms, and to try to bring order into my own sense of what names mean, and because I have been working on toponyms in Latin poetry since—nearly enough—1967. [305/306]

[First published in *Literary Imagination* 4.3 (2002) 305 17.] Marco Fernandelli invited me, a couple of years ago, to talk about poetic toponyms to a literary gathering at Trieste (itself a name of strong literary associations; note, among non Italians, Winckelmann, Joyce, and Sir Richard Burton). After that *causerie*, Prof. Filippo Càssola kindly remarked that I must have read a great deal; hardly, in very truth, but I have equipped the results of an enthusiastic, protracted, and miscellaneous search with, I'd hope, just enough scholarly apparatus to give a start to whoever first wishes to supersede these pages.

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Occidit occideritque sinas cum nomine Troia, 'Troy has fallen and let her lie fallen, she and her name'.[1] This is not the place to discuss all the problems of the religious or magical force of a place's name, and we notice with amusement that the 'secret name of Rome' has attracted a disproportionate amount of scholarly attention.[2] Here it is enough to remark that the *name* is an essential element of a city, and not of a city alone. Thus T. S. Eliot, 'The Naming of Cats'[3] for each and every cat, 'First of all, there's the name that the family use daily'. Second, 'a cat needs a name that's particular, A name that's peculiar, and more dignified', a name, in short, that can never belong to more than one cat. And third, there is the name 'the cat himself knows and will never confess'. In short, a name just as secret as the city of Rome's.

The poet's toponymy cannot be dissociated from the poetic (and other) magic of the name in other spheres.[4] For a poet, the place-name distills and re-evokes everything that has happened in a place, the full range of its beauties, natural and man-made, all that its inhabitants have achieved, and all that has been written about that place in prose and verse, at least as much as the poet's readers might reasonably be expected to know,[5] though today's merely academic readers (who may be less richly blessed with miscellaneous learning in theology, geography, [306/307] history, architecture and archaeology, genealogy, and biography) will be hard pressed to conjure up the full dimensions and wider parameters of all this accumulation of allusion and information, the growing weight and ever-expanding definition of the associative charge carried by the majority of the toponyms they encounter. Did we wish to render the tissue of association yet denser, it would be easy to extend its range to visual representations (let us say, relevant scenes by Claude or Turner) firmly established within the intended reader's intellectual baggage.[6] Nor should we neglect the place's very name, viewed not only as a key, but as a real, sounding word; for now, I defy a reader to find beauty or poetic merit in the names Didcot, Casalpusterlengo, Schweinfurth, or Hazebrouck.

Let me start by citing a handful of precise instances. For example, Marion, Gräfin Dönhoff, *Namen die keiner mehr nennt*,[7] a short book of family history written by a refugee (as I am in part-origin myself) from East Prussia: *Ich muss einmal—zum letztenmal—hier die Namen der Gutshöfe niederschreiben, alle die*

[1] Virgil *Aeneid* 12.828.

[2] I collected some of the bibliography at my review of *Pratum Saraviense: Festgabe für Peter Steinmetz*, ed. W. Görler and S. Koster, *The CR* 41 (1991): 272 3.

[3] The first poem in *Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats*.

[4] See, e.g., V. Basanoff, *Evocatio* (Paris 1944), pp. 23ff.; X. F. M. G. Wolters, *Notes on Antique Folklore* (Amsterdam 1935) 25ff.; and my note on *Aeneid* 7.337 (Leiden 2000).

[5] See C. Edwards, *Writing Rome* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 27ff.; Horsfall, 'The Geography of the *Georgics*', *Ancient History* 27 (1997) 7ff. [ch. 32, 378 88]; and my commentary on *Aeneid* 7, p. 421.

[6] So, e.g., Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 25. Add music, naturally: the toponyms, for example, in Britten's settings of English folk songs. Thus for me the River Dee is inseparable from jolly millers.

[7] München, 1984, 18: 'Names which no one now names.'

schönen Namen, die nun keiner mehr nennt, damit sie wenigstens irgendwo verzeichnet sind.[8] Or for that matter Robert Lowell:[9] 'Beyond tree-swept Nantucket and Wood's Hole / And Martha's Vineyard', where the reader is required to step behind the names' current associations (rich, elegant, powerful, worldly) to a seafaring, austere, Puritan past. Of the evocative force of the place-names of Umbria both Dante (*Paradiso*, canto 11) and Carducci make full use.[10]

If we look for explicit awareness of the name's associative force, there is particular [307/308] help to be found in both Menander Rhetor, writing in the reign of Diocletian, and Stephen Vincent Benét.[11] The former, it is now clear, offers not a 'how-to' guide aimed at apprentice poetasters, but a rhetorical analysis, in some respects rather detailed, of a fair number of preceding literary forms, and for epideictic oratory lays down a mechanical and rigidly conventional schema for the use of place-names, in the context of a discussion of allusion that is sinking swiftly into that familiar post-Augustan kind of ossification whereby a rigid correlation between name and charge (Metaurus, Cannae, Mantua, Tibur victory, defeat, poetry, beauty!) or association has come into being.[12] Benét, to my delight, anticipates my own emotive reaction to the force of the name, with enviable and unembarrassed eloquence:

> I have fallen in love with American names,
> The sharp names that never get fat
> ...
> Seine and Piave are silver spoons,
> But the spoonbowl metal is thin and worn
> ...
> But I will remember where I was born
> ...
> I am tired of loving a foreign muse
> ...
> Bury my heart at Wounded Knee.

[8] 'Here I must once, for the last time, write down the names of the farms, all the fair names, which no one mentions anymore, so they will at least be listed somewhere.' We might wish to compare the wonderful list of properties that Edward Thomas will buy to let to his daughter, 'if I should ever by chance grow rich'. His 'Adlestrop' is singular, for the toponym is not evidently mellifluous, yet it stands in the title and twice in the text as undeniable symbol of the relaxed, remote, and rural. I cite Thomas from Walter de la Mare's remarkable and neglected anthology, *Come Hither* (London 1962), p. 518. Note too Walter J. Turner, p. 357 in the same anthology: his 'Romance' turns the volcano names of Mexico into an incantation of childhood, altogether convincingly. Nineveh and Ophir lend magic to Masefield's 'Cargoes'.

[9] The fifth stanza of *The Quaker Graveyard in Nantucket*.

[10] In *Alle Fonti del Clitunno*, from *Odi Barbare*.

[11] In *Selected Works* (New York 1942); Julia Budenz generously brought 'American Names' to my notice; see 367ff.

[12] Menander is to be studied only in the edition (with translation) by D. A. Russell and N. G. Wilson (Oxford 1981), which preserves the pages and lines of the classic edition by Spengel, *Rhetores Graeci*; add my remarks in *SCI* 11 (1991/2) 126f.

So toponymy is revealed as a powerful mechanism for communicating poetic love of country without falling too far into the tired conventionalities of chauvinistic rhetoric. Not only love of country, but love of the quintessential sounds of that
[308/309] country's language, not necessarily sounds that would appeal to the ear that gave us *les sanglots longs des violons de l'automne* ('the long sobs of autumn's violins'), but sounds preferred on criteria other than that of the pleasure afforded to the reader/hearer's ear, that acoustic pleasure which is not, I sense, to be found in

Tucson and Deadwood and Lost Mule Flat.

Not musical in its sounds, then, but deeply typical in acoustic effect (those three monosyllables!) and associative links and deeply rooted in the cartography of the memory, much as the smell and feel of Paris cling (as in New York, London, or Rome they clearly do not!) to the names of the Métro stations (Marcadet-Poissoniers, Réaumur-Sébastopol, Sévres-Babylone); the siren song they sing (whether in Flanner or in Simenon) is not diminished when you learn that they derive simply from the two names present in the nearest street intersection above ground. But they are not only associatively rich but also charmingly mellifluous in a way (and I write as a Londoner truly born within the sound of Bow Bells) that Bank, New Cross Gate (our own Dead Mule Flat!), and East Acton can never aspire to be.[13]

John Betjeman, a recently dead poetaster of genius (and if that sounds paradoxical, the paradox is perfectly deliberate!) tried on several occasions and with notable success to create an intimate and personal world of poetic association, a cosy toponymic microcosm, out of the names of the north-west London suburbs and their stations: Wembley, Kenton, Harrow, Perivale.[14] We might recall Aristophanes' numerous jokes, inspired by the Muses, not of Helicon, but who dwell in the park down the road, upon the names of the demes of Attica. And it might also be worthwhile to recall, before we consider some more serious aspects
[309/310] of the poetic qualities of toponyms, a brilliant game invented by Paul Jennings:[15] suppose that toponyms were—well, common nouns, then what might they mean? What, after all, might a denver, a houston, a utah actually *be*, let alone *do*, once deprived of its capital letter? Naturally, the same game can be played with Italian, German, or French toponyms. The case of the letters leads the reader to concentrate upon letters and sounds, much as in trad. anon.'s 'In Peckham Rye did Alfie

[13] See, e.g., I. Nairn, *Nairn's Paris* (Harmondsworth 1968) 20. And for analysis of beauty in the very sound of names/words, cf. A. Traina, *Forma e suono* (Bologna 1999) 19ff.; J. Marouzeau, *Traité de stylistique latine* (Paris 1946) 17ff.; L. P. Wilkinson, *Golden Latin Artistry* (Cambridge 1963) 34ff. Cf. too, for that matter, Robert Louis Stevenson on the '*strong* names' of English admirals, *Virginibus puerisque*, pp. 88 9 in the Tusitala edition (London 1924).

[14] Notably in 'Harrod on the Hill' (1954); see *Collected Poems*, enlarged edition (London 1970) 181 2; cf. also pp. 204 5 ('Middlesex'), and 212 13 ('The Metropolitan Railway').

[15] In *Oddly ad Lib* (London 1965) 24ff., and in *The Jenguin Pennings* (Harmondsworth 1963) 15ff.; the parallel invention, of toponyms that become personal names (*Oddly ad Lib*, 28ff.), is less grandly felicitous.

Biggs / A stately Hippodrome decree, / where Fred the bread-delivery man' with all due apologies to Coleridge.

Raised patchily on Macaulay, then, and the Psalter, and names from those poems which appeared in school anthologies of the comfortable, conventional, conservative fifties ('at Flores in the Azores Sir Richard Grenville lay', Tennyson), I was definitively and unwittingly sidetracked into poetic toponymy, as it was to turn out (for there is no great concentration of names until v.641!), from 1967 when I took up the seventh book of Virgil's *Aeneid* as a research topic at Oxford: Latin place-names led to Greek, and time spent on those old names reawakened my curiosity about the many sunk in that Serbonian bog (Herodotus *and* Milton; double score and extra turn!) of random recollection from which I began. In the end, specifically name-oriented reading and inquiry inevitably took over.

The place-name is not in itself automatically the stuff of poetry; it would be unkind to dwell too minutely upon the catalogue in Book 8 of the *Punica* of Silius Italicus,[16] a text which, alas, I know only too well, best defined as a versified gazetteer, lifted bodily from Varro, *Res humanae*, Book 11. That work (now lost) was probably also the source of arguably Virgil's least melodious, least elevated line (*Aeneid* 7.739), *qui Rufras Batulumque tenent atque arua Celemnae*,[17] names not identifiable, not sonorous nor rich in associations, even more sterile in poetry [310/311] than they were in the poet's prose source, in short, mysterious but not interestingly so! Now we shall soon reach Horace and Virgil in greater detail (*Georgics* and *Aeneid* are strikingly different in their use of Italian names), but before we do, there is a little more to be said about the elements of allusion and evocativeness present in poets' use of place-names.

Let me start from an extreme case, Psalm 60:6ff.:[18] 'I will rejoice and divide Sichem and mete out the valley of Succoth. Gilead is mine and Manasses is mine: Ephraim also is the strength of my head; Judah is my lawgiver; Moab is my washpot', and so on in the same vein for another couple of verses. Even the inexpert reader can see that this is poetry, but the imagery is lost except to Hebrew scholars, and you clearly need a pile of first-rate Bible commentaries to unravel the associations of the names and to pass from obscure onomastic magic to cool learned awareness of the relevant facts.

It is less hard to disentangle the geography of Coleridge's 'Xanadu', above all because we have for so long been able to consult John Livingston Lowes'

[16] *Punica* 8.356 616; see P. Venini, *La visione dell'Italia nel catalogo di Silio Italico* (Milano 1978; *Memorie Istituto Lombardo*, *Class.Lett.* 36.3). J. Nicol, *The Historical and Geographical Sources Used by Silius Italicus* (Oxford 1936), is not illuminating, unlike the admirable B. Rehm, *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis*, Leipzig 1932 (Philologus, Suppl. 24, no. 2) 95ff., to which I add a little, commentary on *Aeneid* 7, pp. 417 18.

[17] 'Those who occupy Rufrae and Batulum and the lands of Celemna'; my (extensive) commentary sheds little light on v. 739!

[18] I cite the Authorized Version.

marvellous study of poetic erudition, *The Road to Xanadu*;[19] thus, when Coleridge writes 'where Alph the sacred river ran', we should not be tempted to think of the first letter of the Hebrew alphabet, nor should we look to northern China,[20] which is where the poet located Xanadu, but rather to the Virgilian Alpheus, which rises in Elis, flows under the Adriatic, and emerges in Arethusa's fountain on the island of Ortygia in Syracuse harbour.[21] To aspects of Virgil's use of names we shall come, while of the names in Homer's catalogues in the *Iliad* I do not want to say much, for, epithets aside, they are not names that echo. Already, that is, in the ancient world, they were names in large measures lost and mysterious;[22] challenges to the scholars of Alexandria, stimuli to erudition, curiosity, and imagination; little ancient pegs on which to hang unlikely interpolations and improbable identifications, often enough fomented by the desire to flatter or adorn some town or region which had risen to importance in the Hellenistic world.[23] Strabo and Pausanias preserve bits of fierce discussions upon such identifications and upon the problems of the Homeric catalogues in general.[24] But those Homeric names were in many cases even born as fossils; perforce, they have given rise to no literary heritage, and their followers and imitators have worked with fresh onomastics.

[311/312]

Before, though, passing to Virgil and Horace, it is worth pausing for a moment to look at the two English poets who studied with intense and fertilizing attention the techniques of ancient catalogue poetry, Lord Macaulay and Matthew Arnold (the latter fortunately part of an idiosyncratic school syllabus in my teens, memorably well taught): in 'Sohrab and Rustum' (1853) the latter introduces the Tartar horsemen and launches (after a predictable simile) into 'so they stream'd. The Tartars of the Oxus, the king's guard'. A page of tribes and places follows (remote enough, but hardly obscure), with suitable detail ('black sheepskin caps', 'and ferment the milk of mares', 'who only drink the acrid milk of camels'); the unfamiliar appearance offers an attractive (though not brilliant) counterpoint to the impeccably classical mould. Macaulay (b. 1800) fell under the spell of the sound of names as a very young man, for 'Bosworth Field' though undated, is

[19] 1927; reprint, London 1978; I am not the only Latinist to whom Livingston Lowes has been an inspiration.

[20] On *Shangtu*, the Summer Palace of Kublai Khan, outside the Great Wall and visited by Marco Polo; cf. Lowes, *The Road to Xanadu*, 537 8, n. 6.

[21] Ibid., 362; and Virgil *Buc.* 10.1, with Clausen's note (Oxford 1994).

[22] Cf. R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship* (Oxford 1968) 1.249ff., 259; G. S. Kirk, *The Iliad, A Commentary* (Cambridge 1985) 176, 178ff.

[23] Cf., for a random example, my note on *Aeneid* 7.701 (for discussion of *Iliad* 2.461, Strabo 13.4.8); note too W. J. Verdenius, *Homer, The Educator of the Greeks*, Amsterdam London 1970 (Mededelingen Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen., Afd. Letterkunde 33.5) 14 15.

[24] P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 1.539; J. O. Thomson, *History of Ancient Geography* (Cambridge 1948) 21.

visibly 'juvenile'[25] but already contains the unlovely seeds of the matchless use of toponyms in 'The Armada' (1832). 'Horatius', which was published in 1842, in illustration—as the poet's preface explains—of Niebuhr's hypothesis that early Roman history could have been transmitted by ballads,[26] contains a short catalogue of those who heeded Lars Porsena of Clusium's call to arms against Rome; [312/313]
its drumming rhythm appeals to small boys of any age (the gender distinction is not accidental, though it may be wrong!), while the toponomastic detail requires a fair knowledge of the early books of Livy's history to be appreciated fully. But this is toponomastic poetry for well-trained classicists and their broods. Contrast 'The Armada', of which we also have an earlier and frequently awkward version,[27] with which I am not here concerned: the body of the poem recounts the lighting[28] of the alarm beacons to announce the arrival of the Spanish Armada (1588):

> Cape beyond cape, in endless range, those twinkling points of fire
> O'er Longleat's towers, o'er Cranborne's oaks, the fiery herald flew

and the poet is away, for over thirty lines, to distill the history, geographical variety, beauty, and antiquity of England and her landscape. Proof that truly memorable poetry need make no claim to literary greatness in any critical sense, these lines, unblushingly patriotic, function precisely through the reader's sense of the names' evocative charge. Viewed coolly, they may now provoke disgust or embarrassment; the necessary critical presupposition for their enjoyment is simply (this does have briefly to be spelled out!) a love of England, and indeed name poetry may often pass beyond the essentially nostalgic (Betjeman) to the evocatively patriotic (see p. 485 on Menander Rhetor), though that is not the case in (for example) the African and Spanish catalogues in Silius, *Punica*, Book 3.

About poetic geography and the force of names in Horace and Virgil I have written more than enough elsewhere, but the publications involved are extremely varied and in some cases not easily accessible. But I try here to offer rather more [313/314]
than a bald summary, not least because my discussion of Horace's toponyms[29] is,

[25] Cf. G. M. Trevelyan's edition of Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome* (London, 1928), pp. 176ff.; the date of *Bosworth* is uncertain, but it is clearly on stylistic grounds juvenile. See Trevelyan, v ff.

[26] Macaulay's position is still discussed: see T. P. Wiseman, *Historiography and Imagination* (Exeter 1994), and *Roman Drama and Roman History* (Exeter 1998) *passim*. Wiseman, an active participant in a continuing debate, offers impeccable statements of Macaulay's position. I disagree violently with them both ('The Prehistory of Latin Poetry: Some Problems of Method', *Riv. Fil.* 122 (1994): 70 4 [ch. 29, 346 50]) and now find myself in good company: H. Flower, '*Fabulae Praetextae* in Context: When Were Plays on Contemporary Subjects Performed in Republican Rome?', *CQ* 45 (1995) 172 6.

[27] See Trevelyan, ed. *Lays*, 173ff.

[28] No patriotic fantasy, but not that it matters hard fact: cf. G. Mattingly, *The Defeat of the Spanish Armada* (Harmondsworth 1962), p. 288.

[29] In *Style and Tradition: Studies in Honor of Wendell Clausen* (Stuttgart 1998) 42 3.

in its published form, stripped of references. Italian place-names in Horace's *Carmina* fall—almost entirely—into neat categories:

(i) Sites of the city of Rome, capital of the world, the Empire, the country for which the poet writes.[30] So his fame will endure for as long as the priest shall climb the Capitol with the silent virgin, *dum Capitolium scandet cum tacita uirgine pontifex* (*Carm.* 3.30.8–9).
(ii) Sites of the countryside near Horace's villa.[31]
(iii) Sites of the world of Horace's childhood, between Lucania and Apulia.[32] Doves covered the poet outside the threshold of his nurse (well, perhaps, for we cannot swear, if we are honest, that we know exactly what Horace wrote here), in Apulian Vultur, Monte Vulture (*Carm.* 3.4.9ff.): scenes that lead you to Edward Lear's journals of travel in the Two Sicilies. And the associations carry you to Andes, Mantua, Cremona, the Mincius, Virgil's gnat-infested homeland in the *Bucolics*.

Categories (ii) and (iii), I suggested, were 'as fundamental to Horace *qua* poet as was Ascra to Hesiod', and Horace's sense of his geographical roots in the South is an element 'integral to his self-expression—just as Boeotia was to Pindar'. But these are names not employed to evoke but to denote: the lesser toponyms of Sabinum and of the neighbourhood of Venosa are barren of associations, while those of the city—take the eternity of the Capitol, cited above[33]—are applied with stately conventionality. One exception I have found, of wondrous quality, such as
[314/315] to confirm my faintly dismissive attitude to the remainder (and see too note 30!): I refer to Horace's tribute to Rome's endurance in the face of Carthaginian invasion, like a much-lopped oak tree on Mt Algidus (*Carm.* 4.4.58) that draws strength from the blade itself. Algidus is modern Mt Artemisio, north of Velletri,[34] and from 465 to 389 strategically crucial to Rome: here the Via Latina emerged from the Alban crater, and here almost yearly until the defeat of the Aequi, the Romans had to clear their road south.[35] Behind one toponym there lurks an entire

[30] Detail: *Enciclopedia Oraziana*, 1 (1996) s.v. 'Roma'; the map attached to p. 545 conveniently lists, in the bottom right corner, the *luoghi di Orazio*.

[31] Note in particular *Carm.* 3.29.6 8, 1.17.11, the valleys and smooth rocks of low lying Ustica, *valles et Usticae cubantis levia. saxa*; Varia and Mandela belong typically to the world of the *Epistles*, while Tibur (Tivoli) appears so often as to have lost much of its force. Contrast Praeneste (Palestrina) *Carm.* 3.4.23, and compare the Venafrum of 3.5.55, cool and quotidian, part of the holiday scenery in contrast to the nightmare of torture at Carthage. The Ulubrae of *Epistles* 1.11.30 seems to distill dislike.

[32] Note (e.g.) *Carm.* 1.22.14, 2.1.34, 3.4.9ff., 3.30.10ff. For Pindar, see M. Lefkowitz, *Lives of the Greek Poets* (London 1981) 65.

[33] Cf. Edwards, *Writing Rome* 88.

[34] L. Quilici and S. Quilici Gigli, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*, ed. R. J. A. Talbert (Princeton 2000), map 43.

[35] Cf. R. M. Ogilvie's note (Oxford 1965) on Liv. 3.2.6. Twenty seven times mentioned in Livy's narrative of those years.

other nexus of historical and geographical allusion! The one lonely echoing, resonant toponym in Horace is singular in its isolation.

I turn briefly to the Italian place-names of Virgil's *Georgics*[36] and *Aeneid*:[37] the Italy of the *Georgics* is the home of poetry (so Galaesus, Parthenope, Mantua, Mincius), of valiant tribes (Marsi, Sabelli, Ligures, Volsci, etc.),[38] of famed shores (Tyrrhenian), lakes (Larius, Avernus, Lucrine), and rivers (Po, Clitumnus, Tiber, Anio, Clanius), categories specifically given prominence in Menander Rhetor's analysis (pp. 349.25, 383.14–15, etc.), and briefly exalted to patriotic majesty (1.499, *qui Tuscum Tiberim et Romana palatia*, 'who [watches] over the Etruscan Tiber and the Roman Palatine'); there are learned references to the literary associations (*Saturnia tellus*, Tanagri, Sila, Silarus, Mella) and to the agricultural products of certain names (Ameria, Taburnus, Crustumerium, Amminea, Mons Massicus), in the tradition of Varro (cf. Macrobius 3.16.12, Horsfall, *Aeneid* 7, p. 420), of ethnographic writing more generally (cf. Mynor's note on *Georgics* 2.136–76[39] and of panegyric (Menander, pp. 348.5, 377.13, 384.8–9, etc.). And that, remarkably enough, is all: the poet prefers not to linger on the evocative force or charge of certain well-loved names. Odder still, at first sight, is an awkward question the *Georgics* do not face. The Alpine valleys above Brescia are some eight hundred miles from the mountain pastures of Aspromonte: [315/316]
worlds apart in climate, rainfall, soil, crops, way of life. And so it always was: I have written recently about ancient perceptions of the diversity of Italy (*SCI* 20 (2001) 39–50 [ch. 34, 395–404]) and Virgil's elegant silence on the specific location (in Italian, charmingly, *ubicazione*) of the farming on which he offers precepts helps confirm a conclusion now generally accepted, that the *Georgics* are not really about real farming: you could have reached that conclusion just by looking patiently at the place-names.

Long involvement with Virgil's Italian catalogue (*Aeneid* 7.641–817) leads me in the end to an apparently radical conclusion: Virgil chooses the places (I have just counted them, and there are some seventy) from which his chieftains come on no observable principles of fame, beauty, or historical interest. Even euphony seems at times irrelevant. It has long been clear that he used a recent prose gazetteer, known to us in scanty fragments, Varro's *Res humanae* Book 11, and long analysis of Virgil's lines suggests that there were times when the poet seems actually to have sought out the minor, the dull, the remote, the obscure ('*even* from such places they came to follow Turnus against Aeneas'!). Compare his treatment of Etruscan toponyms (10.163–214), where he seems far more concerned to avoid (but note line 183, the apparently dull *Minionis in aruis*) names that, try as we may with our historical and cartographic tools, remain obdurately

[36] Discussed in Horsfall, 'The Geography of the *Georgics*', 7 18 [ch. 32, 378 88] and not system atically elsewhere, so far as I know.
[37] Cf. my commentary on *Aeneid* 7, p. 421. [38] Ibid., p. 14. [39] (Oxford 1990), 119 25.

no more than names, in contrast to (for example) the more obviously resonant *Pisae*, *Clusium*, *Mantua*. Beyond the catalogues proper, we shall not forget *Nar*, *Velinus*, and the *Triviae lacus*, which hear Allecto's trumpet (7.516–17: the first a name famed from Ennius, the third a site celebrated by Callimachus, the second of historical and hydrographic interest; see too 7.712), any more than the obscurely learned Corythus, home of Dardanus (7.209), or the perplexing pools of Albunea, where Latinus consults the oracle (7.83), and stinking Ampsanctus (yes, and how! rich in sulphur), where Allecto disappears from earth (7.565), interesting in antiquity at least as geological curiosities, though Albunea's name too may be part and parcel of the way the site is developed as an elaborate literary construct, without descriptive reality. The Apennine of 12.703 thunderously dominates the line: bigger and grander than the juxtaposed mountains of Greece and Sicily, at
[316/317] very least. And though we have seen that Virgil got his names out of a book (no backpacker he, though scholarship of the late romantic period claimed otherwise), I began travelling round the places he mentioned in my doctorate years and was still ticking off a few well-hidden sites, from pleasure and habit, as late as 2000. Not directly relevant to the text of Virgil though they were, these travels did much for me as writer and commentator, though, to be fair, they did not convince me that the *Aeneid* would have been better had the poet travelled as far as his exegete did! The *pecorino* and *prosciutto di montagna* of Norcia (7.716) and the little restaurant specializing in game above Diana's temple at Nemi (7.761–86) were incidental consolations (and indeed the list could be extended) for the almost endless delays, difficulties, and discomforts of travel in the days before I had access to a car.

Apparently, then, neither Horace nor Virgil succumbs regularly, by disposition and inclination, to the verbal magic of toponyms! Yet a love of place-names and an understanding of their capacities and effects is not the infallible mark of the poetaster: Horace's Algidus alone is enough to show that. To understand why some poets eschew place-names is quite as important as understanding how the remainder move and instruct us by using them.

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