

# Accius' *Aeneadae aut Decius*: Romans and the Gallic Other

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## 1. *Ludi scaenici*, Roman Perceptions of *Themselves* and 'the Other', Adaptations of Greek Comedy and Tragedy, and *fabulae praetextae*

At an assembly of the Roman citizen body in the year 122, when L. Accius would have been 48 and at the height of his career as a dramatic poet,<sup>1</sup> the consul C. Fannius delivered a speech against the proposal of the tribune of the plebs C. Sempronius Gracchus to extend the citizenship to the Latins and the free inhabitants of the allied cities of Etruria, Umbria and the Oscan and Greek-speaking areas of the south.<sup>2</sup> There was no thought at that time, it must be emphasised, of changing the status of the Gallic-speaking communities on either side of the Po or of other peoples of the northern part of the Italian peninsula. One of Fannius' objections to Gracchus' proposal was that Latin neighbours would swamp the spaces in which the Romans held their own political assemblies or gathered for such religious and social purposes as watching *ludi*.<sup>3</sup> By 122 some *ludi* were annual affairs, others were specially organised for a particular reason of a basically religious nature.<sup>4</sup> They comprised a large variety of entertainments designed to please one or other of the principal state deities and his or her fellows as much as human worshippers.<sup>5</sup> They could be watched by anyone

<sup>1</sup> Jerome gives Accius' birth date as 170 (*chron.* 1878). His first tragedy was performed in 140 (*Cic. Brut.* 229), his *Tereus* in 104 (*Cic. Phil.* 1,36). He seems to have been still alive in c. 86 (*Cic. Brut.* 107).

<sup>2</sup> See *Cic. Brut.* 99–100.

<sup>3</sup> ORF 3 (*Iul. Vict.* 6,4, p. 402,12–16 Halm).

<sup>4</sup> See at one end of a vast bibliography on the *ludi* Ritschl 1842, 55, 85–88 (= 1845, 285–300) and at the other Bernstein 1998.

<sup>5</sup> Varro included both *ludi circenses* and *ludi scaenici* in his *Antiquitates rerum divinarum*, an act which puzzled Augustine (*civ.* 4,1), as it sometimes does modern scholars. For the proximity of *scaenae*, temples and divine images see Arnob. 7,33 and Aug. *civ.* 2,26–27. Human watchers of the *Megalasia* are said by Cicero (*har. resp.* 24) to have long positioned themselves in front of the Great Mother's Palatine temple. Doubtlessly this went all the way back to 191. A *scaena* of some kind is said by Livy (40,51,3) to have been erected near the temple of Apollo in 179. The permanent theatre completed by Pompey in the Campus Martius in 55 and inaugurated with

from the still independent Etruscans<sup>13</sup>, gladiatorial combats to 264,<sup>14</sup> adaptations of Greek comedies and tragedies to 240,<sup>15</sup> by which year the whole of the Italian peninsula, apart from the Ligurian, Gallic and Venetic areas of the north, appeared to be under Roman control.<sup>16</sup> It is hard to see how such performances could have been thought more pleasing to the Roman gods than those which preceded them, and doubtlessly still continued, or what pleasure they could have given to the mass of the Roman citizenry. Their introduction and the extent of their success in some quarters had, we should suppose, to do with the increasing employment in senatorial families of teachers of the Greek language and literature and the growth of the prestige of Greek culture as a whole.<sup>17</sup> Magistrates and private persons<sup>18</sup> commissioning them for *ludi scaenici* could have had few other motives than to display their commitment to this culture without at the same time compromising their identity as Romans. There is no unambiguous evidence for the performance of comedies or tragedies in the original Greek during the third and second centuries. The situation was always delicate. Performances on *scenae* continued to be regarded as possessing a tendency to corrupt ancient Roman virtue.<sup>19</sup> No permanent accommodation was constructed for watchers until 55<sup>20</sup> even although the Greek towns of Taren-

<sup>13</sup> Liv. 7.2.4-7, Val. Max. 2.4.4, Cluvius Rufus ap. Plut. *mor.* 289e-d. For the prestige of Etruscan religious practice see below, n. 192. A number of Latin words associated with the *ludi* including *ludus* itself (also *histrion*, *lanista*, *persona*, *scena*, *subulo*) have been derived by modern linguists from Etruscan or from Greek through Etruscan (for scepticism about *scena* and *persona* see de Simone 1970, 36-38, 282-283, 293-298).

<sup>14</sup> Liv. *per.* 16, Val. Max. 2.4.7, Serv. auct. *Aen.* 3.67.

<sup>15</sup> Varro ap. Gell. 17.21.42, Cic. *Brut.* 72, *Tusc.* 1.3, *Cato* 50, Liv. 7.2.8-10, Cassiod. *chron.*, p. 128 Mommsen specifies the *ludi Romani* and refers to a tragedy and a comedy rather than a single *fabula*, giving the date as 239. Accius made the date 197 (Cic. *Brut.* 73).

<sup>16</sup> Fights between animals or between animals and human beings go back to 186 (Liv. 39.22.2). When the Oscan *fabulae Atellanae* were first performed at official or semi-official *ludi* is not made clear at Liv. 7.2.11-12.

<sup>17</sup> On the teaching activities of Livius and Ennius see Suet. *gramm.* 1.2.

<sup>18</sup> See Liv. 41.28.11 on the *ludi scaenici* given in 174 by T. Quinctius Flaminius (cos. 150) in honour of his philhellene father (cos. 198). Terence's *Hecyra* and *Adelphoe* were performed at the funeral *ludi* given in 160 by Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus and P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus in honour of their natural father L. Aemilius Paullus (cos. 182, 168) (*didasc. Ter. Hec. et Ad.*), who spoke Greek fluently (see Liv. 45.8.6) and whose fascination with all forms of Greek culture was notorious (see Pol. 30.10.3-6, Liv. 45.27.5-28.5, Plin. *nat.* 35.135, Plut. *Aem.* 28.11). For the association of the two young men with Polybius see Pol. 31.23.3-24.12.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Liv. 7.2.3; 13, *per.* 48 (referring to a speech given in 153 by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica).

<sup>20</sup> See Cic. *Pis.* 65, *Jam.* 7.1, Tiro ap. Gell. 10.1.7, Tac. *ann.* 14.20.2, Ascon., p. 20 Stangl, Tert. *spec.* 10.5, Cass. Dio 39.38. Nothing seems to have come of the contracts let by the censors of 179 (Liv. 40.51.3). A theatre begun by the censors of 154 was torn down the following year on the orders of the Senate (Liv. *per.* 48, Val. Max. 2.4.2, Vell. 1.15.3, App. *civ.* 1.125, Oros. 4.21.4). Interestingly, some contemporaries (e.g. Tiro) preferred to describe the structure raised in 55 as basically a temple incorporating a theatre.

resident in or visiting the city.<sup>6</sup> They were thought, however, to belong essentially to the *populus Romanus*.<sup>7</sup> Demonstrations by those present counted as signs of the political will of the *populus*.<sup>8</sup>

Most *ludi* were managed by *aediles*, magistrates with prospects of advancement to higher offices in the state, the rest by a *praetor* who would have hoped for a consulship or by a politically ambitious private citizen celebrating a funeral and anxious to maintain his family's prominence. The money which holding public *ludi* cost came from the Roman state,<sup>9</sup> from subject or client states,<sup>10</sup> and on rare occasions from the clients and supporters of an individual statesman.<sup>11</sup> There must have been from early times pressure on presiding magistrates to subsidise *ludi* from their own resources in the hope of currying favour with members of the electoral and law-making assemblies.<sup>12</sup> The increase in lavishness of expenditure in the course of the second century not only reflected a rise of political competitiveness but also symbolised the growth of empire and the national pride this inspired.

Feasts, processions, boxing matches, and races involving horses, mules, chariots, and other vehicles went back to an early point of Roman history, musical and dramatic performances on raised platforms (*scenae*) to the year 364 - these were allegedly imported for special reasons of a religious nature

performances of tragedy and other forms of drama incorporated a temple of *Venus victrix* (see below, n. 20). On the religious aspect of *ludi* see G. Freyburger's essay in this volume.

<sup>6</sup> For the visit of Hiero II of Syracuse to the *ludi Romani* of 237 see Eutr. 3.1-2; for a visit to the same festival in 114 by a Roman *eques* normally resident in Apulia see Obsq. 37. Justin reports (43.5.10) a story according to which not long after 390 Massiliotes visiting Rome were granted a *locus spectaculorum in senatu*.

<sup>7</sup> For the actor as a 'slave' of the *populus Romanus* see Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 23; for the *populus* as those attending a set of *ludi* see Ter. *Hec.* 4; 40, as the watchers of a particular scenic performance Plaut. *Astn.* 4, *Poen.* 11, Ter. *Andr.* 3; for the locution *populo dare* of having a script performed see Volcac. *carm.* fr. 2.1. The tendency of *populus* to shift from the sense of ὁ ὄμιλος to that of τὸ πλῆθος makes for difficulties in handling the evidence.

<sup>8</sup> At least in the first century; see Cic. *Att.* 1.16.11 (61), 2.19.3 (59), *Sest.* 115-127 (56), *Pis.* 65 (55), *Jam.* 8.2.1 (51), *Att.* 14.3.2 (44).

<sup>9</sup> See Liv. 22.10.7; 25.12.12; 31.9.7-10; 40.52.1, Dion. Hal. *ant.* 7.71.2 (based on Fabius Pictor), Plut. *mor.* 285d, Ps.-Ascon. Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.31, p. 217 Stangl.

<sup>10</sup> See Cic. *Att.* 6.1.21, *ad Q. fr.* 1.1.26, Liv. 39.5.7-8; 22.8-10; 40.44.8-12.

<sup>11</sup> For contributions from the *populus* to the cost of the votive *ludi* celebrated by the cash-strapped L. Cornelius Scipio Asiagenus in 186 see Plin. *nat.* 33.138 (~ Liv. 39.22.8-10).

<sup>12</sup> For the importance of the aedileship in a successful public career and the role of the *ludi* in garnering support see Cic. *Mit.* 38-40, *off.* 2.57-60, Val. Max. 2.4.6, Plin. *nat.* 36.113-115 (on the *ludi* managed by M. Scaurus in 58), Plut. *Sull.* 5.1-2, Anon. *vir. ill.* 66.1-2 (on the c. 94 aedileship of M. Livius Drusus). Morgan 1990, 14-36 and Gruen 1992, 188-197 attempt to play down the amount of political use made of *ludi* in the first half of the second century.

tum and Metapontum had stone theatres from the fourth century and many Latin and Italian towns had them as early as the second.<sup>21</sup>

Until towards the end of the second century those who performed on a *scæna* and those who wrote scripts for them to perform, including the adaptations of Greek comedies and tragedies, came from outside the Roman citizen body or held a low rank within that body.<sup>22</sup> L. Accius, the son of a slave freed in a Roman colony – contemporaries doubtlessly knew more details of his origin than our sources of information thought worth transmitting<sup>23</sup> – would have been little better regarded than the former slaves L. Livius Andronicus, Caecilius Statius and P. Terentius Afer or the enfranchised Messapian Q. Ennius.<sup>24</sup> Anything in a script which seemed to damage the standing of a Roman, however much wrapped up, could bring a savage penalty.<sup>25</sup>

Scholars have often found within integrally transmitted Latin adaptations of comedies reflections of image inflation, character assassination and debate on policy among Roman statesmen, even partisan support for particular statesmen and policies.<sup>26</sup> Whatever might be said about individual cases or the plain fact of the relative unimportance of comedy among the entertainments offered at *ludi*, the general possibility of contemporary allu-

21 See on the archaeological and epigraphical evidence Rawson 1985, 99–100 (= 1991, 471–472).

22 For the lowness of scenic performers in Republican times see Plaut. *Asin.* 3, *Cist.* 785, Cic. *Q. Rosc.* 29–30, *rep.* 4, 10, *Nep. praef.* 5, *Lex lul. munic.* CIL I<sup>2</sup> 593 (= no. 24 in Crawford 1996, 355–391), 108–125 (123), Liv. 7, 2, 3–13. Several attempts were made during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius to protect the dignity of the two orders by barring senators and *equites* from scenic performance (cf. the *senatus consultum* of 19 first published in 1978 [text at ZPE 85, 1991, 54–56]). Contrast the high status enjoyed by οἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνοστον τεχνῖται (see Pickard-Cambridge 1968, 279–305; 1988, 365; Roueché 1993, 50–52, 54–60). Latin script writers seem to have risen in status when they ceased to act in their own plays. Cato recalled a time when these were regarded as no better than *grassatores* (*mor.* fr. 2). In general see Leppin 1992.

23 Jerome, *chron.* 1878 describes him as *natus ... parentibus libertinis*.

24 From outside Rome came Plautus (Sarsinas: *Fest.*, p. 238, *Hier. chron.* 1817), M. Pacuvius (Brundisium: *Hier. chron.* 1863), Luscius (Lanuvinus: *Donat. Ter. Eun.* 9) and Pomponius (Bononiensis: *Hier. chron.* 1928). Argument is possible about Cn. Naevius (for his *superbia Campana* see Gell. 1, 24, 2).

25 See Plaut. *Mil.* 211–212, Paul. *Fest.*, p. 36. Cf. Gell. 3, 3, 15.

26 Friedrich Ritschl restarted a hunt for contemporary allusions (cf. for Antiquity Gell. 7, 8, 5–6 on Naevius), which continued through the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries almost entirely in the interest of dating Plautus' individual plays (for extensive bibliographies see Schutler 1952). The 1930s saw the beginning of an effort to associate comedy with internal Roman politics. Cf. Frank 1932, 152–156; 1939, 85–88; Janne 1933, 515–531; Halkin 1948, 297–304; Herrmann 1948, 317–322; Stockert 1972, 398–407; Flores 1974, 57–81; Schuhmann 1977, 137–147; Arcelllaschi 1990, 35–44; Lefèvre 1990b, 45–54; 1995, 51–52, 65–66, 139–145; 1998, 33–36; Benz 1990, 55–68.

sion is not to be denied.<sup>27</sup> The views which the managers of *ludi* and the watchers took of their own identity as Romans certainly show themselves with remarkable clarity. Likewise the stereotypes of their own class accepted or rejected by propertied Roman watchers.<sup>28</sup> On the other hand no analogue of a seriously impoverished or quite unpropertied Roman citizen was to be got from an Attic piece, except perhaps the figure of the parasite, and he, because of the way of life he had chosen, had to control his resentments.<sup>29</sup> The slave of the Athenian bourgeois household could not of course serve as a mouthpiece for any kind of citizen. It is thus vain to look for expressions of Roman proletarian identity in the Latin adaptations.<sup>30</sup>

These adaptations emphasised on occasion the Greekness of the society represented on the *scæna* and its otherness,<sup>31</sup> but as a rule merely implied that what the Greek personages got up to Romans usually did not.<sup>32</sup> The prologues attached to Plautus' scripts direct themselves primarily to upper-class watchers, who were accorded the same deference at *ludi* as they received on other public occasions.<sup>33</sup> If it is true that their substance comes from Plautus himself they offer almost unique first-hand evidence for the qualities Romans of the late third and early second centuries liked to hear attributed to themselves: they address the watchers as men who respect the deities and are grateful for favours received,<sup>34</sup> as brave warriors,<sup>35</sup> as morally upright civilians,<sup>36</sup> as judges and administrators concerned for justice and equity above all,<sup>37</sup> and as lovers of brevity of speech.<sup>38</sup> Lower-class watchers would have been happy to accept such compliments, however ir-

27 Earl 1960, 234–243 and Gruen 1990, 124–157 make the relationship between Plautus' comic scripts and Roman political debate a very general one. Della Corte 1952, 37–38 (= 1967, 36–37) and Paratore 1957 practically ignored the matter.

28 Cf. Plaut. *Aul.* 475–495, *Men.* 571–587, *Trin.* 279–300.

29 The Gorgias of Menander's *Δύσκολος* (see vv. 784–834) could be called 'poor' only in relation to the Sostratos who has befriended him.

30 The *advocati* of Plaut. *Poen.* 515–540 are again 'poor' only in relation to Agorastocles.

31 Cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 67–72, *Stich.* 446–448, *Truc.* 1–3.

32 Cf. the paradoxical use of *pegraeacari* (Plaut. *Bacch.* 812–813, *Most.* 22–24, 64–65, 959–961, *Poen.* 601–603, *Truc.* 88–88a) and *congruacari* (*Bacch.* 742–743) to denote the luxurious behaviour of Greeks and their slaves.

33 See *Amph.* 75–77, *Capt.* 67–68, *Cist.* 197–202. Senators were granted distinct positions in 194 (Val. *Ant. hist.* 37 [Ascon., p. 55 Stangl], Cic. *ap. Ascon.*, pp. 55–56 Stangl), *har. resp.* 24, Liv. 34, 44, 5; 54, 3–8, Iust. 43, 5, 10, Val. *Max.* 2, 4, 3; 4, 5, 1, Plut. *Tit.* 19, 8), *equites* in 67 (Plut. *Cic.* 13, 2–4 [cf. Cic. *Att.* 2, 1, 3, *Phil.* 2, 44, *Plin. nat.* 7, 117]). Iust. 43, 5, 10 and Val. *Max.* 4, 5, 1 suggest, however, that even before 194 no one of lower rank sat in front of the senators. Livy 1, 35, 8 describes hierarchical arrangements at the Circus Maximus in the time of Tarquinius Priscus.

34 *Amph.* 20–23, 46–49, *Asin.* 14–15, *Cas.* 1–2.

35 *Amph.* 75–76, *Capt.* 68, *Cas.* 88, *Cist.* 197–198.

36 *Amph.* 64–85.

37 *Capt.* 67, *Cist.* 199–200.

38 *Merc.* 37.

relevant they might be to the reality of their situation. Roman magistrates and ambassadors were certainly more than willing, when they addressed Greek communities, to boast about Roman moral qualities<sup>39</sup> and Roman religiousness<sup>40</sup> and to stress the superiority of Roman over Greek speech.<sup>41</sup>

The freedom with which Plautus and his fellow-poets adapted their originals enabled them to insert remarks about the otherness of the citizens of Capua,<sup>42</sup> Carthage,<sup>43</sup> Lanuvium,<sup>44</sup> and Praeneste<sup>45</sup> and to ethnic Apulians,<sup>46</sup> Egyptians,<sup>47</sup> Etruscans,<sup>48</sup> Gauls,<sup>49</sup> and Greeks<sup>50</sup> which, while not disturbing dramaturgical similitude too much, helped Roman watchers of all classes to an idea of Romaness flattering to their self-esteem. The pejorative reference to the dietary habits of Roman oarsmen put into the mouth of a Greek mercenary army commander at *Poen.* 1314 would have pleased the watchers from those classes which were not obliged to row warships. Evidently an important way of maintaining an upper-class identity at Rome was to keep one's breath free of certain odours.<sup>51</sup>

Latin adaptations of tragedies pictured states ruled by monarchs whose position frequently had resulted from vast inherited wealth or recent violence and only occasionally rested on any form of popular consent. A contrast with the aristocratic republic of which the watchers were citizens was plain. How far the Latin poets emphasised or played down this contrast cannot now be positively ascertained because of the paucity of the remains and the chronological gap between the scenic action and the extra-scenic reality. A criminal deed of horrifying proportions often preceded or concluded the action of a tragedy. That would have allowed feelings of moral

<sup>39</sup> Cf. T. Quinctius Flamininus addressing the  $\tau\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\varsigma$  of the city of Chyretiae between 197 and 194 (SIG<sup>3</sup> 593).

<sup>40</sup> Cf. the praetor M. Valerius Messalla, the tribunes of the people and the Senate addressing the  $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta$  and the citizens of Teos in 193 (SIG<sup>3</sup> 601); a consul (? C. Livius Salinator), the tribunes of the people and the Senate addressing the  $\acute{\alpha}\rho\chi\omicron\nu\tau\epsilon\varsigma$  and the citizens of Delphi in 189 or 188 (SIG<sup>3</sup> 611).

<sup>41</sup> Cf. Plut. *Cat. ma.* 12,5-7 on the brevity of a speech delivered at Athens in 191 by M. Porcius Cato and the length of the translator's version.

<sup>42</sup> *Trin.* 545.

<sup>43</sup> *Cas.* 71, *Cist.* 202.

<sup>44</sup> *Naev. com.* 21-24 R.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>45</sup> *Naev. com.* 21-24 R.<sup>3</sup>, Plaut. *Bacch.* 12, *Trin.* 609, *Truc.* 690-691.

<sup>46</sup> Plaut. *Mil.* 647-648.

<sup>47</sup> *Poen.* 1290-1291.

<sup>48</sup> *Cist.* 562-563.

<sup>49</sup> *Aul.* 494-495.

<sup>50</sup> *Asin.* 199, *Circ.* 288-295.

<sup>51</sup> On the obnoxiousness of malodorous breath see Plaut. *Aul.* 302-303, *Most.* 39 (an urban slave attacks one from the country for eating garlic), Caecil. *com.* 160-162 R.<sup>3</sup>, Titin. *com.* 20 R.<sup>3</sup>, Afran. *com.* 384-385 R.<sup>3</sup>

superiority to be entertained by Roman watchers. The debates between persons of high social standing tended, when adapted, to acquire from the Latin words and phrases chosen by the poet something of the tone of senatorial debate. The presence in tragedies of personages of humble but respected status gave room for the expression of class discontent in a way that was not possible in comedies. Reflections of particular situations and matters of political dispute at Rome in the century following 240 have indeed been detected from time to time in the adaptations of tragedy staged during that period.<sup>52</sup> Total scepticism would be unjustified, but it needs to be pointed out how marginal any such reflection was bound to be to the overall cultural pretensions of the performance.

The fame of three heroes who figured in fifth-century Attic tragedy, Trojan Aeneas, Theban Hercules, and Ithacan Ulysses, already had some resonance in Rome by 240. The established orthographical practice of later times - *Aeneas*, *Hercules*, *Ulyxes* - is sufficient indication. The links of all three with the Italian peninsula were firmly established. It would be strange if the travels westwards attributed to Colchian Circe and Medea, to Trojan Antenor and Helenus, to Argive Danae and Diomedes, to Mycenaean Orestes and Halaesus, to Thessalian Philoctetes, to Phocian Epeus, to Athenian Hippolytus, and to other heroic figures were not also being re-counted.<sup>53</sup> Groups as diverse as the Segestans (in 263),<sup>54</sup> the Acarnanians (in

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Biliński 1954, 9-54; 1958; 1960, 160-170; Pastorino 1955; La Penna 1970-71, 193-211 (= 1979, 105-125); 1977, 10-27 (= 1979, 49-104); Flores 1974, 57-81; Lefèvre 1985, 1243-1246; 1990, 9-19; 1998, 31-36, the contributions to this volume by U. Auhagen, H.I. Flower, W.D. Lebek, E. Lefèvre, W. Suerbaum. For a degree of general scepticism see Mariotti 1957, 315-317; Paratore 1957 (the remarks on 68-69 and 192 are not followed up); Hose 1999, 117-119.

<sup>53</sup> For Circe and Circei see Theophr. *b. plant.* 5,8,3, Gell. fr. 9 Peter<sup>2</sup> (Solin. 2,28). Diod. 4,45,5, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. 3,311, Eust. *Dion. Per.* 692. Cf. Hes. *theog.* 1011-1016. For Medea and the Marsi see Serv. *Aen.* 7,750, Solin. 2,30 (Plin. *nat.* 7,15; 25,11, Gell. 16,11,1-2 link the Marsi with a son of Circe). For Antenor and the Veneti / Patavium see Cato, *orig.* 42 (Plin. *nat.* 3,130), Liv. 1,1,2, Verg. *Aen.* 1,242-249, Strab. 5,1,4; 12,3,8; 13,1,53, Ov. *fast.* 4,75, Solin. 2,10, Pol. 2,17,6 dismisses sharply the stories told by the poets about the Veneti. For Helenus and Buthrotum see Eur. *Andr.* 1243-1252, Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,51,1, Paus. 1,11,1, Serv. *aut.* *Aen.* 3,335. For Danae and Ardea see Verg. *Aen.* 7,371-372 (and Serv. ad loc.); 409-411, Solin. 2,5, For Diomedes, Canusium and other towns of Apulia see Lykophr. 592-632, Strab. 6,3,9, Ov. *fast.* 4,76. For Orestes and Rhegium see Cato, *orig.* 71 (Prob. *praef. Verg. ecl.*), Schol. *Theokr. Proleg.* Ba, p. 2 Wendel. For Halaesus and Falerii see Cato, *orig.* 47 (Plin. *nat.* 3,51), Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,21,1-2, Ov. *am.* 3,13,31-36, *fast.* 4,73-74, Solin. 2,7, Serv. *Aen.* 7,695; 723. For Philoctetes and various towns in Lucania and Bruttium see Apollod. *FG+Hist.* 244 F 167 (Strab. 6,1,3), Lykophr. 911-918, Cato, *orig.* 70 (Serv. *aut.* *Aen.* 3,402), Solin. 2,10, Serv. *Aen.* 3,402. For Epeus, Lagaria, Metapontum and Pisa see Lykophr. 930-950, Strab. 6,1,14, Iust. 20,2,1, Serv. *aut.* *Aen.* 10,179. For Hippolytus and Aricia see Kall. fr. 190 (Serv. *Aen.* 7,778).

<sup>54</sup> See Zon. 8,9,12. The stories of Eryx and Segesta and Trojan colonists go back to the fifth century (Thuk. 6,2,3; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2,4,72; 2,5,83; 125, Strab. 13,1,53, Plut. *Nik.* 1,3).

237-236),<sup>55</sup> and the Lampsacenes (in 196)<sup>56</sup> are known to have believed that the Romans as a group liked to regard themselves as of Trojan descent. Demetrius Poliorcetes may have thought that they were more flattered by stories associating them with Greeks,<sup>57</sup> but few other Greeks of the third and second centuries did. Roman magistrates and ambassadors are reliably reported as taking, or seeming to take their supposed Trojan descent seriously in 212,<sup>58</sup> 204,<sup>59</sup> 196,<sup>60</sup> 190,<sup>61</sup> and 188.<sup>62</sup> Various religious monuments and cult practices at Lavinium,<sup>63</sup> Alba,<sup>64</sup> and Rome itself<sup>65</sup> appeared to offer

<sup>55</sup> See Strab. 10,2,25, Jüst. 28,1,5-2,14. On Aeneas and Acarnania see Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,50,4-51,2.

<sup>56</sup> See SIG<sup>3</sup> 591 (= ILampsakos 4).

<sup>57</sup> See Strab. 5,3,5. For Rome as originally a Greek city see Aristot. fr. 609 Rose (Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,72,3), Herakl. Pont. fr. 102 Wehrli (Plut. *Carn.* 22,2), Xenagoras, FGRHist 240 F 29 (Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,72,5), Herakl. Lemb. ap. Fest., p. 269, Aquilius, FGRHist 813 F 1 (Strab. 5,3,3). I leave to one side attempts to combine a Trojan story and a Greek (cf. the highly controversial Hellanik. FGRHist 4 F 84 (Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,72,2)).

<sup>58</sup> See Liv. 25,12,3-8 on a Latin oracle addressing the Romans as *Troïgenae* and referring to the Carthaginians as *alienigenae*. For speculation about the Marcii see MacBain 1982, 39-41.

<sup>59</sup> See Liv. 29,12,14 on P. Sempronius Tuditanus (cos. 205) at Phoenice in 204.

<sup>60</sup> See Plut. *Tit.* 12,11-12 on T. Quinctius Flaminius (cos. 198) at Delphi in 196; for Delphic acceptance of the Roman claim cf. the oracle cited at *mor.* 399c.

<sup>61</sup> See Liv. 37,9,7 on C. Livius Salinator (cos. 188) at Ilium in 190 (making a sacrifice to Minerva); Liv. 37,37,1-3, Jüst. 31,8,1-4 on P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus (cos. 205, 194) also at Ilium in 190 (sacrificing to Minerva and greeting with pleasure the citizens' claim to have common ancestors).

<sup>62</sup> See Liv. 38,39,10 on the ten Roman *legati* appointed to settle the affairs of Asia after the defeat of Antiochus III in 188 (assigning Gergithus and Rhoetium to Ilium because of the special relationship). The letter of the Senate and the People to a Seleucus referred to at Suet. *Claud.* 25,3, which requested immunity from taxation for the citizens of Ilium because of consanguinity, might be dated any time between 246 and 223. There is, however, a question mark over its genuineness.

<sup>63</sup> Strabo talks (5,3,5) of the fame of certain ruins in Latium and of rites handed down from the time of Aeneas. On the temple of the Penates at Lavinium see Timaeus, FGRHist 566 F 59 (Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,67,4), Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,67,1-4; on that of Venus Cass. Hem. *hist.* 7 (Solin. 2,14), Strab. 5,3,5; on the two altars of the Sun Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,55,2; on the posthumous cult of Aeneas Fab. Pict. FGRHist 809 F 2 (Diod. 7,5,2 [Syncell., p. 366 Dindorf]; τιμῶν ἐτύχων ἑβαντῶν), Cass. Hem. *hist.* 7 (Solin. 2,14-15; as *pater Indiges*), Varro, *res. div.* fr. 214 Cardanus (Tert. *nat.* 2,9,12; as *pater Indiges*), Tib. 2,5,43-44 (as *Indiges*), Verg. *Aen.* 12,794-795 (as *Aeneas Indiges*), Poul. *fest.*, p. 106 (as *Indiges*), Liv. 1,2,6 (as *Iuppiter Indiges*), Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,64,4-5 (as *πατὴρ θεῶς ἡθροῖοις*), Ov. *met.* 14,596-608 (as *Indiges*), InscrIt 13,3, no. 85, p. 69 (*elog.*, as *πατὴρ θεῶς ἡθροῖοις*), Serv. *act.* *Aen.* 1,259 (as *Iuppiter Indiges* [Schol. Ver. talks of *Aeneas Indiges*]; 12,794 (as *Indiges*), Anon. *or. gent. Rom.* 14,4 (as *pater Indiges*). Dictators, consuls and praetors sacrificed to Vesta and the Penates at Lavinium on leaving office (see Liv. 1,14,2; 5,52,8, Ascon., p. 24,5-9 Stangl, Serv. *act.* *Aen.* 2,296 [on entering office according to Macr. *Sat.* 3,4,11]; *imperatores* on departing for a province (see Serv. *act.* *Aen.* 3,12). A statue of Aeneas seems to have been preserved among the ruins of Alba (Varro ap. Lyd. *mag.* 1,12).

<sup>64</sup> Timaeus' strange explanation of part of the rite of the October horse (FGRHist 566 F 36 [Pol. 12,4b-c]) may spring from a story told in the Regia where that part of the rite took place (see Fest., p. 180). On the statue of Minerva allegedly preserved in the Regia see Liv. 5,52,7, Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,69,4; 2,66,5-6, Plut. *Carn.* 20,6. For the vowing of the temple to Venus Erycina in

support. The epic poems written by the stage poets Naevius and Ennius, doubtlessly to please aristocratic patrons, reported a form of the story that made Aeneas the maternal grandfather of Romulus and Remus<sup>66</sup> and had him after death join his mother Venus among the deities of heaven.<sup>67</sup> The theme of Rome as a reborn Troy employed by a hostile Pyrrhus at the beginning of the third century turned up at least once in Ennius' *Annales*.<sup>68</sup>

The travels in the West of Hercules and Ulysses had certainly been talked about at Athens in the fifth century.<sup>69</sup> About those attributed to Aeneas there can be legitimate dispute, although one wonders about the motives of some of the sceptics.<sup>70</sup> The Romans never adopted Hercules or Ulysses as an archegete in the way they adopted Aeneas. Individual families on the other hand did: the Fabii and the Antonii Hercules,<sup>71</sup> the Mamili

<sup>67</sup> See Liv. 22,9,7-10; 10,10; for the dedication on the Capitol in 215 Liv. 23,30,13-14; 31,9; for the temple on Mount Eryx and Aeneas' visit Diod. 4,83,4, Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,53,1. For the advice of the *deceimviri* in 205 about importing the Mater magna Idaea see Liv. 29,10,4-5; for the embassy to Atrahus Liv. 29,11,4-8; for the dedication of the temple on the Palatine in 191 Liv. 36,36,3-4; Verg. *Aen.* 9,80-106, Ov. *fast.* 4,247-272, Herodian. *hist.* 1,11,3 associate the goddess much more with the Troad and Aeneas.

<sup>68</sup> See Serv. *act.* *Aen.* 1,273, Serv. *Aen.* 6,777. For Aeneas as the grandfather of Romulus and Remus or of one of them cf. Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,72,6 (citing Dionysius of Chalcis); 73,2 (citing, apparently, the pontifical records), Plut. *Rom.* 2,3 (citing anonymous sources), Serv. *act.* *Aen.* 1,273 (citing Eratosthenes, FGRHist 241 F 45), Lykophr. 1232-1233, Fest., pp. 226-229 (citing 'Apollodorus in Euxenide', Alcimus, *antiores* referred to by Agathocles), Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,72,1 (citing Cephalon of Gergitha [see FGRHist 45 F 9]), Plut. *Rom.* 2,2 (citing an anonymous source) make him the father.

<sup>69</sup> Virgil makes Jupiter prophesy Aeneas' deification at *Aen.* 1,259-260. Macrobius remarks (*Sat.* 6,2,31) on the debt to the first book of the *Carmen Belli Poenici* of Naevius of the account of the storm, Venus' plea, and Jupiter's prophecy. The Virgilian Anchises clearly prophesies deification for his son at *Aen.* 6,777 and Servius (ad loc.) almost equally clearly makes Ennius a predecessor (contra Skutsch 1985, 261).

<sup>68</sup> See Paus. 1,12,2 and Enn. *ann.* 344-345 Skutsch. The latter verses are cited by Macrobius (*Sat.* 6,1,60) as from the tenth book, a book largely concerned with the Roman campaigns against Philip V of Macedon on the Greek mainland between 200 and 197. They could have been spoken by any of the Roman generals of those years. Skutsch (ad loc.) welcomed a little too unquestioningly Badian's attempt (1972, 178-179) to associate them with the 197 Lampsacene embassy to Rome (SIG<sup>3</sup> 591 = ILampsakos 4).

<sup>69</sup> For Hercules in the West see Hes. *theog.* 287-294, Stesich. fr. 185 PMG, Aischyl. fr. 199 Radt. For Ulysses there see Hes. *theog.* 1011-1016; Euripides sets the encounter between Ulysses and Polyphemus plainly in Sicily (*Cycl.* 20 et al.). Dionysus' travels in the East appear at Eur. *Bacch.* 13-20.

<sup>70</sup> Frequent attempts have been made to get rid of Stesich. fr. 185 PMG and Hellanik. FGRHist 4 F 84 (Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,72,2). It was well known in Antiquity that for Homer Aeneas never left the Troad (*Il.* 20,307; on the later alteration of the text see Strab. 13,1,53), and the later stories of his western travels often ran into ridicule (see Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,53,4-54,3). Fifth-century Athens certainly knew of the presence of Trojan escapees in the West (Thuk. 6,2,3).

<sup>71</sup> For the Fabii and Hercules see Paul. *Fest.*, p. 87, Ov. *fast.* 2,237, *Pont.* 3,3,99-100, Sil. 2,3; 6,627-636; 7,35; 44; 8,217, *Iuv.* 8,13-14, Plut. *Fab.* 1,2, *mor.* 272e-273b. Nothing can be deduced from the possibility that the silver didrachm with the she-wolf and Romulus and Remus

Many scholars have claimed to detect a progressive weakening as the second century advanced in the hold over the imagination of the Romans of those stories which linked Aeneas closely with the foundation of their city.<sup>86</sup> That may be a misreading of a record which is progressively weighted towards events in parts of the Mediterranean world never blessed by Aeneas' presence. This record does in fact contain references to an oracle composed in the 90s in Asia Minor for L. Cornelius Sulla (cos. 88), which called the Romans the Αἰνεῖου γενεῆν and to a jest made by C. Flavius Fimbria (cos. 104) in 85 about the relationship between Ilium and Rome.<sup>87</sup> The histories written in Greek by Q. Fabius Pictor and L. Cincius Alimentus, M. Porcius Cato's Latin *Origines* (begun in 168 and unfinished in 149) and L. Calpurnius Piso's Latin *Annales* (probably begun after 120) did certainly put Aeneas several generations before the foundation of Rome,<sup>88</sup> and most first-century writers followed. Not, however, Sallust.<sup>89</sup> Varro,<sup>90</sup> Catullus,<sup>91</sup> Lucretius,<sup>92</sup> and Cicero<sup>93</sup> made Romulus and / or Remus the chief Roman ancestors, Cicero adding Romulus rather than Aeneas to the conventional Greek list of demigods given full status in Olympus.<sup>94</sup> Dislike of Julius Caesar and his pretentious claim to a special family descent may have helped to bring about in all these writers a preference for Romu-

(*Serv. Aen.* 5,389). Some of the Alban families admitted by King Tullus into the Roman Senate, if not all, claimed a Trojan ancestry (see Liv. 1,30,2 [mentioning the Servilii, Quinctii and Curtii along with the Iulii, Geganii and Cloelii], Dion. Hal. *ant.* 3,29,7). The enthusiasm with which the claim of the second-century Iulii was pursued by the dictator (see above, n. 75 and further Cic. ap. Suet. *Iul.* 49,3, IGR 4,195, Lucan. 9,950-999, App. *citv.* 2,281; 319; 424; 430; Cass. Dio 43,22,2; 43,3; a *denarius* struck in Africa in 47 [RRC 458] has on the obverse Venus' head and on the reverse Aeneas carrying the *palladium* in his right hand and Anchises on his right shoulder and the name CAESAR), by Octavian (the latter issued in Rome in 42 an *aureus* [RRC 494,3] with his own head on the obverse and Aeneas carrying Anchises on the reverse; in founding Nicopolis in 31 at a spot allegedly visited by Aeneas he declared that the Romans would treat the citizens of the new foundation as relatives [*Serv. auct. Aen.* 3,501]), and by later Julio-Claudians (an image of Aeneas was carried in the funeral procession of the younger Drusus in A.D. 23 [*Tac. ann.* 4,9,2]; the relations established with Ilium by the dictator were maintained [IGR 4,200; 204; 205; 207; 209d, Suet. *Claud.* 25,3]) throws a pall of suspicion over all early references to it.

86 Cf. Weber 1972, 221-225; Gruen 1992, 50.

87 See App. *citv.* 1,453, *Mithr.* 211.

88 For Fabius and Aeneas see the Manganaro summary (above, n. 71), FGrHist 809 F 1, 2; for the gap between the foundations of Alba and Rome the Manganaro summary and F 3, 4. On Fabius and those who followed him see Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,79,4, Plut. *Rom.* 3.

89 *Catill.* 6,1. Contrast Liv. 1,1,5-6,2, Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,55-80, Strab. 5,3,2, Diod. 7,5,1-7,1; 8,2-3.

90 *Men.* 38.

91 28,15; 34,22-24; 49,1; 58,5.

92 4,683.

93 *Att.* 2,1,8. There is an allusion to Aeneas' foundation of Segesta at *Verr.* 2,4,72 and the consequent Segestan belief in a relationship with Rome.

94 *Rep.* 3,40, *nat. deor.* 2,62; 3,39, *Tusc.* 1,27-28, *leg.* 2,19.

Ulysses.<sup>72</sup> Hercules' gluttony and drunkenness and Ulysses' deceitfulness made them problematic figures. The dates of adoptions need not be as late as those of first attestations. There is some reason, however, to put late the adoptions of Aeneas by the Acilii Glabrones,<sup>73</sup> the Aemilii,<sup>74</sup> and the Iulii;<sup>75</sup> or of one of his companions by the Atii,<sup>76</sup> the Caecilii,<sup>77</sup> the Cloelii,<sup>78</sup> the Cluentii,<sup>79</sup> the Geganii,<sup>80</sup> the Iunii Bruti,<sup>81</sup> the Memmii,<sup>82</sup> the Nautii,<sup>83</sup> the Sergii,<sup>84</sup> and about forty other families.<sup>85</sup>

on the reverse and the head of Hercules on the obverse (RRC 20) was minted in the year of the consulship of a C. Fabius Pictor (269). There may on the other hand be some significance in the placing on the Capitol in 209 by Q. Fabius Maximus (cos. 233, 228, 215, 214, 209) of Ly-sippus' statue of Hercules from Tarentum along with one of himself (Strab. 6,3,1, Plin. *nat.* 34,40, Plut. *Fab.* 22,8, Anon. *vir. ill.* 43,6) and in the raising of a temple to Hercules by Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus (cos. 121) on a battle field in Transalpine Gaul (Strab. 4,1,11). One could moreover deduce as much from the head of Hercules on coins minted in 127 by Q. Fabius Maximus (cos. 116) (RRC 265,3) and in 124 by a Q. Fabius Labeo (RRC 273,2) as from the figure of Venus on coins minted in 129 by Sex. Iulius Caesar (praet. 123) (RRC 258) and in 103 by L. Iulius Caesar (cos. 90) (RRC 320). I draw attention also to the possibility that more than chronological reasons lie behind Q. Fabius Pictor making so much of Hercules' visit to what was to be the site of the Rome of Romulus and Remus (see the summary of his history published by Manganaro 1974, 394; FGrHist 809 F 23 [Victorin. GL VI,23] refers to Evander) and putting so many generations between Aeneas on the one hand and the twins on the other (see the Manganaro summary and F 3-4). For the Antonii and Hercules see Plut. *Ant.* 4,1-2; 36,7; 60,5, App. *citv.* 3,60; 72; cf. the *denarii* of 42 B.C. representing Hercules and Minerva (RRC 494,37 & 38). We are in the sphere of family myth-making. There is absolutely no sign of the story of Arcadian Evander's Palatine colony or that of Hercules' visit to this colony (see in addition to Fabius Pol. 6,114,1 [Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,31,5-32,1]) being used to construct a national Roman identity.

72 For the Mamilii and Ulysses (through Telegonus) see Liv. 1,49,9, Dion. Hal. *ant.* 4,45,1, Fest., p. 131. Several coins minted in Rome between 189 and 180 by a L. Mamilius (RRC 149) and one in Rome in 82 by a C. Mamilius Limetanus C. f. (RRC 362) picture the Greek hero.

73 See Herodian. *hist.* 2,3,4 (referring to a consul of A.D. 186).

74 Through Aimyle, daughter of Aeneas (Plut. *Rom.* 2) or Aimylos, son of Ascanius (Paul. Fest., p. 23).

75 Through Iulius = Ascanius: see Caes. ORF 29 (Suet. *Iul.* 6,1). A coin minted by a Sex. Iulius Caesar in 129 (RRC 258) pictures Venus; so too one minted by a L. Iulius Caesar in 103 (RRC 320). A L. Iulius Caesar wrote about Aeneas in Italy (Suet. *auct. Aen.* 1,267, Anon. *or. gent. Rom.* 15,4; 18,5). Soldiers boasting of descent from Venus were no novelty even in Plautus' time (*Mil.* 1265, 1413, 1421).

76 From Atys: see Verg. *Aen.* 5,568-569, *Serv. Aen.* 5,568.

77 From Caecias: see Paul. Fest., p. 44.

78 From Clonius: see Paul. Fest., p. 55. Cf. Liv. 1,30,2, Dion. Hal. *ant.* 3,29,7.

79 From Cloanthus: see *Serv. Aen.* 5,117.

80 From Gyas: see *Serv. Aen.* 5,117.

81 See Dion. Hal. *ant.* 4,68,1.

82 From Mnestheus: see Verg. *Aen.* 5,117.

83 From Nautes: see Varro ap. *Serv. Aen.* 2,166; 5,704, Dion. Hal. *ant.* 6,69,1, Paul. Fest., p. 164, *Serv. Aen.* 3,407.

84 From Sergestus (?): see *Serv. Aen.* 5,117.

85 Dionysius counted fifty families making such claims in his day (*ant.* 1,85,3). Treatises had been written *de familiis Troianis* by M. Terentius Varro (*Serv. Aen.* 5,704) and C. Iulius Hyginus

Ius and Remus when talking romantically of the city's origins. In any case the epic poems of Naevius and Ennius maintained their readership throughout the first century and probably exercised a greater influence than any prose history. Αἰνεϊδῶνς / *Aeneada* continued even in the next century to serve as a synonym of Πρωταῖος / *Romanus* in high poetry.<sup>95</sup> Strabo could observe that in his time Aeneas was regarded on occasion as the archegete not only of the Iulii but also of all the Romans.<sup>96</sup>

Since the time of F.G. Welcker scholars have made much of the number of Latin adaptations of Attic tragedies which centred on Troy and have tried to link the number with third and second-century Roman interest in the story of Aeneas' coming to Latium,<sup>97</sup> but one could find in the fifth-century Attic theatre an equal liking for plays about Troy<sup>98</sup> and argue that the selection of Trojan themes by Latin poets is merely one aspect of their aristocratic patrons' desire to assimilate Greek culture. A demonstration that the negative view of the Trojans regularly promoted in the Attic theatre was replaced at Rome with a positive one would be interesting, but the surviving fragments of the Latin adaptations allow few solid conclusions about how they depicted the Trojans to be drawn. It is nevertheless not to be denied that any play touching on Aeneas,<sup>99</sup> a figure often lauded for his fighting ability,<sup>100</sup> his sense of justice,<sup>101</sup> his concern for the welfare of his family and his respect for the gods,<sup>102</sup> and the favour shown to him by Jupiter, Apollo and Neptune as well as by his mother Venus,<sup>103</sup> would have provided good opportunities for a Latin poet to bolster the image Romans

<sup>95</sup> See for the Greek form Tit. Flam. ap. Plut. *Tit.* 12,11-12, Polystратus, *Anth. Pal.* 7,297,6, Tibertius imp.(?), *Anth. Pal.* 9,387,6, Philip, *Anth. Pal.* 9,307,4, Diodorus Sard. *Anth. Pal.* 9,219,3, Hadrian, *Anth. Pal.* 6,332,1, for the Latin Lucr. 1,1, Verg. *Aen.* 8,648, Ov. *fast.* 1,717; 4,161, *met.* 15,682; 695, Sil. 1,1-2, 2,55; 428; 8,47. Lucretius probably picked up the word from Ennius' *Annales*.

<sup>96</sup> 13,1,27.

<sup>97</sup> See Welcker 1841, 1344, 1350; Ribbeck 1875, 41, 212, 235, 600, 632. Welcker's doctrine continues to be repeated; e.g. by Lefèvre 1985, 1244-1245, Bernstein 1998, 238-243, Petaccia 1999, 156.

<sup>98</sup> See the essays of J. Blänsdorf and E. Weber in this volume.

<sup>99</sup> E.g. Sophocles' *Αἰακίδα* (fr. 373 Radt), Euripides' *Πηλοος* (vv. 85-148). Varro cites a *senarius* in which Aeneas is addressed at *ling.* 6,60.

<sup>100</sup> See Hom. *Il.* 6,78-79; 13,482-483; 499-500; 16,620-621; 17,513; 20,175; 263; 267; 293; 307; 323. Cf. Q. Smyrn. 13,300-302.

<sup>101</sup> According to Hom. *Il.* 7,347-353 (cf. Hor. *epist.* 1,2,9) Antenor alone advocated the return of Helen to Menelaus. Livy adds Aeneas (1,1,1).

<sup>102</sup> Pots painted at Athens in the late sixth century have Aeneas carrying Anchises on his back or shoulders (see Canciani 1981, 386-387. Cf. Xen. *Mem.* 1,15, *Rhet. Her.* 4,46, App. *cit.* 4,41, Apollod. *epit.* 5,21). At Hom. *Il.* 20,298-299 he is declared to be generous with gifts to the gods. Helianicus represented him as careful to rescue the images of certain Trojan deities as well as the members of his family (FGHHist 4 F 31 [Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,46,1-2]).

<sup>103</sup> See Hom. *Il.* 5,239-318; 445-453; 20,89-93; 156-350.

had of themselves<sup>104</sup> and to support their desire to assert a link with the heroes of Greek cult and poetry while at the same time setting at a distance their principal contemporary enemies, the Gauls,<sup>105</sup> the Carthaginians,<sup>106</sup> and certain of the Greeks.<sup>107</sup>

<sup>104</sup> See above, nn. 34-41. The pride of the Romans in their religiousness shows through the rationalist Greek Polybius' account of its benefits to their polity (6,56,6-15; cf. simple Greek bewilderment at 3,112,8-9); possibly too through the religiose Posidonius' praise of the εὐσεβεία θεομαστῶν περὶ τὸ δαμνῶνιον of the old Romans (fr. 266 Kidd [Athen. 6,274a]).

<sup>105</sup> The Gauls were already known to men of learning at Athens in the fifth century (cf. Hdt. 2,33). It was the sack of Rome in 390 which brought them to general attention (cf. Herakl. Pont. fr. 102 Wehrli [Plut. *Cam.* 22,3]; Aristot. fr. 610 Rose [Plut. *Cam.* 22,4]). The Roman victory at Sentinum in 295 over a combination of Gauls and other groups inhabiting the Italian peninsula attracted the interest of the historian Duris (FGHHist 76 F 56). The attempt of a marauding group to plunder Apollo's wealth at Delphi in 279 confirmed their reputation for a lack of respect for the holy places of more civilised nations (see Pol. 2,7,9-10, Liv. 5,50,1-2, Diod. 5,32,5). Timaeus included in the early books of his *Ἱστορίαι* (composed at Athens in the first years of the third century) an account of the barbarian peoples which derived the 'Celts', the Illyrians and the 'Galatians' from the three children of a union between the Cyclops Polyphemus and the sea-nymph Galathea (FGHHist 566 F 69 [Elym. m., p. 220,5]; see further App. *Ill.* 2, Aponianus ap. Schol. *Verg. ecl.* 8,7, Natalis Comes, *myth.* 9,8). Homer of course had already talked of the lawlessness and irreligiousness of the Cyclopes (*Od.* 9,106-115). Less unfriendly mythographers associated the Gauls with Hercules' travels in the West (see Diod. 5,24,2-3, Dion. Hal. *ant.* 14,1,3-5). The Romans reminded themselves annually of the defeat they had suffered at the Allia at the hands of the Gallic Senones (Cic. *Att.* 9,5,2, Liv. 6,1,11-12). They assumed that right-thinking Greeks thought as ill of Gauls as they did (cf. SIG<sup>3</sup> 643,2 [letter written in 171/170 by a Roman to a Roman to the Delphic Amphictyons]). How much of the generally unfavourable picture painted in Polybius' *Ἱστορίαι* of Fabius Pictor (it is known from Eutr. 3,5 and Oros. 4,13,6 that Fabius fought in the war of 225) and how much from the Roman aristocrats with whom he consorted during the years of exile from his homeland is unclear and perhaps unimportant. On the emotional way in which Gauls fought see Pol. 2,35,3 (cf. Liv. 38,17,8); on their dislike of sustained effort 3,79,4; on their unreliability 2,32,8; 3,68,10; 70,4; 78,2. Caesar (*Gall.* 6,16), Diodorus (5,31,3) and Strabo (4,4,5) were to remark on the savagery of their cult practices (cf. also Plut. *mor.* 171b).

<sup>106</sup> On the inferiority of Phoenicians and Africans to 'Italians' in physical strength and courage see Pol. 6,52,10-11; on the heavy dependency of Carthage on mercenary troops Pol. 1,67,4-10; 71,1-2; 6,52,4-9; on Carthaginian lack of probity and trustworthiness see Plaut. *Cas.* 76, Cic. *leg. agr.* 2,95, *off.* 1,38 (reflecting an old stereotype and perhaps even the language of an Ennius), *Sall. Ing.* 108,3; on the savage aspects of Carthaginian religion see Enn. *ann.* 214 Skutsch, Varro ap. Aug. *cit.* 7,26, Diod. 13,86,3, Plut. *mor.* 171c, *Iust.* 18,6,11-12.

<sup>107</sup> Rome's major third and second-century Greek enemies seem to have been accounted brave, religiously devout and honourable fighters: cf. on Pyrrhus Enn. *ann.* 165; 180-182; 183-190 Skutsch (the speaker of *ann.* 197-198 Skutsch makes Pyrrhus, however, somewhat different from Αἰνεῖτας βουλευφόρος). Polybius' views on the prowess of the Achaeans and the Macedonians (3,6,12; 4,8,11-12; 5,2,4-6; fr. 158) would not have diverged from those of his Roman patrons. For the deceptive methods of fighting of the Cretons on the other hand see Pol. 4,8,11 (perhaps no more than the common Greek view: see Kall. *h.* 1,8) and for the inability of the Thessalians to fight as individuals and of the Aetolians to fight in organised groups 4,8,10. For the εὐσεβεία of the latter see Pol. 4,18,11; 67,4; 5,9,2-6; 11,1; 7; 9,34,8-11; 35,5-8. Venality and untrustworthiness conventionally marked Greek judges (cf. Plaut. *Cas.* 76-77) and statesmen (cf. Pol. 6,56,13-15; 18,34,7-8) as well as businessmen (cf. Plaut. *Asin.* 199). The cleverness that

A number of fifth-century Attic plays were set in or near heroic Athens, e.g. Aeschylus' *Eumenides*, Sophocles' *Oidipous ó ἐπι Κολωνῶν*, Euripides' *Aigeus*, *Erechtheus*, *Hrakleidai* and *Ikerides*, and Latin adaptations of at least some of these appeared at *ludi* held in the course of the third and second centuries.<sup>108</sup> The city, with which the Romans remained on friendly terms throughout this period,<sup>109</sup> no longer had the kind of democracy it did in the fifth century, a kind of democracy the kings and princes of tragedy, even those of other cities, often proleptically lauded.<sup>110</sup> One wonders what happened to speeches by tragic personages of democratic sympathies at Roman *ludi* run by the likes of P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus Africanus Numantinus (cos. 147, 134). Scipio is reported<sup>111</sup> to have addressed some of those present at a meeting of the *concilium plebis* summoned in 131 to consider a proposal about re-election to the tribunate with the words: *taceant quibus Italia noverca est ... non efficiatis ut solutos verear quos colligatos adduxi*. Support for the populist proposals came from others besides the Carthaginians and Celtiberians who had graced Scipio's triumphs of 146 and 132,<sup>112</sup> but as prisoners-of-war would have lain at the very bottom of the social pile and provided a rich source for slander by association.<sup>113</sup> A century later one member of the Senate could still insult another by alluding to his possession of non-Roman blood.<sup>114</sup> One also wonders what happened in the Roman theatre to Attic speeches questioning the

seemed to characterise Greeks worried Romans like the elder Cato (Plin. *nat.* 7, 112–113; 29, 14, Plur. *Cat. ma.* 22–23).

<sup>108</sup> Cf. the essay of B. Zimmermann in this volume.

<sup>109</sup> From 229 (see Pol. 2, 12, 8).

<sup>110</sup> Cf. Aischyl. *Suppl.* 365–369; 396–401; 480–489; 517–519; 605–624, Eur. *Suppl.* 349–357; 403–408; 429–455. For the theme of popular election see Eur. *Iph. A.* 84–85; 337–342, *El.* 1081–1082, *Or.* 1167–1168.

<sup>111</sup> See Val. Max. 6, 2, 3; cf. Vell. 2, 4, 4, Anon. *vir. ill.* 58, 8.

<sup>112</sup> On the early origin of the practice of admitting freed slaves to the Roman citizen body see Dion. Hal. *ant.* 4, 22, 4, Liv. 2, 5, 10, Plut. *Popl.* 7, 7–8. For Greek wonderment see SIG<sup>3</sup> 543 IV (letter of Philip V to the *royoi* and the citizens of Larisa of August 215). Such persons were nevertheless in ordinary times excluded from military service, the major magistracies and membership of all but the four city *tribus*. It took a long time for the stain of servile blood to wash away (Cicero could insult Antony as a *gener libertini* [Phil. 2, 3]); Antony Octavian as having a *libertinus procerus* [Suet. *Aug.* 2, 3]).

<sup>113</sup> Words like *humilis*, *infimus*, *multitudo*, *turba*, *vulgus* were rarely used in a neutral way by Roman noblemen. Even *plebs* and *populus* tended to be pejorative. For outrightly opprobrious language about the lower orders see Cic. *Pis.* 9 (in the Senate), *Att.* 1, 16, 11; 2, 1, 8, *ad Q. fr.* 2, 8, 3. Livy alleges talk of *caenum plebeum* in 297 (10, 15, 9).

<sup>114</sup> M. Tullius Cicero (cos. 63) had a Volscian ancestry thrown against him (Ps.-Sall. *in Cic.* 1; 4; 7, *App. civ.* 2, 5; cf. Cic. *Sull.* 23, *Sall. Catil.* 31, 7), L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (cos. 58) a Gallic (Cic. *prov. 7, p. red. in sen.* 15, *Suet.* *Iul.* 14; 34; 53; 62; 67; fr. 11; 12; cf. Suet. *Iul.* 80 and Caesar's 'Gallic' senators; at Cic. *dom.* 60 on the other hand there may be a suggestion that Piso had Oscan ancestry); L. Decidius Saxa (tr. pl. 44) a Celtiberian (Cic. *Phil.* 11, 5, 12; 13, 13, 27).

justice of the gods and their ability or willingness to help mortals, the competence of officially employed diviners, the claims of military leaders to credit for success, the presence of political wisdom among men of birth and wealth.<sup>115</sup>

Most of the principal adapters of Attic tragedies wrote in addition plays about events of the distant past and perhaps also of the immediate past. These were set before palaces and *praetoria* and brought on stage kings and republican magistrates. Their first performances took place presumably at *ludi* of the same kind as saw the adaptations of comedies and tragedies.<sup>116</sup> The fourth-century A.D. grammarian Diomedes called such plays *fabulae praetextatae*, as distinct from *fabulae palliatae* and *fabulae togatae*.<sup>117</sup> The categorisation and the terminology can be taken back in some form at least as far as Varro.<sup>118</sup> Diomedes defined *fabulae praetextatae* as those in which *imperatorum negotia agebantur et publica et reges Romani vel duces inducuntur, personarum dignitate et personarum sublimitate tragoediis similes*,<sup>119</sup> a definition, to judge by Hor. *ars* 287–288, Paul. Fest., p. 223 (?Verrius Flaccus), Euanth. *com.* 4, 1, Don. *Ter. Ad.* 7, *Lyd. mag.* 1, 40, long generally accepted. He assigned to the category a *Brutus*<sup>120</sup> and a *Decius*<sup>121</sup> by Accius and a *Marcellus* usually identified with Naevius' *Clastidium*.<sup>122</sup> Modern scholars have added Naevius' *Romulus* and *Lupus*, Ennius' *Ambracia* and *Sabinae*,<sup>123</sup> Pacuvius' *Paulus*, Pomponius Secundus' *Aeneas*,<sup>124</sup> Seneca's *Octavia* and Curvilius Maternus' *Cato* to the category.<sup>125</sup> It is noteworthy that

<sup>115</sup> On the gods see Eur. *Tro.* 469, *Herc.* 1345–1346, fr. 286 N.; on diviners *Iph. A.* 956–958, fr. 795; on generals *Andr.* 693–702; on statesmen *El.* 367–370.

<sup>116</sup> Accius' *Brutus* was re-performed at the *ludi Apollinares* of 57 (Cic. *Sest.* 123). For exhaustive but comprehensively fruitless examinations of the evidence see Zehnacker 1983, 31–48 and Flower 1995, 170–190. Flower argues on purely general grounds that a *praetexta* on a person still alive would have been presented at *ludi votivi*. Boissier 1893, 103 thought rather of *ludi triumphales*.

<sup>117</sup> *GL* I, 490, 10–14.

<sup>118</sup> See Diom. *GL* I, 489, 18; cf. Schol. Bob. Cic., p. 137 Stangl. For the term *praetexta* see Pollio, *Cic. fam.* 10, 32, 3, Hor. *ars* 288, Anon. *vit. Pers.*

<sup>119</sup> *GL* I, 489, 24–26. Balbus' *praetexta de suo itinere* is obviously hard to place within Diomedes' definition.

<sup>120</sup> See Varro, *ling.* 5, 80; 6, 7, Cic. *Sest.* 123, *div.* 1, 43–45, Schol. Bob. Cic., p. 137 Stangl.

<sup>121</sup> For the citations of *Aeneadae aut Decius* by Nonius Marcellus see below, n. 126.

<sup>122</sup> Cited at Varro, *ling.* 7, 107; 9, 78. Concerning the play see F. Bernstein's essay in this volume.

<sup>123</sup> Concerning this work (cited at *Iul. Vict.* 6, 4, p. 402, 28–31 Halm) see A. La Penna's essay in this volume.

<sup>124</sup> Cited at Charis., p. 168, 29–31 Barwick (probably from Pliny via Julius Romanus). The *Aeneas* was judged to be a *praetexta* by Hertz 1869, 4 n. 3 (giving no grounds except the presence of Pomponius in a list of writers of *praetextae* and *togatae* at Ps.-Ac. *Hor. ars* 288).

<sup>125</sup> Meiser 1887, 27–28 and Schöne 1893 deduced from the dramatic qualities of the stories told by the historians of the fate of the Fabii, the defection of Capua, and the death of C. Gracchus sources in *fabulae praetextae*. Soltau 1908, 585–589 argued that *praetextae* of anti-Gracchan disposition underlay Livy's accounts of Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius and M. Manlius. Wright 1910



certainly identifiable writers of *praetextatae* / *praetextatae* avoided issues of domestic politics. Public *ludi* would have been considered an ambience inappropriate for the representation of civil discord.

## 2. Some Questions about Accius' Aeneadae aut Decius

In the company of several plays by Accius on themes of Greek heroic legend Nonius Marcellus cites an *Aeneadae aut Decius*.<sup>126</sup> Diomedes places what is evidently the same work in the Varronian category of *fabulae praetextae* / *praetextatae* with the title *Decius*.<sup>127</sup> Enough is known or can be conjectured about the content – the work must have concerned the battle which Roman and allied troops fought near Sentinum in 295 against those of a combination of ethnic groups resident in Italy and the behaviour in battle of P. Decius Mus, one of the consuls of that year<sup>128</sup> – to make it

found a similar source for the story of the second Tarquin's seizure of power. What Wiseman writes at 1994, 10–18 may be described in his own words as 'barren speculation'. There is little more substance in Ribbeck's interpretation of Liv. 5,21,8–9 (1881, 321–322), Alfonsi's of Prop. 4,10,23–38 (1967, 165–168) or in Bremmer's of Ov. *fast.* 4,291–328 (1979, 9–10).

<sup>126</sup> The context of the citations at pp. 174,22; 185,20; 200,34; 224,17; 484,6; 504,30 (*praet.* 7; 5–6; 16; 3–4; 1; 2 R.) (see Lindsay 1901; 1905, 438–464) suggests that the work accompanied either in a box of rolls or in a volume the *Andromeda*, the *Epigoni* (referred to as a tragedy at Cic. *opt. gen.* 18, *off.* 1,114) and the *Phinidae*. The citations of the *Aeneadae* at pp. 75,1; 98,10; 126,16; 139,22 (*praet.* 14; 15; 9; 10–11 R.) seem to derive from alphabetically arranged lists of verbs and adverbs compiled by someone other than Nonius. The sources of the citations of the *Aeneadae aut Decius* at pp. 123,11; 258,4 (*praet.* 9; 8 R.) and that of the *Aeneadae* at p. 22,13 (*praet.* 12–13 R.) are unclear. The form of the double title which appears at p. 484,6 (*praet.* 1 R.) (from the 'Accius ii' list) – *Aeneadae vel Decius* – is paralleled in Nonius' citations of Accius' *Stasistae vel Tropaemum* (pp. 20,21; 524,23 [from the 'Accius ii' list], 337,19 [source unclear]; p. 334,38 has *Stasistae*), Pomponius' *Aruspex vel* (p. 516,15 [from the alphabetical list of adverbs]) and *Cretila vel Pettor* (p. 474,10 [from another glossographical source]), Varro's *Catus vel de liberis educandis* (pp. 77,13 et al.) and *Gallus vel Fundanius de admirandis* (pp. 77,21; 217,1 [from the Gloss. i list]; *Gallus aut Fundanius* at p. 205,33 and *Admiranda* at pp. 218,16 and 220,9 seem to come from other glossaries), Charisius' citations of Plautus' *Caecus vel Praedones* (pp. 259,27 Barwick; 263,13; 274,6; 12; 283,15; 24; 313,4 [from the alphabetically arranged sections on adverbs and interjections taken more or less straight from the 'Apophtai' of Julius Romanus; *Caecus* at p. 285,3 and *Praedones vel Caecus* at p. 275,6 would be slips made either by Charisius or a later copyist), and Priscian's citation of Pomponius' *Vacca vel Marsuppium* (GL II,508,27–509,2 [from Flavius Caper]). It looks nevertheless like a 'correction' made in the course of the tradition by someone aware of the doctrine about *vel* and *aut* which appears at Diom. GL I,417,30–418,15 and Paul. Fest., p. 369. On early loose use of *aut* see Kohlmann 1898, 24–41; Weston 1933/34, 47–49. The title *Aeneadae sive Decius* used by all editors of the fragments of the work since 1593, except for P. Schrijver (1620), who replaced M.A. Delrio's *sive* with *vel*, the form of the particle normally used before an initial consonant in classical Latin prose, has no basis in the ancient tradition.

<sup>127</sup> See GL I,490,10–14.

<sup>128</sup> The battle of Sentinum is described or alluded to at Duris, FGrHist 76 F 56 (Diod. exc. Hoeschel, p. 151 = 211,6, I. Tzetzes, *comm. Lycophr. Al.* 1378, p. 381,5–9 Scheer), Pol. 2,19,6,

worthwhile asking how it related in structure to versions of Attic tragedies of the kind we know to have been performed at *ludi* during the second half of the second century and to what extent it reflected specific features of Roman feeling and thinking of its time. What has emerged from our examination of the functioning of the *ludi* in the life of the Roman citizen body, of the religious purposes they had when first established and continued, at least in part, to maintain, of the authority the upper orders of society wielded in all aspects of their management, of the uses they served in the political process, and of the way that attendance at them enhanced a sense of identity and distinctiveness among Romans as a national group and among members of the Senate as a social class helps to focus further questions: what caused Accius to choose the battle fought at Sentinum as the occasion of a dramatic act of self-sacrifice rather than the battle at Veseris 45 years before or the battle at Ausculum 16 years later, in other words to cast P. Decius Mus rather than his father or his son as the self-sacrificing consul? why did he pit Decius against the Gauls rather than against one of the other ethnic groups in the hostile alliance of 295? and to what did the title *Aeneadae* allude?<sup>129</sup>

## 3. Attic Tragic Structures and Roman Sentiments in the Aeneadae aut Decius

The Senate liked to invite important foreign guests to attend *ludi* held during their sojourn in Rome.<sup>130</sup> These were often Greeks or non-Greeks with a Greek education. The readiness of some Greeks to lump Romans with all non-Greeks and to stress their cultural inferiority<sup>131</sup> irritated those senators

Cic. *Sect.* 48, *Rab. Post.* 2, *parad.* 1,12, *Cato* 43; 75, *div.* 1,51, *fin.* 2,61, *Tusc.* 1,89, *Liv.* 10,27,1–29,20, *Val. Max.* 5,6,6, *Sen. epist.* 67,9, *Plin. nat.* 28,12, *Frontin. strat.* 1,8,3; 4,5,15, *Plut. mor.* 310a–b; 499b–c, *Flor.* 1,12,7, *Cass. Dio* as summarised by Zonaras 8,1,5–7; *Ampel.* 20,6, *Anon. vir. ill.* 27,3–5, *Oros.* 3,21,1–6, *Schol. Bob. Cic.* p. 131 *Stangl. Schol. Iuv.* 8,254. The fragments of the *Aeneadae aut Decius* cited by Nonius at pp. 75,1 (*quibus rem summam et patriam nostram quondam adhaeruit pater; praet.* 14 R.) and 98,10 (*patrio exemplo et me dicabo ¶ atque animam deoq̄o hostibus ¶; praet.* 15 R.) exclude the battle of Veseris of 340. That at p. 224,17 (*vim Gallicam obicit contra in acie < m > exercitum ...; praet.* 3–4 R.) excludes both this battle and the one at Ausculum in 279 (our sources mention Gauls at neither).

<sup>129</sup> The title *Aeneadae aut Decius* borne by the copy of the work in Nonius' library may be interpreted as a combination of the original *Aeneadae* and a later more perspicuous *Decius* bestowed either by a producer restaging the play or by a librarian. It seems to have been J.J. Scaliger who first established the theme of the work (1565, 72).

<sup>130</sup> On the visit of Hiero II of Syracuse in 237 see *Eutr.* 3,1,2. Confused though the story at *Iust.* 43,5,9–10 is, it may relate to an actual visit by Massaliote envoys.

<sup>131</sup> Cf. *Cato ap. Plin. nat.* 29,14 (indignant about the view of Italiote Greeks), *Pol.* 5,104,1 (reporting a speech by the Aetolian Agelaus in 217); 9,37,6–8 (reporting a speech by the Acarnanian

who had acquired a veneer of Greek culture, and this was one of the main causes of the introduction to *ludi scaenici* of adaptations of Attic comedies and tragedies. The same senators were yet loath to surrender their own national identity in the way the rulers of some non-Greek states did and insisted that the Attic plays be adapted not merely to the Latin language but to long-standing local theatrical conventions. It might be thought that when a Latin poet set out to dramatise a theme untreated in the Attic theatre, e.g. some incident in the history of Rome or of one of the Latin cities, he felt less constrained by Attic dramatic rules and more willing to exploit apparent local freedom. This was plainly not so.

All the third and second-century Latin adaptations of comedies and tragedies seem to have pre-supposed a single place of action, as did all Euripides' tragedies and all Menander's comedies.<sup>132</sup> Deeds of violence were regularly reported by a messenger.<sup>133</sup> Improvisatory types of drama in many cultures are on the other hand marked by a proneness towards moving the action about from one place to another and presenting deeds of violence directly to the spectators.<sup>134</sup> It has been argued consequently from Plaut. *Capt.* 58-62 and Hor. *epist.* 2,1,189-207 that the *fabula praetexta* of the Roman theatre often set at least part of its action on a field of battle.<sup>135</sup>

F. Leo put the *Aeneadae aut Decius* wholly inside the Roman camp,<sup>136</sup> silently correcting the reconstruction proposed by O. Ribbeck.<sup>137</sup> The latter

Lyciscus in 210; 11,4,1-6,8 (reporting an appeal by the Rhodian Thrasycrates to the Aetolians in 207), Liv. 31,29,12-15 (from Polybius) reporting views put by Macedonian envoys to the Aetolian League in 199).

<sup>132</sup> Some early fifth-century Attic tragic scripts required one or more shifts of the place of action (see P. Oxy. 2257 on Aischyl. *Atr.* [pp. 126-127 Radt], *Choeph.* 584; 653; 877; *Eum.* 234; 488; 566, *Soph. Ai.* 815). The liberty lasted longer on the comic stage (see Aristoph. *Ach.* 202, *Av.* 801, *Thesm.* 277; *Ran.* 180). No argument is possible where the comic scripts of Plautus and Terence are concerned. On the third and second century B.C. adaptations of tragedies see Jocelyn 1967, 165, 344-346; 1972, 48-58. Argument about where the action of the *Hercules Oetaeus* and other plays attributed to Seneca took place is entangled with questions of stageability and authenticity.

<sup>133</sup> Comedy perhaps once favoured scenes in which one or more personages were physically beaten, but already by 421 such scenes seemed banal (Aristoph. *Pax* 742-743, *Nub.* 541-542). I find only Aristoph. *Pax* 255-258, *Av.* 1323-1329, *Ran.* 605-673, Plaut. *Pseud.* 133-168.

<sup>134</sup> The third and fifth centuries of Herodas present scenes unimaginable in Attic comedy. The *Laureolis* of Carullus had a mock crucifixion carried out on stage (see *Mart. spect.* 7,4, *Inu.* 8,187-188 and *Schol.* ad loc.). The sea and land battles of history reenacted for the entertainment of imperial spectators (cf. *Suet. Claud.* 21,6, *Cass. Dio* 66,25,2-4) and titillating horrors of mythology like the burning alive of Hercules and the castration of Aris represented with the aid of condemned criminals (see *Tert. apol.* 15,4-5, *nat.* 1,10,47; Coleman 1990, 44-73) illustrate a mentality which the Attic theatre conspicuously did not indulge.

<sup>135</sup> See Lindsay 1921, 6; Lefèvre 1998, 33-60.

<sup>136</sup> 1913, 398-399.

<sup>137</sup> 1875, 596-599. Cf. Ribbeck 1887, 1894, 194.

had based himself on Livy's account (10,24,1-31,9) except that he telescoped the three days of conflict into one. He was otherwise oblivious to the necessary differences between the script of a stage play and a historical narrative. He had some fragments come from utterances made at a council of war within the Roman camp, others from utterances on the field of battle and one from an utterance outside the Samnite camp. At the end of the play he imagined the corpse of Decius carried onto the stage. It is unclear, however, what he thought the stage platform represented for Accius. E.H. Warmington and V. D'Antò preferred to follow Ribbeck rather than to tease out the implications of Leo's view.<sup>138</sup> J. Dangel has on the other hand presented all the fragments as coming from battle-field speeches or songs.<sup>139</sup>

General Latin usage demands that the order cited at p. 224,17 (*vim Galliam obduc contra in acie*  $m > exercitum / \dagger ve patrum \dagger hostili fuso sanguine; praet.$  3-4 R.<sup>3</sup>) should have been given inside an encampment rather than outside among troops already marshalled for action.<sup>140</sup> The prayer cited at p. 185,20 (*te sancte venerans* [de Jonghe: *verans* codd.] *precibus invicte invoco / portenta ut populo patriae verruncant* [verrucant codd.] *bene; praet.* 5-6 R.<sup>3</sup>) can hardly relate to the behaviour of the wolf and the hind and the respective reactions of the opposing troops described by Livy (10,27,8-9) and Zonaras (8,1,6).<sup>141</sup> In the historical narrative a Roman *ante signanus* immediately interprets what has occurred as predictive of Roman victory. That brings an end to the matter. There is no need of a prayer for help. If the interpreter of the fragment is to make resort to Livy he should rather consider the latter's references to the *pericula publica* (10,28,13) and the *caelestium inferorum irae* (10,28,16) worrying Decius and the list of *prodigia* recorded for 295 (10,31,8).<sup>142</sup> The Accian prayer looks as if it was uttered after a report of a series of unusual occurrences had been made to a magistrate, or the magistrate himself had seen something unusual, expert advice had been taken, the *portenta* had been judged as possibly indicative of divine dissatisfaction with the *populus Romanus* and expiatory sacrifice

<sup>138</sup> See Warmington 1936, 552-559; D'Antò 1980, 176-178, 488-495.

<sup>139</sup> 1995, 239-242, 375-377.

<sup>140</sup> See the mass of material collected at ThLL I 410,77-411,8, which confirms the emendation proposed in the 1513 Aldine edition of Nonius and accepted by M.A. Delrio (1594), J.H. Neukirch (1833), F.H. Bothe (1834) and A. Klotz (1953). R. & H. Étienne (1564), P. Schrijver (1620), O. Ribbeck (1852, 1871, 1897), E.H. Warmington (1936), A. Resta Barrile (1969), V. D'Antò (1980) and J. Dangel (1995) keep *in acie*.

<sup>141</sup> The idea was put forward by Neukirch 1833, 81 and taken up by Ribbeck 1875, 597; Warmington 1936, 555; D'Antò 1980, 492; Dangel 1995, 377. Guittard 1984, 593 is critical.

<sup>142</sup> Equally alarming ones had been reported in 296 (see Liv. 10,23,1-3). See also *Cass. Dio* 8, fr. 36,28 (exc. Mai 75), *Zon.* 8,1,2-4.

had been offered.<sup>143</sup> We have to do with an early scene of the play concerned with the Roman situation as a whole. All Nonius' other citations can be referred at least as easily to scenes designed to take place in front of the *praetorium* of a Roman camp as to any other kind.<sup>144</sup> The *Aeneadae aut Decius* had, I should conclude, a single inscenement parallel with that of the Euripidean *Ἰφιγένεια ἢ ἐν Αἰλίδι* – set before Agamemnon's tent at Aulis – and that of the *Ἠρώς* – set before Hector's tent in a Trojan encampment outside the city of Troy.

At least some Latin adaptations of Attic tragedies made provision for the appearance of an equivalent of an Attic chorus: Livius' *Ino* had worshippers of Diana (Victorin. GL VI,67,31–68,8), Naevius' *Lycurgus* royal body guards (*trag.* 21–23 R.<sup>3</sup>) and / or Bacchant women (*trag.* 31–32 R.<sup>3</sup>),<sup>145</sup> Ennius' *Emmenides* divine Furies (*saen.* 149 V.<sup>2</sup> = *trag.* 136 R.<sup>3</sup>), his *Hectoris hyra* Myrmidon *vigiles* (*saen.* 186 V.<sup>2</sup> = *trag.* 158–159 R.<sup>3</sup>), his *Iphigenia* soldiers (*saen.* 234–241 V.<sup>2</sup> = *trag.* 183–190 R.<sup>3</sup>), his *Medea* Corinthian noblewomen (*saen.* 259–261 V.<sup>2</sup> = *trag.* 219–221 R.<sup>3</sup>), Pacuvius' *Antiope* Theban old men (*trag.* 2–8 R.<sup>3</sup>), Accius' *Antigona* guards (*trag.* 140–141 R.<sup>3</sup>), his *Bacchae* Bacchant women (title and *trag.* 239 R.<sup>3</sup>), his *Phoenissae* Phoenician slave girls (title),<sup>146</sup> Titles like the Aeschylean *Φρύγες ἢ Ἐκτορος λύτρα* (Catal., Schol. Aristoph. *Ran.* 911, Poll. 7,131), *Κάρες ἢ Εὐρώπη* (Catal., Steph. Byz. s.v. Μύλασα), *Σεμέλη ἢ Ὑδρόφοροι* (Catal., Schol. A, Hom. *Il.* 4,319) and the Sophoclean *Πανδώρα ἢ Σφυροκόποι* (Hesych. K 2417,

<sup>143</sup> Cf. Aischyl. *Pers.* 176–230, *Choeph.* 523–539, *Soph.* *El.* 405–463, *Men.* *Dysk.* 409–418, *Plaut.* *Amph.* 1126–1127.

<sup>144</sup> This is particularly true of those at pp. 123,11; 126,16; 139,22; 174,22; 258,4 and 484,6 (*praet.* 9; 10–11; 7; 8; 1 R.<sup>3</sup>). If it were not for the degree of obvious textual corruption argument might be possible about those at pp. 22,13 († *di summa tibi pericellum est quorum aut quibus se a partibus gliscunt* † [Vossius 1620, 125 had *vis summa est ubi pericellum? quoniam aut quibus se a partibus gliscunt?* uttered by Decius between the *devotio* and the fatal charge]; *praet.* 12–13 R.<sup>3</sup>) and 200,34 (*castra haec vestra est. optime † essis † meritis a nobis* [Vossius 1620, 125 had *castra haec vestra est. optime est is meritis de nobis* uttered by Decius' colleague after the enemy had been routed]; *praet.* 16 R.<sup>3</sup>). That at p. 504,30 (*clamore et gemitu templum resonit caelium; praet.* 2 R.<sup>3</sup>) is best interpreted as coming from a messenger reporting the battle back in camp.

<sup>145</sup> A plurality is also addressed at *trag.* 24–25; 26–28; 46–47; 50 R.<sup>3</sup>. At *trag.* 29–30; 33; 40; 41–42; 49 R.<sup>3</sup> it seems to be a plurality that gives utterance.

<sup>146</sup> The second person plurals at *Liv.* *trag.* 13–14 R.<sup>3</sup>, *Enn.* *saen.* 69–71; 197–198; 309; 349–351 V.<sup>2</sup> = *trag.* 54–56; 168–169; 267; 303–305 R.<sup>3</sup>, *Pacuv.* *trag.* 16; 80–82; 153–154; 311–312; 350–352 R.<sup>3</sup>, *Acc.* *trag.* 382–383; 485; 508–511; 677 R.<sup>3</sup> and the first person plurals at *Enn.* *saen.* 160 V.<sup>2</sup> = *trag.* 137–138 R.<sup>3</sup>, *Pacuv.* *trag.* 108; 109–110; 322–323 R.<sup>3</sup>, *Acc.* *trag.* 130; 223–225; 285–286; 289–291 R.<sup>3</sup> possibly also have to do with choral groups. I am sceptical about the common belief that the *lecticarii* of Pacuvius' *Niptra* (*trag.* 256–267 R.<sup>3</sup>) formed a chorus. For interesting speculation about the function of the chorus in the Latin adaptations see Hose 1999.

s.v. κεχήλωμαι πόδας)<sup>147</sup> would have encouraged a certain scholar who wrote before 1839 to suggest that the *Aeneadae aut Decius* had a chorus of 'Aeneadae', i.e. of Roman soldiers.<sup>148</sup> Αἰνεάδης in the sense of 'Romanus' was, however, the creation of a Greek poet probably taken up by Ennius in his *Annales*,<sup>149</sup> a word entirely unsuitable for use in the essentially prosaic appellations of the members of choral groups. It could not in any case have distinguished the members of a chorus of the *Aeneadae aut Decius* from the principal actors. Ribbeck nevertheless imagined on other grounds a chorus of Roman soldiers.<sup>150</sup> Ch. Guitard proposed one of Gauls.<sup>151</sup> I leave the question open. Although no extant fragment has to be interpreted as the utterance of a group or as an address to a group, that does not imply that the *Aeneadae aut Decius* lacked a chorus of the tragic type.

A scene of Accius' other *praetexta* the *Brutus*, in which the Roman king Tarquinius received from *coniectores* an interpretation of a dream,<sup>152</sup> seems to have had a shape based on that of a scene of an Attic tragedy, Aeschylus' *Πέρσων*, in which the chorus explained a dream had by the Persian queen Atossa.<sup>153</sup> It can also be argued<sup>154</sup> that the passage of Ennius' *Sabinæ* cited by Julius Victor (6,4, p. 402,30 Halm) – *cum spolia generis* (Jan : *generi* cod.) *detraxeritis, quam inscriptionem dabitis?* (*praet.* 5–6 R.<sup>3</sup>) – comes from an address by Hersilia to her father like that by the Jocasta of Euripides' *Φοίνισσαι* to her son Polynices (567–583):

...  
571 φέρ' ἦν ἔλης γῆν τήνδ' – ὀ μὴ τύχοι ποτέ –  
πρὸς θεῶν, τρόπαια πῶς ἀναστήσεις Διί;  
πῶς δ' αὖ κατάρξῃ θυμάτων, ἐλῶν πάτραν,  
καὶ σκύλα γράψεις πῶς ἐπ' Ἰνάχου ροαίς;  
...

The presence in the *Aeneadae aut Decius* of scenes Attic in general shape is suggested by two of Nonius' citations.

<sup>147</sup> The Euripidean play which usually carries the title *Βάκχαι* is called *Πενθεύς* at Stob. 3,36,9; 4,4,2; 23,8 (~ 3,5,1; 22,17; 36,13; 4,16,11) and in cod. Florence, Bibl. Med. Laur. plut. 32,2. That no grammarian cites it as *Βάκχαι ἢ Πενθεύς* must be an accident.

<sup>148</sup> See Welcker 1841, 1389. The idea was rediscovered by Cancik 1978, 332; cf. D'Antò 1980, 489–490 (D'Antò's reference to a chorus of Gauls at 493 is puzzling).

<sup>149</sup> See above, n. 95.

<sup>150</sup> 1875, 599. See further below, n. 217.

<sup>151</sup> 1984, 593 n. 83 (on the basis of Nonius' citation at p. 139,22; *praet.* 10–11 R.<sup>3</sup>).

<sup>152</sup> See *Cic. div.* 1,43–45.

<sup>153</sup> See vv. 159–225.

<sup>154</sup> Jocelyn 1972, 82–88; for criticism see *ibid.*, 93–95.

The two *senarii*

*te sancte ve < ne > trans precibus invicte invococo portenta ut populo patriae verruncant [-ant codd.] bene (praet. 5-6 R.)*

discussed above and shown to have nothing to do with the behaviour of the wolf and the hind described by Livy and Zonaras will make sense if the *portenta* are regarded as some incident or set of incidents which has terrified the reporter, worried the interpreters and caused the consul holding *imperium* the day of the action<sup>155</sup> to seek divine assistance. We may compare the concern shown by a Sophoclean monarch of the heroic period for a people beset by a mysterious plight, by the Oedipus of the *Oidipous typhannos*.<sup>156</sup> The name of the deity addressed by the Roman consul with *sancte ... invicte* cannot be ascertained.<sup>157</sup> Whether other deities were also addressed in the course of the prayer must remain similarly obscure. In Sophocles' tragedy it is the chorus of Theban elders who plead for help from a series of deities.<sup>158</sup> Other tragedies may have presented monarchs prepared to plead themselves for their people. The language of the Sophoclean pleas is that of Attic tragic poetry rather than that of Greek religious cult. It differs little in essentials from that of the other choral songs of the play.<sup>159</sup> The substance of the Latin *senarii* is exclusively religious. Words like *sanctus, venerari, preces, invocare, portentum* and *verruncare* convey a traditionally religious tone.<sup>160</sup> Syntagms like the use of the present participle with an object (*te ... venerans*)<sup>161</sup> and the pairing of epithets (*sancte ... invicte*)<sup>162</sup> and nouns

<sup>155</sup> For the daily alternation between the consuls of *imperium* and *auspicium* see Pol. 3,110,4, Liv. 22,41,3; 28,9,10.

<sup>156</sup> Cf. vv. 4-5; 59-67.

<sup>157</sup> *sanctus* is applied to Palaemon at Plaut. *Rud.* 160; to Apollo at *trag. inc.* 18 R.<sup>3</sup>, Turpil. *com.* 118 R.<sup>3</sup>; to Hercules at CIL F 632, Prop. 4,9,71; *invictus* to Mars at Fast. ann. Iul. Venus. Mai. 14 (Inscr. 13,1, pp. 252-253; to Iuppiter at Cic. *leg.* 2,28, Hor. *carm.* 3,27,73; to Hercules at Verg. *Aen.* 6,394; 8,293.

<sup>158</sup> Vv. 151-215.

<sup>159</sup> Redolent of cult are the cry  $\eta\eta\epsilon$  Πατῶν (v. 154; cf. Pind. fr. 52b,35, Aeschyl. *Ag.* 146, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 874) and the structure of the plea εἰ ποτε ... ἠνύσατ' ἐκροπιᾶν φλόγα πῆμαρος, ἔλθετε καὶ νῦν (vv. 164-167; cf. Hom. *Il.* 1,37-41; 5,115-117, Sappho, fr. 1,5-13, Pind. *I.* 6,42-46, Aristoph. *Equi.* 591-594, *Thesm.* 1156-1158).

<sup>160</sup> There seems to be no exact parallel for *te ... venerans precibus ... ut ...*, but for *precor et veneror* see Cic. *Catil.* 2,29, p. red. in sen. 30, *nat. deor.* 1,119, 122, Liv. 8,9,6 (formula of *devotio*); 39,15,2 and for *deum aliquem veneror ut* Plaut. *Aul.* 8, *Poen.* 278; 950-951, *Rud.* 257; 305; 1349; *Trin.* 40-41. The object of *invoco* is usually a deity of some sort (cf. Plaut. *Amp.* 92, *Carc.* 358, *Most.* 528, *Enn. scaen.* 345 V.<sup>2</sup> = *trag.* 302 R.<sup>3</sup>). For *verruncare* see Liv. 29,27,2; for *averruncare* Cato, *agr.* 141,2, Liv. 8,6,11; 10,23,1.

<sup>161</sup> Of the five comic cases (Plaut. *Aul.* 8, *Merc.* 57, *Mil.* 204-205, *Pers.* 253, *Rud.* 695) three are in religious contexts.

<sup>162</sup> Cf. the titulature *Iuppiter optimus maximus* (Scip. ma. ORF 3 [Gell. 4,18,3], *Aem. Paul.* ORF 2 [Val. Max. 5,10,2], Cic. *div. in Caec.* 43).

(*populo patriae*)<sup>163</sup> without a participle and the heavy alliteration of *invicte invococo* and *portenta ut populo patriae*<sup>164</sup> enhance that tone. The way of considering the nature of *portenta* implied by the phraseology of *portenta ut populo patriae verruncant bene* puts beyond doubt the Romanness of the emotions and the atmosphere being dramatised. The *portenta* are not so much signs of the future or even of divine anger about the present as palpable forces of potential harm.<sup>165</sup>

The trochaic *septenarius* cited by Nonius at p. 98,10

*patrio exemplo et me dicabo † atque animam devoro hostibus † (praet. 15 R.)*

suffers from gross corruption,<sup>166</sup> but it clearly comes from a scene in which the Roman consul expresses his determination to sacrifice himself for the

<sup>163</sup> Cf. *populo civitati* in the old *carmen quo di evocantur* cited at Macr. *Sat.* 3,9,7-8 (~ *populus civitatisque ... populum civitatemque*), *domis hostis* at Plaut. *Rud.* 23 and *caelestium inferorum* at Liv. 10,28,16. Verbs (e.g. Plaut. *Amp.* 923 *oro obscuro*) and predicates (e.g. Cato, *agr.* 134,2 *sies volens propitiis*) could be similarly paired.

<sup>164</sup> Cf. in the prayer to Mars cited by Cato at *agr.* 141,2-3: *viventatem vastitudinemque ... fruges, frumenta, vineta virgultaque ... pastores pecuaque salva servassis ... agrisque mei Iustrandi Iustrique faciendi ergo.*

<sup>165</sup> Cf. the *figura* and *auspicia pestifera* discussed by Verrius Flaccus (Fest., pp. 210; 244). Where *portenta, prodigia, ostenta, monstra* were sufficiently concrete to be capable of being destroyed, e.g. misbirths and sex changes, they were (for the misbirth see Liv. 27,37,5-6; 31,12,6-8; 36,37,2; 39,22,5, *Obsequ.* 22; 25; 27a; 32; 34; 36; 47; 48; 50; for the change of sex Plin. *nat.* 7,36). The processes of *procuratio* and *expiatio* assumed that deities could do something to mitigate the effects of *prodigia*, i.e. that these were not simply  $\sigma\tau\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\alpha$ ; for *portentum expiare* see Liv. 28,27,16, for *portenti expiatio* Cic. *har. resp.* 18. Neither the *omen* nor the *somnium* nor the *auspicium* predicted an inevitable course of events; for the indeterminacy of the *omen*, the possibility of averting the effect of something heard, see Cic. *Mur.* 88, *har. resp.* 42, *Flacc.* 104, *Phil.* 3,35; 12,14; 13,7; 41; 14,26, Verg. *Aen.* 2,190-191; 3,36; for the indeterminacy of the dream vision see Lygd. 4,1-4; 95-96, *Ov. fast.* 3,27-28; for that of the *auspicium* see Liv. 10,42,7; 42,20,4. With Accius' *portenta ... verruncant bene* should be compared Verg. *Aen.* 8,532-533 *ne quare profecto / quem casum portenta ferant*. In neither passage can *portentum* be simply an indication of the future. The same mode of thought can be found in Greek texts (e.g. at Men. *Dysk.* 418, *Lykophr.* 1472-1473, Mosch. *Eur.* 27) but much less commonly.

<sup>166</sup> Nonius thought that a form of the verb *devorare* stood in his text and gave it the sense of 'absumere' or 'abripere'. The synalophe in a trochaic *septenarius* of a word whose penultimate syllable is short with a final cretic-shaped word is odd (see Soubiran 1988, 381); similarly odd the coupling of a present indicative verb with a future, the correlation of the particles *et* and *atque* (see ThLL II 1055,14-23; V ii 888,59-64), the use of the singular *animam* for the plural and the sense which has to be given to *devoro*. Bücheler took *devoro* to be a contracted form of '*devovero*' (1860, 433-435 [= 1915, 222-224]). In 1887 Ribbeck interpreted Bücheler's *atque animam devoro hostibus* (having printed Neukirch's *atque animam devoto hostibus* in his 1852 collection of the tragic fragments he returned to the paradoxos in his collection of 1871) as the expression of Decius' intention 'saine Seele den Feinden zu weihen' (1887, 1894, 194). A. Gudeman on the other hand placed the passage in the ThLL article on *devoro* under the rubric 'alium devovere, inter necioni dare, defigere, incantare' (V i fasc. 4, Leipzig 1912, 882,5-40). Neither interpretation is very plausible, the singular *animam* remains a problem, and we have

benefit of his *populus* and his *patria*. The scene was of a common fifth-century Attic tragic type, exemplified in Euripides' *Ἐρεχθεύς*; *Ἡρακλείδαι*, *Ἰφιγένεια ἢ ἐν Αἰΐδῃ* and *Φοίνισσαι*. At least three of these plays seem to have been adapted for the Roman theatre. Comparable with the uncorrupt initial words of the Accian fragment are those of the Euripidean Macaria at *Herakleid.* 501–502:

ἐγὼ γὰρ αὐτῇ πρὶν κελουσθῆναι, γέρον,  
 θνήσκειν ἐτόιμη καὶ παρίστασθαι σφαγῇ  
 and 550–551:

δίδωμι ἑκούσα τοῖσδ', ἀναγκασθεῖσα δ' οὐ,<sup>167</sup>  
 τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν ἐγὼ

the Euripidean Iphigenia at *Iph. A.* 1375–1376:

κατθανεῖν μὲν μοι δέδοκται· τοῦτο δ' αὐτὸ βούλομαι  
 εὐκλεῶς πράξειαι,

1397:

δίδωμι σῶμα τοῦμὸν Ἑλλάδι  
 and 1472–1476:

Ἕλλησι δώσουσ' ἔρχομαι νικηφόρον.  
 ἄγερτέ με τὰν Ἰλίου  
 καὶ Φρυγῶν ἐλέπολιν.<sup>168</sup>

and the Euripidean Menoeceus at *Phoen.* 997–998:

ὡς οὖν ἂν εἰδῆτ', εἴμι καὶ σῶσω πόλιν  
 ψυχὴν τε δώσω τῆσδ' ὑπερθανεῖν χθονός

and 1009–1012:

ἀλλ', εἴμι καὶ ...  
 σφάζεας ἐμαυτὸν ...  
 ...  
 ἐλευθερώσω γαίαν.<sup>169</sup>

to ask both why a future perfect indicative follows a straight future and why the descriptions of the two parts of the ritual are reversed and the verbs given different objects.

<sup>167</sup> See vv. 403–409 for the demand of Persephone for the blood of a nobleman's daughter.

<sup>168</sup> See vv. 87–93; 358–360; 873–879 for the demand of Artemis for the sacrifice of a general's daughter.

<sup>169</sup> See vv. 931–952 for the demand of Γῆ for blood of a particular kind.

From the Roman theatre we can compare the words of Ennius' Cthonia:

† *qui † nunc aevumna mea libertatem paro,  
 quibus servitutem mea miseria deprecor.*<sup>170</sup>

and the same poet's Iphigenia:

*Acherontem obibo ubi mortis thesauri obiacent.*<sup>171</sup>

It is noteworthy that while none of the Greek personages shows any respect for the gods or the prophets making the demands to which they accede or uses any specifically religious term in regard to their decisions the Accian Decius happily resorts to the verb *dicare*.<sup>172</sup> Everything is done to maintain an atmosphere of collective piety.

#### 4. *The Theme and Title of the Aeneadae aut Decius and What it was to be a Roman in the Late Second and Early First Centuries B.C.*

Polybius, and doubtlessly other Greeks before him, thought of the Italian peninsula as a single entity.<sup>173</sup> For inhabitants of Rome possessed of the citizenship, a certain standing in society, and some knowledge of the past such a view was in many contexts impossible before 42, when Octavian abolished the administrative province of *Gallia cisalpina*,<sup>174</sup> and remained difficult to accept for long afterwards. Rome kept a special identity of its own, and although this had to change its character Accius would have been dead before the large-scale extension of the citizenship which began in 90 south of Pisa and Ariminum<sup>175</sup> could seriously affect any ideology of Roman-ness.

<sup>170</sup> *Scæm.* 137–138 V.<sup>2</sup> = *trag.* 128–129 R.<sup>3</sup> According to Demaratus, FGrHist 42 F 4 (Clem. Al. *protr.* 3,42,6) it was Persephone who demanded the blood of the Athenian king's eldest daughter.

<sup>171</sup> *Scæm.* 245 V.<sup>2</sup> = *trag.* 202 R.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>172</sup> *dicare* functioned exactly like *dedicare* (cf. the coupling in the formula *D.D.D.D.*). As others hand over an object, e.g. a temple, vowed to a deity, so will Decius his own person.

<sup>173</sup> See particularly 2,14–24. It is not at all clear that Cato made a similar use of *Italia* either at ORF 187 (Gell. 2,6,7, Serv. auct. *Aen.* 6,7,6; the speech was given in 151) or at *orig.* 134 (Charis., p. 130,3–4 Barwick).

<sup>174</sup> See App. *civ.* 5,12; 87, Cass. Dio 48,12,5. Julius Caesar had extended the citizenship to all free residents of the Ligurian, Gallic and Venetic towns in 49 (see App. *civ.* 3,115–119, Cass. Dio 41,36,3).

<sup>175</sup> On the *lex* proposed by L. Iulius Caesar (cos. 90) see CIL I<sup>2</sup> 709 (= ILS 8888), Cic. *Ballb.* 21, App. *civ.* 1,211–215, Gell. 4,4,3; on the 89 *plebiscitum* of M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo Cic. *Arch.* 7, Vell. 2,16,4–17,1; 20,2, Schol. Bob. Cic., p. 175 Stangl.

What the Decii recounted about their three *consulares* in Accius' time and what others did can only be conjectured. It is likely enough that at *fn.* 2,60-61 and *Tusc.* 1,89 Cicero based himself on Ennius' *Annales*.<sup>176</sup> Ennius would in this case have presented three acts of self-sacrifice, one at Vesis in 340 in the face of Latins, one at Sentinum in 295 in the face of Etruscans, and one at Ausculum in 279 in the face of Greeks. Our record concentrates on the military prowess of the Decii, their patriotism and their scrupulous piety. There does, however, appear in this record one M. Decius, an early fifth-century Gracchus.<sup>177</sup> Behind the frequent references to P. Decius Mus (cos. 340) as being the first member of his plebeian family to reach the consulate<sup>178</sup> must lie a story of internal political struggle. Another story of struggle must similarly underlie the co-option to the pontificate of the next P. Decius Mus (cos. 312, 308, 297, 295).<sup>179</sup> It is, however, in conformity with earlier *praetextae* that Accius made his *Aeneadae aut Decius* centre on a military exploit rather than on some domestic achievement.

The existence of contradictory traditions about the battle of Ausculum<sup>180</sup> may sufficiently explain why Accius did not make this the battle of his play. In any case the Greeks whom Pyrrhus led no longer inspired fear or even respect. Tarentum had been taken in 209<sup>181</sup> and Ambracia, Pyrrhus' one-time capital, in 189.<sup>182</sup> The Macedonian monarch was defeated in 168<sup>183</sup> and the Achaean League in 146.<sup>184</sup> The long subservient Attalid state became the province of Asia in 133.<sup>185</sup>

Roman feelings about themselves and 'the other' would have played a part in discouraging Accius from treating the victory over the Latins at Vesis. While between c. 140 and c. 90 the cities of Latium resented their subordinate status and the attitudes adopted by Romans, particularly those

176 See Lips 1577, IV 20,3,164.

177 On M. Decius see Dion. Hal. *ant.* 6,88,4; 7,39-46; 63; 8,31,4 (cf. Anon. *vir. ill.* 19,3).

178 On the access of the plebeian *homo novus* to the consulate see Cic. *fn.* 2,61, *div.* 1,51, Hor. *sat.* 1,6,19-20, Liv. 10,8,10, Val. Max. 5,6,5, Iuv. 8,254-258.

179 See Liv. 10,7,1-9,2.

180 Pyrrhus' own *ὑπομνήματα* (FGrHist 229 F 2) and Hieronymus of Cardia's history of Alexander and the Diadochi (FGrHist 154 F 12) had the Greeks emerge from the battle slightly the superior (see Plut. *Pyrrh.* 21,7-15). Since Zonaras has the Romans marginally victorious (8,5,5-7) we may deduce that Dio so presented the matter and guess that Fabius Pictor had done so too. The proverbial *pugna Ocutilana* cited by Titinius (see Fest., p. 197) seems to have treated the apparent victors, i.e. Pyrrhus and his troops, as ultimately the losers (as Diodorus was to do in talking of a 'Cadmian' victory [22,6,2]). To judge by Cic. *fn.* 2,60-61 and *Tusc.* 1,89 Ennius had the Romans as victorious as they had been at Vesis and Sentinum.

181 See Liv. 27,15,4-16,9, Plut. *Fab.* 21-22, App. *Hann.* 211-213, Zon. 9,8,1.

182 See Pol. 21,30,9-10, Liv. 38,9,9-14, Zon. 9,21,1-4.

183 See Liv. 44,41-42, Diod. 30,20, Vell. 1,9,4, Plut. *Aem.* 18-21, Anon. *vir. ill.* 52, Zon. 9,23,6-7.

184 See Pol. 39,2 (ap. Strab. 8,6,23), Liv. *per.* 52, Paus. 7,16,5-7.

185 See Liv. *per.* 58; 59, App. *civ.* 5,17, *Mithr.* 254.

in authority, towards them,<sup>186</sup> they were nevertheless loath to join the 'Italian' allies in rebellion.<sup>187</sup> The Romans for their part accepted the reality of an ethnic and linguistic kinship between the Latins and themselves.<sup>188</sup> Most foreign spectators at any Roman *ludi* would have been of course Latins.

Setting the action of the *Aeneadae aut Decius* near Sentinum did not automatically identify Decius' opponents in the battle. Fabius Pictor may have made them Gauls,<sup>189</sup> Ennius almost certainly made them Etruscans.<sup>190</sup> Others could have made them Umbrians or Samnites. If Accius did not make them Etruscans it was perhaps at least in part because the Etruscans of his time were almost as quiescent as the Latins.<sup>191</sup> Their religiosity enjoyed respect from many Romans,<sup>192</sup> and the contributions they had made to some long established Roman institutions, including *ludi scaenici*,<sup>193</sup> were recognised by the expert. The Gauls on the other hand, despite the expulsion from the peninsula of Italy of the remnants of the Senones<sup>194</sup> and the Boii<sup>195</sup> and the subjection of the Insubres and the Cenomani,<sup>196</sup> remained a cause of fear,<sup>197</sup> and thus a suitable subject for a play of tragic pretensions.

186 The attitudes that showed themselves in the comic scripts of Naevius and Plautus (see above, nn. 44, 45) and in the extortions of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (aed. 182; see Liv. 40,44,10-12) maintained themselves. We do not know whether Roman behaviour ever went quite so far in the old Latin cities as it seems to have done in the Latin colony of Fregella (for the rebellion of 126-125 see *Rhet. Her.* 4,13; 22; 37, Liv. *per.* 60 [Obseq. 30], Strab. 5,3,10, Vell. 2,6,4, Val. Max. 2,8,4, Plut. C. *Gracch.* 3,1, Anon. *vir. ill.* 65,2, Amm. 25,9,10, Macr. *Sat.* 3,9,13) and did in the heavily Latinised Ferentinum, Cales and Teanum Sidicinum (see C. Gracch. ORF 48 [Gell. 10,3,3; 5]).

187 See App. *civ.* 1,175-178. For positive help given to Rome see Liv. *per.* 72.

188 See App. *civ.* 1,99 on a *συγγένευστος*; *Rhet. Her.* 4,37 on a *morium et sermonis societas* in regard to the Fregellani.

189 Zon. 8,1,5 reflects Dio. For the possibility that Dio draws on Fabius see above, n. 180.

190 See Cic. *Tusc.* 1,89 and above, n. 176.

191 On Etruria in 90 see App. *civ.* 1,211-215. Flor. 2,6,5-13 and Oros. 5,18,17 have the Etruscans fighting on the side of the Italian rebels.

192 Cf. Cic. *div.* 1,92, Liv. 5,1,6, Dion. Hal. *ant.* 1,30,3. For disrespect see Cic. *nat. deor.* 1,71; 2,11 (referring to Ti. Sempronius Gracchus), *div.* 2,51 (referring to the Elder Cato). Diod. 5,40,2 is usually held to reflect the opinion of Posidonius.

193 See Liv. 7,2,4-8.

194 See Pol. 2,19,10-11, Dion. Hal. *ant.* 19,13,1, App. *Samn.* 6, Celt. 11. For the division of their

lands see Pol. 2,21,7-8.

195 For the victory of P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica (cos. 191) see Liv. 36,38,5-7, Oros. 4,20,21, Zon. 9,19,6. For the expulsion to Bohemia see Strab. 5,1,6 (contrast, however, Liv. 36,39,3).

196 For the victory of C. Cornelius Cethegus (cos. 197) at the Mincio over the Insubres and the Cenomani see Pol. 18,11,2; 12,1, Liv. 32,29,5-30,13; 33,22,1-23,8; for that of M. Claudius Marcellus (cos. 196) over the Insubres near the ancient town of Comum Liv. 33,36,9-14; for the treaty with the Insubres Cic. *Balb.* 32.

197 On an incursion into the peninsula in 143 see Liv. *per.* 53, Cass. Dio 22, fr. 74, Obseq. 21, Oros. 5,4,7; on one in 118 Liv. *per.* 62, Oros. 5,14,5-6; on one in 115 Inscr. 13,1, pp. 85, 561 (Fast. tr. Capit.), Anon. *vir. ill.* 72,7; on one in 102-101 Plut. *mor.* 23-27; on one (alleged) in 95 Cic. *inv.* 2,111, *Pis.* 62. The Cimabri whom C. Marius defeated at Vercellae in 101 were regarded

A dramatic account of a victory over a group of them, particularly one high-lighting traditional virtues like military prowess, religiousness and patriotism, might be expected to enhance general Roman self-confidence.

The ritual aspect of the suicide could have been presented in several ways. It is quite unclear whether the Accian Decius offered his life to Tellus and the di Manes,<sup>198</sup> to Saturnus<sup>199</sup> or to the gods in general.<sup>200</sup> There were also many possible ways of presenting the consul's motives: he could have been portrayed as yielding for patriotic reasons to the superstition-driven demands of others or as cynically using a sensational set of rites to terrify the enemy<sup>201</sup> or as doing what he sincerely thought the gods themselves demanded. Two fragmentary statements, those cited by Nonius at pp. 98, 10 and 185, 20 (*praet.* 15; 5-6 R.), are cast in language so near to that of traditional Roman cult<sup>202</sup> as to suggest strongly a man of the deepest and sincerest piety.

The question why Accius called a play about a clash in the early third century between Romans and Gauls *Aeneadae* frequently compels scholars to admit bewilderment.<sup>203</sup> Adrien de Jonghe suggested, however, as early as 1556<sup>204</sup> that the Latin poet set out to praise the virtue of the Romans, who traced their ancestry to Aeneas, and particularly of the Decii, who sacrificed their own lives on behalf of their fellow-citizens. He was followed by J.H. Neukirch,<sup>205</sup> F.H. Bothe,<sup>206</sup> an anonymous person quoted by F.G. Welcker,<sup>207</sup> F. Leo,<sup>208</sup> S. Mazzarino,<sup>209</sup> H. Cancik,<sup>210</sup> and V. D'Antò.<sup>211</sup> All would have in mind the use of Αἰνεῖδης in the epigrams which T. Quintus Flaminus had displayed at Delphi in 196<sup>212</sup> and that of *Aeneada* in the

as a Gallic group (see Cic. *prov.* 32, *de orat.* 2, 266, Plin. *nat.* 35, 25, Quint. *inst.* 6, 3, 38, App. *cit.* 1, 130). *auxilia* were rarely recruited from towns on either side of the Po (see, however, Liv. 41, 1, 8; 5, 5).

198 As at Varro, *fr. Non.*, p. 485, 19-22, Liv. 8, 9, 8; 10, 28, 13; 29, 4, Flor. 1, 12, 7; Ampel. 20, 6, Anon. *vir. ill.* 27, 3-5.

199 As at Plut. *mor.* 499b-c.

200 As at Enn. *ann.* 191-194 Skutsch. Cf. Cic. *nat. deor.* 2, 10.

201 As Pyrrhus is reported to have suggested (Zon. 8, 5, 1-7).

202 See above, section 3.

203 E.g. Flower 1995, 180 n. 69, E. Weber, essay in this volume.

204 1556, 273.

205 1833, 76.

206 1834, 161.

207 1841, 1389-1391.

208 1913, 398.

209 1990 (1966), 60, 151-152, 523 (n. 439).

210 1978, 332.

211 1980, 489-490.

212 See Plut. *Tit.* 12, 11-12.

initial verse of Lucretius' *De rerum natura*.<sup>213</sup> None of these, except the anonymous person and Cancik, made any attempt to explain how Accius expressed the point of the title within the actual script of the play. I have argued, however, above<sup>214</sup> that the idea of the chorus being formed of 'Aeneadae' will not work.

In 1840 R.H. Klausen suggested that *Aeneadae* denoted the Decius of the play and his father, that all the Decii, like all the Iunii Bruti, claimed literal descent from Aeneas, now one of the *di Indigetes* addressed in the ritual formula, and that Accius' purpose was to glorify the family.<sup>215</sup> Klausen was followed by F.G. Welcker,<sup>216</sup> O. Ribbeck,<sup>217</sup> W. Soltau,<sup>218</sup> Ch. Guittard<sup>219</sup> and J. Dangel.<sup>220</sup> Ribbeck had Aeneas in his divine form on stage in the course of the play. Many objections can be made. Only one Decius figured, or could have figured, in the action.<sup>221</sup> No fragment actually attributed to the play links its Decius with Aeneas. The location in its prologue of the genealogy of Priam and Anchises cited by an ancient commentator on Verg. *Georg.* 1, 502 is purely speculative.<sup>222</sup> The Decii are not among the families who are known to have claimed a Trojan origin.<sup>223</sup> The behaviour of the only Decius who came to political prominence between 140 B.C. and the extension of the citizenship to the Latin and allied states, namely P. Decius Subulo (praet. 115),<sup>224</sup> the populist leanings part of the later tradition was to give to an early fifth-century M. Decius and the first two consular Decii,<sup>225</sup> and the conservative political attitudes of Accius' known patrons<sup>226</sup> make it unlikely in any case that the poet composed a eulogy of such a family as the Decii.

213 See above, n. 95.

214 Section 3.

215 1840, 921-922.

216 1841, 1389-1391.

217 1875, 599, 1887, 1894, 194.

218 1909, 46; 1910, 1463.

219 1984, 592.

220 1995, 45-46, 375-376.

221 The first consular Decius could, of course, have appeared to his son in a dream.

222 As in Dangel's collection (1995, 239). Cf. Dangel 1990, 59.

223 See above, nn. 73-85.

224 See Cic. *Rab. perd.* 24-25, Val. Max. 8, 1, damn. 2, Schol. Bob. Cic., p. 95 Strangl, Anon. *vir. ill.* 72, 6; Badian 1956, 91-96.

225 See above, nn. 177-179.

226 Accius associated in his maturity with men of the rank of D. Iunius Brutus Callaicus (cos. 138; see Cic. *Arch.* 27, *Brnt.* 107, *leg.* 2, 54 [cf. Plut. *mor.* 272d-e], Val. Max. 8, 14, 2, Schol. Bob. Cic., p. 179 Strangl), P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio (cos. 138; see Cic. *Brnt.* 107) and Q. Fabius Maximus Allobrogicus (cos. 121; see Cic. *Brnt.* 107) and in his old age with M. Terentius Varro (b. 116, praet. c. 67; Varro dedicated to Accius his *De antiquitate litterarum* [Pomp. GL V, 98, 23]) and M. Tullius Cicero (b. 106, cos. 63; see Cic. *Brnt.* 107). His refusal to stand when

Clearly, the title *Aeneadae* can have nothing to do with special claims made by second-century B.C. Decii. There is on the other hand good evidence that throughout the second century upper-class Romans of indisputably ancient and distinguished lineage often felt flattered by suggestions that their families somehow descended collectively from Aeneas. Consideration of the course of the drama – how it began in an atmosphere of worry about the disposition of the gods towards the Roman people and ended (presumably) in one of jubilation over a Roman victory<sup>227</sup> –, of the central act – an essentially ritual one which proved effective –, of the Roman citizenship of most if not all of those seen on stage, and of the Gallic nationality of the unseen enemy may help to explain the rationale of the primary title. That a Decius performed the ritual act had perhaps less importance than the secondary title<sup>228</sup> might seem to indicate. The stereotype held of the Gaul by Accius' audience would certainly have been exploited. Vital elements of this stereotype were on the one hand an individualism, a resistance to discipline, a lack of steadfastness and an inability to endure hardship for long periods and on the other a tendency to cruelty and superstition in cult and a readiness to violate and plunder the holy places of more civilized peoples.<sup>229</sup> Whether many Romans knew the legend familiar to Timaeus of the descent of the Gauls from the shameless, lawless and religionless one-eyed giant Polyphemus<sup>230</sup> cannot be determined. Such a story would have certainly helped to confirm the stereotype. The Aeneas of better known legend embodied the qualities the Romans attributed to themselves and thought the Gauls to lack,<sup>231</sup> true military virtue and genuine respect for the gods, qualities which won the victory of Sentinum and which hopefully would prevail in any future conflict with Gauls. The title *Aeneadae* took up, I suggest, a poetic word used in one of the speeches or arias of the script, perhaps a prayer uttered by Decius himself pleading for divine support for the 'Aeneadae' or a posthumous eulogy of Decius pronounced by his fellow consul describing those who had with the help of the gods routed the enemy as true 'Aeneadae'.<sup>232</sup> I have, however, to con-

the patrician nobleman C. Julius Caesar Strabo Vopiscus (aed. cur. 90) entered the meeting place of the college of poets (see Val. Max. 3.7.11) had more to do with temperament and professional pride than with class feeling or political antipathising.

227 On the fragment cited by Nonius, p. 185,20 (*praet.* 5-6 R.) see above, section 3. None of the extant fragments appear to come from near the end of the play.

228 See above, n. 129.

229 See above, n. 105.

230 See FGHRHist 566 F 69 and above, n. 105.

231 See above, n. 105.

232 See above, n. 95 on the poetical character of Αἰνεάδης / *Aeneada* and the possibility that Ennius introduced the word to poetic Latin.

cess that I cannot point to another Latin or Greek dramatic title bestowed for exactly similar reasons.<sup>233</sup>

### 5. Some Answers to the Questions of Section 2

It has proved easier to pose questions about Accius' *Aeneadae* aut *Decius* than to answer them. The smallness and the fewness of the fragments and the lack of evidence about what kind of *ludi* the play was originally composed for and in what year these took place make anything more than controlled speculation impossible.

The play seems to have had a single place of action – i.e. to have resembled in this respect more an Attic tragedy than a local improvisation – and to have presented scenes reminiscent of Attic plays about divine anger and human self-sacrifice, while at the same time creating a peculiarly Roman atmosphere by use of the cultic registers of the Latin language.

Debates within the Roman ruling class during the second half of the second century B.C. about how to handle demands being made by the subject populations of the Italian peninsula, how far to go in satisfying the hunger for elements of the Roman proletariat for land and what to do about the restlessness of the tribes of the Alps and the regions beyond could in theory have been reflected in the script. While poets did not have the standing to make their own opinions seem worthy of attention, we know that many of Accius' patrons and friends in the aristocracy took up a conservative stance in such debates. The extant fragments of the *Aeneadae* aut *Decius* show, however, nothing of a tendentious nature. Ideas held by Romans collectively about their own virtues and the vices of others were in fact much more likely to enter a script designed to edify the whole citizen body. The myth of a common descent from Trojan Aeneas, a myth which had long encouraged Roman self-esteem, certainly did.

It has further emerged that the role of the Gauls in the *Aeneadae* aut *Decius* resulted not from the following of a universal historical tradition but from a conscious choice between variants of the tradition. Through the years when the play might have been composed and staged Gauls – still not always clearly distinguished from other cisalpine and transalpine ethnic

233 Aeschylus' *Δαναΐδες*, *Νηηΐδες*, and *Φορκύδες*; Sophocles' *Ἀντηροΐδαί* and Euripides' *Ἡρακλειδαί* and *Πελαΐδες* have to do with the children of a particular deity or hero. Aeschylus' *Ἡρακλειδαί*, Sophocles' *Ἀλεάδαι*, Ion's *Εἰρηροΐδαί*, Lycophron's *Πελοπονίδαί* and the anonymous *Φινειδαί* are opaque. Likewise Accius' *Ἀγαμέμνονιδαί*, *Αντερονιδαί*, *Πελοπιδαι* and *Φινιδαί* and Gracchus' *Πελαΐδες*. It may further be pointed out that the title *Iter* and those formed from place-names, *Clusidium* and *Ambracia*, are also without Greek parallels.



groups – represented for the Romans ‘the Other’ much more than Latins, Greeks, Oscans, or Etruscans did, and Aeneas could still be regarded as the archegete from whom came all those virtues which Gauls in particular conspicuously lacked. What we can conjecture about the content and tone of Accius’ play neither supports nor contradicts the idea that those who managed *ludi* regularly had scenic performances designed with an eye on the advancement of their own careers or the promotion of the policies of the factions to which they belonged. It does on the other hand show in operation at *ludi* an official concern with the contentedness of the gods and the solidarity of the citizen body, and with the maintenance of both the positive and the negative aspects of a Roman national identity.

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# IDENTITÄTEN UND ALTERITÄTEN

Herausgegeben  
von

Hans-Joachim Gehrke Monika Fludernik  
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BAND 3

ALTERTUMSWISSENSCHAFTLICHE REIHE

BAND 1

# Identität und Alterität in der frührömischen Tragödie

Herausgegeben von

Gesine Manuwald

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PB019

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ERGON VERLAG

ERGON VERLAG