Roman Myth and Mythography

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MYTH AND MYTHOGRAPHY AT ROME [1]

No definition of myth is offered at the outset, not least because the chief concern of this chapter is mythography, and because over the last few years the powerful arguments of W. Burkert and his followers have indicated that it would be most unwise to make use of neat distinctions between 'myth' and 'legend';? at Rome, anyway, there are many stories (above all, that of Servius Tullius, p. 5) which look to contain elements of both. The 'peculiar sort of aridity' with which Michael Grant not unfairly characterised the mythological imagination of early Rome seems to have discouraged scholars writing in English from the study of Roman myth. This first chapter grew out of a longstanding preoccupation with Latin mythographic texts, and offers some clarification of the evidence and of its transmission. The literary and historical character of our scanty source-material has been neglected above all else, and that neglect weakens and often even invalidates many of the attempts that have been made to impose the approaches, subtle but often opaque, which students of Greek myth and comparative mythology have developed, especially in Italy and France, upon the modest but recalcitrant body of Roman material (eg Arrigoni (n. 1), Camassa (n. 27), Liou-Gille (n. 20)).

Very few students of Roman myth have paused to draw a distinction between:

(i) those very few Roman and Italian myths whose evidently great antiquity, predating both regular contact with Greek literature?(cf. p. 5) and the spread of literacy in its application to the preservation of narrative' (cf. p. 5), is indicated both by their form and by copious Indo-European (and indeed non-Indo-European) parallels (Romulus, Cacus, Caeculus), and which have survived all the vicissitudes of accretion and transmission; and

(ii) those, which I shall call 'secondary myth', that are the products of antiquarian industry, literary activity, a desire for impressive antecedents, a good nose for suggestive analogies and for what might pass as a credibly antique story, a talent for creating a seductive but illusory patina of hoarily ancient authenticity, and, lastly, wide reading. The poets of classical Greece create or retell myth for society at large; Roman men of letters construct secondary myth for *recitationes*. In that context it exercises little or no 'social function' (cf. Burkert (n. 2), 2), though the *Aeneid* came at times to exercise something of that function for the Roman Empire.

[1] This study was prompted by invitations to write about Messapus and the Aeneas-legend (2. 221-9) for the *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, to review Giampiera Arrigoni. *Camilla* (Milan, 1982). and Jocelyn Penny Small, *Cacus and Marsyas* (Princeton. 1982). for ***CR*** (34. 1 (1984), 61-2, and 34. 2 (1984), 226-9). and to lecture on Roman myth at Utrecht (at Jan Bremmer's invitation). Reviews of L. Braccesi, *Antenore* and ***OGR*** (ed. J.- C. Richard) to appear in ***CR*** will offer further clarification of details. I am also most grateful to Prof. Arrigoni for much disbelieving yet cordial discussion, to Fritz Graf for criticism of an early draft, to Tim Cornell and Peter Wiseman for helpful criticism at a later stage, and to Prof. Emilio Gabba, who kindly invited me to speak at Pavia and contributed a great deal to my understanding of the historical context. A text of an earlier version of this paper is also published in *Echos du monde classique* 29 (1985), 393-410. I quote from M. Grant. *Roman Myths* (London. 1971). a stimulating book.

[2] Cf. the neat but fallacious distinctions between myth ('thoroughgoing fiction'). legend ('stories based. however remotely. on historical fact') and 'folktale' ('a species of myth'): Grant (n. 1), 262 n. 24, 263 n. 27: cf. Small (n. 1), xiii. Cf., far more helpfully, W. Burkert. *Structure and History* (Berkeley, 1979). ch. 1; F. Graf. *Griechische Mythologie* (Munich. 1985). 7ff.

[3] G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus der Römer* (Munich, 1912), 9: C. Koch. *Der röm. Juppiter* (repr. Darmstadt. 1968). 30.

[4] Note the prudent survey by G. Cavallo, in *Civiltà del Mezzogiorno: l'impronto ellenico* (Milan. 1984). 129ff; cf. further nn. 25. 75, and J. N. Bremmer in *Actus: Studies in honour of H. L. W. Nelson* (Utrecht, 1982). 44ff, for suggestive distinctions between oral and written transmissions of myth. I refer purely to the unquestionable antiquity of numerous themes contained in the stories under discussion. Cf. J. Poucet. *Les origines de Rome* (Brussels. 1985). 238ff.

Two central questions above all have been neglected: first, how the Romans themselves regarded what was or might pass for a myth; and, secondly, how the stories were transmitted and transmuted. This discussion is intended as a first step towards remedying that neglect.

Grant's 'peculiar aridity' is the more surprising in that it occurs in a society which preserved vigorously and unconcealed its peasant origins in language, in proverbs, in riddles, in superstitions, in folk-medicine, in animal-fables[5] But the survival of stories about ghosts and werewolves (for instance Petr. 62, 63) is one thing, that of myths is quite another. It is very striking to contrast the extremely slender traces of popular awareness of Italian myth with the easy familiarity with classical mythology displayed in the dialogue of Theocritus 15 (61, 4), or with that assumed by the authors of New Comedy, whether in Greece, or even, very strikingly, before a third to second century BC Roman audience.[6] Likewise, the language of Greek proverbs is rich in mythological content, whereas, extraordinarily, the subject index to Otto's *Sprichwörter* yields, alongside a page of references to Greek gods and heroes, only *Pici divitiae* from Italian soil.' That is to say that imported myths have almost wholly displaced the native product at this basic level. Oaths are quite another matter,[8] but *Equirine*, for instance, belongs rather to the study of popular religious language and falls outside the scope of this discussion. The popular Roman stage yields similar conclusions: only one mime-title proves relevant, the *Anna Perenna* of Laberius, whose plot (the story of Mars and Anna Perenna) may be reconstructed with the help of Ovid, *Fasti* 3. 677ff.[9]

The evidence of art may prove significant in this context, for a sufficient body of representations of Italian mythological themes would permit important inferences about the likely knowledge of the intended public. The Roman and Pompeian evidence is throughly catalogued, but, at least if one looks at the painting, mosaic and sculpture, little enough emerges: a handful of Pompeian Romulus-scenes, the reliefs of the Basilica Aemilia, the Esquiline paintings, a Rhea Silvia with Mars from the Domus Aurea, half-a-dozen fragments of sculptural relief, all but one clearly identifiable[10] — and the Capitoline wolf! The stories are all from the most conventional areas of mainstream myth or legend."[11]

[5] Language: O. Weise. *Charakteristik der lat. Sprache*, 3rd. ed. (Leipzig. 1905), 13ff = *Language and Character of the Roman People* (London. 1909). 12ff; C. di Meo. *Lingue techniche del Latino* (Bologna, 1983), 27ff. Proverbs: A. Otto, *Sprichwörter*, 383ff. Riddles: Petr. 58. 8, with Smith's notes: Virgil, *Buc*. 3. 104ff; W. Schultz. *PW* IA 116. 16ff. Superstitions: Petr. *Cena*, ed. Smith, index, *s.v.*; X. F. M. G. Wolters, *Notes on antique folklore* (Amsterdam, 1935). Folk-medicine: J. Scarborough, *Roman medicine* (London, 1969). 23. Animal fables: Babrius and Phaedrus, ed. B. E. Perry (Loeb ed.), Ixxxvff; A. Scobie, *RhM* 122 (1979), 244ff, and *Apuleius and Folklore* (London. 1983), 20ff. Of course Petronius might be expected to modify, moderate, manipulate. even invent 'popular' elements to suit his own literary purpose.

[6] Fully discussed by F. Middelmann, *Griech. Welt u. Sprache in Plautus' Komödien* (Bochum, 1938), 48ff; E. Fraenkel. *Elementi Plautini in Plauto* (Florence, 1960), 55ff.

[7] E. L. van Leutsch, etc.. *Paroemiographi Graeci*, index nominum; contrast Otto (n. 5). 402f.

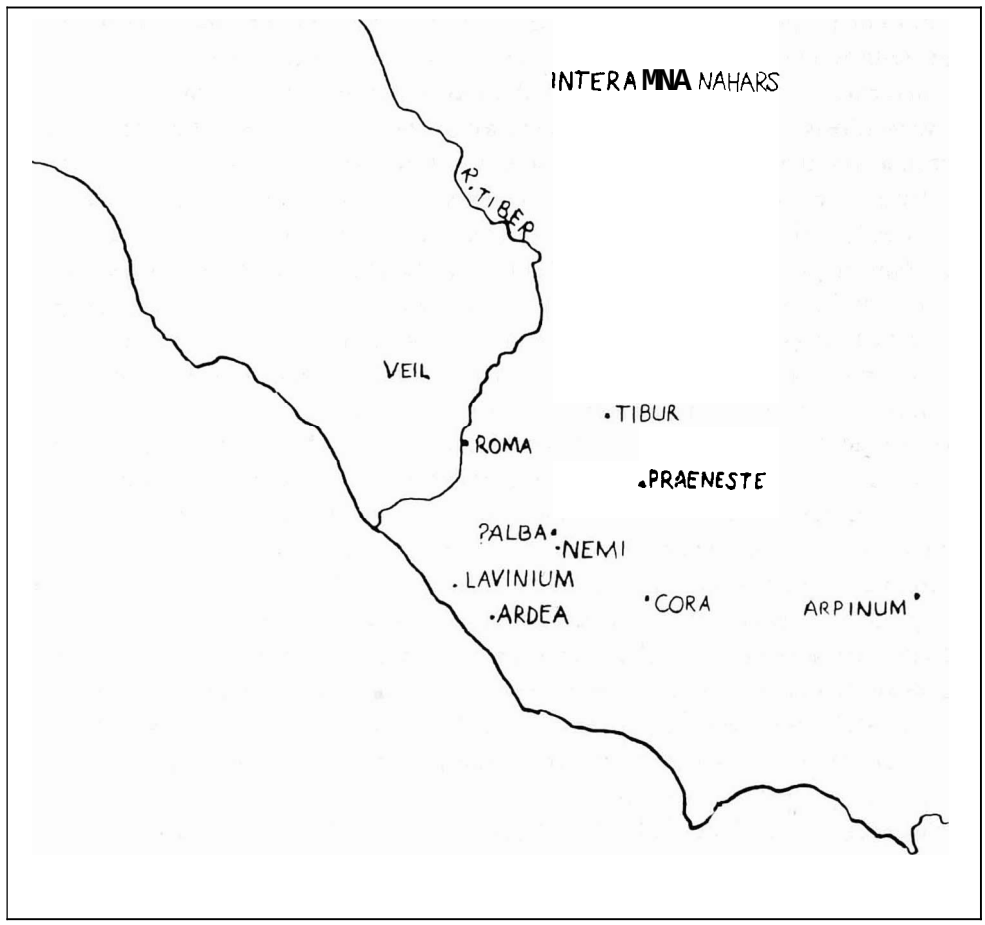
[8] J. B. Hofmann, *Lar. Umgangssprache*, 3rd. ed. (Heidelberg. 1951), 30f = *La lingua d'uso Latina* (tr. L. Ricottilli: Bologna, 1980), 136ff.

[9] E. Fantham. *HSCP* 87 (1983), 200. Greek influence on the mime was considerable, but I find it difficult to believe that the whole category of Roman mythological themes was excluded for precisely that reason: cf. further T. P. Wiseman in *Les 'Bourgeoisies' municipales Italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles av. J.- C*. (Paris, 1983), 300.

[10] W. Helbig, *Fiihrer*, 4th. ed. (1963), 1397.

[11] Helbig, Index, *s.v.* Rom. Griindungssagen, Friihgeschichte: K. Schefold, *Die Wände Pompejis* (Berlin, 1957), index *s.v.* Romulus. Aineias, etc. The more extensive coin and gem material is conveniently collected by P. Aichholzer, *Darstellungen röm. Sagen*, diss. Wien 160 (1983), catal. 123ff; this list, however. is notably outdated in its bibliography and uncritical in its methods.

The absence of identifiable mythological scenes in Roman or Pompeian art containing figures of identifiably Italian origin'? is clearly itself significant, though the numerous unidentified mythological or legendary figures in Etruscan or Praenestine art may of course often constitute unrecognisable evidence for lost non-Roman myth or for variant themes of known stories."



At this point it might even seem legitimate to suspect that our knowledge is so extremely fragmentary that our entire picture of Roman myth might be distorted. But a search for unexplained allusions, unidentified iconographies, names without stories, and stories without names does not yield much. Possibly some of the towns of Latium once had king-lists more ancient and interesting than that of Alba, recording figures to whom legendary feats adhered:

[12] On a striking combat of Trojans and Latins (cf. *Aen.* 7-12), see my remarks in *Atti del convegno mondiale scientifico di studi su Virgilio*, 2 (Milan, 1984), 61 n. 71.

[13] Etruscans: Small (n. 1) 37ff; on mirrors. C. Sowder in (ed.) N. de Grummond, *A guide to Etruscan mirrors* (Tallahassee. 1982). 100ff; on Praenestine cistae, see, T. Dohrn. 'Die Ficoronische Ciste'. *Mon. artis rom.* 11 (Berlin. 1972); G. Bordenache Battaglia, *Le ciste prenestine*, 1 (Rome. 1979). in progress: my thanks to Nigel Spivey for guidance in this morass. Cf. p. 4 for a typical instance of unhelpful speculation.

the survival of such names as Acron, king of Caenina,[14] Propertius, Thebris and Morrius, kings of Veii,[15] and Dercennus, king of the Laurentes (see below) might suggest as much. Erulus king of Praeneste is killed by the young Evander (*Aen.* 8. 561ff), but in his Virgilian form (cf. Eden, ad *loc.*) is merely a doublet of Geryon (cf. 8. 202) with his *tres animae*: the name Erulus is interesting, but clearly need not in origin have belonged to an authentic figure of primitive Praenestine myth. Dercennus (*Aen.* 11. 850) is named by Virgil as an ancient king of the Laurentes; the name appears Celtic and clearly belongs to a quite different stratum from the superficial reconstructions of 7. 45ff and 170ff.[16]

The name Recaranus is hardly more rewarding: it occurs only in the fragments of Hemina cited in the late fourth century compilation known as the *OGR*.[17] The name appears in some way connected with that of Geryon: that Recaranus could once have existed as a figure distinct from Geryon is scarcely credible;[18] certainly the existence of a further form, Garanus, used by Servius ad *Aen.* 8. 203 of a Recaranus-like figure, suggests as much. However, something very strange has happened not only to the name but to the function,[19] for Recaranus/Garanus takes over the function of Hercules and slays Cacus. But the problems Recaranus presents are, I suspect. primarily ones of misunderstanding and garbled transmission. It does not solidly advance our comprehension to emend the name to Trecaranus, the three-headed (cf. *Aen.* 8. 202, 564!) and to found giddy speculations thereupon."'

But whereas, for example, the tales told by Nestor point clearly towards the existence of a vast body of non-Trojan epic'' known to Homer, the surviving corpus of authentic central Italian myth conveys not the faintest impression of being the tiny visible part of a vast submerged mass. More important. this modest corpus is certainly not, by the period for which we are informed, a precious popular heritage: sufficient evidence should by now have been adduced (pp. 2-3) to suggest that popular culture embraced imported myth with enthusiasm. while native myths, which, I would argue, had never been very numerous (pp. 7-10), held by contrast little or no popular appeal. The *Mythenlosigkeit* of Roman religion was already noted by Dionysius of Halicamassus (2. 18. 3), and has been variously explained by scholars from Wissowa to Gabba (*RSI* 96 (1984), 855ff). The present article and that controversy run parallel.

No single explanation for the 'failure' of Roman myth, for its absence from, for instance, the language of proverbs and from the popular stage, is here offered; but certainly, if aristocratic priesthoods had been the jealous guardians of a modest range of local myths,[22] the stories would indeed remain little-known and highly vulnerable to sudden oblivion, in, for example, the

[14] Acron: Liv. 1. 9. 8; Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973), 69, n. 11 = 92; G. Dumézil, *Mariages indo-européens* (Paris, 1979), 225ff.

[15] Propertius: Cato fr. 48P; Thebris: Varro, LL 5. 30; Morrius, Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 8. 285. Cf. too *Aen.* 12. 94, *Actor-is Aurunci spolium*, perhaps.

[16] Dercennus: Th. Koves-Zulauf, *Gymn.* 85 (1978), 412ff.

[17] *OGR* 6, 9; Small (n. 1), 27 n. 80.

[18] To assert Recaranus' independent existence is, I suspect, wilfully to enlarge cnaos; on the identification of Hercules and Recaranus. Small (n. 1), 27 n. 80.

[19] Cf. Small (n. 1), 26ff; Burkert (n. 2), 854.

'"Three-headed: after S. Ferri, A. Alföldi, *Die struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates* (Heidelberg, 1974), 186; surprisingly, Burkert (n. 2). 86: B. Liou-Gille, *Cultes héroiques romains* (Paris, 1980), 34 and *passim* (on whose extravagances, see R. Turcan, *RHR* 199 (1982), 183-6). Three heads are now disquietingly promoted into the text of the *OGR:* (ed. Richard), 126.

[21] G. L. Huxley, *Greek epic poetry* (London, 1969), 39ff.

[22] J. Bayet, *Hist . . . de la religion romaine* (Paris, 1957). 45f; E. T. Salmon. *Samnium and the Samnites* (Cambridge. 1967), 179f; E. C. Evans, *Cults of the Sabine Territory* (New York, 1939). 121.

destruction of the Hannibalic or Social Wars:?' if the only context in which a foundation story was related was to reinforce the authority of an oligarchic or dominant family (cf. Salmon (n. 22), 82f), its popularity was perhaps unlikely to develop deep roots. There is not a word in Cicero on Arpinum's origins; very possibly, if the new men of Sullan Rome abandoned the myths and legends of their home towns, :hen the only guardians of those stories had departed.'' On the other hand, from 240 BC or so, the 'interloper', Greek mythology, was firmly linked to explicitly popular theatrical representations.?' There was now a growing literate public, and Roman armies were bringing back scraps of Greek stories, language and mores from the south. Two and a half centuries earlier, the Roman purchasers of black-figure and red-figure vases, if they could read (unlikely), were clearly Greekless, and even if there were itinerant polyglot storytellers, their skills have left no trace. Before Livius Andronicus, no vehicle existed whereby Greek myth could attract or retain the attention of a population monoglot and not long literate. Undeniably, the stories of Romulus at Rome[26], and, probably, that of Caeculus at Praeneste, were of immemorial antiquity, but such narratives are exceptionally rare. Likewise. the story of Servius Tullius is clearly in part of primitive character and has widespread mythological analogues,[27] yet he himself remains in some sense an historical figure. One would, at Rome, be most unwise to distinguish sharply between myth and legend, between *fabula* and *historia*; Livy lays down no firm periodisation in terms of chronology and credibility.[28] Etruscan art even juxtaposes the mythological Cacus with the historical Vibenna.[29] So when G. W. Williams asserts[30] that Virgil thought of Aeneas as historically real, one might suspect that no educated Roman of that date would have conceived of the matter in such crude terms.

We have alsc to remain at all times sharply aware of the distinction between transmission and creation: under the stimulus of Hellenistic mythography and local history, Roman poets and antiquarians successfully and deceptively created a corpus of 'secondary myth' for Rome and for many other central Italian towns, and we need to be more cautious than some recent writers in applying such terms as 'folktale' to the products of elegant first century BC composition on the analogy of old and familiar stories. According to Ovid, for example, Numa overcomes Faunus and Picus with wine in order to make them reveal how he can entice Jupiter Elicius. This is a story-type already old in Homer. Antias or his source will have known many instances; to create another is not 'folktale' (Fantham, *loc. cit.*) but mass-production of

[23] Hannibalic War: M. W. Frederiksen. *Campania* (Rome. 1983). 304. Social war: Salmon (n. 22), 55, 386f.

[24] E. T. Salmon, *The Making of Roman Italy* (London. 1982), 132f; Wiseman (n. 9). 305; J.- M. David. *ibid.*, 309ff. Cf. G. Wissowa (n. 2). 9, for comparable explanations. applied to an earlier era.

[25] Fraenkel (n. 6), 85ff, surely exaggerates knowledge of Greek myth at Rome before Livius. Literacy: note the highly significant career of Cn. Flavius, aed. cur. 304. Much of the apparent evidence for earlier popular literacy depends on annalistic reconstructions influenced by the κύρβεις and ἄξονες of Solon: Liv. 3. 34. 2; Plin. NH 35. 12; R. Stroud in *Athens comes of age* (Princeton. 1978). 20ff, and 'The Axones and Kyrbeis of Drakon and Solon'. *UCPCP* 19 (1979); cf. too the fascinating but chronologically inconclusive evidence of F. Schulz, *Roman legal science*, 2nd. ed. (Oxford, 1953), 25ff.

[26] See Bremmer, 25ff; Poucet (n. 4), 179ff and *passim*; T. J. Cornell, *PCPhS*, an admirable discussion of Romulus (on Aeneas, several of his conclusions have to be modified).

[27] On Cacus, see. for instance, G. Camassa, *L'occhio e il metallo* (Genoa. 1983), 48f: also Ogilvie on Liv. 1. 39. 1: Ov. F. 6. 627f. Compare Promathion of Gergis on the birth of Romulus and Remus. *FGrH* 817 = Plut. *Rom.* 2. 3: Cornell (n. 26), 25 n. 4. 26.

[28] Liv. Praef. 6. 6. 1. 2; cf. DH 1. 79. 1; P. G. Walsh, *Livy* (Cambridge, 1961), 30, 32; T. J. Luce, *Livy* (Princeton. 1977), 141 n. 3; T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics* (Leicester, 1979), 143ff.

[29] Small (n. 2), 37ff.

[30] *Technique and ideas in the* Aeneid (New Haven. 1983). 36. Cf. P. Veyne. *Les Grecs ont-ils cru à leurs mythes?* (Paris. 1983), 44 n. 32.

pleasantly familiar goods by literary assembly-line."[30] Interesting in its own right, often, but only an incidental concern of this paper. Nor is the enthusiasm of antiquarian writers the only stimulus to creation: local pride in the prosperous and well-educated Italian towns (cf. Cic. *Arch.* 5) will have cried out for heroic origins.[32] Likewise, at a later stage, it is easy to imagine that the new-found dignity and expectations of the successful and often cultured *apparitores* might have encouraged and even financed the development of secondary myth."[33] Where heroic origins did not exist, clearly they had to be invented.

The Romans' own perception of their native myths has often been neglected (but cf. Grant (n. 1). 18-43 for some incidental insights), nor is an awareness of ancient techniques for presenting — or inventing — such myths much in evidence. Two frequent and regularly misleading stylistic phenomena occurring in the presentation of Roman myths tend both to create an atmosphere antique, traditional, suggestive: first, to preface a narrative with *namque ferunt* (cf. *fertur, omnis quem credidit aeras, vel sim.*)[34] is a mannerism of Alexandrian scholarly poetry, a manifestation of the compulsion ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν ἀείδειν.[35] Secondly, the same is true of what appears formally to be the reverse of such a preface, that is, of expressions such as *vix equidem credo*.[36] Such introductory flourishes are of themselves no guarantee against invention.[37] Similarly we should approach references to oral sources in, for instance, Ovid's *Fasti*[38] with, at the very least, caution. There are half-a-dozen. But that Ovid claims to have learned of the loves of Jupiter and Jutuma *per antiquos senes* (*F.* 2. 584) should not impress unduly. Such claims after all appear already in Callimachus,[39] and their ultimate origin belongs in the discussions between travellers such as Herodotus, Timaeus or Pausanias and the *exegetai*, the priests or guardians of the temples they visited."[40]

It is perhaps worth making explicit here that there never seems to have existed any perception that there might be a difference in kind or degree between the myths of Italy and those of Greece; the absence of distinction is already clear from the post-Hesiodic lines, *Theogony* 1011ff,[41] where Agrius (? = Silvius, cf. Cornell (n. 26). 31) and Latinus are described as offspring of Odysseus and Circe. And of course borrowed Greek and ancient Italian elements can coexist in the same story: the founders of Tibur, Tiburtus, Catillus and Coras are *Argiva iuventus* in Virgil (*Aen.* 7. 670ff) and this Hellenization of Tiburtine legend is at least as old as Cato.[42] But Virgil also describes Catillus and Coras as *gemini fratres* (7. 670): that could

[31] Cf. Poucet (n. 4). 196; Coleman on Virg. *Buc.* 6. 13-4, 19; F. R. Schroder in *Gedenkschr.* W. *Brandenstein* (Innsbruck, 1968). 325ff; Ov. F. 3. 289ff. After Antias: see Plut. *Num.* 15, Antias fr. 6P; Fantham (n. 9), 190. Cf. too Liv. 5. 15. 4. with Ogilvie's note, for another recent development of this story-type.

[32] The cultural background before the social war is most stimulatingly sketched by Wiseman (n. 9), 299ff. Cf. S. Mratschek, *Athen.* 72 (1984), 154ff; G. A. Mansuelli. *I Cisalpini* (Florence. 1962), 267ff; E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life* (London. 1985), 19ff.

[33] Cf. N. Purcell, *PBSR* 51 (1983), 142ff.

[34] T. C. W. Stinton, *PCPhS* 22 (1976). 60ff; Bonier on Ov. F. 2. 203; R. Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik* (repr. Stuttgart, 1965), 240ff.

[35] Call. fr. 612Pf; cf. *A. R.* 1. 154.

[36] Ov. *F.* 2. 551.

[37] Horsfall, *JRS* 63 (1973). 75 = 100.

[38] Ov. *Fasti* ed. Bomer, 1, 29; Horsfall, *GR* 21 (1974), 196; L. P. Wilkinson, *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge, 1955), 247f; *Fasti* ed. Frazer. lxiii; G. Wissowa, *Ges. Abh.* (Munich, 1904), 274ff; D. Porte, L' *Étiologie religieuse* (Paris, 1985), 125f.

[39] Fr. 282.

[40] Cf.. for instance, W. M. Calder, *GRBS* 23 (1982), 281ff; E. Gabba, *JRS* 71 (1981), 61f; Ch. Habicht, *Pausanias' Guide to Ancient Greece* (Berkeley, 1985). 145f.

[41] On *Aen.* 7. 205ff see Horsfall. *JRS* 63 (1973), 78 n. 87, and below, 89.

[42] *Orig.* fr. 56P; cf. S. Weinstock, PW *s.v.* Tibur viA, 816ff.

be an *autoschediasma,* a detail invented by Virgil or his source on the model of Rome, as the very name of Coras, associated evidently with the distant town of Cora, might suggest (cf. *JRS* 63 (1973), 71f = 98f); or. alternatively, these twins might in fact constitute a suggestive local analogy to Romulus and Remus.[43] We may also observe an apparent element of 'authentic' exposure of a royal child in the story of Silvius; though Livy's reference to *casu quodam in silvis natus* (1. 3. 6) might look like a late *aition* of the name, the story (*fugit ad silvas*, Cato (?) fr. 11P (cf. 22 n. 133); Cornell (n. 26), 31) is perhaps of no small antiquity. Even the tediously synthetic monarchy of Alba, a creation inspired by the chronological work of Eratosthenes and his followers,[44] appears therefore to retain or to have attracted some fragments of primitive myth.

It is only to be expected, first, that the Romans, as we have just seen, take over and re-use Greek techniques in the narration, presentation and beautification of their myths: and. secondly, that such fitful rationalist analysis as we discover is itself entirely traditional and perhaps faintly Stoic in character. Reason and respectability will tend, in the name of patriotism, to purge early stories of their vulgar and miraculous elements.[45] But it should not be thought either that there were not writers who toured central Italy in pursuit of information on the ground, or that there were not at least a few local myths to be uncovered. The evidence for local writings of at least part-historical character is excellent. for Etruscans and Sabines, for Interamna Nahars, Cumae and Praeneste (perhaps; cf. 59), possibly even for Ardea;[46] and Cato after all criticised the Ligurians for their absence of historical records (fr. 31P). Consultation, however, clearly entailed travel for the Roman historian or antiquarian. Both Cato and Varro, to go no further, not only consulted local records, but recorded inscriptions.[47] Such interests are not exceptional: from Hemina to Atticus and Hyginus[48] an interest in Italian origins, reaching far beyond mere consultation of earlier authorities in the comfort of a study, is attested, though we should be careful not to read back into the republican antiquarians the academic values and intentions of a Grimm or a Lonnrot. That is to say that the means for the recording and preserving in writing such Roman and Italian myths as might have survived and the desire to record *in situ* may possibly reach back as far as Timaeus,[49] though one should never suppose that what is recorded is necessarily a story of vast and virginal antiquity. Local priests wish to please the distinguished visitor who in turn records what he wants or expects to hear.

The Etruscan and Italian catalogues in the *Aeneid* provide a test to determine how much Italian myth existed in the late first century BC to supplement Rome's own feeble contribution.

[43] Apparently not in G. Binder. ***Die*** *Aussetzung des Königskindes* (Meisenheim, 1964): but see Cornell, 30. For the motif of exposure (Silvius): Liv. 1. 3. 2; Grant (n. 1), 1032f; Binder, *passim*; Cornell (n. 26), 6: etc.

[44] Cf. Horsfall, ***CQ*** 24 (1974). 113f.

[45] H. D. Jocelyn, *PCPhS* 1971, 51. Cf. P. Boyancé, ***REA*** 57ff = *Ét. rel. rom.* (1972). 253ff; Ogilvie, *Livy*, 158.

[46] Interamna: *ILS* 157. Etruscans: Censorinus 17. 6: Cornell, ***ASNP*** 3. 6. 2 (1976), 411ff. Sabines: DH 2. 49.4: Dio 1 fr. 6. 5: C. Letta, *Athen.* 72 (1984). 423 n. 93 for bibliography. Cumae: *FGrH* 576: T. J. Cornell, ***MH*** 31 (1974), 206. Praeneste: Sol. 2. 9, but see 59ff. Ardea: Varr. ***RR*** 2. 11. 10. See in general E. Pais, *Storia Critica* (Rome. 1913), 1. 1, 90 n. 4 = (repr. 1918), 91, 1; G. C. Lewis, *Enquiry* I (London. 1855). 197f; H. Nissen, *Ital. Landeskunde* 1 (Berlin, 1883), 20. references for which I am grateful to Dr. Cornell. Add A. Schwegler. *Röm. Gesch.* 1 (Tübingen, 1867), 40: Salmon (n. 24), 205 n. 461. Are records implied by the claim that, for instance, Antemnae was older than Rome. Cato *Orig.* fr. 21P (with Cornell, n. 26, 15f)? Perhaps not necessarily: the narratives about Romulus implied that many towns were thought to be.

[47] For instance Cato fr. 48P. Varro, ***RR*** 2. 11. 10. See A. Stein. *Röm. Inschriften i.d. ant. Lit.* (diss. Prag. 1931). For further bibliography. see R. Chevallier, *Epigraphie et littérature à Rome* (Faenza, 1972). 11ff: Rawson (n. 32). 238f.

[48] E. Rawson, ***Lot.*** 35 (1976), 696, and (n. 32), 239,248. Atticus: Nep. *Att.* 18. 3f. Hyginus: ***CRF***, 533ff.

[49] Timaeus: see F. Castagnoli. *Lavinium* 1 (Rome, 1972), 109 n. 10; A. D. Momigliano, *Essays in ancient and modern historiography* (Oxford. 1977). 46ff.

Virgil's use of this corpus is most suggestive: upon Cacus and upon certain ancient names (for instance Dercennus) which appear to have lost their stories we have already touched. Beyond that, progress is difficult; the use of the Italian and Etruscan catalogues entails complex problems of source-analysis, and a distinction must be observed between stories, however they may have been transmitted (and expanded), that are demonstrably ancient and indigenous (Romulus, Cacus. Caeculus), whose existence in some form is overwhelmingly likely to have predated any close and regular contact (n. 3) with Greece, and those which, whether first recorded by Greek travellers or by Roman scholars writing more or less in the tradition of Greek local historiography, are essentially stories on a Greek model involving Greek heroes and their myriad offspring by intermarriage with Italian brides, even when, as was the case by the second century BC, such stories were actively welcomed by the local Italian aristocracies.

The Catalogue of Turnus' Italian allies in *Aeneid* 7 is crucial. Here, after all, a notoriously well-read poet presents thirteen leaders of primitive Italian peoples. Virgil's topographical source was conclusively shown by Rehm[50] to be Varro. *res humanae* 11; derivative and related texts, notably Pliny NH 3 and a number of topographical entries in Festus, *de significatu verborum*, suggest that Varro included in bare outline foundation stories where known.[51] It is equally quite clear that where Pliny, Servius, the OGR and Solinus — that is to say, all the surviving elements of the prose mythographic tradition — are silent, then Varro himself had probably been silent too and Virgil could and did invent. But one may wonder how far he or his readers were aware of what a farrago of disparate elements these thirteen chieftains turn out to be when analysed. Umbro, Ufens and Aventinus (at least in his present role) are in all probability Virgilian inventions,[52] whereas Mezentius and Turnus belong to the Aeneas-legend at least as far back as Cato; Mezentius has an Etruscan name and perhaps belonged in the first instance to the aition of the *vinalia rustica*.[53] Virbius of Aricia is linked to an aetiological story to account for the exclusion of horses from the shrine of Diana at Nemi,[54] which Virgil, it would seem, found in Callimachus' *Aetia*, though the name Virbius may have a very old place in Arician cult and myth.[55] Messapus and Halaesus represent a curious problem: Messapus (*Aen.* 7. 691ff) belongs by name to the heel of Italy (Messapia), yet leads the men of South Etruria, an area long associated with Halaesus, who in turn (7. 723ff) leads a contingent from Campania, with which he has no traditional associations.[56] Even a dislocation in the text has been suggested:[57] it is a good deal likelier that Virgil had at least some sense of how recent, synthetic and undeserving of reverence such stories were; Varro's collection and systematisation by cities of Italian foundation stories he had studied closely but ignored at will.[58] At all events, both Messapus and Halaesus, Oebalus, probably,[59] and likewise the leaders of the Tiburtines, Tiburtus, Catillus and Coras (but see 6f above), all belong to that single

[50] B. Rehm. *Das geogr. Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis*, *Philol. Supplbd.* 24 (1932). 92ff; Horsfall. Varrone e l'Eneide, *Encicl. Virgil.*, forthcoming.

[51] For instance Plin. *NH* 3. 103. 104. 108; Horsfall *loc. cit.* (n. 44). For Festus, see R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 20 (1885), 532ff.

[52] Rehrn (n. 44), 92. The stories are discussed in greater detail in my (unpub.) Oxford thesis for D. Phil.. 'Virgil. *Aeneid* VII; notes on selected passages' (1971).

[53] Cato, *Orig.* Fr. 12P, with W.- A. Schroder's note.

[54] *Aen.* 7. 778.

[55] Horsfall, *JRS* 65 (1975), 229; F.- H. Pairault, *MEFR* 81 (1969), 425ff.

[56] See Horsfall. *Encicl. Virgil. s.v.* Messapus. Forthcoming.

[57] J. Perret, *Mél. P. Boyancé* (*Coll. Ec. Fr. Rome* 22) (1974), 557ff.

[58] Horsfall *loc. cit.* (n. 50): *CR* 34 (1984). 61f.

[59] Oebalus: *Aen.* 7. 733ff with *G.* 4. 125; Horsfall, *CR* 34 (1984), 134.

category of Greek immigrants laboriously linked to Italian toponyms in Varro, Timaeus and earlier.[60] Their character as figures of 'scholarly' secondary myth is itself suggestive, for their towns and peoples cannot go leaderless whether in epic or in geographical and antiquarian writing, and their very existence therefore seems to point to the fact that the areas they represent lacked recorded indigenous mythological origins of their own.

The origins of Volscian Camilla have recently been discussed in great detail by Prof Giampiera Arrigoni of Milan.[61] The source-analysis of that learned and stimulating book does not convince me. A case for sceptical analysis remains. Metabus, whom Virgil makes Camilla's father, may have no long-standing connexions with the town of Privernum, and therefore may not himself constitute a tiny fragment of ancient Volscian legend, or myth.[62] Camilla herself cannot be shown beyond doubt to be anything other than Virgilian invention, though one of very varied antecedents (notably Penthesilea and Hippolyte) and associations.[63] We are left with Caeculus, for whom there exists a rich and complex tradition (cf. 59ff: NMH on the attestations; 49ff: JNB on the myth).

At Praeneste, there was also, probably (cf. 61f), available in Virgil's time a 'mass-produced' Hellenised ktisis-story: the town was, according to this, founded by a grandson of Odysseus, much as Telegonus had for some while been held to be the founder of Tusculum. Thus, exactly as in the case of Rome, it appears that indigenous and Hellenised versions coexisted. But it is unlikely that there is anything special and significant in Virgil's preference for the indigenous version. Caeculus is an ancient figure. who had long attracted mythographers. It is perhaps significant that our (relative) wealth of surviving testimony derives from a town which contained so majestic a sanctuary. Similar coincidences of rich mythological associations with a notable temple or temples occur of course also at, for instance. Lavinia, Alba, Nemi, Ardea, and Falerii. Hardly an accident: the physical structures, surviving into the late republic, provide walls to record and priests to embroider the scholars' source material.[64] But it is quite clear that what Virgil records tersely in *Aen.* 7. 678ff is a local story of great antiquity. So, aside from some minute but suggestive scraps, the thirteen leaders have yielded up precisely one native myth. Yet no impression emerges that Virgil himself thought this odd or striking or was even particularly aware of the highly distinctive character of Praeneste. And it would appear that the text of Virgil confirms the suspicion expressed above that by Virgil's time very few fragments of central Italian myth, properly speaking, did survive; and it is therefore, further, likely that such stories had not been firmly rooted and possible too that their number had never been very large (cf. 4).

But it may now be a little easier to understand the vagaries and mechanisms of transmission, and it is also possible to dismiss swiftly from consideration Virgil's Etruscan catalogue: after the extravagant claims made for the poet's expertise in matters Etruscan (cf. 100) on the basis of his name and Mantuan origin,[65] it is remarkable how little North Italian lore he actually does

[60] J. Bérard, *La colonisation grecque*, 2nd. ed. (Paris. 1957). *passim*.

[61] See CR 34 (1984). 61-2. A. Brill, 'Die Gestalt der Camilla bei Vergil' (diss. Heidelberg, 1972), 1 Iff. reached similar conclusions. though on a very narrow view of the evidence.

[62] Cato, *Orig.* fr. 62P; but M. Cancellieri (in *Enea nel Lazio* (Rome, 1981), 78f) is of course quite right to insist that the text of Servius does not necessarily prove that Cato himself referred to Metabus.

[63] Arrigoni. *passim*. Cf. also E. C. Kopff in 'The Greek renaissance of the eighth century BC'. *Acta of the Swedish Institute in Athens* 30 (1983). 57ff.

[64] Cf. F. Coarelli. *Bourgeoisies* (n. 9). 217ff; Wiseman, *ibid.* 299f; F. Castagnoli, *Arch. Laz.* 3 (1980). 164ff; V. Cianfrani. *Culture Adriatiche* (Rome. 1978). 98ff; AA *VV* in *Enea nel Lazio* (n. 62), 1Off.

[65] Bibliography in *JRS* 63 (1973), 75f = 100 n. 95.

admit to his text.[66] Indeed, it would be truer to say, none at all. The only extended narrative in the Etruscan catalogue (Cycnus; 10. 189ff) is Greek and largely of identifiable origins.[67] Ships, arms and places of origin contain no surprising or suggestive relics; names are more interesting, and yet it is not unexpected to discover that they are not exclusively Etruscan and that none permits secure inferences about origins and antiquity.[68] Virgil's abstention from Etruscomania is the more striking inasmuch as Transpadana's cultural awareness was a recent and vigorous growth involving strong local pride and historical curiosity.[69]

There had survived into the late republic innumerable ancient names, objects, shrines, rituals, formulae which cried out for expansion, explanation and embroidery, and this compulsion to explain in narrative terms was itself the most powerful stimulus towards the generation of a 'secondary mythology' (cf. Wissowa, *Ges. Ahh.* (Munich, 1904), 129ff; Poucet (n. 4), 199ff).

The decay and disappearance of so much ancient mythological material can only have been accelerated by the great changes in Latin language and literature; sophisticated scholars and stylists were disgusted on occasion by the Latin of the early republic;[70] more seriously, perhaps, *imitatio* or *aemulatio* of the Greeks entailed, generally, rivalry on the Greeks' terms within Greek forms and employing Greek stories.[71] But the issue was not only one of literary taste; scholars of the late republic and early empire did not find easy the linguistic forms or the script of archaic Latin; thus Quintilian writes of the *Saliorum carmina vix sacerdotibus suis intellecta*,[72] and Polybius of the 'first Carthaginian treaty', 'the fact is that the ancient language is so different from that at present in use that the best scholars among the Romans themselves have great difficulty in interpreting some points in it even after much study' (3. 22).[73] The decay of the Italian dialects — and Etruscan — in the face of Latin's advance may also have contributed to the disappearance of some local stories.[74] But the stories of Romulus or, more interestingly, Caeculus, to look no further, demonstrate the possibility that narrative can — at least in Latin — survive, whether in priestly formulae, in incised texts, in song or in folk-memory. One might also be tempted to wonder whether the paucity of myths transmitted is not itself a reflexion of the limitations of form and language in archaic Latin literature overall, and, did one wish to persevere in peculiarly fruitless speculation, in particular in the *carmina convivalia*.[75]

[66] Despite the cultural activity in Transpadana (n. 32), it is highly significant to observe that Virgil's brief reference to the origins of Mantua (*Aen.* 10. 198ff) appears entirely traditional and Varronian in character (cf. Plin. *NH* 3. 115-6. *Sil.* 8. 598ff). The significance of these passages emerged from discussion with Dr Stephen Harrison; I am most grateful to him for generously sharing his fine understanding of *Aen.* 10.

[67] Cf. *Antichthon* 15 (1981), 149.

[68] See L. A. Holland, *AJPh* 56 (1935), 203f; and, with great caution, A. Montenegro Duque, *La onomastica de Virgilio* (Salamanca, 1949), 143ff.

[69] See n. 66, and Wiseman (n. 9), 306.

[70] Cf. Liv. 27. 37.13 (on Livius' hymn to Juno, *illa tempestate forsitan laudabile rudibus ingeniis, nunc abhorrens et inconditum si referatur*), 4. 20. 2, 5.49.7; Cic. *Brut.* 71; C. O. Brink. Hor. *Ep.* 2, p. 182.

[71] Prop 4 (see 4. 1. 67ff) and Ov. F. (cf. 1. 7, *annalibus eruta priscis*) are sufficiently conscious of the element of primitive nationalism in their choice of theme; note the apocryphal but suggestive comment by Sew. *ad Buc.* 6. 3, *cum canerem reges et proelia, aut gesta regum Albanorum, quae coepta omisit nominum asperitate deterritus.*

[72] Quint. 1. 6. 40. Cf. Liv. 7. 3. 5, DH 4. 58. 4; G. Radke. *Arch. Latein* (Darmstadt, 1981), 100ff; Rawson (n. 32), 240.

[73] Tr. Shuckburgh; cf. Radke (n. 72).

[74] Salmon (n. 24) 88f, (n. 22), 310f; W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford, 1971). 169ff; J. Kaimio in P. Bruun (ed.), *Studies in the Romanisation of Etruria* (Rome, 1975), 95ff.

[75] V. M. 2. 1. 9; Cic. TD 4. 3. *Brut.* 75; Varro *de vita* fr. 84Rip.: all refer to the praise of famous men. But see DH 1. 79. 10 with Plut. *Numa* 5. 3; cf. Salmon (n. 22), 112ff, for analogous considerations. See too, Scobie, *Apul.* (n. 5) 4f: the material here neatly gathered shows that, *carmina* aside, no other pre-literary vehicle for myth is known. Cf. Poucet (n. 4), 238: J. Bayet, *MPI. lit. Lat.* (Rome, 1967), 340ff.

It is dangerous to concentrate exclusively on the 'original form' of such stories; the very fact of recording, itself an essential preliminary to transmission and survival, generates processes both of accretion and of distortion. Any story for which we have enough evidence to make analysis possible is therefore, throughout its recorded history undergoing both growth and decay, accretion and disintegration; and if wc are fortunate enough with our material and prudent in our methods we shall at least be able tentatively to identify, if not always the primitive form of such stories as, for instance, Cacus and Caeculus, then the disparate elements in a Roman or Praenestine myth, their individual origin and, perhaps most important, where they occur in a myth's life-span.

Thus, to turn back to Camilla, Virgil's narrative reflects a supposed fact of Etruscan domination over the Volsci:[76] mothers *Tyrrhena per. oppida* wanted her for a daughter-in-law; at some stage she has acquired the Privemate Metabus as a father, perhaps only in Virgil, and Metabus himself may not be a figure of respectable antiquity. It would appear that there also existed a tumulus (11. 594) capable of bearing the designation 'Camilla's tomb'. If we accept the poetic allusion as proof of a topographical reality (which is not compulsory), then we have also to consider whether the association of the 'tomb' with Camilla is earlier than Virgil or not, and whether the designation is to be explained in terms of aetiology, antiquarian invention or poetic fantasy on a very familiar model.[77] There is lastly the problem of Camilla's name: its association with *camilla*, the religious attendant, is made clear in the text of the epic.[78] The relevance of the Furii Camilli is extremely doubtful.[79] All else, or so it appears from prolonged study, is merely a matter of literary borrowing by Virgil, from other doughty females of Greek myth and epic. But if Camilla adds little, or perhaps nothing at all, to our knowledge of myth, she does contribute a good deal to our understanding of the processes of mythography.

The above may also be taken as a protest against a doctrine once advanced by Lévi-Strauss,[80] that every element in the structure or pattern of a myth, as it has come down to us, is a significant part of its meaning. Michael Grant (n. 1, 229-30) vigorously pointed out the absurdity of attempting to apply this approach to our evidence for Roman myth, but the suspicion remains that this doctrine of the equipollence of all attestations lies behind some of the confusion which characterises many discussions of Roman myth and legend in the last ten years and more. No consistent hierarchy of merit exists; paradoxically, neither the age nor the authority of an ancient testimony is a guarantee of its significance: Varro is capable of cheap rationalism, while Solinus and the OGR can preserve material of the highest value; likewise the Verona scholia to Virgil can be vastly more helpful than the fragments of Cassius Hemina.

A technique which can distinguish the fundamental difference between Caeculus and Camilla, which can, that is, isolate 'secondary myth', is essential if we are to make any progress in our understanding of Italian mythology, yet the same range of texts transmit the two stories and make no differentiation between them.

[76] Cato fr. 62P and *Aen.* 11. 581f. See A. Alfoldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor. 1965). 365: *aliter*, M. Cancellieri (n. 62), G. Colonna in *Gli Etruschi e Róma* (Rome, 1981), 165f.

[77] If Virgil is inventing so much in the story of Camilla, then it is likely that he also extrapolates a burial mound on the analogy of, for instance. Misenus (6. 232ff), Palinurus (6. 301ff), and Caieta (7. Iff); cf. F. Pfister, *Reliquienkult* (*RVV* 5 (Giessen, 1909)), 279ff.

[78] *Aen.* 11. 582ff. Cf. Varr. LL 7. 34, Call. fr. 725Pf.

[79] Proposed. ***CR*** 29 (1979). 222; rejected, probably with good reason, Arrigoni, Camilla, 72 n. 155. There is no connexion attested between the Furii Camilli and Privemum; yet the absence of such a link did not discourage the . Caecilii Metelli at Praeneste (cf. 61).

[80] Cf., for instance. Grant (n. 1), 229; G. S. Kirk, *Myth*, 50. *Nature of Greek Myths*, 84; *K*. W. Gransden, ***CR*** 33 (1983), 306; K. R. Walters, ***CW*** 77. 6 (1984), 347, and the trenchant remarks of Bremmer (n. 4). 46f (quite independent of my own).

THE AENEAS-LEGEND FROM HOMER TO VIRGIL[1]

The chief importance of the Homeric Aeneas is that he survives: Poseidon (11. 20. 302ff) declares that he is fated to escape, and his descendants and their childrens' children, in deliberate and moving contrast to Priam's, will rule over the Trojans (307),[2] not over Troy, though that is how Strabo takes it.[3] The prophecy of future rule is also given by Aphrodite to Anchises in the Homeric Hymn to Aphrodite (? seventh century; 196f). In the Iliadic version, the variant Τρώεσσιν ἀνάξει was introduced to flatter the Romans.[4] Aeneas survives the battles round Troy, the sack and the *nostoi* (cf. below for the future significance of his fellow-survivors); that ensures him a future distinguished out of proportion to his role in the *Iliad*.[5] Homer's Aeneas is uninteresting and unmemorable. not unimportant: a strangely flat character. The details of his personality and achievements can be listed, quite impressively: he is mentioned in the same breath as Hector (6. 77-9), and repeatedly fights valiantly and successfully against the Achaeans. He is also a wise counsellor, dear to the gods (20. 334, 347), who save him twice (5: Aphrodite and Apollo; 20: Poseidon), and respected by the demos (11. 58). P. M. Smith's powerful arguments suggest strongly that the poets of the *Iliad* and H. H. *Aphr.* were never court-poets of Scepsis, concerned to pay compliments to the ruling Aeneadae (n. 2, 17-52).

Aeneas next appears in Arctinus' *Iliou Persis*: according to Proclus' summary (OCT) 107. 25, he and his followers left Troy for Mount Ida at the death of Laocoon (and thus presumably before the sack); the lines printed as Little *Iliad* fr. xix Allen (= schol. Lyc. 1268) are in fact by Simmias of Rhodes.[6]

The association of Aeneas' family with the Troad is attested in Hes. *Theog.* 1010 and in the H. H. *Aphr.* (54, 68); in the second century BC, and perhaps earlier, it was repeatedly asserted that Aeneas and his kin had never left the Troad, in evident opposition to Roman claims of Trojan origin;[7] in Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 31), Ascanius returns to settle. The earliest author to make Aeneas cross the Hellespont westwards is perhaps Hellanicus (F 31): he travels to Pallene in Chalcidice, just south of Aineia: this is not only a significant toponym, but at about 490-80

[1] The survey that follows is based on my 'Enea: la leggenda', *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, 2. 221-9. This version is a good deal corrected. expanded and updated; over the two to three years since 'Enea' was written. the bibliography has continued to burgeon, and I do not aim to match the comprehensiveness of, for instance, J. Poucet in *Ant. Class.* 47 (1978). 566ff, and 48 (1979). 177ff; *RBPh* 61 (1983), 144ff; and *Hommages R. Schilling* (Paris, 1983), 187ff. But it seemed desirable that a survey in English should be made available in rather more breadth and detail than was appropriate in the admirable papers by A. D. Momigliano, 'How to reconcile Greeks and Trojans' (*Meded. Kon. Ned. Akad. Afd. Letterkunde*, NR 45. 9 (1982) = *Settimo Contributo* (Rome, 1984), 437ff); T. J. Cornell, 'Aeneas and the Twins', *PCPhS* 21 (1975), 1ff; and F. Castagnoli, *Studi Romani* 30 (1982). 1ff.

[2] P. M. Smith. *HSCP* 85 (1981), 46ff; Horsfall, *CQ* 29 (1979), 372: Momigliano (n. 1), 42f.

[3] Strab. 13. 1. 53; Smith (n. 2), 42f.

[4] Strab. 13. 1. 53; imitated, Virg. *Aen.* 3.97; note the suspicions of Ar. Byz. *up.* schol. Eur. *Tr-o.* 47.

[5] Repeatedly surveyed. Momigliano *loc. cit.* (n. 1); Horsfall (n. 2), 373-3; G. K. Galinsky, *Aeneas, Sicily and Rome* (Princeton. 1969). 11-13.

[6] Fr. *6* Powell: Horsfall (n. 2), 373.

[7] E. Gabba. *RSI* 86 (1974), 630-2, and in (ed. M. Sordi) 'I canali della propaganda', *Contr. Ist. Stor. Ant.* 4 (1976), 84ff; Cornell (n. 1), 26f; Smith (n. 2), 42f; Momigliano (n. 1), 14.

coins of Aineia show Aeneas' departure from Troy.[8] In Hellanicus F 31" it is indeed in Chalcidice that Aeneas appears to die. This narrative is full of inconsistencies and incoherences; Miss M. Loudon has argued powerfully[9]" that Dionysius enriches the original argument of the Troika with alien elements. For Hellanicus F 84, see below (n. 44). Aeneas' connexions with Samothrace are probably of second century date and of aetiological origin."

The movement of Aeneas westwards, from his association with Pallene to his first firm localisation west of the Adriatic, does not require discussion in place-by-place detail. Between Thrace/Samothrace and Drepanum there are fourteen areas or individual towns where a connexion with Aeneas is attested before Virgil.[12] Two sharply divergent patterns of explanation for this geographical spread exist: Bérard[13] argues that the classical legends of heroic travels in the west reflected earlier, historical Bronze Age journeys; and Martin (see n. 12) looks for distant echoes of early population movements and trade routes; while Galinsky (n. 5, 13-9), Perret (*loc. cit.*, n. 12), and, most recently and trenchantly, R. Ross Holloway,[14] suggest that the individual localisations are to be explained as prompted by similarities in toponymy, by the desire to explain local cults and dedications in familiar mythological terms, and by a wish to personalise and identify uncertain local origins in terms of renowned mythological heroes, notably Odysseus, Aeneas, Antenor,[15] and Diomedes (but also. for instance, Epeius and Philoctetes), who could be supposed to have survived to travel. Detailed examination of Aeneas' presence in Latium certainly suggests that an explanation in terms of scholarly, antiquarian and aetiological associations is preferable, along with the pressure of historical events and the needs of propaganda. The development of Aeneas' presence in Arcadia, alongside the Arcadian origin for some Roman institutions which began to be claimed in the second century BC, prompted by Rome's dealings with the Achaean League, by the fabled virtue and antiquity of the population, and by numerous names and monuments in need of explanation, furnishes a particularly convincing parallel.'" The many localised attestations to Aeneas' travels should not therefore be viewed as part of a primary line of development in the legend.

Galinsky[17] has recently argued that the piety of Aeneas is a late and distinctively Roman contribution to the Aeneas-legend; this entirely unacceptable proposition involves the misunderstanding of several texts." For already in Homer, Poseidon acknowledges that Aeneas does not deserve ἄλγεα, for he regularly makes most acceptable offerings to the gods (11. 20.

[8] F. Canciani in *Lex. Icon. Myth. Class.*, *s.v.* Aineias (hereafter. *LIMC*), 92: M. Price and N. Waggoner. *Archaic Greek Coinage. The Asyut Hoard* (London, 1975). pl. B, no. 194. For Aeneas' connexions with Chalcidice. cf. further J. Perret, ***Les** origines de la légende troyenne de Rome* (Paris, 1942). 13ff.

[9] *Troika* = DH 1. 46. 1 - 48. 1.

[10] 'The graphic and literary tradition of the escape of Aeneas'. diss. London. 1983 (unpub.), 108ff.

[11] Cass. Hem. fr. 5P; Critolaos. *FGrH* 823; Perret (n. 8), 24ff; Gabba (n. 7). 90: Suerbaum (n. 134).

[12] Listed and discussed, Perret (n. 8), 31ff; P. M. Martin, *Athenaeum* 53 (1975). 212ff; R. B. Lloyd. *AJPh* 88 (1957), 382ff.

[13] ***Lo** colonisation grecque*, 2nd. ed. (Paris. 1957), 350ff. Such is the seductive force of this explanation that G. Dury-Moyaers. *Énée et Lavinium. Coll. Latomus* 174 (1981), 163-4, writes of the Aeneas-legend as 'pas une création artificielle'.

[14] *Italy and **the** Aegean* (Louvain, 1981), 97ff. Cf. now too J. Poucet, *Les origines de Rome* (Brussels. 1945). 184ff.

[15] On whom see now L. Braccesi. *La leggenda di Antenore* (Padova, 1984). 11.

[16] For details. cf. Perret (n. 8). 38f. Contrast the sweeping conclusions of J. Bayet. ***MEFR*** 38 (1920), 63ff. Cf. too Smith (n. 2), 28ff, on aetiological and toponymic elements in Hellan. fr. 31.

[17] Galinsky (n. 5). 41ff, too readily accepted by Cornell, 13. G. now inexplicably complains (*Wolfenbütteler Forschungen* 24 (1983), 51 n. 23) that he has been misrepresented.

[18] Cf. A. Drummond. *JRS* 62 (1972). 218f; Horsfall (n. 2), 384ff.

297). His rescue of Anchises must have been represented in archaic art,[19] and is popular on black-figure vases (nn. 75-6); the earliest literary account is in a fragment of Soph. *Laocoon*.[20] Aeneas' rescue of the Trojan *sacra*, extremely rare in Greek art,[21] is first narrated by Hellanicus (fr. 31: he is granted permission, by agreement with the Greeks). Both rescues must imply *eusebeia*, though the first text to use the word is probably Xen. *Cyn*. 1. 15, which is dated variously from 391 BC to the Second Sophistic.[22] It in no way detracts from Aeneas' fundamental and renowned *eusebeia* (i) that he is also a distinguished warrior, (ii) that he is sometimes shown as leading, not carrying Anchises,[23] (iii) that occasionally he helps Paris in the rape of Helen,[24] and (iv) that sometimes he is represented as a traitor.[25]

Aeneas' greatest virtue may have contributed to his popularity in Etruria, but his classical Greek *eusebeia* and his Roman *pietas* must not be regarded as necessarily continuous. Aeneas' alleged treason results from an over-attentive and imaginative reading of Homer;[26] hints of hostility between Aeneas and the Priamidae in the *Iliad* (13. 461; 20. 178-86) are combined with historians' circumstantial explanations of just how he survived the fall of Troy, with family and gods: ihe 'treason' belongs firmly in the world of sensationalist or propagandist historiography.[27]

The artistic evidence for associating Aeneas with the treason of Antenor is altogether illusory.[28]

The first text which purports to associate Aeneas with the West is Stesichorus fr. 205 PMG (= *IG* 14. 284, p. 330.7): on the Tabula Iliaca Capitolina of about 15 BC found near Bovillae, the central scene bears the label ΙΛΙΟΥ ΠΕΡΣΙΣ ΚΑΤΑ CTHCIXOPON; all details of the central panel have therefore been claimed as Stesichorean: Aeneas is shown receiving the Penates (?) from Panthus (??); then, outside the (?) Scaean Gate, carrying Anchises, bearing a casket, and accompanied by Ascanius, Hermes and an unidentified female;[29] thirdly, on the Sigean promontory, without the female, but with Misenus, he is represented ἀπαίρων εἰς τὴν Ἑσπερίαν. That a mid-sixth century Sicilian poet[30] should appear to have mentioned Aeneas' connexion both with 'Hesperia', and, by association, with the promontory of Misenus, has prompted copious discussion (summarised, Galinsky (n. 5), 106ff). But since at least 1829[31] the authenticity of the Stesichorean attributions has been questioned and I have recently re-stated the arguments against at length.[32] It is particularly striking that Dionysius of Halicamassus, who knew Stesichorus well, never mentions the poem in his minute survey of the Aeneas-

[19] W. Fuchs. *ANRW* 1.4. 615ff.

[20] Fr. 373 Pearson/Radt = DH 1. 48. 2.

[21] *LIMC*. 95.

[22] Cf. V. di Benedetto, *Maia* 19 (1967), 22ff, 230ff; and. with great caution, *Xénophon, L'art de la chasse*, ed. *E*. Delebecque (ed. Budé), 42.

[23] As. for instance. on a Parthenon rnetope, *LIMC*, 156. For authenticity and traditional date, see now V. J. Gray, *Hermes* 113 (1985), 156n.

[24] L. Ghali-Kahil, *Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène* (Paris. 1955), 29. 53 and *passim*.

[25] See below. Cf. Horsfall (n. 2), 385-6.

[26] Cf. Acusilaus. *FGrH* 2 F 39: Smith (n. 2), 31.

[27] Gabba 1976 (n. 7), 91-2; Mornigliano (n. 1), 13f; R. Scuderi, *Cont. Ist. Stor. Ant. 4* (1976) (full title n. 7). 39f; Smith (n. 2), 28ff. Naev. BP 23 Morel/Strz. is of most doubtful relevance.

[28] *LIMC s.v.* Antenor, 17. 18 (M. I. Davies): Horsfall (n. 2), 386.

[29] Cf. Horsfall, *JHS* 103 (1983). 147: Addenda. section (ii).

[30] Cf. M. L. West. *CQ* 21 (1971), 306.

[31] *Ann. Inst.* 1 (1829), 234 n. 10; cf. Horsfall. *JHS* 99 (1979). 36.

[32] Horsfall (n. 31), 35ff; sumrnarised (n. 2), 375f; not accepted by H. Lloyd-Jones, after M. Davies, *Magna Grecia* 15. 1-2 (1980). 7: but the issue is in part at least simply one of fact: see Horsfall (n. 29). 147 nn. 1.2.

legend.[33] It has become apparent that this monument (i) conflicts with the extant testimonia to Stesichorus' poem, and (ii) contains clear first century BC Roman influences; though Stesichorean elements cannot be excluded, the inscriptions of the Tabula Iliaca Capitolina are evidently untrustworthy and cannot serve as a basis for reconstruction and speculation.[34] The evidence for a Sicilian phase in the transmission of the Aeneas-legend is in general elusive.[35] Segesta's Trojan origins (Plut. *Nic.* 1. 3) are fifth century, and are connected with Athenian diplomatic initiatives;[36] Thuc. 6. 2. 3 refers to the partially Trojan origins of the Elymians.[37] No word specifically of Aeneas. That the cult of Venus Frutis at Lavinium derives from Eryx is speculation.[38]

It is entirely acceptable, historically and geographically, to suppose that the Etruscans (or Lavinates) learned of Aeneas through Sicily. but there is no evidence to demonstrate positively that they did so. The absence of allusions to Aeneas himself in the foundation legends of northern Sicily, Bruttium and Lucania is striking, though the presence of his companions there is frequently adduced by way of aetiological explanation.[39] It should also firmly be excluded that Aeneas[40] was early connected with Campania or that he reached Lavinium and Rome by a Campanian route.[41] The only early evidence alleged is peculiarly weak: on the 'Stesichorean' Tabula Iliaca Capitolina (above, nn. 29-33), the trumpeter Misenus (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6. 164-5) is shown, and he is the eponym of the Cape. But it can easily be demonstrated that as a trumpeter and companion of Aeneas (rather than Odysseus) he belongs to the Roman antiquarian tradition.[42]

The brilliantly successful excavations at Lavinium and in the vicinity have, paradoxically. left the development of the Aeneas-legend in the deepest confusion. For the fifth century one might hope for illumination from contemporary Greek texts, but in vain; for Hellanicus F 31, see above (n. 10). DH (1. 72. If) also cites F 84: this text has Aeneas visit the Molossi[43] and abounds in narrative improbabilities;[44] in it, Aeneas finally comes to Italy with Odysseus,[45] or with Odysseus becomes the founder of the city (Rome). This narrative shares striking parallels with Lyc. (?) *Alex.* 1242-62 (cf. n. 98), and DH may well have been misled by a text masquerading as Hellanicus. He narrates[h] that Rome was founded by a Trojan eponym, Rhome, who burned the Trojan ships.[47] DH concludes (1. 72. 3) with the statement that Damastes of Sigeum (*FGrH* 5 F 3) and some others agree with Hellanicus. The measure of

[33] Cf. Horsfall (n. 31). 43. DH's thunderous silence seems to exclude Poucet's suggestion that Stesichorus could have recounted Aeneas' journey to the West in some manner other than that represented on the Tabula Iliaca Capitolina: *RBPh* 61 (1983), 148.

[34] Castagnoli (n. 1). 7f.

[35] Perret (n. 8), 292ff. Cf. J. Heurgon. *Atti* 8 *Conv. Magna Grecia* (Naples. 1968), 22ff.

[36] J. Perret. *Mél. Heurgon* (Coll. Ec. Fr. Rome 27. 2) (1976), 801ff.

[37] Cf. Antiochus of Syracuse. *FGrH* 555 F 6: Galinsky (n. 5). 76ff. No word of Aeneas. *pace* Momigliano (n. 1), 8.

[38] Galinsky (n. 5). 115ff; F. Castagnoli, *Lavinium*, I (Rome, 1972). 98, 106; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13). 197.

[39] H. Boas, *Aeneas' arrival in Latium* (Amsterdam. 1938). 11ff; Holloway (n. 14). 97ff. Still explained in terms of pre-Hellenic routes by Martin (n. 12), 239ff.

[40] Though note Capys at Capua might be as early as Hecataeus (*FGrH* 1 F 62): cf. Momigliano (n. 1), 8. But see J. Heurgon, *Capoue préromaine* (*Bibl. Ec. Fr. Ath. Rome* 154, 1942), 42, 144.

[41] As suggested by. for instance. G. de Sanctis. *Storia dei Romani* 12 (Florence. 1956). 194.

[42] Perret (n. 8), 302ff; Horsfall (n. 31), 39f; Galinsky (n. 5), 108; Castagnoli (n. 1), 7f.

[43] Cf. Varro's account at Serv. *ad Aen.* 3. 256 and Simmias fr. 6 (see n. 6).

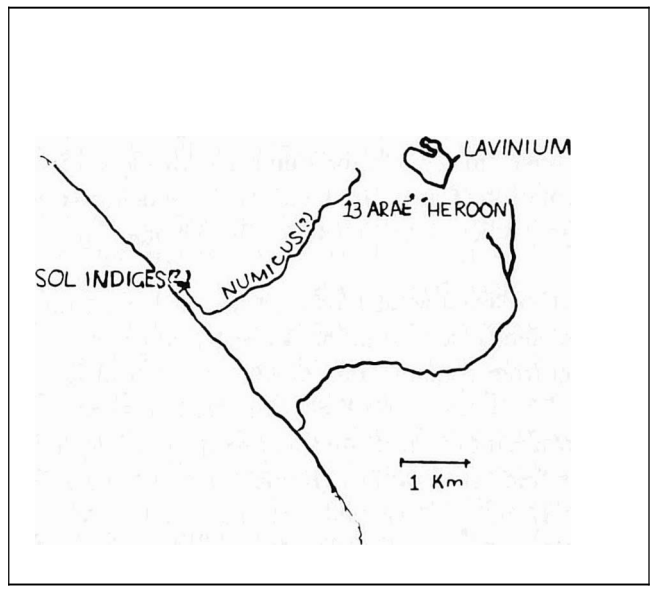
[44] Cf. Horsfall (n. 2), 379f. F. Solmsen, *HSCP* 90 (1986), 93ff, mitigates but does not dispel the difficulties.

[45] At least it should be clear that the gen. is to be read, not the acc. (Horsfall (n. 2), 379); Solmsen (n. 44). 94.

[46] 'Senseless', E. J. Bickerman, *CPh* 47 (1952). 66. But see Solmsen (n. 44). 105ff.

[47] Cf. Horsfall (n. 2). 381-2.

agreement is unspecified, and the reference to Damastes is therefore firm proof of nothing. Fragments 31 and 84 of Hellanicus are mutually incompatible and individually incoherent.[48] Perhaps most important, Rhome is a distinctively Greek founder-name, unknown to the early Romans; that is to say that, even if Hellanicus F 84 is genuine, it does not show that the author had contact with early Rome or reported stories that were current there..'" If Hellanicus knew anything of Rome. it was only that she lay in the West and was large enough to require the imposition of a generally acceptable and plausible founder. In all of this, not a word of Lavinium: there is no literary testimony to her mythological importance before Timaeus records the local inhabitants claim to the 'Trojan pottery'.'" Aristotle fr. 609 Rose (= DH 1. 72. 3) refers to Greeks bringing female Trojan prisoners to 'Latinion'; attempts have been made, improperly, to alter the text to 'Lavinium'.[51]



To integrate the legend of Aeneas with the sites uncovered at Lavinium is no easier. The Trojans' first settlement on the shore of Latium was named 'Troia'.[52] The toponym does not necessarily postdate the legend's popularity. Here Aeneas sets up two altars to the Sun (DH 1. 55. 2), near the river Numicus (Dio *loc. cit.*); clearly the site later called the locus, or *lucus* Solis Indigetis.[53] Remains have been found West of the Fosso di Pratica, compatible with a

[48] A. D. Momigliano, ***ASNP*** ix. 9. 3 (1979). 1223f = *Storiografia greca* (Torino. 1982). 355 = *Settimo contributo* (Rome, 1984). 108-9. thinks otherwise.

[49] Bickerman (n. 46). 65; Cornell (n. 1). 13; Galinsky (n. 5), 103ff; G. Moyaers. *RBPh* 55 (1977), 32ff; Castagnoli (n. 1), 6f, and *Atti del Convegno mondiale scientifico su Virgilio* (1981), 2 (Milano, 1984), 283ff; Solmsen (n. 44), 100ff.

[50] DH 1. 67. 4 = *FGrH* 566 F 59; A. D. Momigliano, *Essays in ancient and modern historiography* (Oxford. 1977), 53: F. Zevi in *Gli Etruschi e Roma* (Rome, 1981), 153: Moyaers (n. 49). 35; Castagnoli (n. 1), 8f; G. d'Anna, ***Arch. La:.*** 3 (1980), 162 n. 12 *et alibi* (cf. n. 101) For Tim. cf. further n. 89.

[51] Castagnoli (n. 38). 99; Horsfall (n. 2), 382.

[52] So DC 1 fr. 1. 3 already suggested. but see. for instance. Castagnoli (n. 38), 95. and Dury-Moyaers (n. 13). 152, for the spread of the name.

[53] Plin. 3. 53. Cf. Castagnoli (n. 38), 95; J. Poucet. *Ant. Class.* 47 (1978), 590; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 143ff.

fifth century sanctuary,[54] but the published material is still extremely scanty, and identification depends finally upon that of the Numicus:[55] the sequence of places in Plin. 3. 56 leaves room for doubt between the Fosso di Pratica and the Rio Torto, while Castagnoli's preference for the former, argued with subtlety and learning, depends ultimately upon the compatibility of the site discovered near its mouth with our flimsy testinionia regarding 'Troia' (see n. 52). DH (1. 56. 2) recounts that the sow that Aeneas was about to sacrifice ran 24 stades to the site of Lavinium.[56] But 24 stades is also given by Strabo as the distance from Aeneas' landing-place to Lavinium. The repetition of this same figure for two measurements should perhaps prompt concern: both could be right; however, either DH or Strabo, or both, could so easily be repeating a hazily-comprehended datum regarding the topography of a site perhaps never measured or visited..'' Further study of the remains of the sanctuary (for that is what the site at the mouth of the Fosso di Pratica does appear to be) may, however, finally vindicate these interdependent identifications.

The publication of the 'Heroon of Aeneas'[58] provoked greater disagreement: the heroon was converted in the fourth century from a richly endowed seventh century tumulus but the identification with the shrine erected to Πατρὸς θέου χθονίου, ὃς ποταμοῦ Νομίκιου ῥεῦμα διέπει (= (?) Pater Indigesj (DH 1. 64. 5) is highly problematic.[59] The chief difficulties are (i) that Aeneas and Pater Indiges had clearly not been identified by the time of the second building phase, and (ii) that the building is nowhere near a river, while the death of Aeneas is regularly associated with the Numicus.[60] In epigraphic texts from Lavinium and the neighbourhood, attempts have been made, likewise, to identify Aeneas: on a cippus from Tor Tignosa (? fourth to third century) LARE AINEIA was once confidently read; no longer.[61] A definitive reading has not been made. The mid-sixth century dedication CASTOREI PODLOVQVEIQUE QVROIS found by altar VIII shows the clearest Greek influence, unaffected by Etruscan contacts.[62] Weinstock, followed by Galinsky, proposed an identification between Dioscuri and Trojan Penates which has not met with general acceptance.[63] It seems likely that the Lavinate cult of the Penates was far older than any specific association with Trojan Aeneas.[64]

We may feel that Aeneas ought to be present at Lavinium at an early date, perhaps above all in view of the town's clear Greek contacts,. Yet his presence is not yet demonstrable and our expectations have not been fulfilled.

[54] Castagnoli (n. 49), 288f; *Enea nel Lazio* (Rome, 1981), 167f, a reference for which I am most grateful to Prof. Lucos Cozza.

[55] F. Castagnoli, *Arch. Class.* 19 (1967), 235ff; *idem* (n. 38), 91f.

[56] 4262 metres: the actual dis·ance is 4150 metres.

[57] But my persistent (and unallayed) doubts (cf. already *JRS* 63 (1973), 307) regarding uncertain identities and repeated figures seem not to be shared: cf.. for instance, Dury-Moyaers (n. 13). 144f.

[58] *Messagero*, 31 Jan. 1972; P. Sommella, *Rend. Pont. Acc.* 44 (1972), 47ff; *idem*, *Gymnasium* 81 (1974). 273ff.

[59] The difficulties are most fully stated by T. J. Cornell (*Arch. Reports*, 1979-80, 86. and *LCM* 2. 4 (1977). 80f), and J. Poucet (*Ant. Class.* 48 (1979), 181, and (n. 14) 123f, and notably in *MPI. R. Schilling* (Paris, 1983), 189ff). Cf. also Castagnoli (n. 49), 298f, n. 64, and (n. 1) 13; Horsfall (n. 2), 388; Moyaers (n. 49), 49: Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 121ff, 211f; J. Heurgon in *Hommages … .I. Carcopino* (Paris. 1977), 171f; B. Liou-Gille. *Cultes 'héroiques' romains* (Paris, 1980). 94ff; Galinsky (n. 17), 43f.

[60] Castagnoli (n. 38), 92.

[61] Poucet. *Ant. Class.* 47 (1978), 598. and *Hommages…* (n. 1), 197; Cornell (n. 1), 14 n. 5, and *LCM* 2. 4 (1977). 79: Moyaers (n. 49). 35; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13). 240ff.

[62] Dury-Moyaers (n. 13). 198ff.

[63] *JRS* 50 (1960), 112ff; Galinsky (n. 5), 154ff. *Contra*, notably F. Castagnoli (n. 38), 109, and *PP* 32 (1977). 351f.

[64] Castagnoli (n. 38), 109: *idem* (n. 49), 286f; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 221-6.

There is not the faintest trace of a hero-cult of Aeneas at Rome; in fourth-century Greek texts, whose dating and relationships are not as certain as once they seemed,[65] occasional references occur,[66] but only to the foundation of Rome by a descendant of Aeneas.[67] Even supposing our evidence regarding Hellanicus and Damastes is reliable, we have seen (cf. nn. 44-8) that they do not furnish secure evidence for legends current in fifth-century BC Rome. No reliable indications, literary, religious, inscriptional, or artistic, therefore exist for the Romans' own interest in Aeneas before, indeed, 300 BC.[68] Stories of a Trojan founder we have seen are likely to be external creations, and the growth of a legena of Aeneas in the city of Rome remains at best an hypothetical by-product of the period of Etruscan domination.[69]

The archaeological evidence for awareness of Aeneas in Etruria is a good deal more substantial:[70]

(i) a late seventh century oenochoe, of Etruscan origin;[71] the interpretation is highly disputable and no secure basis for a Trojan identification exists.

(ii) An Etruscan red-figure amphora in Munich; Aeneas, carrying Anchises, is most certainly not accompanied by a doliolum containing sacred objects.[72]

(iii) An Etruscan scarab, *ca* 490;[73] Aeneas carries Anchises, who bears on his right palm a probable cista.

(iv) At least twenty one black-figure and red-figure vases of Etruscan provenance show Aeneas' escape from Troy with Anchises, along with fifteen representations of other episodes in Aeneas' life.[74] Nowhere is Aeneas shown carrying a sacred object.[75]

(v) Terracotta statuettes of Aeneas carrying Anchises, from Veii. Formerly dated to the sixth or fifth century, and used as the basis of intemperate criticism of Perret (n. 8). Perhaps as late as the fourth or third century.[76]

(vi) Castagnoli (n. 1, 5) warns against overconfidence in the interpretation as Creusa and Ascanius of a group of statuary from the Portonaccio sanctuary (Veii).[77]

(vii) Even more uncertain is the terracotta fragment claimed to be part of an Aeneas-Anchises group (fifth century).[78]

[65] Cornell (n. 1), 19f.

[66] Dionysius of Chalcis, *FGrH* 840 F 10: Cornell (n. 1), 19 n. 3; Alcimus, *FGrH* 560 F 4 = 840 F 12; Cornell (n. 1), 7 n. 1 (and cf. n. 100 below); Momigliano (n. 1), 6: A. Fraschetti, in 'Le Délit Religieux', *Coll. Ec. Fr. Rome* 48 (1981), 103ff.

[67] *FGrH* 84 F 13-14 do not explicitly involve a Trojan connexion. Cf. Cornell (n. 1), 18.

[68] On this date cf. Cornell (n. 1), 12. and (n. 59). 82f. On Sall. *Cat.* 6. 1. cf. n. 164. Cf. also J. Poucet, *Ant. Class.* 48 (1979). 188: J. Perret, *REL* 49 (1971), 39ff.

[69] Galinsky (n. 17). 45ff; J. Poucet. *RBPh* 61 (1983), 154.

[70] Castagnoli (n. 1), 4ff; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 165ff; J. Poucet, *RBPh* 61 (1983), 152f.

[71] *LIMC* 93a: F. Zevi. *St. Etr.* 37 (1969), 40f, and (n. 50) 148.

[72] *LIMC* 94; Castagnoli (n. 1), 5: Horsfall (n. 31), 40f. Often misread: eg *LIMC loc. cit.*; A. Alfoldi. *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor, 1965). 284f.

[73] *LIMC* 95; P. Zazoff. *Etr. Skarabäen* (Mainz, 1968). no. 44. 1 am not as sure as either Prof. Zazoff himself or as J. Poucet. *RBPh* 61 (1983), 151, about the relevance of Zazoff no. 45.

[74] Horsfall (n. 2), 386ff; *LIMC.* 59 - 91 *passim*; S. Woodford and M. Loudon, *AJA* 84 (1980), 38ff.

[75] Horsfall, *AK* 22 (1979), 104f.

[76] Castagnoli (n. 1), 5, (n. 49) 285: Perret (n. 68), 41ff; M. Torelli, *Lavinio e Rotna* (Rome, 1984), 228, and in *Roma medio-repubblicana* (Rome, 1973), 335f.

[77] Thus, for instance, Alfoldi (n. 72), 287, and Zevi (n. 50), 149.

[78] G. Haffner, *AA* 1979, 24ff; Zevi (n. 50), 149f; *LIMC,* 206a, suggests caution.

(viii) A seventh or sixth century oenochoe from Tragliatella near Cerveteri bears the word TRUIA beside a labyrinth; this could refer to the mythical city of Troy, but should not be pressed."

The inferences to be drawn from this body of material have shown a decided tendency to diminish in scale and importance:" there is clear evidence for familiarity with Aeneas, but no proof whatever that the Etruscans venerated him as a founding hero," no certainty that he was the object of cult,[82] and consequently no reason to suppose that they imposed him either upon Lavinium (Alföldi) or upon Rome (Galinsky).[83] There is equally no basis for the suggestion[x] that Aeneas was actively welcomed by the Romans of the fifth century on account of his *pietas*. It cannot be shown that the virtue was already formulated or venerated. The Etruscans possibly admired his rescue of his family, but there is no evidence for interest in this aspect of Aeneas elsewhere on Italian soil in the sixth or fifth centuries.[85] For comparison, note that the Dioscuri did not reach Lavinium via Etruria." But Dury-Moyaers (n. 13, 173) has well observed that if Aeneas was known in Etruria in the late sixth century, it is implausible to suppose that he was not known a few miles to the south, where he might have been introduced through Lavinium's many contacts with Greece." Proof of his presence there before Timaeus' allusion (see n. 50) does not yet exist, but, if it is found, it should not cause surprise.

As for Rome, Aristotle does not refer to her foundation legends: thereafter Timaeus alludes obliquely to Trojan origins and Callias probably comes next in chronological sequence.[88] At Lavinium, Timaeus — whose visit could after all have been as late as the 260's — does not necessarily record a long-standing claim to Trojan origins," though it would be foolish to deny that Aeneas could long ago have found a place among her many cults."" A Trojan element could readily have been integrated into the worship of the Penates, Minerva, Venus and notably Pater Indiges, whose later substitution at Lavinium by the deified Aeneas is especially well-attested."

It does not even seem as clear as once it did[y2] that we should look rather to the aftermath of the treaty of 338 between Lavinium and Rome for a suitable context for Aeneas' arrival at Rome, for Rome does not yet appear truly to require the prestige of such mythological

[79] J. Poucet, *RBPh* 61 (1983), 150; Moyaers (n. 49). 45f; K. W. Weeber, *Anc. Soc.* 5 (1974), 175ff; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13). 146f; Castagnoli (n. 1), 6.

[80] Cf. Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 165ff; J. Poucet, *RBPh* 61 (1983), 154.

[81] Alfoldi (n. 72), 284ff.

[82] Cornell (n. 1), 12; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 171.

[83] Galinsky (n. 5). 131; Cornell (n. 1), 5.

[84] Made notably by F. Bomer, *Rom. u. Troia* (Baden Baden, 1951). 47ff.

[85] Horsfall (n. 2), 385, 388.

[86] Castagnoli (n. 63), 351.

[87] Moyaers (n. 49). 24ff, 44ff; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 173ff; Zevi (n. 50), 154ff; J. Poucet. *Ant. Class.* 47 (1978), 600f.

[88] Arist. fr. 609 Rose = ***FGrH*** 840 F 13. Cf. fr. 610 Rose = ***FGrH*** 840 *F* 23. Tim.: ***FGrH*** 566 F 36. Callias: ***FGrH*** 564 F 5. Cf. further Horsfall (n. 2), 383.

[89] But see Cornell (n. 1). 14f.

[90] Liou-Gille (n. 59). 120ff; Galinsky (n. 5), 145ff; Castagnoli (n. 38). and ***BCAR*** 90 (1985). 7H, 110, and (n. 1) 10: Zevi (n. 50). 153f; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 182ff; and, with even greater caution. M. Sordi. *Contr. Ist. Stor. Ant.* X (1982), 65ff; and C. Cogrossi, *ibid.*, 79ff. The influence of the apparently pre-existing toponyni Troia (cf. n. 52) should also be considered.

[91] Virg. *Aen.* 12. 794: Castagnoli (n. 38), 110: Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 211ff

[92] Cf., for example. Castagnoli (n. 38). 97ff, (n. 1) 12: Horsfall (n. 2). 390: G. D`Anna, *Atti del Convegno Virgiliano di Brindisi* (Perugia, 1983), 331f, and (n. 50) 161.

splendours in her diplomatic activities,'' and it is indeed almost exactly another century until she clearly takes the initiative in proclaiming her own magnificent antecedents to other Mediterranean powers (nn. 104 ff).

The status of Lycophron's narrative[94] in this analysis is elusive: though an early date for the Alexandra is widely favoured,'' P. M. Fraser has now advanced powerful and subtle arguments that the poem belongs to the late third century or early second;'' and the challenge to a third to second century composition of lines 1226-80 has likewise been energetically renewed.'' It is not even certain, as it once appeared to be, that Timaeus' account is reflected in Lycophron.[98] If Troy fell at about 1200 BC (*FGrH* 566 F 125) and Rome was founded in 814/3 (F 60), the gap is unexplained; in Timaeus at least, a dissociation of Aeneas from the foundation of Rome is surely to be inferred.'''

The fascination of the Lavinium excavations has perhaps distracted attention from the role of Alba in the Aeneas-legend:[100] the associations of Alba with Aeneas, or, more precisely, the earliest attestations of Aeneas' role as ancestor of her kings, are not demonstrably older than Lavinium's Trojan claims, and must be considered a by-product of Hellenistic chronographic scholarship.''' But already in Fabius Pictor (fr. 4P) the sow led Aeneas to Alba, and Varro recorded a statue of Aeneas there;'''? the claims of Alba and Lavinium to Trojan origin, as Cornell remarks (*loc. cit.*, n. 101), preclude Rome's. Alba's claim conflicts with Lavinium's and can only be reconciled by chronological and mythographic ingenuity. Neither claim was ever challenged on Rome's behalf, and together they demonstrate that Aeneas belonged to Latium before he was 'borrowed' by Rome (cf. Varr. LL 5. 144; but see Poucet (n. 14), 133).

It is disquieting to catalogue with care the extant references to Rome's mythological origins within the context of diplomatic intercourse. Not a word for nearly sixty years after the treaty with Lavinium, or so it would appear. That the Trojan legend then became an occasional feature of diplomatic exchanges with the Greek world does not[103] necessarily presuppose prolonged acceptance at Rome: respectable mythological origins only become a requisite when prejudice and convention require.''' Further, it appears certain''' that the initiative in making such claims on Rome's behalf was at the outset (which is not surprising), and long remained (which is much more so) not Rome's own. It would therefore make very good sense to suppose that Timaeus did not record an interest in Trojan origins until the end of his long life.

[93] Note the exarnplary scepticism of T. J. Cornell's remarks, ***LCM*** 2.4 (1977). 82.

[94] Aeneas and Lavinium, 1253-62; foundation of Rome 1333. with Horsfall (n. 2). 380.

[95] Momigliano (n. 50), 55; P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford, 1972). 2. 1066; R. Pfeiffer, *Hist. of Class. Scholarship* 1 (Oxford. 1968), 120.

[96] *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1979), 341ff.

[97] S. R. West. *JHS* 104 (1984), 104ff, and ***CQ*** 33 (1983), 129f.

[98] Comell (n. 1), 22: G. D'Anna, *Problemi di letteratura latina arcaica* (Rome, 1976), 76.

[99] Cf. Alcimus *FGrH* 560 F 4 with D'Anna (n. 98), 74: a gap of two generations between Aeneas and the foundation of Rome. But see n. 67 for the problem of Alcimus' date.

[100] Cf. Alföldi (n. 72). 271 ff: Cornell (n. 1), 15f; Galinsky (n. 5), 143ff; and D'Anna (n. 50). 159ff, (n. 98) 43ff and *passim*. Note also now A. Harder. ***P.*** *Oxy.* 52. 3648: a new and unorthodox text related to Conon, ***FGrH*** 26 F 1 ch. 46.

[101] Cf. Horsfall, ***CQ*** 24 (1974), 111ff; D'Anna (n. 92), 101f.

[102] *Imagines ap.* Lyd. *Mag.* 1. 12.

[103] *Contra*, Gabba (n. 7), 85.

[104] Momigliano (n. 1), 14f; E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (Oxford. 1958), 33ff.

[105] Perret (n. 8), 501ff.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, in 290,[106] referred to the *syngeneia* of the Romans and Greeks: this is not a certain reference to Rome's Trojan origins.[107] Nine years later, Pyrrhus, descendant of Achilles, made war, at the Tarentines' request, on the Trojans' colony,[108] a notion dear to the son of King Aeacides: to him, as to Alexander the Great, the story of Troy was of obsessive interest, for both came from the northernmost fringes of Greece. The political and diplomatic exploitation of the Trojan War is of course a far older theme,[109] and the Trojans' arguably barbarian status is a source of endless polemic and ambiguity.[110] With Pyrrhus' attack, Rome's Trojan origins were born, argued Perret:[111] if 'Trojan origins' are to be understood in a national sense, rather than at the level of individual historians and antiquarians, then no firm evidence, at least with respect to Rome, for an earlier dating has so far emerged.

After Epirus, Segesta: the inhabitants said that they were descendants of Aeneas and because of that *oikeiosis* with the Romans, went over to them in 263.[112] The letter adduced at Suet. *Claud.* 25. 3, in which the Romans tell a Seleucus that the Ilienses are their *consanguinei*, purports to belong to about 237, but can hardly be genuine.[113] Given this text's instability, it is indeed far from clear when the Romans themselves first took the initiative in a diplomatic context in asserting their Trojan origins. The Acarnanians, in 237-6, appealed to Rome for aid, observing that alone among the Greeks, they had not fought against Troy.[114] In 228, one wonders whether it was Trojan (as against, for instance, Arcadian) origins which were emphasized when the Romans were admitted to the Isthmian games.[115] The *carmina Marciana*[116] may have referred to the Romans as *Troiugenae*, in confrontation with the *alienigenae*.[117] Seven years later, the Romans set about importing the Magna Mater from Pergamum;[118] it was suggested that both the Romans and Attalus I had the ancient kinship in mind.[119] Delphi shortly acknowledged the Romans' origins,[120] Flamininus' dedications there (196) referred to him as *Aineiadas* and to the Romans as *Aineiadae*.[121] Trojan kinship would give the Romans a fine pretext — at the level of the elaborate pretences of formal diplomatic intercourse — for interference in the affairs of Asia Minor,[122] first curiously attested as early as 205.[123] Lampsacus could appeal to kinship by 196.[124] Two Scipiones visited Ilium in 190 amid

[106] On the difficulties of the date, see L. Braccesi, *Alessandro e i Romani* (Bologna, 1975), 50f.

[107] Strabo 5. 3. 5; Galinsky (n. 5), 157; N. Petrochilos, *Roman attitudes to the Greeks* (Athens, 1974), 134.

[108] Paus. 1. 12. 2. Cf. E. Weber, *WSt.* 8 (1972), 214f.

[109] Petrochilos (n. 107), 133f.

[110] Momigliano (n. 1), 12f; Perret (n. 8), 419f; Galinsky (n. 5), 93ff; Perret (n. 36), 792ff.

[111] Perret (n. 8), 408ff, modified (n. 68), 48.

[112] Zonaras 8. 9. 12; Galinsky (n. 5), 173; F. P. Rizzo, *Studi ellenistico-romani* (Palermo, 1974), 15ff. For Centuripae, cf. Momigliano (n. 1), 15; G. Manganaro, *PP* 29 (1974), 394.

[113] Momigliano (n. 1), 15; Weber (n. 108), 217; Rizzo (n. 108), 83ff; Gabba (n. 7), 100.

[114] Strab. 10. 2. 25; Just. 28. 1. 5f; Weber (n. 108), 218f; Gabba (n. 7), 100; D. Golan, *Riv. Stor. Ant.* 1 (1971), 95ff.

[115] Plb. 2. 12. 8; see Walbank's note.

[116] ? 213, Liv. 25. 12. 5f.

[117] Carthaginians, Galinsky (n. 5), 177f.

[118] Cf. A. J. Toynbee, *Hannibal's Legacy* 2 (London, 1965), 385ff; H. Graillot, *Le culte de Cybèle* (Paris, 1912), 38ff.

[119] Ov. *F.* 4. 271-2. Cf. Graillot (n. 118), 43; Momigliano (n. 1), 15.

[120] Plut. *Mor.* 399C; H. W. Parke and D. E. W. Wormell, *The Delphic Oracle* 2 (Oxford, 1956), 144.

[121] Plut. *Flam.* 12; Parke and Wormell (n. 120), 1, 261.

[122] Cf. Justin 31. 8. 1-4; Gabba (n. 7), 76.

[123] Liv. 29. 12. 13f; but see, for instance, Badian (n. 104), 59.

[124] *IGR* 4. 179; Weber (n. 108), 220; Gabba (n. 7), 88.

mutual expressions of delight at Rome's origins; two years later, Ilium may have been rewarded at the peace of Apamea.[125] Rome's later benefactions to Ilium are a matter of antiquarian curiosity.[126]

The dissociation of Aeneas and Romulus perhaps intimated in Timaeus (nn. 99, 100) is clarified in Fabius Pictor (apparently after Diocles of Peparethus: fr. 4P suggests that a son will found Alba; Rome[127]is founded in 748-7, πολὶ ὕστερον.[128] Hence. some confirmation that the Alban king-list is, in part at least, Fabian.'?' Naevius' *Bellum Punicum* narrated the fall of Troy and the departure of Aeneas and Anchises; Venus assisted the wanderers, who probably reached Italy via Carthage: it was Romulus, a grandson of Aeneas, who founded Rome;[130] at least one Alban king is also known to Naevius.[131] Ennius likewise preferred a startlingly early date for the foundation of Rome and made Romulus a grandson of Aeneas.[132] Twenty years later, Cato devoted pan of *Origines* 1 to Aeneas:'" there, as in Naevius, Aeneas reaches Italy with Anchises; he lands at Troia, is granted land and a wife by Latinus, king of the Aborigines, but when the Trojans begin plundering, war breaks out: initially. Latinus is killed; then Aeneas, fighting Turnus and Mezentius. It is Cato who appears to have introduced Lavinia, (?) Amata, Tumus and Mezentius into the story of Aeneas.[134] This elaboration of the narrative reaches its climax in DH and is simplified only by Virgil. The scattered references to the Aeneas-legend in the later annalists are conveniently collected by Perret.[135]

The first clear sign that the *gens Iulia*, one of the Alban *gentes*, which reached Rome by way of Bovillae,[136] are concerned to prefer yet older and grander genealogical claims occurs in 129, when the head of Venus, Aeneas' mother, appears on the coins of a Julian moneyer.[137] It is unclear both whether the claim was older, and what prompted the Julii to exploit it then. Wiseman'" argues that the 'Trojan' claims on behalf of the Nautii and Geganii must be of great antiquity, since the former fade from view in 287, the latter sixty years before. But[139] it is not clear that the Trojan families had long made their distinctive boast: antiquarian preoccupation

[125] Liv. 37. 37. 3. 38. 39. 10; but see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia* ***Mirror*** 2 (Princeton. 1950). 950.

[126] Weber (n. 108), 221ff. Note of course the intention of establishing a capital at Troy alleged against Julius Caesar, Suet. ***Cues.*** 79. 3; ***E***. Norden, ***KI.*** *Schr.* (Berlin, 1966), 370. Cf. Momigliano (n. 1), 3.

[127] Fr. 6P (cf. Horsfall (n. 102), 112), perhaps after Diocles of Peparethus. *FGrH* 820 F 2.

[128] Fabius *ap.* Manganaro *loc. cit.* (n. 112): A. Alföldi, *Röm. Frühgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1976). 87.

[129] Fr. 5ab: Numitor and Amulius. Cf. further Alföldi (n. 128). 135; Cornell (n. 1), 4; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13). 76ff; D'Anna (n. 98). 93ff.

[130] Fr. 33 Marm. = 27 Strz.; Cornell (n. 1), 3.

[131] Amulius: fr. 32 Marm. = fr.26 Strz. See further M. Barchiesi, *Nevio Epico* (Padua, 1962). 523ff; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13). 72ff; D'Anna (n. 98) 43ff, 79, (n. 92) 333, (n. 50) 160. For Aeneas in Naevius. see further M. Wigodsky, *Vergil and early Latin poetry*, *Hermes Einzelschr.* 24 (1972). 22ff; Horsfall, PVS 13 (1973-4), 9ff: D'Anna, *Rend. Acc. Linc.* 8. 30 (1975), 1ff.

[132] Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 1. 273: Vahlen on *Ann.* 35; O. Skutsch, *The Annals* of *Quintus Ennius* (Oxford 1985). 190. and *Studia Enniana* (London, 1968). 12; D'Anna (n. 98). 43ff, 80ff. Amulius: *Ann.* 62 Skutsch. On the slender fragments of Ennius' narrative of Aeneas' journey from Troy and settlement in Italy, cf. Vahlen's masterly discussion. ed. 2, cxlix - cliii, with. now, Skutsch's discussion of *Ann.* 17ff.

[133] D'Anna (n. 98). 100ff, (n. 92) 323ff. But it is crucial to recognise that much of fr. 11 cannot be Cato, as the echo of Liv. 1. 2. 1 should long ago have indicated; this I suggested to R. M. Ogilvie, ***CR*** 24 (1974), 65. Cf. Cato. *Origines* 1 ed. W.- A. Schroder, 90-4. But see also J.- C. Richard, *Homm. Schilling* (n. 59). 404n.

[134] Schroder (n. 133). 96. modifying Perret (n. 8), 540ff.

[135] Perret (n. 8), 556ff. Cf. *idem.*, 544ff, against incautious interpretations of Cassius Hemina frr. 5-7P, on whom see also D'Anna, ***RCCM*** 17 (1975), 207ff, and now W. Suerbaum, *Festschr. Radke* (Miinster 1986), 269ff.

[136] Liv. 1. 30. 2, with Ogilvie's note; S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford. 1971), 5.

[137] M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* 1 (Cambridge. 1974), 284.

[138] T. P. Wiseman, *Legendary Genealogies*, ***GR*** 21 (1974), 153ff; Poucet (n. 14) Rome, 186f, 272f.

[139] Castagnoli (n. 1), 8 n.42, (n. 49) 295 n. 42.

with the theme belongs to the first century, numismatic advertisement occasionally in the second century. Other *gentes* founded mythological ancestries on the legendary *ktistes* of their own Latin town of origin.'"' In this context, Trojan origins look like a (? late) second century antiquarian improvement upon Alban genealogies.[141] After 129, 103.'" The censor of 89 (a Julius) exempted Ilium from tax; he and his daughter received statues there and his son took part in a festival of Athena in 87.[143] But not the Iulii alone: also the related Marii.[144] Possibly also the Cornelii: certainly Sulla's concern with Venus is evident; arguably. he brought the 'Trojan game' back from the East.[145] Consequently, variations upon the story acquire sharp political significance: Lutatius Catulus asserted Aeneas' treason and was answered by Sisenna.[146] Compare the familiar conflict: the kings of Alba as descendants of Aeneas and Creusa[147] or of Aeneas and Lavinia.[148] Both genealogies are well-attested and have a long history; the former clearly does more honour to the Iulii, and the persistence of both versions reflects clearly the politicisation of genealogical speculation in the late annalists.'"' L. Iulius Caesar, possibly the consul of 64, wrote about the Italian descendants of Aeneas.[150]

The above provides context and explanation; the intellectual energy and passionate concern with Trojan ancestry is Julius Caesar's own, from an early stage in his career: in 68 BC, he proclaimed that his aunt Julia was descended maternally from the kings (the Marcii Reges) and paternally from Venus; a *Venere Iulii, cuius gentis familia est nostra*, as he himself said.[151] Five years later, Cicero referred to *maiorum eius amplitudo*.[152] The works of Varro. ***de*** *familiis Troianis*, and Hyginus (same title, but probably post-Virgilian)[153] must be understood in terms of Caesar's progammatic politicisation of mythology.[154] We should also note Lucr. 1. 1, hinting at the Trojan origin of the Memmii, and the contemporary Castor of Rhodes, *FGrH* 250 F 5, on the Trojan ancestry of the kings of Alba.

Varro's place in the development of the Aeneas-legend, which must itself be seen in terms of the reconciliation between scholar and dictator in the years 48-5,[155] contributions to Roman knowledge of the legend,[156] and influence on the *Aeneid* are all issues still imperfectly understood:[157] cf., for example, *res div*. fr. 2a Cardauns on the rescue of the Penates by

[140] Eg the Caecilii Metelli on Caeculus of Praeneste, Weinstock (n. 136), 4ff: Wiseman (n. 138): Cornell (n. 1), 15f.

[141] Cf. Ogilvie on Liv. 1. 30. 2; R. E. A. Palmer, ***Archaic.*** *community of the Romans* (Cambridge, 1970), 290f.

[142] Crawford (n. 137). 325.

[143] Weinstock (n. 136). 17.

[144] Plut. *Mar*. 46; Weinstock (n. 136), 17.

[145] Weeber (n. 79). 189ff.

[146] *Ap*. ***OGR*** 9. 2: Sisenna fr. 1 P; E. Paratore in *Gli storiografi Latini*... (Urbino. 1975). 223ff.

[147] Virg. ***Aerr.*** 1. 267ff; cf. Liv. i. 3. 2.

[148] Virg. *Aen*. 6. 760ff; cf. Liv. 1. 1. 11

[149] Cf. Ogilvie on Liv. 1. 3. 2; D'Anna (n. 132), 20f.

[150] Weinstock (n. 136). 17; Perret (n. 8). 564; E. Bickel, *RhM* 100 (1957). 201ff: J.- C. Richard. ***REL*** 61 (1983), 108ff; H. J. Baumerich, *Über* ***die*** *Bedeutung* ***der*** *Genealogie* ***in*** *der röm. Literatur* (diss. Köln, 1964). 34ff.

[151] Suet. *Caes*. 6. 1 = ***ORF,*** 2nd. ed.. C. Iulius Caesar. 29.

[152] ***Car.*** 4. 9; S. Farron, ***Acra*** *Classica* 23 (1980), 59.

[153] On the date, cf. Baumerich (n. 150), 77 n. I.

[154] The works of Atticus (cf. Nep. *Att*. 18. 2-41 and M. Valerius Messalla Rufus. *de familiis Romanis*, eschewed legendary fantasies.

[155] Horsfall, *BICS* 19 (1972). 120ff.

Aeneas,[158] and 214 on the deification of Aeneas. We should recall that Varro above all surveyed previous views and transmitted a great accumulation of Aeneas-lore, now conveniently pre-digested. The devotion of Caesar as dictator to his ancestors Aeneas and Venus has been frequently and fully surveyed.[159] A few significant details: Caesar received the bloom of youth from Venus, sacrificed to her and to Mars before Philippi, wore the red boots of the Alban kings, visited Troy after the defeat of Pompey and renewed her privileges and, lastly, used Venus as a watchword and on his seal.[160] And so on. Nor any visible diminution after his death:[161] his funeral couch was placed in a model of the temple of Venus Genetrix; later, Octavian set up his statue in her temple; a painting of Aphrodite Anadyomene by Apelles was set up in Caesar's temple as *archegetis* of his family.[162] The highly idiosyncratic Sall. ***Cat.*** 6. 1 (the only surviving Latin text to make Aeneas the founder of Rome) belongs to the same period.[163] Perhaps unexpectedly, there is only a faint reflection of this preoccupation with Aeneas in the literature of the Triumviral period.[164] Art, however, shows a marked and uninterrupted partiality for scenes of Troy, of Aeneas, of Alba: for instance, the Casa del Criptoportico at Pompeii, the Esquiline frescoes, the Basilica Aemilia reliefs (?), the Civita Castellana base (?), and (Plin. NH 35. 144) the Trojan cycle placed in the *aedes Herculis Musarum* by Augustus' stepfather.[165] After Actium, Octavian founded Nicopolis: here citizens were to be *cognati* of the Romans;[166] to Rhoeteium in the Troad he returned the monuments removed to Egypt by Antony.[167] In 30-28, Virgil embraced the story of Troy and Octavian's Trojan-Julian ancestry as a fitting theme for epic.[168] Aeneas, and Rome's Trojan antecedents in general, had for forty years been intimately associated with the Julii Caesares; Octavian acknowledged and advertised his Trojan heritage as *divi filius*; Virgil adopted[169] a Trojan theme which had long since ceased to be purely national and had become substantially the property of the Julian house. Paradoxically, the *Aeneid* made Aeneas a national hero at Rome in a way far beyond the reach of the diplomacy and propaganda of earlier generations.[170]

[156] To be reconstructed chiefly from DH and Serv.

[157] R. Ritter. *Diss. Phil.* ***Hal.*** 14. 4 (1901). 285ff; A. J. Kleywegt, 'Varro über die Penaten', *Meded. Nederl. Akad.* 35. 7 (1972): Horsfall, *Antichthon* 15 (1981), 141ff. and *Encicl. Virgil. s.v.* Varrone (e l'Eneide), forthcoming: D'Anna (n. 131), 32f.

[158] Which Varro held to be of Samothracian origin. Cf. Kleywegt (n. 158).

[159] Norden (n. 126). 364ff; Farron (n. 152), 59ff; Crawford (n. 137), 735f for coinage: along with Fuchs (n. 19), 624ff; and P. P. Serafin, ***Boll.*** *d'Arte* 67 (1982), 35ff (a reference for which I am grateful to Dr. R. J. A. Wilson): above all. Weinstock (n. 136).

[160] Bloom: DC 43. 43. 3. Sacrifice: App. BC 2. 281. Boots: DC 43. 43. 2. Troy: Luc. 9. 950ff, ***IGR*** 4. 199. Venus: DC 43. 43. 2f.

[161] Norden (n. 127), 373: Farron (n. 153). 60.

[162] Couch: Suet. ***Cues.*** 84. 1. Statue: DC 45. 7. 1. Painting: Plin. 35. 91.

[163] D'Anna (n. 50). 162 n. 10, (n. 98) 116ff, *Magna Grecia* 155-6 (1980), 11.

[164] Hor. *Serm.* 2 5. 62f; Virg. *Buc.* 9. 47.

[165] Discussion of the monuments: Horsfall, *Atti del convegno modiale scientifico di Studi su Virgilio* ***1981.*** 2 (Milan. 1984). 52ff.

[166] Serv. *ad Aen.* 3. 501: cf. Norden (n. 126), 373: a clear echo of Roman policy towards Acarnania (n. 114).

[167] Strab. 13. 1. 30.

[168] Virg. *G.* 3. 34-6, 46-8, with V. Buchheit. ***Der*** *Anspruch des Dichters* (Darmstadt, 1972), 143ff.

[169] Norden (n. 126). 360.

[170] Ferdinando Castagnoli and Tim Cornell have for several years done much to encourage my study of the Aeneas-legend: I am most grateful to them and to my friends and colleagues English. French, Italian, Belgian. American, Dutch. German, Australian . . . who have helped me with off-prints, information or advice. Giampiera Arrigoni, Fritz Graf and Jan Bremmer reacted with notably constructive support to a first draft in 1982.

ROMULUS, REMUS AND THE FOUNDATION OF ROME

Besides Aeneas, there were always Romulus and Remus.[1] The existence of this second foundation myth posed two important problems to scholars. How strong were its credentials, and how should it be analysed? On the first point, notably, considerable progress has been made in recent times.[2] Since the late nineteenth century many scholars have repeatedly argued that the story was a literary fabrication, and consequently spent a great deal of effort on rigorous *Quellenkritik*. The culmination of this scepsis was the powerful attack on the authenticity of the Romulus story by Hermann Strassburger, who argued that all the literary evidence concerning the twins was late, and, moreover, an invention of anti-Roman propaganda.[3] His attack has been convincingly refuted by T. J. Cornell, whose careful analysis well sums up the discussions of the past century.

Cornell arrived at the following conclusions. First, the story of Romulus and Remus as founders of Rome was already well established by the beginning of the third century BC. The brothers are mentioned by Callias, the court historian of the Sicilian tyrant Agathocles who died in 289 BC.[4] At about the same time, in the year 296 BC, the brothers Ogulnius set up a bronze statue group of the twins beneath a she-wolf near the *ficus Ruminalis*.[5] Somewhat later, most likely in 269, this statue figured on the reverse type of one of the earliest Roman silver coins.[6] We could even reach a much higher date if we were sure of the date and function of the famous 'Capitoline Wolf' which is preserved in the Palazzo dei Conservatori. But even though the she-wolf has clearly distended udders, this alone is not sufficient evidence of the myth's early existence; other explanations, such as that the statue was a symbol of courage, cannot be excluded.[7]

As regards Greek historiography of earlier (and later) periods, the absence of the twins is due to various causes. For a long time. Rome was no more than a far-away place whose local traditions were only of marginal interest to the Greeks (cf. pp.19ff). It was only the fourth-century historian Timaeus who changed this pattern by a systematic investigation into Roman history and institutions. Later Greek historians, however, continued to approach early Roman history in a completely independent way which did not necessarily respect indigenous opinion.

Whereas Cornell analysed in great detail the traditions of the Roman foundation myth, he was much briefer in his discussion of the actual story. He argued that the concept of the twins owed its existence to the dual organization of archaic Rome. He also showed that the exposure

[1] For a full bibliography of recent research see C. J. Classen, 'Zur Herkunft der Sage von Romulus und Remus'. *Historia* 12 (1963. 447-457), 447 n. 1: T. J. Cornell. 'Aeneas and the Twins: the Development of the Roman Foundation Legend', *PCPhS* 21 (1975), 1-32. There are good summaries of the most important recent publications in W. A. Schroder. M. *Porcius Cato, Das erste Buch der Origines* (Meisenheim. 1971), 57-61, and J. Poucet. *Les origines de Rome* (Brussels. 1985).

[2] On the older discussions see H. J. Erasmus, *The Origins of Rome in Historiography from Petrach to Perizonius* (Diss. Leiden, 1962), with the review by A. Momigliano, *Terzo Contributo* I (Rome. 1966). 769-774.

[3] H. Strassburger. *Zur **Sage** von der Gründung Roms*, SB Heidelberg. phil.-hist. Kl. no.5 (Heidelberg. 1968) = *Studien zur alten Geschichte* II (Hildesheim, 1982). 1017-55.

[4] *FGrH* 564 F 5, cf. Cornell, 'Aeneas and the Twins', 7.

[5] See most recently A. Alfoldi. 'La louve du Capitole', in *Hommage à la mémoire de Jerôme Carcopino* (Paris. 1977). 1-11; C. Dulière, *Lupa Romana* (Brussels/Rome, 1979); L. Moretti. *RIFC* 108 (1980). 47-53; F. Coarelli. *Il Foro Romano: Periodo repubblicano e augusteo* (Rome, 1985), 89f.

[6] Cf. M. Crawford. ***RRC*** I. 137, 150, n. 714; Dulière, *Lupa Romana*, 43-62.

[7] On the she-wolf as an indication of the antiquity of the myth see A. Alföldi, ***Die** Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates* (Heidelberg. 1974). 107f; Cornell, 'Aeneas and the Twins'. 7 n. 4. *Contra*: Dulière, *Lupa Romana*, 39-43.

motif and the brigandage practised by the twins can be parallelled by examples from other Italic communities and were not derived from Greek literary models. He finally mentioned with approval the great importance Binder and Alfoldi attached to the role of the *Jungmannschaft*, but did not elaborate the subject."

The brevity of the discussion of the actual content is not surprising, since, curiously enough, there has not yet been a modem analysis which discusses the main episodes of the foundation myth in a detailed way. The aim of this study is to give such an account, focussing primarily on the various motifs of the early versions of the myth and their interrelationship, which makes use of the insights into myth and ritual as developed by Walter Burkert and others: the necessary regard for the chronology of the traditions will not be neglected.

1. A hero's life

Sometimes a pearl can be found among swine. The Austrian Generalkonsul Johan Georg von Hahn, who died in 1869, had long been a meritorious collector of Greek and Albanian fairy-tales until he felt himself attracted to mythology. His most important work in this area, a comparison of Germanic and Greek myths, was posthumously published in 1876. The result makes for depressing reading. Von Hahn was a dedicated follower of Max Müller's nature paradigm and saw the sun, moon and other natural phenomena in literally every single god and hero. Out of the blue, however, there appears a table which summarizes the biographies of fourteen heroes under the caption 'Arische Aussetzungs- und Riickkehr-Formel'." Here such diverse heroes as the Roman Romulus and Remus, the Persian Cyrus, the Germanic Siegfried and Dietrich, and the Indian Krishna were fitted into one scheme by dividing their life according to the following headings:"'

Birth

1. Principal hero illegitimate
2. Mother, daughter of native prince
3. Father, a god or stranger

Youth

4. Omen to a parent
5. Hero, in consequence, exposed
6. Suckled by animals
7. Reared by childless herdsman
8. Arrogance of the youth
9. Service abroad

Return

10. Triumphant homecoming, and return from abroad
11. Fall of the persecutor; acquisition of sovereignty; liberation of mother
12. Foundation of a city

[8] Cf. G. Binder, ***Die** Aussetzung des Königskindes: Kyros und Romulus* (Meisenheim, 1964). 29-38: Alfoldi. ***Die** Struktur*, 107ff.

[9] J. G. von Hahn, *Sagwissenschaftliche Studien* (Jena, 1876), 340. It is noteworthy that Von Hahn also looked for patterns in fairy-tales and already recognised the so-called 'Freja-Formel' (bride commits fault; loses bridegroom; search; reunion), see his *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* I (Leipzig, 1864), 64ff; for modem studies of the formula see now I. Dan. in H. Jason and D. Segal (edd.), *Patterns in **Oral** Literature* (The Hague/Paris, 1977), 13-30; E. Moser-Rath, in K. Ranke (ed.), *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 5. 1 (1985), 113-115. On Von Hahn see G. Grimm. *Johann Georg von Hahn* (Wiesbaden, 1964).

[10] I quote the English translation by J. Dunlop, *History of Prose **Fiction,*** ed. W. *H*. Wilson, vol. 1 (London, 1888), Appendix.

13. Extraordinary death

Subordinate figures

14. Slandered or incestuous and early death
15. Vengeance of the injured servant
16. Murder of the younger brother

Subsequent studies have added heroes, altered details, but not fundamentally changed the pattern of which the validity has been widely recognized.[11] Various explanations in Freudian, ritualistic, and more or less Jungian keys have been proposed, but none so far very satisfying. Yet it is clear that Von Hahn's scheme is a very useful tool in analysing the lives of Romulus and Remus.[12] The unmistakable resemblances with other Indo-European heroes will supply helpful parallels in order to reach a better understanding of the Roman myth; the analysis of the Roman myth can contribute to a better understanding of other lives, Indo-European or not. At the same time, we must be careful not to use the scheme too schematically. Von Hahn did not distinguish between younger and older layers of the individual lives, and various scholars have indeed defended the organic unity of the heroic legends, but it can hardly be doubted that some, such as the Siegfried story, gradually grew in size; a chronological determination of the individual motifs remains necessary.[13]

We must beware also of limiting ourselves to fitting the Roman foundation myth into an international biographical pattern. The Romulus and Remus story was handed down because it had a meaning in terms of the Roman cultural matrix. Consequently, we will first look for Roman or Italic parallels, even though these may be of a somewhat later date than the period of the myth's origin. These preliminary considerations may be sufficient for the moment: the proof of the pudding lies in the eating, not in the recipe. Let us therefore turn to the actual story and start with the events leading up to the twins' birth.

2. The mother's tragedy and the exposure

In the second half of the third century the poet Naevius already depicted Romulus as a grandson of Aeneas (see p. 22), but his contemporary Fabius Pictor related a different story which became the 'vulgate' in Rome. After the king of Alba had died, his two sons divided the possessions and the kingship between them. The younger son, Amulius, chose the gold, but afterwards robbed the older one, Numitor, of his royal power. Moreover, being afraid that Numitor's daughter Ilia might bear a son, he made her a Vestal virgin. When sometime later Ilia fetched some water from a sacred grove, she was raped by the god Mars. A pregnancy followed which Ilia tried to conceal in vain. However, before Amulius had fully realised the

[11] See the surveys by C. W. Dunn. *The Foundling and the Werwolf* (Toronto, 1960), 86-112; A. Taylor. 'The Biographical Pattern in Traditional Narrative'. *J. Folklore Institute* 1 (1964), 114-129; Tomás ó Cathasaigh, *The Heroic Biography of Cormac mac Airt* (Dublin, 1977), 1-8.

[12] Freudian: O. Rank. *Der Mythus von der Geburt des Helden* (Leipzig/Wien, 1909) = *The Myth of the Birth of the Hero* (New York, 1914); Ch. Baudoin, *Le triomphe du Héros. Étude psychanalytique sur le mythe du héros et les grandes épopées* (Paris, 1952). Ritualistic: H. Raglan. *The Hero* (London, 1936). Jungian: J. de Vries. *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend* (London, 1963); J. Campbell. *The Hero with a Thousand Faces*, 2nd. ed. (Princeton, 1968).

[13] Organic unity: F. G. Welcker. *Der epische Cyclus oder die Homerischen Dichter* II, 2nd ed. (Bonn, 1882), 5; J. de Vries, *Betrachtungen zum Märchen besonders in seinem Verhältnis zu Heldensage und Mythos* (Helsinki, 1954), 125f. *Contra*: K. von See. *Germanische Heldensage* (Frankfurt/M, 1971), 84.

problem. the twins had already arrived. The unfortunate mother was killed or, according to others. kept in imprisonment until Amulius' death; Romulus and Remus were exposed."

The final form in which this story has come down to us cannot be very early. The name Ilia clearly testifies to the impact which the Aeneas version of Rome's foundation had made and thus belongs to the third century (Chapter 2). At first sight. the fatherhood of Mars also looks like a recent invention, since it is well known that early Roman religion was aniconic. However, this does not necessarily imply that early Rome also lacked anthropomorphic gods, although this conclusion has often been drawn. Mars stands clearly against such an inference. The *carmen arvale*, our earliest extended text in Latin, invoked the god as *fere Mars* and asked him to leap onto the threshold. And before a war was started, the god was admonished to be vigilant: *Mars, vigila.* In fact, as Versnel notes, 'it is very hard to imagine that even in the remotest period the god Mars was not conceived in the shape of a warrior', that means to say in the shape of a real person." Admittedly, these examples do not prove that the role of Mars in this particular myth was old, but the connection of Mars with wolves, youths and new beginnings (§ 5) strongly points to an original association of the god with the twins. Finally, the names of Numitor and Amulius are both of Etruscan origin and probably belong to 'an old stratum of oral tradition'." Even though, then. the name of the mother is a relatively late element. Numitor, Amulius and Mars look like being part of the original story whose date will be discussed later (§ 8).

The fate of Ilia was not unique. Many Greek heroines suffered a similar experience. Take Danae for example. An oracle told her father Acrisius that his grandson would kill him. He locked up his daughter in a subterranean vault — a clear reflection of initiatory rites as Frazer already saw. Such a reflection is hardly surprising. So long as girls had to pass through initiatory rites on the way to motherhood. it was only to be expected that these rites should be found in tales about motherhood. However, the seclusion did not stop Zeus from approaching her in the shape of golden rain. In due time, the natural consequences of this meeting were discovered, and Danae, enclosed in a coffin, was thrown into the sea. When her son Perseus had grown up, he accidentally killed his grandfather and occupied the throne."

A similar structure occurs in the story of Auge, the mother of Telephus. When Aleus, king of Tegea, heard that his daughter's son was destined to kill his maternal uncles, he appointed his daughter a priestess of Athena. For a while, his daughter remained chaste, until Heracles arrived and. flushed with wine, raped her beside a fountain. When the king heard that his daughter was expecting. he arranged for her to be drowned in the sea. On the way to the coast, however. Auge managed to be alone for a moment and gave birth to a son in a thicket. The guard sold Auge to strangers, but the son Telephus was saved by a doe. In the end, Telephus

[14] Naevius fr. 27 Str., cf. C. J. Classen, 'Romulus in der romischen Republik'. *Philologus* 106 (1962), 174-204, esp. 177f.; Fab. Pict. fr. 5 P; add now the synopsis of Fabius' history in SEG XXVI. 1123. cf. G. Manganaro *ap.* A. Alföldi, *Römische Frühgeschichte* (Heidelberg. 1976). 83-96.

[15] The *locus classicus* is Varro *ap.* Augustin. CD 4.31, cf. P. Boyancé, *Études sur la religion romaine* (Rome, 1972). 261-264 (= R M 57 (1955), 65f); B.Cardauns, 'Varro und die römische Religion', *ANRW* II 16. 1 (1978), 80-103; H. S. Versnel. 'Apollo and Mars one hundred years after Roscher'. *Visible Religion* 4 (1986), 134-172 (also on anthropomorphic gods in Rome and Mars as warrior).

[16] Ogilvie on Liv. 1. 3. 10: see also Schroder. *Cato*, 150: this chapter, n. 86.

[17] On Danae see most recently M. Werre-de Haas, *Aeschylus' Dictyulci* (Diss. Leiden, 1961), 5-10 (with all literary evidence: add now *P.Oxy.* 3003); G. Binder, 'Danae', in K. Ranke (ed.), *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 3 (Berlin/New York. 1981), 259-63; J. H. Oakley, 'Danae and Perseus on Seriphos'. *AJA* 86 (1982), 113-115; *LIMC* III 1 (1986), 325-36 (J.-J. Maffre). Initiation: J. G. Frazer. *Balder the Beautiful*, vol. I (London. 1913). 22-100.

married the daughter of the Mysian king who had taken his mother as wife.[18] Similar tales are related about the mothers of oiher important heroes: Callisto, the mother of Arcas, ancestor of the Arcadians;[19] Io, the mother of Epaphos, ancestor of the Danai;[20] Tyro. mother of Pelias and Neleus, the kings of Iolcos and Pylos;[21] Melanippe. the mother of Boeotus and Aeolus. ancestors of the Boeotians and Aeolians;[22] Antiope, mother of Zethos and Amphion, the founders of Thebes.[23] Like Auge at Tegea, some girls were priestess of their city's most important goddess: Io of Hera at Argos, and Ilia of Vesta at Rome. Daughters of kings do not become priestesses of insignificant gods.

Walter Burkert has well seen that all these tales adapt themselves to a similar pattern: the girl's separation from home, seclusion. rape. tribulation of the mother, and rescue. Burkert. who calls the pattern 'the girl's tragedy', has also proposed an explanation: 'the girl's tragedy can be seen to reflect initiation rituals: but these in turn are determined by the natural sequence of puberty. defloration, pregnancy, and delivery. If, as observed in certain tribes, the girl has to leave her father's house at first menstruation and only acquires full adult status with the birth of a son. the correspondence of the tale structure is almost perfect.' Elsewhere, he has called Otto Rank's Freudian explanation of the 'Aryan expulsion and return formula', which traces the stories back to the Oedipal (excusez le mot) father-son conflict, one of the most solid results of the psycho-analytic interpretations of myth. Both explanations seem debatable. Rank justified his interpretation by a now familiar psycho-analytic sleight of hand. Having realised that a father-son conflict is absent in virtually all of the tales discussed (the exception is Oedipus), he postulated an 'psychologisch (!) ursprünglicheren Form' in which the father was still the persecutor. Needless to say, there is no evidence whatsoever that such an older type ever existed: his other arguments are of the same quality. Burkert`s own explanation of the first part of the formula as 'the girl's tragedy' also seems problematic. since in some cases the mother of the hero is already married: Mandane, the mother of Cyrus. and Sisibe. the mother of Siegfried; other heroines are not rescued at all: Callisto is shot having been transformed into a bear, and Ilia is drowned.'.' Even if it is true that the tales respect the parameters of a girl's life, such as puberty and pregnancy — but why shouldn't they? — these parameters do not explain the great suffering of the mothers. We need only think of Callisto's transformation into a bear or Io`s metamorphosis into a cow to realise that these girls suffer far beyond normal human measure.

[18] L. Preller/C. Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* II (Berlin. 1920). 1139-44; L.Koenen. ZPE 4 (1969), 7-18; Horsfall. this volume. Ch. 7 § 4; *LIMC* III 1 (1986), 44-51 (C. Bauchhens-Thüriedl).

[19] On Callisto see most recently Burkert. *Structure and History*, 6f; Ph. Borgeaud. *Recherches sur le dieu Pan* (Rome, 1979), 48-54: R. Arena. 'Considerazioni sul mito di Callisto`. *Acme* 32 (1979), 5-26: A. Henrichs. *Entr. Hardt* 27 (1981), 201-203; *idem*. in Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London. 1987), 242-272.

[20] Preller/Robert II, 253-266; W. Burkert. *Homo Necans* (Berkeley etc.. 1983), 164-167 (German version: 182-189); B. Frcycr-Schauenburg. 'Io in Alexandria'. *Röm. Mitt*. 90 (1983), 35-49: E. Simon. `Zeus und Io auf einer Kalpis dcs Eucharidesmalers`, *Arch. Anz*. (1985), 265-280; N. Yalouris, 'Le mythe d'Io`, ***RCH*** Suppl. 14 (1986), 3-23.

[21] Homer *Od*. 11. 235-55 with A. Heubeck *ad loc*.; Soph. fr. 649-69a Radt; G. Rudkc. ***RE*** VII A (1939), 1869-75.

[22] *TrGF* Ad. F 626?; H. v. Arnim, *Supplementum Euripideum* (Bonn. 1913). 9-22; Hyg. *Fab*. 186; Apollod. 3. 5. 5: Wilamowitz, *Kleine Schriften* I (Berlin, 1935), 440-60: C. Aeller *et al*., *Le peintre de Darius et son milieu* (Geneva. 1986), 190-99.

[23] Preller/Robert II, 114-19; Burkcrt. ***Honro*** *Necans*, 185-89 (German version. 207-11); *LIMC* I 1 (1981), 854-7 (E. Simon), 718-23 (F. Heger). III 1 (1986), 634-44 (F. Heger).

[24] See, respectively, Burkcrt, *Structure*. 61: 16 and *Entr. Hardt* 26 (Geneva, 1980), 184: Rank. *Geburt*. 71-80. Note also F. Graf. *Griechische Mythologie* (Munich/Zurich, 1985), 56-57. on Burkert's interpretation of `the mother's tragedy'.

Apparently, great heroes come into being during periods of intense crisis and transition in their mother's lives and they become the more extraordinary thanks to their mothers' hardships.[25]

Otto Rank rightly noted the prominence of grandfathers in the exposure legends. Instead of identifying these (mainly maternal) grandfathers with the real father as Rank did. we should observe the difference between the two. In Greece, as in Rome, a boy usually had a much better relationship with his maternal grandfather than with his own father. The animosity of the maternal grandfather therefore fits neatly in the pattern we have discussed. The marginality of the hero is stressed through the rejection by the person who normally should have loved him most. In the case of Romulus and Remus there is a somewhat different situation. Ilia is the victim of her father's brother, the *patruus* — in Rome always a type of severity. The rejection of the Roman twins, then, is less marked than in most Greek versions of the exposure legend.'"

Romulus and Remus were not the only foundlings to survive. The careers of Sargon of Akkad, Cyrus. Perseus and Pope Gregory, amongst many others, show that this motif is very widespread. In some cases the miraculous salvation is even stressed by the addition of an escape from other dangers as well. Moses, for example, not only survived his exposure in the river but also the murder of Israel's children by the Pharaoh (*Exodus* 1. 2), and the latter motif returns in the childhood stories of Jesus who survived the murder of the children of Bethlehem (*Matthew* 2). It is remarkable that we encounter the same motif amongst the legends surrounding Augustus' birth. One of his freedmen, the Syrian (!) Marathus, related that some months before the emperor's birth an omen was observed predicting the birth of a king. Subsequently the senate decreed that no boy born that year should be reared, but 'those whose wives were pregnant saw to it that the decree was not filed in the treasury, since each one hoped that the prediction applied to himself' (Suetonius *Aug*. 94).[27]

Recent decades have shown that it is especially the statesman in exile or seclusion who is apt to be recalled to power in order to remove the chaos: De Gaulle, Karamanlis, Khomeini. The move from the margin to the center is also a traditional part of the lives of religious innovators such as Jesus, Mohammed and Buddha.[28] The pattern evidently reflects a culturally widespread feeling that innovation and renewal do not come from the established powers but from the margin. It seems therefore natural to interpret the beginning of the tales discussed as a narrative ploy. The rise to power of the hero within the community acquires greater relief from the stress on his earlier marginality and rejection from that community.

3. Coming of Age in Latium

After the exposure, the twins were suckled by a she-wolf. To the Romans. the wolf was typical for the non-civilised world, a symbol of the 'Sphäre des unheimlichen Draussen'. Obsequens and Livy supply many examples of wolves entering the city — an entry which usually signified

[25] Cf. J. F. Nagy. *The Wisdom of the Outlaw. The Boyhood Deeds of Finn in Gaelic Narrative Tradition* (Berkeley etc.. 1985). 97f, for a fine discussion of the 'mother's tragedy' in Celtic mythology.

[26] Greece: Bremmer. 'The Importance of the Maternal Uncle and Grandfather in Archaic and Classical Greece and Early Byzantium', %PE SO (1983), 173-186. Rome: J.- P. Hallett, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society* (Princeton. 1984), 127-129; M. Bettini, ' "Pater, Avunculus. Avus" nella cultura Romana piu arcaica'. *Athenaeum* 72 (1984), 468-491. *Patruus*: Hallett, 189-196.

[27] Cf. Binder (above, n. 8) which is summarized with some corrections and additions in *Enz. d. Märch.* 1 (1977). 1048-66: D. B. Bedford, 'The Literary Motif of the exposed Child', *Numen* 14 (1967), 209-228; B. Lewis, *The Sargon Legend* (Cambridge Mass., 1980); P. Ottino. 'L'abandon aux eaux et l'introduction de l'Islam en Indonésie et à Madagascar', in *Études sur l'Océan Indien* (Paris, 1984), 193-222: D. Ward. in K. Ranke (ed.), *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. 4 (1984). 1387f.

[28] A. Droogers, 'Symbols of Marginality in the Biographies of Religious and Secular Innovators', *Numen* 27 (1980). 105-121.

bad news.[29] At the same time, the wolf was also the animal *par excellence* of Mars. a god closely connected with the world of nature (§ *5)*. In the case of the twins, the association with Mars was clarified by the addition of the woodpecker. as helper of the she-wolf likewise associated with Mars.'" Evidently, the Romans wanted to stress the close connection of the twins with Mars.

Many Asian peoples derive their origin from a wolf as ancestor. In this respect the Roman version is already more 'civilised', and its closest parallels can be found in Greece. The Cretan Miletos was the son of Apollo and a nymph. who, fearing the wrath of her father, exposed her baby in the woods. The god sent some wolves to feed the boy until shepherds came who raised him. When Miletos had grown up, he fled from Crete to Asia Minor where he founded the homonymous city. Our oldest source, Herodorus (about 400 BC), does not mention the wolves or the education by shepherds. but these details do occur in the version of Antoninus Liberalis who wrote in the mid second century AD and must have been well acquainted with the Roman foundation myth; even his source Nicander, who wrote in the mid second century BC. could well have been exposed to strong Roman influence, as Jacoby long since observed.?'

Secondly, in a story locaiised in Arcadia, Lykastos and Parrhasios were the children of Ares and the local nymph Phylonome. Out of fear of her father, the nymph exposed the twins in the river Erymanthos, but they landed safely on one of the banks where a she-wolf fed them. After a while, a shepherd, Tyliphos, found them and raised them as his own children. When the twins had grown up, they became the chiefs of the Arcadians. Our earliest authority for this story is only 'Zopyrus of Byzantium', one of the *Schwindelautoren* cited by Pseudo-Plutarch: that is calculated to discourage any confidence in the antiquity. independence and authority of the tale. Miletos and the Arcadian twin in fact represent eloquent testimony to the impact of Romulus and Remus upon the imagination of the lesser Greek mythographers of the Imperial period. They are calques not parallels, alas.'?

As soon as the twins were ready to be weaned. they were found by the shepherd Faustulus. His name has repeatedly been connected with the god Faunus, and interesting observations have been made on the association of the twins with the Roman equivalent of the Greek god Pan. However, the connection of Faustulus with *faustus* is unimpeachable; speculations based upon other etymologies have therefore to be rejected. We can only say with some certainty that Faustulus' place in the story is old.[33]

[29] Obsequens 13 *lupi … exagitati … fuerunt*, 27a … *lupus vigilem laniavit et inter tumultum effugit*, 49 *lupus urbem ingressus … occisus. Bubo … occisus*; Liv. 27. 37. 3. 32. 29. 2, 33. 36. 9. 41. 9. 6: C. Renel. *Cultes militaires de Rome* (Lyon/Paris, 1903). 79-82: J. Bayet. 'L'étrange "omen" de Sentinum', in *Hommages* A. *Grenier* (Brussels. 1962). 244-256; Th. Köves-Zulauf, *Reden und Schweigen* (Munich. 1972). 246: W. Richter. ***RE*** Supp. 15 (1978). 972.

[30] Wolf: Richter (n. 29). 979f. Woodpecker: Plut. M. 268F; A. Steicr. *RE* III A (1929). 1549: R. Merkelbach. 'Spechtfahne und Stammessage der Picentes', in *Studi in onore di U. **E**. Paoli* (Florence. 1956). 513-520; P. Scarpi, 'Picus: una mediazione per la "Storia" '. *BIFG* 5 (1979-80). 138-163. O..Szemerenyi, 'The name of the *Picentes*', in *Sprache und Geschichte. Festschrift für Harri Meier zum 65 Geburtstag* (Munich. 1971). 531-544. has shown that the often-claimed connection between Picus and Picentes rests on a misunderstanding.

[31] Wolf as ancestor: Alföldi, *Struktur*, 39-85; D. Sinor, 'The Legendary Origin of the Turks'. in *Folclorica: Festschrift for Felix J. Oinas* (Bloomington. 1982). 223-257; W. Heissig. in *Studien zur Ethnogenese*. Abh. Rheinisch-Westf. Ak. Wiss., vol. 72 (1985). 44. Miletos: Herodoros *FGrH* 31 F 45: Antoninus Lih. 30: Apollod. 3. 5: Jacoby on Nicander *FGrH* 272/2, p.230.

[32] Lykastos and Parrhasios: Zopyros *ap.* Plut. ***M.*** 314EF; Servius *Aen.* 11. 31; Steph. Byz. *s.v. Parrhasia*.

[33] On the connection of Faustulus with Faunus see most recently: Binder. *Aussetzung*, 84f; D. Briquel, 'Les enfances de Romulus et Remus', in H. Zehnacker/ G. Hentz (edd.), *Hommages à Robert Schilling* (Paris, 1983. 53-66). 56f. I am grateful to R. P. S. Beekes for an illuminating discussion of the etymologies of Faustulus and Faunus (letter 12 April 1985). Faustulus old: Ogilvie on Liv. 1.4. 7.

The same cannot be said of his wife. Acca Larentia, who is mentioned first by Ennius. Evidently. a more enlightened age had become sceptical about she-wolves suckling twins and looked for a more acceptable version. To that end a whore was introduced into the story, since the Romans used the same term (*lupa*) for she-wolves and prostitutes. The only whore available in Roman mythology was Acca Larentia, a girl who had pleased Hercules and greatly enriched the Roman state; the choice must have been evident.[34] At first sight, the close connection of the twins with a prostitute looks hardly acceptable for the reputable Romans, but among various peoples the marginal origin of a later king or hero was stressed by letting him descend from a whore. In the Old *Testament*, the judge Jephtha is the son of a harlot (*Judges* 11. 1). Eruand, the founder of the Persian Orontid dynasty. was born out of wedlock from a mother who is described as 'libidinous'. Lamissio, one of the Lombard chiefs (a king?) during their early wanderings. was the son of a whore (*meretrix*) and in addition exposed in a pond. and in the Middle Ages to be 'a son of a bitch' was even considered to be a good omen. We may compare the case of Servius Tullius who was reputed to be the son of a slave, but who became in many ways the second founder of Rome.

The introduction of Acca clearly shows how deeply rooted the she-wolf was: even a more rationalistic age could not present the story without a *lupa*. We do not know when the discussion about the circumstances of the birth started. An inscription found on Chios in the nineteen-fifties. which most likely dates from about 190 BC, mentions the raising of a relief depicting the birth of the twins in such a way which 'one would rightly reckon to be true'. Are these words perhaps a reference to the debate?[35]

The twins grew up under the guardianship of Faustulus and other shepherds. The education is not without parallels. even in Italy. The first king of Alba, Silvius. was born 'in the house of the shepherd Tyrrhus'. However, his name, which is found only in later sources, looks too transparent not to be a late invention, and his story is probably modelled on the Roman foundation myth.[36] On the other hand, the myth of the founder of Praeneste. Caeculus. who was also raised in pastoral surroundings. looks at least partially authentic (Chapter 4).

In Greek niythology we find Paris raised among shepherds. as were Amphion and Zethos, the founders of Thebes, and Neleus and Pelias, the sons of Antiope. The connection between noble youths and shepherds is already found in the *Iliad* where Achilles confronted Aeneas when shepherding (20. 91), and killed the brothers of Andromache when they were herding cattle (6. 423f); in the *Odyssey*, Athena transfornied herself into a royal shepherd boy (13. 223). Apparently. it belonged to the 'career' of royal adolescents to spend some time among

[34] Acca Larentia: Ogilvie on Liv. 1. 4. 7 (with earlier bibliography): add D. Sabbatucci, 'Il mito di Acca Larentia'. ***SMSR*** 29 (1958), 41-76: Moniigliano. *Quarto contributo* (Rome. 1969). 471-79 (1st cd. 1939); G. Radke, 'Acca Larentia und die fratres Arvales', *ANRW* I. 2 (1972). 421-41; F. Courelli. *Il* ***For-o*** *Romano* (Rome, 1983), 261-282. Skutsch on Enn. ***A.*** l. xliv rightly stresses that the testimony of the OGR (20. 3) that Acca figured in Ennius should now be accepted; his suggestion that after the introduction of Acca another *lupa* was postulated in Rome's mythological past is unccononiical.

[35] Eruand: Moses Khorcnats'i 2. 37, cf. R. W. Thomson (tr.), *Moses Khorenats'i, History of the Armenians* (Cambridge Mass./London, 1978), 178f. Lamissio: Paul. Diac. *Hist. Long.* 1. 15. Middle Ages: J. Grinim. *Deutsche Mythologie*, vol. 3, 4th ed. (Berlin. 1878), 441 nr. 221: Chios: SEG XXX. 1073 = I. Ch. 78, in F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985), 456. with earlier bibliography, add S. R. F. Price, *Rituals and Power. The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia* ***Mirror.*** (Cambridge, 1983) 41. 43.

[36] Faustulus: Richard on OGR p.172 with all texts. Education among shepherds: Liv. 1. 4. 8; Plut. *Rom.* 6; Just. 43. 2. 6. X Flor. *Epit.* I. 1. 5. Silvius: Schwegler. RG. 3371'1; already saw that the tradition regarding Silvius was late; see also Ogilvie on Liv. 1. 3. 4-6. Schröder, *Cato*, 131-6. persuasively argues that Silvius did not occur in Cato (F 11P) as has always been accepted.

shepherds outside civilisation. It fits perfectly into this custom that Apollo, a god closely connected with initiation, also had to herd himself."

Many Iranian kings were raised in similar conditions. Herodotus (1. 110-14) relates how Cyrus grew up among shepherds until his tenth year. Artashes II, successor to the Orontid dynasty and focus of many Armenian legends, was brought up in the cottages of shepherds and herdsmen. Artashir, the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, was reputedly the son of a shepherd and suckled by a goat. And finally, according to the *Shahname*, the national Iranian epic. the legendary king Kai Khusro was also brought up among shepherds and, like Cyrus. showed his qualities at the age of ten. The Iranist Widengren has rightly compared these traditions with reports that Persian youths underwent a severe training in areas outside civilisation. As Strabo (15. 3. 18) noted, it was pan of their initiation to wander through woods and mountains, and to eat wild fruits and acorns. The raising by shepherds, then. is the mythical reflection of this education.[38] It seems reasonable to ascribe a similar meaning to the Greek and Roman myths. since Mediterranean shepherds are typically people of the marginal areas."' This part of the Roman foundation myth evidently reflects an Indo-European coniing of age ritual which disappeared at an early moment in Roman history.

There is one other element in the education of Romulus and Remus which suggests an origin in the archaic age. Eutropius pictures Romulus as a cattle-stealer, and Schwegler already suggested that the traditions in which Romulus helped shepherds against rustlers were later transformations of tales in which the founder of Rome himself participated in cattle-lifting. Raids for cattle can hardly have been a rare occurrence at a time when cattle were still one of the main sources of movable wealth. and wars were carried on mainly for the acquisition of booty: the death of Tatius was explained as caused by a raid in which his friends had abducted some herds.."'

The involvement of youth in cattle-raids appears also among other early Indo-European societies. Raiding was one of the activities of the Greeks before Troy and we hear Achilles boasting about his theft of Aeneas' oxen (11. 20. 188-190). His was the act of a fully qualified warrior, but elsewhere cattle-rustling is ascribed to novices. When the embassy of the Greeks besought Achilles to return to the battle-field. Nestor told how he, still very young. had taken part with others — the youth of Pylos? — in a cattle-raid against the Eleans. From the sequel we learn that he was not yet entitled to carry heavy arms according to his father Neleus. Evidently, the whole episode relates Nestor's coniing of age and has an initiatory background."

[37] Paris: Euripides *Alexandros* (*P.Oxy.* 3650 with earlier bibliography). *IA* 1284ff; Schol. Lyc. 138. Amphion and Zethos: Apollod. 3. 5. 5. Pelias and Neleus: Apollod. 1. 9. 8: note also Phrixus and Hellen (Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 257). Apollo: *11.* 2. 766. 21. 448; *TrGF* Ad. F 721; D. Flückiger-Guggenheim, *Göttliche Gäste* (Bern. 1984), 128f; Vcrsnel (above n. 15). Note also A. Brelich. *Gli eroi greci* (Rome. 1958). 182.

[38] Artashes II: Moses Khorenats'i 7. 37. cf. Thomson (above. n. 35), 179f. Ardashir: *Karnamak* 1. 6-7. cf. T. Noeldeke, 'Geschichte des Artachsir i Papakan', *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 4 (1878. 22-69). 361': Moses Khorcnats'i 2. 70. cf. Thomson. 217. Kai Khusro: Firdausi. *Shahname* 12. 4f. cf. J. Mohl, *Le livre des rois* II (Paris, 1841). 421-423. In general: G. Widengren, 'La légende royale de l'Iran antique'. in *Hommages à Georges Dumézil* (Brussels. 1960). 225-237 (too Dumézilian); *idem*, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran* (Cologne and Opladen, 1969), 82-88.

[39] R. MacMullen, *Roman Social Relations* (New Haven. 1974), 1-3. 147f; M. C. Amouretti, 'L'Iconographie du berger', in *Iconographie et histoire des mentalités* (Paris, 1979), 155-167: B. D. Shaw, ' "Eaters of Flesh, Drinkers of Milk" the Ancient Mediterranean Ideology of the Pastoral Nomad', *Anc. Soc.* 13/4 (1982/83), 7-31. Homer: *Od.* 16. 27f.

[40] Romulus: Eutrop. *Brev.* 1. 1. 7: Schwegler, ***RG.*** 431 n. 26. Booty: Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor. 1965), 377. and *Entr. Hardt* 13 (Geneva. 1967), 269': W. V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome* (Oxford. 1979). 59. Tatius: DH 1. 51. 1.

[41] Honi. *Il.* 11. 670ff. cf. P. Walcot, 'Cattle raiding. heroic traditions and ritual: the Greek evidence', ***Nisi.*** *of Rel.* 18 (1979), 326-351; B. Bravo. '*Sylan*', ***ASNP*** III 10 (1980, 675-987), 954-58; F. Bader, in R. Bloch (ed.), *Recherches*

As regards the Germanic peoples, Caesar (*BG* 6. 23. 6) relates that 'acts of banditry which take place outside the boundaries of each people carry no infamy; and they claim that these acts take place in order to train the young men and to reduce sloth' (*atque ea iuventutis exercendae ac desidiae minuendae causa fieri praedicant*). It is important to note that participation was obligatory, since the stay-at-homes were reckoned among 'the ranks of desertors and traitors'; the forays probably had an initiatory character. The object of these raids very often was cattle, 'the only and most welcome riches' of the Germans, as was the case when the Sygambri crossed the Rine to pillage the Eburones and 'seized a great quantity of cattle, for which the barbarians are most greedy' (*BG* 6. 35. 6).

Among the ancient Celts, the Irish have preserved vivid memories of the times in which cattle-raids were an honourable activity. The most famous raid is the *Tain* ho *Cuailnge* which recounts the initiatory *geste* of the great Ulster hero Cuchulain. but the titles of a great number of similar epics have survived. though the contents are now irretrievably lost. These poems originally narrated the raiding of cattle, but in the final form that we have this subject is already vanishing into the background. Around the year 1000 AD the word for raid, *tain*, had virtually disappeared and was replaced by *crech*, a word which contains a pejorative undertone absent in *tain*. As much earlier in mainland Gaul, the cattle-raid had gradually given way to different fonns of warrior exploits, forms that were better adapted to a society in which cattle were no longer the main expression of wealth.[42]

We are much less well informed about the activities of the Indo-Iranian youth, but the *Veda* knows of an autonomous group of young men, the Marut, who function as the retinue of the god Indra and help him to steal cattle. Also the *Avesta* relates that the booty of the initiatory bands, the *mairya*, consisted of cattle.[43] The comparative evidence, then, helps to support the idea that in the early versions of the myth cattle-stealing was part of the coming of age of Romulus and Remus.[44]

4. The Killing of Remus

Having been educated by the shepherds, the twins managed eventually to kill their uncle and to restore their grandfather Numitor to the throne. Contrary to what one would expect, Romulus and Remus did not stay in Alba but moved back to Rome to found a new city. Here the twins started to quarrel and when Remus jumped over the new city wall in defiance of his brother, Romulus killed him. The murder is already mentioned in Ennius (*Ann.* 94f Skutsch) and constitutes an integral part of the legend in later times, even though more recent generations, apparently unlike Ennius, either blamed Romulus for Remus' death or tried to exculpate him.[45]

sur les religions de l'antiquité classique (Geneva/Paris, 1980), 9-83 (often too Dumézilian); P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le chasseur noir*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1983), 171: Graf, *Griechische Mythologie*, 63f, 73f.

[42] Cf. G. Dottin, 'Les razzias épiques', *Rev. Celt.* 40 (1923), 127-134; J. Weisweiler, *Zs. f. celt. Philol.* 24 (1954). 26-28: P. ó Riain, 'The "Crech Rig" or "Regal Prey" ', *Eigse* 15 (1973). 24-30.

[43] *Veda* and Marut: S. Wikander, *Der arische Männerbund* (Diss. Uppsala, 1938): L. Renou, *Etudes védiques et paninéennes* 10 (Paris. 1962): J. C. Heesterman. *Indo-Iranian Journal* 6 (1962), 16f; B. Lincoln, *Priests, Warriors and Cattle* !Berkeley etc.. 1981), 122-132; B. Oguibenine, 'Le symbolisme de la razzia d'après les hymnes védiques', *Er. Indo-Eur.* 5 (1983), 1-17: R. Katz Arabagian, 'Cattle Raiding and Bride Stealing'. *Religion* 14 (1984), 107-142. Avesra and *mairya*: Wikander. *op. cit.*; G. Widengren, *Hochgottglaube im alten Iran* (Uppsala/Leipzig, 1938), 311-351; Lincoln, *loc. cit.*

[44] For the sections on cattle-raiding and the asylum (§ 5). 1 have drawn on my 'The suodales of Poplios Valesios', *ZPE* 47 (1982), 133-147, but not without additions and revisions.

[45] For the praise or blame of Romulus, see most recently the detailed survey by H. J. Kramer, in H. Flashar/K. Gaiser (edd.), *Synusia. Festgabe für Wolfgang Schadewaldt* (Pfullingen, 1965). 355-402.

The manner of Remus' death is intriguing and Ogilvie (on Liv. 1. 6. 3) has argued that 'the evil consequences which attend contempt of walls is Greek in origin, recalling the tale of Poimandros and Leukippos or Oeneus and Toxeus.' How close are these Greek parallels? Plutarch (*Mor*. 299C) relates the following Boeotian myth about king Poimandros who had fortified Poimandria. 'Polycrithus the master-builder, however, who was present. spoke slightingly of the fortifications and, in derision, leaped over the moat. Poimandros was enraged and hastened to throw at him a great stone which had been hidden there from ancient days, set aside for use in the ritual of the Nyctelia. This stone Poimandros snatched up in his ignorance, and hurled. He missed Polycrithus. but slew his son Leucippus' (tr. F. Babbitt, Loeb).

The resemblance with Remus' death is striking, but a recently published papyrus relates a rather different version: '. . . by Amphitryon . . . Rhianus, in the . . .th book of the *Heracleia* (Suppl. Hell. no. 715 Lloyd-Jones/Parsons), says that Poimandros married Stratonike. the daughter of Euonymus (?), and begot three sons. Anchippus (?), Ephippus and Leukippus, and two daughters, Rhexipyle (?) and Archeptoleme. Aristophanes, in the first book of the *Boeotika*, says that Ephippus who jumped over [the ditch] lost his life at the hands of his father Poemandrus, as is the prevailing opinion. He also says that Toxeus lost his life in the same circumstances at the hand of his father Oeneus [cf. Apollod. 1. 8. 1 with no further details]. So g . . .'[46] Unfortunately, the lacuna has not yet been satisfactorily filled in, and the papyrus continues: 'As regards Poimandros, he says, when he encircled the city with a ditch, his son Ephippus claimed that he [ie Ephippus] could easily leap over the ditch. When Poimandros forbade it and Ephippus leaped across, then . . .'[47] Here the papyrus maddeningly breaks off. It is impossible to date the content of the papyrus, apart from its palaeographical date (II/III AD). According to its editor (note 47), the text is a commentary on Lycophron 326 where Polyxena is sacrificed 'into a deep *poimandria* (ditch)', but the mention of Amphitryon at the beginning of the papyrus really speaks against this suggestion. *If* Lycophron's *poimandria* recalls Poimandrus' ditch (which it could, in theory. regardless of whether or not the papyrus is a commentary on Lyc. 326), then Ephippus' jump (and thus a Greek parallel for the death of Remus) would have been known as early as the first half of the third century BC. Moreover, the Aristophanes mentioned in the first account is quoted twice by Plutarch (*Mor*. 864D, 866/7) and will hardly have been a contemporary: Jacoby (on *FGrH* 369) dates him to about 400 BC. but offers no real evidence for this contention. It is then reasonable to accept the existence of a Greek parallel for the manner of Remus' death. On the other hand, the Greek slanderer was not killed, and Remus jumped a wall, although Plutarch lets him jump a moat — surely in imitation of the Boeotian myth. *Puce* Ogilvie, then, these stories do not fully explain the manner of Remus' death.[48]

In his discussion of the Roman triumph. H. S. Versnel also made the comparison between Poimandros and Remus but he arrived at this point by a completely different route. Having observed that the Roman *triumphator* entered Rome through a special gate, which was opened only for this ceremony and not used at any other time, he pointed to the related ritual for the winners of the Olympic games. The Olympic victors were allowed to enter their native city through a gap in the wall. which was especially made for the occasion; this special entry, the

[46] The first editor (see next note) assumes a change of source at this point. but this is unlikely because of the gap in line 24.

[47] *P.Oxy*. 2463. ed. and tr. J. Rea, although I follow the interpretation of E. G. Turner in line 24ff. The papyrus has been overlooked by H. Beister. 'Probleme bei der Lokalisierung des homerischen Graia in Bootien'. in G. Argoud and P. Roesch (edd.). Lo *Béotie antique* (Paris. 1985), 131-36, esp. 132f. I am most grateful to Albert Henrichs for discussing this papyrus with me (letter 6 February 1986).

[48] Remus jumping a wall: Enn. *Ann*. 96 Skutsch: Liv. 1. 7. *2:* DH. 1. 87. 4. Jumping a moat: Plut. *Rom*. 10.

eiselasis, was even so characteristic for the victor that numerous other games were called *agones eiselastikoi* in later times. Moreover, the relation between the Greek and Roman ritual was already perceived by the Greeks themselves, as they used the term *eiselasis/eiselauno* for the Roman triumph. On the basis of this comparison, Versnel suggests that in both cases the wall forms a magic circle which ensured 'the continued presence of the ntana-bearer and of the blessing he brought upon the city.' The death of Remus was the fatal consequence of breaking this magic of the wall, as were the deaths of Leucippus and Toxeus, and the illness of Miltiades who jumped over the wall of Demeter's Parian sanctuary.'"

Versnel's elegantly argued solution seems debatable. As he observed himself. the *Porta Triumphalis* does not form part of the city wall. Perhaps the transition through the gate was meant to keep the *triumphator* within the city area of Rome, but it is difficult to see how the custom could have helped to keep him within the city wall. The jump by Leucippus/Ephippus and Toxeus over a moat also hardly proves that the Greeks considered their city wall to form a magic circle, and Miltiades' illness is explained by Herodotus (6. 134) as the fatal consequence of his haste in leaping down from (not over) the wall of the sanctuary — a perfectly natural cause — and nowhere related to his violation of the magic of the wall. The breach in the wall for the Olympic victor is perhaps best explained as the dramatization of his entry through a certain delay and resistance (cf. Chapter 8).

There is in fact a striking difference between Greece and Rome regarding the walls. In Rome, except for the gates, the city walls were considered to be inviolate and sacred, as Plutarch (*Mor.* 270/1), quoting Varro, states — an idea perhaps derived from the Etruscans who also considered their walls to be sacred (Festus 358. 21). Crossing the walls, in fact, was punishable by death, a penalty which was explicitly connected with Remus' death (Pomp. *Dig.* 1. 8. *11).* The myth of Remus' death, then, seems to have functioned as a deterrent against crossing the sacred walls. even though we do not know the age of this tradition.[50]

Remus' death naturally raises a preliminary question. Why was Rome founded by twins in the first place? Basically, two answers have found acceptance in modem times. First, the great expert on Indo-European traditions, the late Georges Dumézil, understandably interpreted Romulus and Remus as the Roman variant of the Indo-European concept of twins as exemplified by the Dioskouroi and, especially, the Vedic Nasatya-Asvin. These latter twins 'rajeunissent les veillards, guérissent les hommes et les animaux malades et réparent les mutilés, accouplent, enrichissent, sauvent des dangers et des persecutions, donnent des vaches et des chevaux merveilleux, font jaillir le lait et I'hydromel etc.' *Pace* Dumézil, the Roman twins do not perform anything even remotely comparable.[51]

Second, a connection has been proposed between the twins and various dual organisations of ancient Rome, be it the dual consulate or the much older duality of the once separate Roman communities on the Palatine and the Quirinal with their corresponding two bands of Salii and Luperci, with whom Romulus and Remus were closely connected in later times. Both

[49] Cf. H. S. Versnel, *Triumphus* (Diss. Leiden, 1970), 132-163 (*Porta Triumphalis*), 155 (literary evidence for Olympic victors: add Plin. NH 16. 12 which shows that the entry was originally meant for Olympic victors only). 162 (wall as magic circle; comparison of Remus with Poimandros). *Agones eiselastikoi*: L. Robert. HSCP 81 (1977), 33 n. 161 (with many examples). *Eiselasis/triumphus*: see. for instance. DH 9. 71. 4; Plut. Rom. 16. 8, *Publ.* 9. 5, *Cam.* 30. 2, *Fab.* 24. 3, *Marc.* 8. 1, *Pomp.* 14. 4.

[50] According to Zonaras 7. 3, crossing the moat of an army camp was punishable with death, because Remus was killed for having jumped the moat around Rome. Zonaras. who follows Plutarch (cf. K. Ziegler, RE II XA. 1972, 726f), is demonstrably wrong, cf. Mod. *Dig.* 49. 16. 3. 17.

[51] Nasatya-Asvin: Dumézil, La *religion romaine archaique*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1974), 262-266, who is followed by R. Schilling, Rites. *cultes, dieux de Rome* (Paris. 1979). 103, and, with some reservations. by B. Liou-Gille, *Cultes 'héroiques' romains* (Paris. 1980). 158-160 (with a full bibliography on the special position of twins).

explanations misjudge the special position of twins. All over the world twins occupy a special position which is nowhere related to dual tribal organisations but to their uniqueness. Most likely, the Romans have used this atypical position to accentuate the special status of their founders. Similarly, Rome's neigbour Tibur was founded by Coras and Catillus, *gemini fratres* (but see also Ch. 1 and Ch. 4, 4), and Thebes' walls were built by the twins Amphion and Zethos.[52]

Why did Remus have to go? Recently, his death has been variously explained by the political development of ancient Rome, by Indo-European traditions and by a kind of structuralist approach. Cornell has suggested that the Roman state, after the fusion of the Palatine and the Quirinal, required a single founder and thus eliminated one of the brothers. This explanation is implicitly based on the idea that the twins originated in the dual organisation of early Rome — an idea which we have already rejected (above). Two Indo-Europeanists have proposed a much more adventurous solution. They see in the Roman foundation myth a reflection of a primeval Indo-European creation myth. Unfortunately, they can only fit Remus into their scheme by etymological juggling: Remus is really derived from proto-Indo-European *Yemo, or 'twin', under the influence of Ruma, Roma and Romulus. To say nothing of other improbabilities in their reconstruction, such as the existence of a primeval twin with the names Twin and Man, one can only agree with a recent critic that the reconstructed meaning of Remus' name is. 'as a matter of fact, a completely superfluous confirmation of the fact that, as Livy states, Romulus and Remus were twins'. Finally, it has been suggested that the killing of Remus is to a certain extent equivalent to the slaying of the Spartoi by Kadmos before the foundation of Thebes and the killing of the dragon by Apollo before the foundation of the oracle of Delphi: the definitive order is based on the conquest of the chaos. The problem here is that Remus can hardly be interpreted as representing the chaos: he is a decent, if less successful individual (he is captured by Amulius' men) than Romulus until his fatal jump.-"

Even more recently, Burkert has compared Remus' murder with the Jewish myth of Cain and Abel. After Cain had slain his brother, he fled and founded the very first city in mankind's history. In both cases, the new beginning of society is based on ***la*** *violence fondatrice*. Burkert's interpretation is explicitly based on the theories of Rene Girard, according to whom social stability is preserved only by temporary violence and its ritual resolution — an aggression which is regulated through the ritual sacrifice of animals in antiquity. However, the parallel with Israel is perhaps not as strong as it looks at first sight. For the early nomadic Israelites, the city was the place of hybris (Babylon) and vices (Sodom and Gomorrah). Consequently, the foundation of the first city may just be the continuation of Cain's lawless behaviour, instead of the foundation of civilisation as in Romulus' case. In any case, one cannot help wondering whether the stress on the beneficial side of violence is not too obviously the product of our own violent times to be acceptable as an explanation.[54]

[52] Twins and dual organisation: Th. Mommsen. *Gesammelte Schriften* 4. 1 (Berlin, 1906). 1-21: Cornell, 'Aeneas and the Twins'. 29-31. J. L. Murga, 'Possibles bases mitologicas de la magistrature binaria romana', *Est. Clás.* 16 (1972). 1-32, improbably suggests that the dual magistracy was inspired by the myth of the twins. Tibur: Verg. *Aen.* 7.670. Amphion and Zethos: above, n.37.

[53] Political organisation: Cornell, 'Aeneas and the twins'. 31. Indo-Europeanists: B. Lincoln. 'The Indo-European Myth of Creation'. *Hist.* ***of Rel.*** 15 (1975), 121-145; J. Puhvel, 'Remus et Frater'. *ibid.*, 146-157, rep. in J. Puhvel, *Analecta Indoeuropaea* (Innsbruck, 1981), 300-311; similarly M. Benabou, 'Rémus, le mur et la mort'. *AION-Arch. St. Ant.* 6 (1984). 103-115. Critique: I. P. Culianu, *Hist. of Rel.* 22 (1982). 197; similarly F. Bader. *Bull. Soc. Ling.* ***Paris*** 79 (1984), 109. Conquest of chaos: D. Briquel. in R. Bloch (ed.), *Recherches sur les religions de l'antiquité classique* (Geneva/Paris, 1980). 298-300.

[54] W. Burkert. *Anthropologie des religiösen Opfers* (Munich. 1984). esp. 21; see also N. Strosetski. 'Kain und Romulus als Stadtgriinder'. *Forsch. und Fortschr.* ***19*** (1955). 184-88. Israelites and city: G. Wallis. 'Die stadt in

Unfortunately, unlike Greek mythology, the poverty of the Roman mythological tradition rarely allows us to compare various myths. It is true that in Conon (*c.* 48) Amulius kills his brother Numitor, but this is evidently a late variant. We simply do not have other Italic examples of other fratricides which might elucidate Remus' case. Perhaps, it is relevant that Rome had raised only one of the Castores to the ranks of the national gods but even so — Pollux was not killed. The murder of Remus remains very much an enigma."

5. The asylum

Having killed Remus, Romulus tried to expand his newly-founded city by allowing runaway slaves, criminals and murderers to settle there. This procedure embarrassed Livy, attracted the scorn of early Christian writers, and has never stopped puzzling scholars. The Romans themselves explained Romulus' hospitality by positing the existence of an asylum on the Capitoline hill, but already our oldest source, the late second century Calpumius Piso (fr. 4 P), had no certain information about the place, nor do later authors have anything more specific to say. Since the Romans had taken over both the word asylum and the corresponding institution from the Greeks, the inference is virtually inescapable that the posited Capitoline asylum is a later rationalisation of the unexplainable contribution by criminals to Rome's foundation.[56]

As Alfoldi saw, there is. however, a clear Italic parallel to the Roman mixture of youths and criminals. The sons of the Lucani used to be separated from their families at an early age and sent to the Brettians who raised them in the bush and trained them to live from plundering raids. These boys received into their company runaway slaves, and we only hear about them because they had become a nuisance after having founded a separate community.[57]

We find similar groups among the early Iranians. The *Avesta* often mentions the *mairya*, or 'young men', as the term for the members of anti-Zoroastrian bands. Although these bands are depicted in the darkest colours and accordingly call for a careful evaluation of the information supplied by the *Avesta* and other Zoroastrian writings, it is consistent with the Italic material that these *mairya* are said to be accompanied by robbers. Scholars have for a long time connected the Indian equivalent *marya* with the term *maryanni*, the warrior aristocracy of the Mitanni. The occurrence of these Indo-European warriors in the Near East at the beginning of the second milennium is a splendid example of a group of youths who established themselves abroad after one of their raids."

Less remote in history than these bands of *mairya* are the bands of Persian youths described by Strabo who most likely derived his information from Hecataeus' *Periodos*. The boys are called *cardaces* because they have to live by theft for, according to Strabo, Persian '*carda* means the manly and warlike spirit'. This passage of Strabo was deleted by Meineke but

den Überlieferungen der Genesis', *Zs. f. d. alttest. Wiss.* 78 (1966), 133-147; J. Le Goff, *L'Imaginaire médiéval* (Paris. 1985), 60, 232.

[55] Cf. Schilling (above, n. 51), 338-353 (= *Hommages à Georges Dumézil* (Brussels, 1960). 177-192).

[56] Fab. Pictor *FGrH* 809 F4; Calp. Piso F 4 P; Cato F 20 P, cf. Schröder, *Cato,* 178-181; Liv. 1. 8. 5; Juv. 8. 272-5 etc.; Poucet. *Origines,* 193f.

[57] Diod. Sic. 16. 15. If; Justin. 23. 1. 7-12; A. Napoli, 'I rapporti tre Bruzi e Lucani', *SMSR* 37 (1966), 61-83; Alfoldi, *Vie Struktur*, 129-131.

[58] *Maitya:* n. 43. *Maryanni*: M. Mayrhofer, *Vie Arier im Vorderen Orient — ein Mythos?*, SB (Wien, 1974). Mayrhofer's survey of recent scholarly opinions in *Investigationes philologicae et comparativae: Gedenkschrift fur H. Kronasser* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 72-90, shows that the objections by A. Kammenhuber, *Vie Arier im Vorderen Orient* (Heidelberg. 1968). 220ff, against the Indo-European interpretation of the *maryanni* have not been accepted by other scholars.

inspection of the palimpsest has shown beyond doubt that his suspicion was unfounded.'' Around 400 BC the *cardaces* were already mercenaries, and later in the fourth century *cardaces* appeared in the army of Autophrodates. At the battle of Issus the *cardaces* seemed to have constituted the flower of the Persian army (Bosworth on Arr. 2. 8. 6), and in the early second century BC we still hear of a village of *cardaces* (Walbank on Pol. 5. 79. 11). The term recurs in a Pahlavi text, *Draxt-i-Asurig* 18. where it has the meaning 'wanderer', a meaning that fits mercenaries and bands of youths who most likely had to wander around in order to live of their robberies. In ancient Iran we also find the word *marika*. This term, related to *mairya*, means 'vassal' in Darius' inscription of Naqsh-i-Rustam. as Widengren has demonstrated in a detailed discussion. This strongly suggests, as he rightly observed, that the feudal structure of the Achaemenid empire had evolved from a group of young men which had served as a retinue and which, it may be added, had apparently broken away from the former tribal structure. It is also in retinues that we find other exarnples of the mixture of youth and criminals.''

The warriors of the Greek army before Troy are regularly called *kouroi* or *kouretes*, the technical term for the age-set of the young. These warriors were often not in their extreme youth but already some years into their adolescence; the situation may be compared with the one sketched by Tacitus, in which the Germanic adolescents had already received their weapons before they joined one of the chiefs.''' Besides these *kouroi*, the Greek leaders had a kind of inner circle, the *hetairoi*, a situation again paralleled in Germany where a degree in relationship also existed: 'the ''company'' itself even contains ranks' (*gradus quin etiam ipse comitatus habet*) (*Germ*. 13). The word *hetairos* often means 'member of an age-set', as appears from a number of Homeric passages. The more general meaning 'friend, companion' seems to be a later development, since this meaning does not tally so well with the typical element *swe* which indicates, as Benveniste expressed it. the membership of a group of *siens propres*. Among these *hetairoi* a number of outlaws can be found. Hector killed Lycophron, who had become a *hetairos* of Ajax after having committed a murder at Cytheron (*Il*. XV. 430-39); another of Hector's victims was Epigeus, who was a comrade of Achilles after having murdered his nephew (*Il*. XVI. 370-76). Telemachos, whose contemporaries constituted his *hetairoi*, happily received Theoclymenus, a killer fugitive amongst his comrades (*Od*. 15. 224). Although these *hetairoi* often function as a kind of permanent retinue, they were also employed for a single expedition as in the case of Diomedes' nocturnal raid (*Il*. X. 234ff; *Od*. 14. 247).[62]

Among the ancient Germans, retinues also played a prominent role. Tacitus (*Germ*. 13f) relates that a boy received his weapons in the assembly from one of the nobles, his father or one of his kin. Subsequently, he joined a *princeps* for whom 'it was always a distinction to be surrounded, in peace. by a band of chosen young men' (*semper electorum iuvenum globo circumdari in pace decus*). The noble youths apparently then moved around to those places where war was frequently carried on, and Tacitus stresses that the chief had to bestow lavish

[59] Hecataeus: F. Lasserre. MH 33 (1976), 71. Strabo: F. Lasserre *ap*. A. Alfoldi. *Schweiz. Arch. f. Volksk*. 17 (1951), 14f; Alföldi, *Struktur*, 140. This has (understandably) escaped Walbank on Pol. 5. 79. 11 and Bosworth on Arr. 2. 8. 6.

[60] *Cardaces* as mercenaries: Theopompos *ap*. Ael. Dion. K 11 Erbse, cf. Erbse. *Untersuchungen zu den Attizistischen Lexika*. Abh. Ak. Berlin, Philol.- Hist. Klasse 1949, 2 (Berlin, 1950), 41. Erbse has been overlooked by Alfoldi. *Struktur*, 140, and Bosworth on Arr. 2. 8. 6. *Marika*: Widengren, *Feudalismus*, 12-21.

[61] *Kouroi/kouretes*: *Il*. 111. 183, XIV. 505 etc., cf. H. Jeanmaire. *Couroi et courètes* (Lille. 1939), 26-43: Bremmer. 'Heroes. Rituals and the Trojan War', *Studi Storico-Religiosi* 2 (1978. 5-38). 23-26. 28: Graf. *Nordionische Kulte*. 417.

[62] *Hetairoi* and age-set: *Il*. V. 325f, XVIII. 251; *Od*. 3. 363f; on Odysseus. Mentor and other friends see *Od*. 2. 251. 17. 68f and 22. 208. *Hetairoi* and *siens propres*: E. Benveniste. Lc *vocabulaire des institutions indo-européennes* I (Paris. 1969). 331f; C. dc Simone. in Stibbe (below. n. 67). 84.

gifts on his youths to keep them satisfied, gifts acquired 'through warfare and plunder'.'" The initiatory significance of this stay abroad is well illustrated by Paulus Diaconus' story about the Longobard king Audoin refusing his son Alboin *Tischgenossenschaft* until he had received his weapons from a foreign king. To that end Alboin left the country with a group of forty youths to serve another king. again a typical age-group as retinue. Tacitus does not inform us about criminals or exiles as being part of Germanic retinues, but the distinguished Germanist Reinhard Wenskus has presented extensive evidence that many Germanic nobles received outlaws and fugitives into their *comitatus* or used groups of robbers and criminals as their warriors; most perceptively, he even compared the foundation of Rome with Germanic conditions!''

Retinues of youths could also be found among the ancient Celts. During the second Punic War, Hannibal had to act as an arbiter for the Allobroges, whose king had been expelled by 'his brother and his retinue of young men' (*fratre et coetu iuniorum*: Liv. 21. 31. 6f). In this particular case we may still remain sceptical but our next instance hardly admits of any doubts. During the siege of Gergovia, a certain Convictolitavis tried to persuade 'some young men amongst whom was the prince Litaviccus and his brothers. young men of the most distinguished family' (*quibusdam adulescentibus . . . quorum erat princeps Litaviccus atque eius fratres, amplissima familia nati adulescentes*: Caesar *BG. 7. 37.* 1). When the plot was thwarted, Litaviccus had to flee 'with his clients' (*clientibus*: *7.* 40. *7)*. Although social relations in Gaul are difficult to reconstruct because of the variety of terms used by our sources — *ambacti, amici, clientes, comites, familiares*[65] — the inference presents itself that these *clientes* were the same as the *adulescentes* mentioned before. There exists no further infomiation about the composition of this particular retinue, but the presence of outlaws in the retinue of prominent Gauls appears from the following examples: Indutiomarus 'began to attract to himself exiles and the condemned' (*exsules damnatosque*: *BG* **5. 55.** *3)* and Vercingetorix 'held a levy in the countryside of the needy and the ruined' (*dilectum egentium ac perditorum*: *BG 7*. **4.** *3)*.

The role of the young is still conspicuous in early medieval Ireland which preserved certain archaic features that already had disappeared from the Gaulish society of Caesar's time. Modem folktales continue to relate the adventures of Finn and his *fian*, warriors who roamed through the wilderness. The band seems to have gone out of existence by the thirteenth century, but its narrative tradition belongs to the most archaic part of Irish literature. The *fian* was usually a group of pre-adult males who remained outside society until their wedding; during this period they lived by hunting and plundering and at the same time acted as a shield for society. Although the *fian* normally lived beyond society's borders, it could sometimes function as the retinue of the king at ancient Tara, the modem county Meath: 'Finn mac Cumaill was the leader of [the king] Cormac's retinue as well as the head of the exiles (!), hired attendants. and all the soldiers besides, so that common folk refer to them as the *fiana* of Finn.' Here then we see once again the youth together with outcasts functioning as a retinue.

[63] Germanic 'Gefolgschaft': see most recently H. Gneuss. *Die Battle of Maldon als historisches und literarisches Zeugnis*, **SB** (Munich. 1976); H. J. Diesner, *Westgothische und longobardische Gefolgschaften*, **SB** (Leipzig, 1977); W. Kienast. 'Gefolgswesen und Patrocinium im spanischen Westgotenreich', *Hist. Zs.* 239 (1984), 23-'75.

[64] Alboin: H. Frohlich, *Studien zur longobardischen Thronfolge* I (Diss. Tübingen, 1971 [1980]), 63, who notes the initiatory significance: 0 . Gschwantler. 'Versöhnung als Thcma einer hcroischen Sage', *Beitr. z. Gesch. d. deutschen Sprache u. Lit.* 97 (1975), 230-262. Comparison with Rome: R. Wenskus. *Stammesbildung und Verfassung* (Cologne/Graz, 1961), 366-373. esp. 369.

[65] See most recently S. Lewuillon, 'Histoire. société et lutte dcs classes cn Gaule', ANRW 11 4 (1975, 425-583), 536-540; A. Daubigney, 'Reconnaissance des formes de la dependence gauloise', *DHA* 5 (1979), 145-189; G. Dobesch, *Die Kelten in Österreich nach den ältesten Berichten der Antike* (Vienna etc.. 1980), 417-432.

And it is in an outpost of Celtic civilisation that we find our latest example of a retinue consisting of youths. In 1188, Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, undertook a mission to South and North Wales with Gerald, archdeacon of Rrecon, as his companion. The latter has left a fascinating description of this journey, and tells us that when they crossed over to Mona (modem Anglesey), the archbishop addressed the inhabitants and tried to persuade them to accept the Cross. Among those who refused were a band of youths (*juvenes electi*) who formed part of the household (*familia*) of Rhodri, the Lord of the island.""

It is time to draw some conclusions. First, from our survey it appears that among the Indo-European peoples, just as among 'primitive' ones. the pre-adult males often constituted a separate band which occupied a place at the margin of, or completely outside, society; this marginal position consequently attracted other marginals such as run-away slaves, outlaws and exiles. This even proved to be the case when the youths functioned as retainers of a noble or a king, a fact which throws an interesting light on the particular position in society of the body of retainers. As the Germanist Wenskus (above) already saw, the picture of Romulus and Rernus' band of youths and outlaws can in all probability be recognised as such a marginal group of initiates.

Are there any parallels for such bands in archaic Italy? In October 1977 the Dutch Institute in Rome brought to light a dedication in Satricum by the followers of a Publius Valerius, dating from about 500 BC, which says:

>]*ei steterai Popliosio Valesiosio*
> *suodales Marmartei*
>] have erected — of Poplios Valesios —
> the companions — to Mamars

The exciting possibility exists that the Poplios Valesios mentioned in this Satrican inscription *can* (not 'must') be identified with the Publius Valerius Poplicola who is well known from the literary tradition as one of the founders of the Roman Republic. If the identification is correct, the implication would be that either a Roman band leader operated in Satricum or the leader of a Satrican band in Rome. In a balanced and well-informed discussion of the historical implications of the *Lapis Satricanus*. Versnel has convincingly interpreted the term *suodales* as meaning a 'group of comrades', a kind of *Gefolgschaft*. Livy mentions various groups of such *sodales*. Besides those of the Fabii (2. 49. 5), we have the *sodales* of the young Tarquinii (2. 3. 2), those of the patrician K. Quinctius (3. 14. 3) who belong to a story that was a later fabrication (Ogilvie *ad loc.*), and those of Demetrius and Perseus (40. 7. 1). Except for the Fabian passage which gives no details. all these *sodales* are young men. This fits in very well with an observation by Dumézil that the Indian element *sva*, or 'one's own'. which is related to *sodalis*, is in the *RgVeda* characteristic of the god Indra and his followers. the Marut, an autonomous group of young men (above, n. 43): another word related to *sodalis* is *hetairos*, again often denoting men of the same (young) age (above. n. 62). It seems therefore not improbable to see in the band of Publius Valerius a company of young warriors. even though they will not have been a consistent age set but mixed with mercenaries or other adventurers."'

[66] Finn and his *fian*: Nagy, *Wisdom of the Outlaw*, 41-79, 241 n. 4 (retinue of king): K. R. McCone, 'Werewolves. Cyclopes, *Diberga*, and *Fianna*: Juvenile Delinquency in Early Ireland', *Cambridge Med. Celtic Stud.* 12 (1986), 1-22. Mona: Geraldus Cambrensis *Itinerarium Cambriae* 2. 7.

[67] Satrican inscription: C. Stibbe (ed.), *Lapis Satricanus* = Archeologische Studien van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome. Scripta Minora V (The Hague, 1980). Versnel: *ibid.*, 97-150; see also his *Satricum en Rome* (Hollandse Radinp. 1985) for his views on the most recent literature on the inscription: add now A. Prosdicimi, 'Sull' iscrizione di Satricum', *GIF* 36 (1984 [1985]), 183-230; E. Ferenczy, 'Über das Problem der Inschrift von Satricum', *Gymnasium* 94 (1987), 97-108. *Sodalis* and Indian *sva*: G. Dumézil, *The Destiny of the Warrior*

Recently, Momigliano has also drawn attention to the phenomenon of *condottieri* taking control with their war bands of various cities in Etruria and Latium. The scenes of the François tomb of Vulci (about 300 BC) show Caeles Vibenna being liberated by Mastarna, and his brother Aulus Vibenna killing a man from (probably) Falerii; a Gnaeus Tarquinius Romanus is being killed by a certain Marcus Camillus, also a Roman name (unless the Etruscan Camitlnas has to be transcribed as Camitilius). These scenes, then, show a number of warriors who apparently travelled around to practise their trade. The brothers Vibenna re-appear in Rome as the helpers of Mastarna who was identified by the emperor Claudius with the Roman king Servius Tullius, but this identification is far from compelling — Mastarna may well have been a king in his own right. And as late as *c.* 460 BC, the Sabine *condottiere* Appius Herdonius managed to occupy the Capitol.[68]

According to Momigliano, it is 'naturale pensare che queste bande fossero di giovani', even though they will not have been consisting from 'classi di età nel senso preciso della parola'. Moreover, he observed that Romulus and Remus 'evidentemente appartengono a questa tradizione' — a suggestion which fits in well with the conclusion we arrived at on the basis of our survey of the Indo-European evidence.[69]

There is one more conclusion to be drawn from our survey of the Indo-European evidence. The bands of youths often developed into separate communities or established themselves as a ruling elite over other places, as happened with the Brettii, the Achaemenid nobles and the near Eastern *maryanni*. Regarding the Greeks, it has recently been pointed out that the name of the Hyantes, a tribe attested for Aetolia, Boeotia and Phocis, 'entspricht genau idg. *iuunt —'jung', ist also die bezeichnung der Jungmannschaft eines Stammes, die etwa auf Landnahme Auszog'; recent studies on the continuing process whereby separate Germanic and Celtic tribes were founded also suggest that the breaking away of the 'Jungmannschaft' was a major factor in the formation of new tribes.[70]

The same model of foundation is evidently used in the myth of Rome's foundation by Romulus and Remus' band. However, it would be an inadmissible confusion of myth and history to interpret the myth as a real memory of an actual historical foundation event. The site of Rome was already inhabited in the second half of the second millennium BC and the archeological evidence shows that in the case of Rome we have to speak of a gradual *Stadtwerdung* rather than *Stadtgründung*. We may compare the case of Athens where myth speaks of a synoikismos by Theseus, whereas archeology suggests a gradual fusion of various villages. Myth 'clarifies' this process by representing it as a one-time historical event. And it is hardly chance that the mythopoeic imagination opted for the model of the initiatory group as founders: the future of the city is dependent on the generation of the young.[71]

(Chicago, 1969), 61-64; *idem*, *Mariages Indo-Européens* (Paris, 1979), 28 (comparison with the Satrican inscription). Marut as young men: RgVeda 5. 59. 3, 5; 5. 61. 4; 7. 56. 1, 14; the literature cited in n. 43.

[68] Wandering *condottieri*: A. Momigliano, *Settimo contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome, 1984), 183f, 417f. Scenes of François tomb: see most recently R. Thomsen, *King Servius Tullius* (Copenhagen, 1980), 96ff; Momigliano, *loc. cit.*; A. Maggiani, 'Nuovi dati per la recostruzione del ciclo pittorico della tomba Francois', *Dial. Arch.* III 1 (1983), 71-78; F. Coarelli, *ibid.*, 43-69, with various improbable hypotheses, cf. L. B. van der Meer, 'Thematische Symmetrie in der etruskischen Kunst', *BABesch* 50 (1985), 67-83. Appius Herdonius: A. Bottiglieri, *Atti Ac. Napoli* 88 (1977), 7-20; E. Noé, *Rend. Ac. Lincei* 32 (1977), 641-665.

[69] Momigliano, *Settimo contributo*, 183 (first published in *Sociologia del Dirito* 9, 1982/3, 27-33). It is a pleasure to note that I reached very similar conclusions in my own 1982 study of the Satrican inscription (above, n. 44).

[70] Hyantes: G. Neumann, *Glotta* 63 (1985), 4-7. Germans: Wenskus (above. n. 55) 295f, 299, 509 n. 533. Celts: Dobesch (above, n. 56) 196 n. 57.

[71] On the *Stadtwerdung* of Rome see most recently C. Ampolo, 'Die endgültige Stadtwerdung Roms im 7. und 6. Jh. v. Chr. Wann entstandt die *civitas*?', in D. Papenfuss/V. M. Strocka (edd.), *Palast und Hütte* (Mainz, 1982),

Finally, having seen that the band of Romulus and Remus displays the typical characteristics of a group of adolescents on the threshold of adulthood, we can also better understand the connection of Romulus and Remus with Mars and with wolves. Mars was the god of March, the month that opened the year in the old calendar. He was also the god of the purification of the army, the *lustratio exercitus*, when a new unity was formed under a new commander. For the Italic peoples, Mars was the god connected with the *ver sacrum*, the ritual in which the youth of one year was sent awsy to found a new community. In both qualities, god of the new beginning and protector and guide of youth, Mars is the appropriate god of the twins and their initiatory band.[72]

The close connection of Mars with wolves also points to his protection of youth. Among the Indo-Europeans, strangers and adolescents who were living away from civilised society were often called wolf. Moreover, among these peoples many tribal and personal names are composed with the element 'wolf' (Lycii. Lycurgus etc.), and it is hard to attribute this only to the bearers' having been criminals — it rather points to a time when youths were still living away from society during their initiation or were performing heroic feats to prove their manhood; the custom is found among the Indo-Iranians, Hittites, Greeks, Irish. Germans, and Slavs. When a she-wolf appears as nurse, as in the case of Romulus and Rernus, the mythical lupine function accords well with the future life of wolves that the youths would have to live.[73]

6. The Rape of the Sabines

How can a community continue to exist without women? After all attempts to obtain women from neighbouring societies had failed. Romulus cunningly organised the rape of the Sabine women. The kidnapping is already described by Fabius Pictor, Ennius and perhaps Cato. It thus belongs to the firmly established older parts of the foundation myth and will have been an integral part of the foundation myth from the very beginning, since Rome could hardly have grown without families and children. On the other hand, the women need not always have been Sabine — they could equally have been Latin. Aequian or Volscian. In fact, it is hard to imagine them as Sabine before the sixth and early fifth century when the Sabines not only immigrated to Rome but even attempted to occupy the city, as in the story of Appius Herdonius (above, n. 68). It may well be that the arrival of Appius Claudius with his throng of clients was a powerful incitement to include Sabines into the Roman foundation myth.[74]

The Romans themselves connected the Sabine Rape with the capture scene of their wedding ceremony (cf. Chapter 8), but this looks like a late *rapprochement*, and the two most recent

319-324: R. Drews. 'The Corning of the City to Central Italy'. *AJAH* 6 (1981 [1985]). 133-65; Poucet. *Origines*, 135-39. Theseus: Graf, *Griechische Mythologie*, 134f.

[72] Mars: see now the innovative study by Versnel (above. n. 15).

[73] Wolves. outlaws and initiation: the most recent studies are M. R. Gerstein. 'Germanic Wars: the Outlaw as Werwolf', in G. J. Larson (ed.), *Myth in Indo-European Antiquity* (Berkeley etc.. 1974). 131-156; E. Campanile. *Ricerche di cultura poetica indoeuropea* (Pisa. 1977), 80-2: *idem*, 'Meaning and Prehistory of Old Irish Cu Glas', *J. Indo-Europ. Stud.* 7 (1979), 237-247; F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985), 220-6; L. Stcindorf. 'Wölfisches Heulen. Ein Motiv im mittelalterlichen slavischen Quellen', *Byzantino-Slavica* 46 (1985). 40-9; G. Schubert. *Central Asiatic Journal* 30 (1986), 97 (Serbian warriors with wolfcaps); R. Buxton, 'Wolves and Werewolves in Greek Thought'. in Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London. 1987), 60-79; K. R. McCone. 'Hund. Wolf und Krieger bei den Indogermanen', in W. Meid (ed.), *Studien zum indogermanischen Wortschatz* (Innsbruck, 1987). 111-54. Wolves and tribal names: M. Eliade. *Zalmoxis. the Vanishing God* (Chicago/ London, 1972), Iff; O. N. Trubacev, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Etymologie* (Darmstadt. 1977). 262-5: H. Kothe, *Philologus* 123 (1979). 274-282. 286f.

[74] Sabine women: Fab. Pict. F7 P = *FGrH* 809 F5; Ennius *Scen.* 370 V. *Ann.* 98 Skutsch: Cato F 21P. cf. Schröder. *Cato*, 181-83: Poucet, *Origines*, 213f, 290-93 (on the sixth and fifth century us the most likely period for the inclusion of the Sabine episode into the foundation myth). T. P. Wiseman, 'The Wife and Children of Romulus', *CQ* 33 (1983), 445-452, is an ingenious analysis of the manipulation of the story in later times.

interpretations of the rape have recourse to the Indo-European background of the Romans, although along different routes. On the feeble basis of the Sabine rape, various Greek foundation myths. and a Scythian tale known only from a Greek source, Briquel daringly reconstructed an Indo-European *récit* in which marginals such as slaves and fugitives unite with the free women of their community — a relationship which is not tolerated by the free men and results in armed conflict. The comparison is obviously wrong, since the Greek myths play with the idea of a 'world turned upside down' in which the marginals of the polis, women and slaves, are opposed to the free males, whereas the Romans kidnap women from an altogether different community.[75]

Dumézil, followed by Poucet. approached the problem from a different angle. Having observed that the ancient Indians officially recognized a marriage by rape, *raksasa*, he postulated the existence of similar marriages among the other Indo-European peoples. The way 'he proves' his point is vintage Dumézil. For Greece, the only example he can muster is Heracles' capture of Iole. However, since the hero took her only after her father refused to give up his daughter as he had promised. it is hard to see how this case constitutes proof of a customary wedding by rape. The ancient Germanic example attests a similar sleight of hand. The relatively late (twelfth century) Scandinavian poem *Gripisspa* tells how Sigurdr disarms the Valkyrie Sigrdrifa who then voluntarily gives herself to him. Again Dumézil concludes that we find here a case of *raksasa*. Still, despite these unconvincing parallels, Dumézil might be right that the early Indo-Europeans did acknowledge marriages by rape. since they are also mentioned by the archaic Celtic laws of Ireland and Gaul. However, there is no trace in the entire Roman tradition of such a custom. as Dumézil himself concedes, even though it may be possible that marriages by rape went out of existence in the Republic when life was more regulated than it seems to have been during the monarchic period.'[76]

The rape was said to have happened at the Consualia, a scantily documented festival which took place on August 21. Warde Fowler suggested long ago that 'in the legendary connexion of the Rape of the Sabine women with the Consualia we may see a reflection of the jollity and license which accompanies the completion of harvest among so many peoples'. His explanation would agree well with the character of the festival. It was a day of first-fruit offerings. and mules and horses had a day of rest and were wreathed with flowers. The farmers will have rested with their animals, and Varro tells us that shepherds did gymnastics during the festival: it was evidently enjoyed by the whole population: Strabo (5. 3. 2) mentions that is was still celebrated in his own days. All over the world. harvest and first-fruit festivals are for the whole community: orgies of sex and food are normal, and the festival often functions as a kind of New Year. The combination is not really surprising. The availability of new food guarantees the existence of society for another year and the abundance of food makes a temporary relaxation possible after a period of scarcity. In various Greek festivals, the relaxation is stressed by the unfettering of statues of gods that normally remained tied up. The late Karl Meuli rightly observed that this unfettering went along with a temporary dissolution of the social order. such as took place in Rome during the Nonae Capratinae and the Saturnalia

[75] D. Briquel. 'Tarente, Locrcs. les Scythes, Théra, Rome: précédents antiques au thème de Lady Chatterley?', MEFRA 96 (1974), 673-705. The Greek evidence is now subtly analysed by Vidal-Naquet, *Chasseur*, 267-288. For the Scythian myth (Her. 4. 3). cf. F. Hartog, *Le miroir d'Herodote* (Paris. 1980), 338 n. 4: 'histoire scythe. si l'on veut, mais 1 la manière grecque.' A. W. J. Holleman, LCM 11 (1986), 13f, unconvincingly compares the rape of the Etruscan maidens by the slaves of Volsinii.

[76] India and Rome: Dumézil, *Mariages Indo-Européens*, 17-93. Ireland and Gaul: E. Campanile. 'Sulla struttura del matrimonio indoeuropeo', *Stud. Class. Or*. 33 (1983), 273-286.

(Chapter 6). In this connection, it may be relevant that the subterranean altar of Consus was uncovered only during his festivals.[77]

However persuasive Warde Fowler's suggestion may look at first sight. the Romans themselves did not associate the rape of the Sabines with the jolly atmosphere of the Consualia. They etymologically connected Consus, who originally was the god of the corn that had been safely stored away, with *consilium* 'plan'. In other words. they explained the connection of rape and Consualia by ascribing the plan of the rape to the god Consus. Such an etymological play looks typically Varronian and a Varronian origin for the connection between rape and Consualia is the more likely, since an exact date for the rape is not attested before him. Earlier accounts may have left the festival unspecified.[78]

7. The Death of Romulus

Many Greek foundation myths do not mention the way the founder of the city died. Livy however relates the accepted tradition about Romulus' death. 'One day while he was reviewing his troops on the Campus Martius near the marsh of Capra, a storm burst, with violent thunder. A cloud enveloped him. so thick that it hid him from the eyes of everyone present: and from that moment he was never seen again upon earth' (1. 15). Livy also mentions an alternative version which is told in greater detail by Dionysius (2. 56. 4f). 'For these reasons (ie Romulus behaving like a tyrant), they say, the patricians formed a conspiracy against him and resolved to slay him; and having carried out the deed in the senate-house, they divided his body into several pieces. that it might not be seen, and then came out, each one hiding his part of the body under his robes, and afterwards burying it in secret.' Having rejected this version. Livy mentions that the seal was set on the other version by a certain Julius Proculus. according to some sources a farmer from Alba Longa, who declared: 'Romulus, the father of our City. descended from heaven at dawn this morning and appeared to me. In awe and reverence I stood before him, praying for permission to look upon his face without sin. "Go". he said. "and tell the Romans that by heaven's will my Rome shall be capital of the world. Let them learn to be soldiers. let them know, and teach their children. that no power on earth can stand against Roman arms." Having spoken these words. he was taken up again into the sky' (tr. de Sélincourt). Various sources. but not Livy, identified this deified Romulus with the god Quirinus.[79]

There can be no doubt that the oldest testimonies presuppose the version which Livy accepts. Ennius already related that Romulus. probably carried up by Mars. lived in heaven with the gods who had given birth to him (*cum dis genitalibus*). In addition, having observed that the words of Julius Proculus in Livy have a certain poetic colouring and that Cicero's mention of Proculus (*Rep.* 2. 20) leaves no doubt about the antiquity of the story. Skutsch has plausibly concluded that Proculus, too, occurred in Ennius. This conclusion is the more persuasive since it has long been noted that Ovid most probably derives the archaic form Longa Alba (other than the usual Alba Longa) from Ennius in his version of the Proculus story. The deification of the

[77] Rape on Consualia: Varro L L 6. 20: Ovid F. 3. 199: Plut. *Rom.* 14: DH 1. 31. 3: Tert. *Spect.* 5, cf. Warde Fowler. RF. 208f. Consualia: Varro *ap.* Nonius p. 21 (shepherds): DH 2. 31. 2 (first-fruit offerings and races of horses and mules): Plut. *Mor.* 276C (wreathes and resting day for animals). Orgies and New Year character of fir\[-fruit and harvest festivals: V. Lanternari, *La grande festa*, 2nd ed. (Rome/Bari, 1976).

[78] Consus and corn: Köves-Zulauf, *Reden und Schweigen*, 82. Consus and *consilium*: Bömer on Ovid *F.* 3. 199. Ogilvie (on Liv. 1. 9) wrongly suggests that the connection of Consus and rape already occurs in Ennius. if not much earlier (on 2. 18. 2).

[79] Romulus' death: Liv. 1. 16: Ovitl *F.* 2. 491ff; DH 1. 56. 2: Plut. *Rom.* 27. 6ff. As the identification with Quirinus is demonstrably late, its problems need not concern us here. On Quirinus see most recently A. Magdelain. 'Quirinus et le droit', MEFRA 96 (1984). 195-237; Vcrsncl (above. n. 15), n. 120 (with earlier bibliography).

founder of the city is a typical Greek concept which will hardly have been introduced before the third century: the identification of Aeneas, after his disappearance, with Pater Indiges is a close parallel, although it cannot be dated with any precision (cf. Chapter 2). Moreover, the story of Romulus' apothesosis cannot be separated from that of Proculus, and the epiphany too was a typical Greek concept. Everything, then, points to a relatively late date for Romulus' apotheosis, the more so since there are no early testimonies for his cult. Classen has even suggested that Ennius was the inventor of Romulus' apotheosis, but the scarcity of the data does not allow of any certainty at this point."

Skutsch has also suggested that Proculus. whose name according to him fits in well with those of Romulus and Faustulus, owed his name Julius to Julian ambition. Apparently, if Skutsch is right, Ennius (?) chose an archaic-sounding name (cf. § 8) to enhance the credibility of his report. Skutsch, like Classen, further suggests that Proculus acquired his cognomen Julius through the efforts of Caesar. Cicero, though, would have hardly presented such a recent invention as an accepted opinion. Nothing therefore prevents us from believing that the Julians. who in the late second century started to assert themselves by claiming descent from Venus (Chapter 2), also thought it wise to have a finger in the Romulus pie.[81]

The alternative version of Romulus' death is not attested before 67 BC when during the discussions of the Lex Gabinia the consul Piso called out to Pompey that he would experience a similar fate to Romulus if he tried to imitate him. Despite the relatively late date, scholars have claimed a remote antiquity for this particular version. For example, Brelich postulated *un' originaria e fondamentale identità* between Quirinus and Romulus and proceeded to compare the fate of Romulus-Quirinus with that of various dying gods such as Adonis and Tammuz and with that of the so-called Dema-ancestors from whose torn up bodies important plants grow. The complete absence of any agrarian reference in the Romulus myth would in itself already be sufficient to reject Brelich's interpretation. It is however fatal for his analysis that the *identità* between Romulus and Quirinus is demonstrably young. Ennius invokes Quirinus before Romulus' death, Lucilius separates Quirinus and Romulus, and Cicero is still uncertain about the identification. It will not help, as Coarelli has recently done, to denounce a sound philological analysis as *critica positivistica*. Brelich's discussion simply does not face up to the facts and is therefore built on sand.[82]

Taking his point of departure from Mircea Eliade's thesis that the foundation of a city repeats the cosmogony, Walter Burkert has suggested a different solution: 'indem der Urkonig in seine Glieder zerlegt wird, entsteht der Staat in seiner ordnung, seiner Gliederung und seinem notwendigen Zusammenhang. Die Senatoren, die patres, sind zunachts einfach die Haupter der einzelnen Grossfamilien; wenn mann erzahlt, wie jeder von ihnen ein Stück des Urkonigs in Besitz nahm, so bedeutet dies, dass sie alle zusammen Rom verkorpern, dass Gesamtrom sich in die gentes aufgliedert und in ihrem Zusammenwirken existiert.' It must be objected that this explanation is built completely on hypotheses. Nowhere in our tradition is the death of Romulus connected with the establishment of the rule of the senate. Not only does this suggestion posit a situation before the rise to power of the senate but it also forces us to accept

[80] Romulus' apotheosis and Proculus: Enn. *Ann.* 110 with Skutsch *ad loc.* Longa Alba: Bomer on Ovid F. 2. 499. Deification at Rome: R. Schilling, 'La deification à Rome: tradition latine et interference grecque', ***REL*** 58 (1980), 137-152. Epiphany: Ogilvie on Liv. 1. 16. 6f. Ennius as inventor and Romulus' cult: Classen (above. n. 14).

[81] Skutsch on Enn. *Ann.* 110; Classen, *loc. cit.* (previous note): Cic. ***Rep.*** 2. 20.

[82] Plut. *Pomp.* 25 (Lex Gabinia), *Rom.* 27; DH 2. 56. 5: Val. Max. 5. 3. 1; App. ***BC*** 2. 114, cf. A. Brelich, 'Quirinus'. ***SMSR*** 31 (1960). 63-119. Quirinus: Skutsch. *Studia Enniana* (London, 1968). 130-137; *idem* on Enn. *Ann.* 99: Lucilius F 22 Marx: Cic. *Off.* 3. 41, *Nat. deor.* 2. 62. *Critica positivistica*: F. Coarelli, in *Gli Etruschi e Roma* (Rome, 1981), 175.

that the senate would have been unable to suppress this incriminating version in the course of time. This is too much to believe. In support of his explanation, Burkert also compared the festival of the Feriae Latinae at which the Latins all received a part of the sacrificial victim's meat. The eponymous ancestor of the Latins, king Latinus, disappeared during a battle against Mezentius and subsequently became Iuppiter Latiaris, the god of the festival, but this legend is only attested very late and it will hardly antedate the early first century BC. However suggestive Burkert's explanation is, it has to be rejected for its all too hypothetical character.[83]

On the other hand, Burkert's attempt to explain the myth from ritual looks basically sound. The gruesome detail of the tearing up of Romulus may well have originated in a kind of *Zerreissungsopfer*. Unfortunately, the Poplifugia, the scene of Romulus' murder, is a totally obscure festival about which we know next to nothing, although the death of Romulus well fits a festival in which the Romans were put to flight (cf. Chapter 6, 3). Plutarch mentions that when the males leave the city for the sacrifice at the Goat's Marsh they call each other by all kinds of first names in imitation of the panic caused by Romulus' disappearance. Burkert wants to explain these names as a kind of *Unschuldskomödie* after the sacrifice: if everyone is guilty, no one will be penalised. But it seems more convincing to see in the custom a kind of *quiritatio*, the Roman custom of crying out for help in times of crisis, since such crying out would well fit the moment of panic. This is really all there is to say about the Poplifugia with some certainty. The first mention of Romulus' murder (above) suggests a date at the beginning of the first century, but the reason for this alternative version is still totally unexplained. Like the murder of Remus. the gruesome death of Romulus remains very much an enigma.[84]

8. The birth of the Roman foundation myth

The canonical version of the Roman foundation myth appears developed in the second half of the third century when Fabius Pictor. like his near-contemporary Naevius, connects Romulus with Aeneas. It is probably also in the third century that the recognition scene was introduced. perhaps under the influence of Sophocles' *Tyro*. Earlier generations of scholars even derived the whole of the foundation myth from Sophocles' play, but the statue of the twins set up by the Ogulnius brothers in 296 BC shows that the myth already existed in the fourth century when it is most unlikely that Sophocles could have exerted any influence in Rome.[85]

Can we go back even further? The upper time limit is constituted by the *Stadtwerdung* in the middle of the seventh century (above, n. 71), but the myth must be younger. The Etruscan element in the names of Amulius, Numitor and Remus suggests a date after the end of the seventh century when the Etruscan influence becomes visible in Rome. The juvenile band of the twins on the whole fits the monarchic period better than the Republic when the *pubes* had a

[83] W. Burkert, 'Caesar und Romulus-Quirinus', *Historia* 11 (1962), 356-376, whose views are carried *ad absurdum* by B. Lincoln. *Myth, Cosmos, and Society* (Cambridge Mass., 1986). 42-45. Death of Latinus: Festus 212L, cf. Schröder, *Cato*, 118f; J.- C. Richard. 'Ennemis ou allies'? Les Troyens et les Aborigenes dans les *Origines* de Caton', in Zehnacker/Hentz (above. n. 33). 403-412. Having reviewed various solutions. Poucet. *Origines*, 290, rather despairingly wonders: 'Face à une situation aussi complexe, n'est-il pas plus raisonnable, en definitive. de se borner à poser les problèmes, sans prétendre les résoudre?'

[84] The interpretation of *quiritatio* is suggested by J. Gagé, *Rev. hist. droit fr. et étr.* 48 (1970). 17. The classic study of the crying out for help is W. Schulze, *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin, 1933), 160-189; see also L. L. Hammerich. 'Clamor. Eine rechtsgeschichtliche Studie', *Hist.-filol. Meddelelser Kgl. Danske Vidensk. Selskab* 29. 1 (1941). with important corrections: E. Fraenkel, *Horace* (Oxford. 1957). 252: D. Bain, ZPE 44 (1981), 169-171, and 45 (1982). 270.

[85] Sophocles' *Tyro*: C. Trieber. 'Die Romulussage'. *RhM* 43 (1888). 569-582; W.Soltau, 'Die Entstehung der Romuluslegende'. *Arch. Rel. Wiss.* 12 (1909). 105-125; Wilamowitz, *Griechische Tragödien* IV (Berlin. 1923), 361; on Sophocles' play see now A. Kiso. 'Tyro: Sophocles' Last Play'. in J. Betts *et al.* (edd.). *Studies in Honour of T. B. L. Webster* I (Bristol, 1986), 161-9.

more integrated function in the Roman army. Within this period. the absence of a *nomen gentile* among all the actors in the myth points to a somewhat earlier date, since the dual onomastic system. in which a person is designated by a first name (*praenomen*) and the name of his clan. gained strength concurrently with the urbanization of Central Italy. Taking all these factors into account. we propose the first half of the sixth century as the most likely moment for the origin of the myth."[86]

Nothing is of course known about the reason(s) which induced the Romans to develop their foundation myth but we may perhaps close this chapter with a guess. In the next chapter we will see that Praeneste, the wealthiest city of archaic Latium, had a foundation myth which was in many ways similar to the one of Rome.[87] Is it then perhaps conceivable to consider the Roman foundation myth as a kind of *bricolage* developed by the city in order to assert its status against its powerful neighbour?[88]

[86] Etruscan element: W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* (Berlin. 1904). 121 (Amulius; see also Schroder. *Cato*. 150). 200 (Numitor; see also Schroder, *Cato*, 150). 219 (Remus). *Pubes*: J. Neraudeau. *La jeunesse dans la littérature et les institutions de lo Rome republicaine* (Paris. 1979), 317-348; D. Q. Adams, 'Sanskrit puman, Latin pubes. and related Words'. *Die Sprache* 31 (1985), 1-16; Versnel (above. n. 15). Absence of *nomen gentile*: J. Heurgon. in H.- G. Pflaum and N. Duval (edd.), *L'Onomastique latin* (Paris. 1977). 27. 29: Momigliano, *Settimo contributo*, 402. 420f.

[87] Praeneste: Poucet, *Origines*, 24-27.

[88] For comments I am grateful to Fritz Graf. André Lardinois. and especially Nicholas Horsfall who corrected the English of all my chapters, saved me from many mistakes and greatly sharpened my awareness of the problems of Roman mythology in many an enjoyable discussion.

CAECULUS AND THE FOUNDATION OF PRAENESTE

CAECULUS

Of all the Italian heroes that Virgil parades in his catalogue of Tumus' allies. it was only Caeculus of Praeneste who emerged as having a native myth of his own (Ch. 1). Virgil (7. 678-81) merely mentions that he was the son of Vulcan and found in a hearth. but the Verona scholiast (on line 781) records:

> Cato relates in his *Origines* that girls who were fetching water found Caeculus in a hearth and therefore considered him to be the son of Vulcan; because he had small eyes he was called Caeculus (cf. § 1). Having assembled a number of shepherds. he founded the city (Praeneste).

Virgil's commentator Servius (*ad loc.*) supplies a much fuller version of the myth. His piece illustrates the way in which ancient stories were presented at about 400 AD:

> There were at Praeneste two brothers too. who were called divine (*divi*). When their sister was sitting near the hearth. a spark jumped off and struck her womb which. as they tell, made her pregnant. Later she gave birth to a boy near the temple of Jupiter and abandoned him. Maidens who were fetching water found him near a fire. which was not far from the well. and lifted him up: that is why he is called the son of Vulcan. He is called Caeculus, because he had rather small eyes — often an effect of exposure to smoke. He later collected a band around him. lived as a robber for a long time. and finally founded the city of Praeneste in the mountains. During a festival, where he had invited the neighbouring peoples, he started to exhort them to dwell with him and he boasted that he was the son of Vulcan. When they did not believe him, he appealed to Vulcan to prove that he was his son, and the whole crowd was surrounded by fire. Shaken by this sign. all stayed at once arid they believed that he was the son of Vulcan.

The way in which Roman myths were ill-treated in late antiquity should warn us against accepting this account as an authentic version having the same value as that preserved by Cato. On the other hand, the possibility cannot be excluded that some of Servius' details derive from valuable sources. Unfortunately. a full study of the Caeculus myth. which would enable us to distinguish between earlier and later elements in his myth, does not yet exist. although various details of his myth have been commented upon.' We shall therefore try to elucidate the myth by analysing its various motifs in detail. just as we did in the case of Romulus and Renius (Chapter 3). Successively, we shall analyse Caeculus' birth and exposure. his education and the founding of Praeneste; and, having studied the meaning of the various motifs. we shall analyse the date of origin of the individual motifs and of the myth as a whole in the fourth and final section.

1. The birth and exposure of Caeculus

It is striking that we do not hear anything about the family background of Caeculus. His mother remains unknown and we hear only of tlie names of his uncles (§ 3). but the circumstances of

Cf. F. Altheim, *Griechische Götter im alten Rom* = Rel. Vcrs. Vor. 22. I (Giessen, 1930), 176f. 194f; F. Muller, *Mnem.* 58 (1930), 89-93. 434-436: H. J. Rose, *JRS* 29 (1933), 54f; G. Bintlcr. *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes: Kyros und Romulus* (Meisenheim, 1965), ***301'.*** 154: Momigliano, *Quarto Contributo*, 457-60 (1st ed. 1938); U. W. Scholz, *Studien zum altitalischen und altrömischen Marskult und Marsmythos* (Heidelberg, 1970). 127-29; W. F. Otto. *Aufsätze zur römischen Religionsgeschichte* (Meisenheim, 1975) 76f (1909); A. Brelich, *Tre variazioni romane sul tema delle origini*, 2nd ed. (Rome, 1975), 42-51; D. Briquel, 'En deça dc l'épopée. un thème légendaire indo-curopten: caractère trifonctionnel et liaison avec le feu dans la geste des rois iraniens et latins', in R. Chevalier (ed.), *Colloque l'épopée greco-latine et ses prolongements européens* (Paris, 1981), 7-31; J. Champeaux. *Fortuna* I (Paris. 1982), 444-46. Except for Momigliano, Binder and Scholz, these studies are not very helpful.

his birth, as related in Servius' version, are to some extent paralleled by those of the birth of the Roman king Servius Tullius. Dionysios gives the following account which he found in 'many Roman histories':

> They say that from the hearth in the palace ... there rose up above the fire a man's privy member, and that Ocrisia (a handmaiden but of royal descent) was the first to see it. as she was carrying the customary cakes to the fire. and immediately informed the king and queen of it. Tarquinius. they add. upon hearing this and later beholding the prodigy, was astonished; but Tanaquil, who was not only wise in other matters. but also inferior to none of the Tyrrhenians in her knowledge of divination, told him that it was ordained by fate that from the royal hearth should issue a scion superior to the race of mortals. to be born of the woman who should conceive by that phantom. And the other soothsayers affirming the same thing. the king thought it fitting that Ocrisia, to whom the prodigy had first appeared. should have intercourse with it. Thereupon this woman, having adorned herself as brides are usually adorned, was shut up alone in the room in which the prodigy had been seen. And one of the gods or the lesser divinities, whether Vulcan, as some think, or the *lar familiaris*, having had intercourse with her and afterwards disappearing, she conceived and was delivered of Tullius at the proper time.[2]

There is one more parallel. Promathion (*FGrH* 817), an author quoted by Plutarch (*Rom.* 2. 4). relates that Tarchetius, king of Alba Longa, also found a phallus in his hearth. Having consulted an oracle, he ordered his daughter to mount it, but she refused and told her handmaiden to cohabit with the apparition. When the king noticed his daughter's refusal, he told his daughter and the servant that they were not allowed to marry before they had finished weaving a piece of cloth. At night, however, he undid what the girls had finished during the day. This opposition proved to be of no avail and the servant gave birth to Romulus and Remus. Although the king ordered the twins to be killed, they were exposed by a servant and found by a wolf who nurtured them until they were discovered by a shepherd. Later the twin killed king Tarchetius. Earlier generations of scholars have in general accepted this story as a valid parallel but, as Gabba has shown, Promathion can hardly pre-date the first century BC. Moreover, the whole story is clearly a *bricolage* of the Penelope motif, the birth of Servius and the traditional version of the youth of Romulus and Remus, and it derives ultimately from Etruscan sources.[3]

Caeculus and Servius, then, were both born from the hearth, in the case of Servius even from the royal hearth. The exact nature of the hearth's sexual power was apparently the subject of discussion, as is shown by the different traditions mentioned by Dionysios. Originally, Vulcan was not connected with the hearth in Roman religion, and it is his identification with Hephaistos which must have made him a late, if obvious candidate, since female Vesta could not come into consideration. The alternative choice of the *lar familiaris* is more acceptable, since the *lares* were closely associated with the hearth. Arnobius mentions that the source for his version of Servius' birth, Flaccus (possibly the Augustan antiquarian Verrius Flaccus), identified the penis with the cli *conserentes*. This version, which may well go back to Varro, if not earlier, looks the most archaic account, but nothing else is known about these deities. The

[2] DH 4. 2 (tr. Thomsen); see also Ov. F. 6. 627; Plin. *NH* 36. 204; Plut. *Mor.* 323BC; Scholz, *Studien*, Ch. 5; R. Thomsen, *King Servius Tullius* (Copenhagen, 1980). 57-64 (with earlier bibliography).

[3] E. Gabba, *Entr. Hardt* 13 (1966). 147-49.

variety of gods seems to suggest that all these interpretations are secondary. The early versions of the myths will have left the sexual power of the hearth undefined.'

We have no information about the role and function of the hearth in archaic Rome, but we can compare the hearth in the Regia. the religious center of Republican Rome. Recent excavations have shown that the hearth in the Regia was most likely a product of Republican Rome when the function of the ancient, regal hearth was doubled by the enlargement, if not the installation, of the *Atrium Vestae*. Yet the building preserved 'the cults and emblems, which remained inseparable from the office and name of king and without which the state, though no longer ruled by a king, could not prosper'. It seems likely, then, that the royal hearth once was the religious center of monarchical Rome.?

In the course of time, various parallels from ancient India, the Celts and modem (fairy) tales have been adduced in order to explain the enigmatic birth from the hearth, but on closer inspection none of these parallels proves to be convincing.[6] Louis Gemet. on the other hand. thought that the tales derived from ancient Greece. Even though this suggestion is unlikely, he could point to some helpful parallels. In Sophocles *Electra* (417ff), Clytemnestra dreams that Agamemnon fixes his sceptre at the hearth where it grows into a branch which overshadows Mycenae. The dream, Gemet infers, closely connects royalty, the hearth and the coming of the avenging Orestes. More convincingly, Gernet also drew attention to Eleusis where among all the adult mystai, there was always one child chosen for initiation, who afterwards was called 'the boy who was initiated from the hearth' (*pais aph' hestias*). The hearth in this case was most likely the state hearth of the Athenian prytaneion. In other words, the child represented the community by his close association with the center of that community.' In the case of Caeculus we are hampered in our understanding by the lack of details about the hearth where he was conceived, but the birth of Servius Tullius can now be seen as signifying his close connection with the religious center of the Roman community. Part of the historical tradition had never forgotten that originally Servius was an Etruscan outsider who had usurped power at Rome.[8] The legend of his birth from Rome's royal hearth is therefore most likely to be interpreted as a later attempt at legitimising his usurpation of that power.

Having given birth to Caeculus, his mother exposed the child near the temple of Jupiter. Servius' version does not specify which Jupiter. although the god was worshipped at Praeneste under three different epithets — Puer, Arcanus and Optimus — and occupied several temples. In no way can we be certain which Jupiter his version has in mind, but we happen to know from Cicero that in the famous temple complex of Fortuna Primigenia there was a separate

[4] *Lares* and hearth: Cato *Agr.* 143. 2: Plin. ***NH*** 28. 267. Flaccus: Arnob. *Nat.* 5. 18. Variants secondary: this is rightly stressed by C. Koch, ***RE*** 8A (1958), 1775: Scholz. *Studien*, 129 n. 20. Scholz's conclusion (p. 139) that the 'Herdphallos' is 'der zeugende Kraft des Mars' is not supported by the texts.

[5] Development of Regia: F. Coarelli. *Il Foro Romano* I (Rome, 1983), 56-79: see also J. Scheid, *Religion et piété à Rome* (Paris. 1985). 62f. Quotation: F. Brown. 'New Soundings in the Regia: The Evidence for the Early Republic'. *Entr. Hardt* 13 (1967). 48-64. esp. 58. On the cults in the Regia, see Scholz. *Studien*, 26-30: Dumézil. ***RRA.*** 183-6.

[6] Indian: Dumezil. ***RRA.*** 72 n. 1. who compares the *Mahabharata* 3. 213. 45ff (3. 14291-2) = J. A. B. van Buitenen. *The Mahabharata* II (Chicago and London, 1975), 83, and 2. 28. 20ff. (2. 1124-63) = v. Buitenen. 649. Cells: H. J. Rose, *Mnem.* 53 (1925), 410-13. Modern fairy-tales: K. Spiess, in L. Mackensen (ed.), *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens*, vol. 2 (Berlin, 1934/40), 112f; D. Ward. in K. Ranke (ed.), *Enzyklopädie des Märchens*, vol. *4* (Berlin and New York. 1984). 1071f.

[7] L. Gernet, *Anthropologie de la Grèce antique* (Paris, 1968). 407f, elaborated by J.- P. Vernant. *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*, 1965 (Paris. 1971) II. 133-38; add now W. Burkert. *Homo necans* (Berkeley etc.. 1983). 280f. with the most recent bibliography on Eleusis.

[8] Cf. Thomsen. *King Servius Tullius*, 57-114: Momigliano, *Settimo contributo*, 417f; A. Alföldi, *Die Struktur des voretruskischen Römerstaates* (Heidclberg. 1974). 1841'. improbably connects Caeculus' birth with an Eurasian *Schmiedkönigtum.*

sanctuary with a statue of Fortuna suckling Jupiter Puer, who, as Cicero relates, was worshipped especially by mothers. Was Caeculus supposed to have been exposed near this sanctuary?"

After the exposure of her baby, the mother disappears out of sight, but Caeculus is found near a fire by girls who are fetching water. What is the function of this second fire in the Servian version? Compared with the birth of Servius Tullius, the birth of Caeculus makes already a later, more euhemeristic impression: the miraculous phallus has been replaced by a spark from the hearth. It looks as if the second fire has been introduced to compensate for the disappearance of the phallus: the connection of Caeculus with fire receives more stress in this way.

As Momigliano has observed. the traditions about Caeculus' myth can be divided into two streams."' On the one hand, there is Servius' version in which Caeculus is miraculously born from a hearth. On the other hand. there are versions represented by Cato and the *libri Praenestini* (cf. Appendix) in which Caeculus was found in or near a fire. These latter versions look very like even more euhemeristic accounts in which the miraculous element in Caeculus' birth is gradually and completely eliminated. Instead of a birth from the hearth, there is a discovery in a fire or even near a fire. In these latter versions, the mother of Caeculus, who in the Servian version is described as the sister of the *divi*, is now replaced by maidens fetching water who nevertheless still remain sisters of these brothers. Yet Servius' account of Caeculus' birth and exposure has not preserved the original version of the myth. He underplays the role of the uncles and has borrowed the finding in the hearth. which is redundant in his version, from an alternative tradition represented by Cato. The whole of the myth can evidently only be reconstructed by putting together the various versions.

In traditional societies, girls were closely watched but their duty of fetching water often enabled them to meet males in an unobtrusive way. The encounter at the fountain thus became a commonplace in literature. The author of *Genesis* (24) already lets Abraham's servant meet Rebekah at the well, and Greek mythology supplies many examples of the encounter of the sexes at the fountain. such as Poseidon and Amymone, Boreas and Oreithyia, and Heracles and Auge. In Roman mythology, the theme recurs in the story of Rhea Silvia who is surprised by Mars when she fetches water in the cult of Vesta, just as Tarpeia meets a Gaul while performing the same duty." In the myth of Caeculus, the freedom of movement during the fetching of water allows the maidens to stumble upon the foundling near the fire.

The fire is used in the myth to link Caeculus with Vulcan and to explain his name. Neither proposition is helpful. The connection with Vulcan cannot be very early (above) and the etymology is most improbable." The association with *caecus* must have been irresistible to Praenestines and Romans. as also appears from Varro's mention of a different (?) Caeculus, an

[9] Cic. *Div.* 2. 85f. cf. H. Riernunn. 'Iuppiter Imperator', *RM* 90 (1983), 233-338. nnd RM 91 (1984), 396 n. 49. who corrects various mistakes of J. Champeaux, 'Religion romaine et religion latine: les cultes de Jupiter ct Junon à Préneste', REL 60 (1982), 71-104, and *Fortuna*, 18.

[10] Cf. Mornigliano (n. 1), 459. For the texts, see the Appendix.

[11] Greek mythology and vases: Richardson on *h. Hom. Dem.* 98ff (with earlier bibliography) and Appcnclis III; J. Gould, *JHS* 100 (1980), 52; E. Richardson. 'The Lady at the Fountain'. in *Studi in antichita in onore di Gug. Maetzke* II (Rome. 1984), 447-454: C. Berard *et al.*, Lo *cité des images* (Lausanne, 1984), 91f with fig. 130 (both sexes) versus figs. 127-128 (females only). Rhea Silvia: Prop. 4. 4. 15: Ovid. F. 3. 11; DH 1. 77. 1; A. Alföldi, *MH* 7 (1950), 1-13, rep. in *idem*, *Der Vater des Vaterlandes im römischen Denken* (Darmstadt, 1971), 1-13: L. Berczelly, 'Ilia and the Divine Twins'. *Acta Arch. Norv. Inst.* Ser. 2. vol. 5 (1985), 89-149. Tarpeia: Liv. I. 11. 6.

[12] Both Wissowa, RKR. 231, and Rose (n. 1) have stressed the late character of Vulcan's association with Caeculus.

otherwise totally obscure Roman god. who *oculos sensu exanimet.*[13] It is probably also hardly chance that we find the same association with *caecus* in a story about Metellus, one of the Caecilii who derived their ancestry from Caeculus. It was related that as pontifex maximus he had saved the Palladium during a fire in the temple of Vesta in 241, but lost his sight during the rescue action.'.' The detail of his blindness is certainly unhistorical since Metellus was still elected dictator in 224, but it became highly popular after its invention by rhetoricians (Seneca *Contr.* 4. 2). and even inspired the notorious *Schwindelautoren* to invent Greek parallels.[15]

Modem scholars have preferred to explain the name Caeculus by connecting it with that of Cacus on the analogy of tlie couple Saetumus / Saturnus; in support of the identification. it is also stressed that both are robbers and sons of Vulcan.[16] However, it was always hard to see how the founder of Praeneste could have developed into a cattle thief (or vice versa). and new insights have now totally invalidated the proposed etymology. A fourth century Etruscan mirror witli a seer Cacu sitting beside the youth Artile and flanked by the ambushing warriors Caile Vipinas and Aule Vipinas (cf. Ch. 3 § 5), a closely similar grouping on four second century alabaster urns, and a contemporaneous group of four ums which suggest Cacu being taken prisoner, now seem to show that the similarities between Caeculus and Cacus. which supposedly supported the etymology, are the result of a long development in which an Etruscan seer living on tlie Palatine was finally transformed into a cattle rustling opponent of Hercules: it is in agreement with this Etruscan origin of Cacus that, independently of these artistic arguments, tlie most recent linguistic analysis connects his name witli other Etruscan names such as Kacena and Cacni.[17] It is now hardly doubtful either that Cacus' meeting witli Hercules was a late poetical invention (by Virgil?) on the analogy of tlie Geryon episode and not a version of a Indo-European myth as scholars have been arguing since last century.[18] The most likely etymology of Caeculus still remains the one proposed by Schulze, who compared a group of Etruscan names such as Caecina and Caecius; representatives of this onomastic family were also found at Praeneste.[19]

2. The education of Caeculus

According to Varro. Caeculus was raised by two brothers whom Cato calls Depidii. Solinus Digidii, and of whom Servius states that they were called *divi.* Dumézil has inferred from this designation that primitive Latin mythology knew a pair of divine twins who in Ronie developed

[13] Varro (fr. XIV. 63 Agh.) *ap.* Tert. *Nat.* 2. 15. I am not sure that Wissowa, ***RKR.*** 231. correctly identifies this god with the founder of Praeneste.

[14] Cf. A. Brelich. 'Il mito nella storia di Cecilio Metello', ***SMSR*** 15 (1939). 30-41, with an excellent collection of texts but who. wrongly. suggests a much older date.

[15] Cf. Ov. F. 6. 436-54 (who rejected the story); Sen. *Prov.* 5. 2: Plin. ***NH*** 7. 141; Juv. 3. 129. 6. 265: Aristeides *FGrH* 286 F 15 (with the important commentary of Jacoby *ad loc.*); Derkyllos *FGrH* 288 F3; Amp. 20. 11. Courtney's comment (on Juv. 6. 265) that the story derives from a Greek model shows a fundamental misunderstanding of tlie value of tlie *Schwindelautoren.*

[16] Cf. Altheim (n. 1). 178f. and Muller (n. 1). 91f. The fantastic etymologies of G. Camassa, *L'occhio e il metallo* (Genova, 1983).48f. are rightly rejected by F. Bader, *Hist. of Rel.* 25 (1985). 182.

[17] Etruscan Cacu: J. P. Small, *Cacus and Marsyas in Etrusco-Roman Legend* (Princeton. 1982), to bc read only with the review of N. Horsfall, ***CR*** 34 (1984), 226-9. Name of Cacus: C. de Simone, *Die griechischen Entlehnungen im Etruskischen* II (Wieshaden. 1970), 55. Cacus in Virgil: P. Hardie, *Virgil's Aeneid: Cosmos and Imperium* (Oxford. 1986), 110-8 (with earlier bibliography).

[18] See most recently the brilliant study by W. Burkert, *Structure and History in Greek Mythology and Ritual* (Berkely etc.. 1979), 78-98.

[19] Caeculus as Etruscan name: W. Schulze, *Zur Geschichte der lateinischen Eigennamen* (Berlin. 1905). 75: de Sinione (n. 17), 23f. Praencste: CIL XIV 2097 (Caecius), 3076 (Caeci).

into the semi-divine Romulus and Remus.[20] Considering the weak position of the brothers in the Servian version, it seems more persuasive to consider *divi* to be the result of a misunderstanding of Depidii (Digidii) than to build far-reaching hypotheses on the designation. As Schulze saw long ago, the name of the brothers should be connected with Etruscan names such as Digitius or Dicidius.[21]

The Depidii were shepherds just like Faustulus, the educator of Romulus and Remus. In Cato's version of the myth, the brothers do not enter into any special relationship with Caeculus. but in the Servian account they are his maternal uncles. This may well be a valuable detail. since there is widespread evidence that among the upper-classes of the early Indo-Europeans children often were not educated by their own parents but by their mother's brother (MoBr) or mother's father (MoFa). This upbringing by the maternal family regularly took place in the home of the maternal family. Recently, anthropologists have investigated this upbringing outside the parental home, technically called 'fosterage'. in Africa and Brazil, but their studies are clearly still at an early stage and they have not yet taken into consideration any historical material.'' I will therefore present here a sample of the Indo-European evidence for the upbringing of boys by their maternal family in order to show that an education of Caeculus by his matemal uncles would fit into a widespread pattern.?'

In the feudal world of ancient Iran. fosterage was a popular way of constructing networks of relationships which helped to support the feudal system. To this end, children of the nobility were often educated by men of a somewhat lower social position. It is only in the more marginal Iranian communities that we hear of education by the mother's family. The technical Iranian term for the fosterfather, *dayeak*, was used in Bactria and Afghanistan to denote the MoBr.[24] Among the Ossetes, a Caucasian Iranian community which has been repeatedly studied by Dumézil, fosterage still occurred in the nineteenth century where, as in ancient Iran. it served to sustain the feudal system. At one time, fosterage may well have taken place in the house of the maternal family as well, since in the Ossete epic the son of Uryzamag was raised in the house of the god of the waters, the father of his mother Satana.'' For the Hittites, evidence is scarce but we do know that they practiced fosterage. The upbringing in the house of the MoBr was perhaps not unusual, since king Labarna sighed on his deathbed that no one should anymore have a sister's son (SiSo) as fosterchild.'"

Greek mythology furnishes many examples of education by the maternal family. Iphidamas reached maturity in the house of his MoFa in Thrace; Neoptolemos grew up on the island of

[20] Dumezil. ***RRA.*** 264.

[21] Schulze. *Eigennamen*, 96. 373. Altheim (n. 1), 194f, followed by G. Radke. ***Die*** *Götter Altitaliens*, 2nd ed. (Münster, 1979). 108, improbably interpreted the name as Digiti, ie the Samothracian Dactyli.

[22] See most recently E. Goody, *Parenthood and Social Reproduction* (Cambridge. 1982): *eadem*, 'Eltern-Strategien: Kalkül oder Gefühl?', in H. Medick and D. Sabean (edd.), *Emotionen und materielle Interessen* (Göttingen, 1984). 360-75; C. Fonseca. 'Valeur marchande, amour maternel et survie: aspects de la circulation des enfants dans un bidonville bresilien', *Annales ESC* 40 (1985), 991-1022. I hope to return to this question elsewhere. since the isolated case of Caeculus does not allow us to study Praenestine fosterage in its social context.

[23] I make use of my earlier survey: 'Avunculate and Fosterage'. *J. Indo-European Stud.* ***4*** (1976). 65-78, but not without additions and revisions.

[24] Ancient Iran: G. Widengren, *Der Feudalismus im alten Iran* (Cologne, 1969), 69-82. Bactria and Afghanistan: A. Mazahéri, Lo *famille iranienne aux temps ante-islamiques* (Diss. Paris, 1938). 196f. Note also that in the Indian epic *Ramayana* (1. 75. 79), Bharata was educated in the palaces of his MoBr and MoFa.

[25] Modem Ossetes: M. Kosven. 'Atalycestvo', *Sovetskaja Ethnografija* 2 (1936), 41-62. Ossete epic: G. Dumézil, *Légendes sur les Nartes, suivis de cing notes mythologiques* (Paris, 1931), 32f.

[26] Fosterage: E. Laroche, 'Le voeu de Puduhepa', *Rev. d'Assyriol.* 43 (1949), 55-78. Labarna: F. Sommer and ***A.*** Falkestcin, *Die hethitische Bilingue des Hattusili* I (Berlin, 1938), 2f; S. R. Bin-Nun. *The Tawanna in the* ***Hittite*** *Kingdom* (Heidelberg, 1975), index *s.v.* sister's son.

Scyros at the court of Achilles' father-in-law Lykomedes, and Theseus was raised by his MoFa Pittheus in Troizen. We also hear of an education by the MoBr. Bachofen opened his pioneering study of the avunculate with Daedalus' murder of his sister's son Talos. Apollodorus (3. 15. 8, tr. Frazer) gives the fullest account: Daedalus had fled from Athens, because he had thrown down from the Acropolis Talos. the son of his sister Perdix: for Talos was his pupil. Other Greek heroes, such as Odysseus and Meleager. went hunting with their maternal uncles or accompanied them in battle. and many other examples show that this educational relationship lasted well into the classical period.[27]

Among the ancient Germans, we find the earliest example in Wotan himself. who received his wisdom from the brother of his mother Bestla (*Havamal* str. 140). The best known example is perhaps Beowulf, who was fostered by his his MoFa Hrethel (*Beowulf* 2428ff) and with whose son Hygelac he had a close relationship (261, 343 etc.). In the *Nibelungenlied* (1924ff), Etzel asks the brothers of his wife Kriemhild to take his son Ortlieb home and rear him. We meet this type of fosterage also in the Icelandic sagas. In the *Gisla saga* (c.2), Gisli stayed at home but his youngest brother Ari was fostered by Styrkar. his MoBr. Guttorm was the MoBr of king Harald and his fosterfather (*Egils saga* c.26). In the *Orkneyinga saga* (c.12), earl Sirgurd sent his son Thorfinn to Scotland to be fostered by king Malcolm, the boy's maternal grandfather. In the sagas, however, we also find a different system in which the fosterfather was a social inferior. This is well illustrated by the refusal of the English king Aethelstan to foster the son of Harald. the king of Norway, in order not to appear his subject (*Haralds saga* c.21).[28]

Among the Celts, fosterage occurred in pagan and Christian circles. Fiacha Muillethan was fostered by his MoFa Dill the Druid. Saint Abbanus was sent by his parents to the holy bishop Ybarus, *germanum matris sue (Vitir s. Abbani* c.1); similarly, the saints Aedus (*Vita s. Aedi* c.1) and Cainnicus (*Vita* s. *Cainnici* c.1) were most likely fostered by their maternal family. In fact. the preference for the maternal family must have been so overwhelming that it is stated in the ancient laws of Ireland: 'the kinship of the mother or the kinship of fosterage: it happens that they are one and the same'.[29] Fosterage or education by the mother's brother appears even as a recurrent theme in the Celtic epics of England and Ireland and in the medieval French *Chansons de Geste*.[30]

It seems a reasonable conclusion from this survey that the mother's brother in many Indo-European aristocracies occupied a central role in the education of his nephew. Judy Hallett has recently shown that Roman *avunculi* too. such as Atticus, Cato and Publius Rutilius. helped to prepare their sisters' sons for public life or took an active interest in their education; it will not

[27] For these and many other examples. see the full discussion by Bremmer, 'The Importance of the Maternal Uncle and Grandfather in Archaic and Classical Greece end Early Byzantiuni, ***ZPE*** 50 (1983), 173-186.

[28] On the close relationship between MoBr and Siso among the ancient Germans. see W. Aron. 'Traces of Matriarchy in Germanic Hero-Lore' = *Univ. of Wisconsin Stud. in Lang. and Lit.* 9 (1920); C. H. Bell. 'The Sister's Son in the Medieval German Epic'. *Univ. of Calif. Publ. in* ***Mod.*** *Philol.* 10. 2 (1922), 67-182; R. H. Brenimer. 'The Importance of Kinship: Uncle and Nephew in *Beowulf*,' *Amsterdammer Beitr. z. ält. Germanistik* 15 (1980), 21-38. For the inferior social position of the fosterfather in the Middle Apes. see also Th. Bühler. 'Fosterage.. *Schweiz. Arch. f. Volksk.* 60 (1964), 1-17.

[29] Fiacha: E. O' Curry. *On the Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish* II (London. 1873). 375. Celtic fosterage: F. Kerlouepan. 'Essai sur la mise en nourriture et l'éducation dans les pays celtiques d'après les témoignages des textes hagiographiques latines', *Études Celtiques* 12 (1968/9), 101-46.

[30] Cf. C. Schubert. *Der Pflegesohn (nourri) im französischen Heldenepos* (Diss. Marburg. 1905): W. A. Nitze. 'The Sister's Son and the Conte del Graal', *Mod. Philol.* 9. 3 (1912), 1-32: W. O. Farnsworth, *Uncle and nephew in the* ***Old*** *French Chansons de geste* (New York. 1913). On medieval Fosterage see most recently G. Duby, *Guillaume le Maréchal* (Paris. 1984), 85ff; M. de Jong, *In Samuel's Image. Child Oblation in the Early Middle Ages* (Leiden, 1988), Ch. 12.

have been different at Praeneste." This educational role of the maternal uncle is an important argument, I suggest, for the priority of the Servian version of Caeculus' birth, since it is only this version that allows Caeculus to be raised by those who traditionally fulfilled an educational role, by his maternal uncles.

3. The foundation of Praeneste

After his education by the Depidii, Caeculus collected a band of shepherds and went around robbing for a long time. We are not told how long he stayed outside normal society, but there are various Indo-European traditions that the initiatory period of young men lasted nearly ten years. At one time, Arcadian young men had to live away from civilised society for a period of nine years as 'wolves' and they were only allowed to return if they had not eaten human flesh. Among the Anglo-Saxons, young Guthlac lived nine years as a robber before he returned to civilised society and, eventually. became a saint. Regarding the Celts, the archaic poem *Tain Bo Froich* tells how Froech lived with a following of fifty boys (a recurring number among Indo-European initiatory bands) in the wild for eight years before he came home to settle and get married. These examples may suffice to show that the period of living on the margin of society before being accepted into the body of adult men could indeed last a long time.'?

Dumézil has written that Caeculus 'assembled a band of youths.' He was obviously thinking of the Roman foundation myth, but the age-group which we would have expected is not mentioned in this myth, although it is evident that Caeculus' stay in the wild parallels the period Romulus and Remus spend in the company of robbers and criminals. In Servius' version, Caeculus, like Romulus. also tried to found his city during a festival by inviting the neighbouring peoples to settle with him. The founder of the city of Cures, Modius Fabidius, also collected people from the immediate neighbourhood. However, this is not as close a parallel as Romulus, since in his case there was no festival."

During the festival. Caeculus was confirmed as the son of Vulcan by a fire which surrounded the whole crowd. The manner of confirmation is totally unique, but confirmation by fire was also part of the birth legend of Servius Tullius. It was told that his head had burst out in flames when he was asleep as a child — flames which predicted his future royalty. The motif of the flames from the head occurs repeatedly in Roman tradition. During the second Punic war, L. Marcius was confirmed as a god-given leader in the eyes of his soldiers after their general had been killed, when fire emanated from his head. When Salvidienus Rufus, a friend of Octavianus, tended flocks as a boy, a tongue of flame shot up and hovered over his head, a royal portent. These signs of fire around the head are part of the Roman Indo-European heritage, as is illustrated by the nimbus around the head of the Hellenistic rulers and the *xvarnah*, the light around the head of the ancient Iranian kings.[34] It is with the confirmation of

[31] J. P. Hallett, *Fathers and Daughters in Roman Society* (Princeton, 1984), 152-168, with niany examples of the close relationship between the Roman MoBr and his SiSo. According to Varro, Caeculus was only a nick-name. Depidius being his real one. If. as I have argued. the Varronian version is a shortened one, it may well be that in one version of' the myth Caeculus was actually named after his maternal uncles; similar cases are attested for Greece and the ancient Germans. cf. Bremmer (n. 27). 180 n. 41.

[32] Arcadia: Paus. 6. 8. 2; Pliny 8. 82: Aug. *Civ. Dei* 18. 17, cf. W. Burkert, ***Honio*** *necans* (Berkeley etc., 1983). 84-93. Cuthlac: Felix. *Life of Saint Guthlac*, ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge. 1956), c.18. Celts: Tain Bo Froich, c.1 = W. Meid, ***Die*** *Romanze von Froech und Findabair* (Innsbruck, 1970). c.1. Groups of fifty: Bremmer, *ZPE* 47 (1982).138.

[33] Caeculus and age-group: Dumézil, ***RRA.*** 264. Cures: DH (= Varro) 2. 48, cf. Scholz. *Studien*, 162f.

[34] Servius Tullius: all sources in Schwegler, ***RG,*** 703ff; Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1. 121 (combining rather disparate material). L. Marcius (Plin. NH 2. 241), Salvidienus Rufus (Dio 48. 33. 1) and *xvarnah*: Th. Koves-Zulauf, ***Reden lord*** *Schweigen* (Munich, 1972), 249f (with excellent commentary); see also A. Alföldi, ***RM*** 50 (1935). 139-145; H. W. Ritter, *Diadem und Königsherrschaft* (Munich and Berlin, 1965); M. Verzar. ***MEFRA*** 92 (1980).62-78.

his divine descent and the foundation of the city that Servius' account of Caeculus ends. No version mentions his death. just as no version mentions his ancestors. There is something vague about Caeculus.

4. The origin of the myth of Caeculus

The vagueness about Caeculus' birth and death is only one of the puzzling aspects of his myth. There are more. Scholz has observed that the way in which Caeculus invited his neighbours recalls the Sabine rape, just as the sign of Vulcan recalls the flames around the head of Servius Tullius.[35] He does not draw any conclusions from his observation. but the question surely has to be answered whether Praeneste borrowed from Rome or vice versa. or whether the two cities composed their foundation myths totally independently. Let us look again at the various motifs of the Caeculus myth and compare them in detail with their Roman parallels.

We start with the birth. Servius Tullius was born from a particular hearth. and his birth served the specific purpose of legitimating his origin. Caeculus, on the other hand. is born from an anonymous hearth and his peculiar birth serves no specific function in tlie myth. Moreover, his origin is left totally obscure in contrast to all the heroic births we have discussed (Ch. 3, 2). After his birth. Caeculus is found by maidens who are fetching water. The reason why these girls are on their way to a well is left unexplained, whereas in the Roman myths the water is fetched by Vestal virgins for cultic reasons. Though the omission of circumstantial details may be a natural result of the processes of summarising and transmission which underlie our texts, it does remain a possibility that the omission of any motivation for the Praenestine girls is in itself significant.

After his exposure, Caeculus is raised by shepherds just like Romulus and Renius. The difference is the fact that these shepherds are his maternal uncles — the only detail in the Caeculus myth which can not be paralleled from Roman myth. Like the Roman twins. Caeculus assembles a band of followers but his band does consist of shepherds and not of an age-group as was the case with Romulus and Remus. Whereas the age-group of Romulus and Remus has numerous parallels (Ch. 3, 5), a foundation by a group of shepherds does not seem to be attested in other myths. On the other hand. we have already seen that boys were frequently educated by shepherds or had to herd themselves (Ch. 3. 3). These shepherding activities may well explain the Praenestine tradition.

As regards the foundation of the city, there can be little doubt that tlie invitation of the neighbouring peoples is directly inspired by the Sabine rape: the same will be true for tlie foundation legend of Cures. In both cases, the non-Roman versions are much flatter than the colourful Roman account. Moreover. the way in wliich Caeculus' kinship with Vulcan is confirmed by fire is rather suspect, since it looks inspired by tlie confirmation of Servius Tullius, as Scholz persuasively suggested. The conclusion seems inevitable: by the time of Servius, the myth of Caeculus had to a considerable degree become a *bricolage* of the myths of Romulus and Servius Tullius.

Having seen what the myth had become by the time of Servius, we can now turn to its earlier stages. If our analysis so far has been correct. we can reconstruct a myth which probably contained the following elements in the time before Cato.

A girl sitting near a hearth was struck by a spark in her womb. She became pregnant and gave birth to a boy whom she abandoned. Maidens who were fetching water found the boy

[35] Scholz. *Studien*. 129 n.18.

and gave him to the brothers of the mother. They educated Caeculus who later assembled shepherds and founded the city of Praeneste.

Even in this version, Caeculus' ancestry is left very vague and the story of his birth seems clearly inspired by the birth of Servius Tullius. However, the names in the myth and the education by the maternal uncles probably point to the existence of an original Praenestine foundation myth. Considering the Etruscan names of its protagonists, the Caeculus myth will not pre-date the Etruscan influence in Praeneste, and already at an early date it had become contaminated with the Roman foundation myth. There is perhaps one argument why we should indeed not posit too low a date for the Caeculus myth. In our analysis of the Romulus and Remus myth we have argued that in the older version of the myth the twins probably acted as cattle thieves — an activity which later generations who turned the twins into enemies of cattle thieves apparently found unacceptable (Ch. 3, 3). Caeculus. however, is still a cattle rustler, which may well mean that the Praenestines preserved a more archaic version of their foundation myth.

Why and when did the Praenestines find it necessary to incorporate elements of the Roman foundation myth? In the archaic age, Praeneste was the wealthiest city of Latium and maintained close relations with Etruria — relations which explain the many Etruscan names in Praeneste despite the fact that the population kept on speaking Latin.[36] The city remained independent till the fourth century when it capitulated for the first time in 380 and surrendered finally to Rome in 338. It is unlikely that during this period Praeneste felt it necessary to incorporate elements of the foundation myth of its powerful neighbours. In fact, it is not totally excluded that in the archaic age Rome was influenced by Praeneste in the development of its own foundation myth, as we suggested at the end of the previous chapter.

After Praeneste's loss of independence, Roman cultural influence immediately increased as is shown by the necropoleis and the appearance of the Roman twins on a Praenestine mirror, which, if authentic, dates from the last decades of the fourth century. However, Praeneste stubbornly tried to preserve a certain autonomy, and it even refused the offer of Roman citizenship after the second Punic war. The impressive constructions of the temple-complex of Fortuna Primigenia in the last decades of the second century illustrate its *Selbstbewusstsein* which came to an end only in 80 BC, when Sulla captured the city and massacred its inhabitants.[37] The Caeculus myth will have been adapted somewhere in the period between Praeneste's loss of independence and the writing of Cato's *Origines*. After the Romans had defeated the Latins in 338 their self-confidence greatly increased, as is shown by a growing number of political statues in public places.[38] The 'publicising' of their own foundation myth by the Ogulnii in 296 can be interpreted an another sign of this development. It may well be that the growing publicity of Rome's own myths incited the Praenestines to adapt the Caeculus myth in order to show that their own founder experienced the same adventures and the same favours from the gods as the Roman founders did. If our analysis so far is correct — but I

[36] Cf. A. Ernout, 'Le parler de Préneste d'après les inscriptions'. *Mem. Soc. Ling. Paris* 13 (1905/6), 293-349.

[37] For Praeneste's later history and the symbolism of the temple-complex of Fortuna Primigenia, see the intriguing study by A. Ley and R. Struss, 'Gegenarchitektur: Das Heiligtum der Fortuna Primigenia als Symbol der politischen Selbstbehauptung Praenestes', *Hephaistos* 4 (1982), 117-138. Necropoleis: P. Pensabene. 'Necropoli di Praeneste'. *Arch. Class.* 35 (1983 [1986]), 228-282. Mirror: R. Adam and D. Briquel, 'Le miroir prénestin de l'Antiquario Comunalc de Rome et la légende des jumeaux divins en milieu latin à la fin du IV siècle av. J.-C.', ***MEFRA*** 94 (1982), 33-65. who recognise Roman influence on the Caeculus myth. Sulla: F. Hinard, in *Les 'bourgeoisies' municipales italiennes aux II et I siècles av. J.-C.* (Paris and Naples, 1983). 328f.

[38] Cf. T. Hölscher, 'Die Anfänge romischer Repräsentationskunst', ***RM*** 85 (1978). 315-357.

recognise its hypothetical character — it would show that the powerful cities of Latium influenced each other in turn.

Finally, two other examples of the impression Rome made on its neighbouring communities can perhaps be added to Praeneste. First, we have already seen that the city of Cures was also founded by inviting people from its neighbourhood. Second. Horsfall (Ch. I) has rightly drawn attention to the fact that Coras, the name of one of the twin founders of Tibur (Verg. *Aen.* 7. 670), is evidently associated with the distant city of Cora. Taking into account the parallels from Praeneste and Cures, we may now be more confident in detecting in these twins a local invention inspired by the Roman twins (unless of course the passage is a Virgilian *autoschediasma*). In the course of this volume, we have repeatedly shown that under the impact of Rome's power the Greek *Schwindelautoren* adapted existing Greek myths or invented completely new ones. The myth of Caeculus shows that Rome had made its impact on the imagination of the neighbouring communities already at a much earlier stage of its expansion.'[39]

J. N. B.

PRAENESTE: THE EVIDENCE

The copious literary testimonies to the Praenestine story of Caeculus have apparently not been disentangled.'[40]

Virgil's remark, *omnis quem credidit aetas* (*Aen.* 7. 680), is characteristic of the seductive, suggestive but not necessarily evidential authority with which learned poets of the age present stories, of varying antiquity.[41]

Our earliest attestation is not necessarily the mysterious *libri Praenestini* (cited by Solin. 2. 9; see below);[42] it is perfectly possible that there was a local chronicle, which did record the story of Caeculus,[43] but given the fact that Verrius Flaccus covered Caeculus in the *de significatu verborum* (for Festus, see below), it is tempting to hypothesize that Solinus' *libri Praenestini* are in fact the learned material which was included in Verrius' huge calendar there.[44]

That Solinus (*loc. cit.*) juxtaposes Zenodotus (*FGrH* 821 F 1) and the *libri Praenestini* proves (*pace* Letta. 430f) little: it cannot be shown that it was first Cato (so Letta 430f, n. 236) who contrasted the Greek and indigenous narratives, especially if it should be accepted that the *libri* are in fact Augustan! DH 2. 49, on the origins of the Sabines, contrasts the versions of § 1 Zenodotus of Troezen, again (F3), § 2 Cato (*Orig.* fr. 50P), and § 4 the ἱστόριαι ἐπιχώριοι of the Sabines themselves. The coincidence of method in DH and Solinus is unremarkable: it is

[39] I thank Fritz Graf and Nicholas Horsfall for their most helpful comments, and Professor Ph. Houwink ten Cate and Dr. L. B. van der Meer for valuable infomiation.

[40] C. Letta (Athen. 72 (1984)) supposes. apparently after D. Musti (430f, n. 236. 438. n. 260) that Solinus had direct and regular access to the elder Cato. that (433. n. 236) Cato fr. 59P = Sol. 2. 9 (in fact = schol. Ver. *ad Aen.* 7. 681) and that (438) Zenodotus was earlier than Cato (which is conceivable, hut in no way mandatory); the field is one in which progress may be made. but not thus.

[41] Cf. p. 100 on the *fama obscurior annis* and the Auruncan elders who deceptively adorn Acn. 7. 205ff.

[42] *Ut Praenestini SONANT libri* is disconcertingly the language of high poetry. No ohvious parallel is cited for the form of the title: see ***TLL*** 7. 2. 1277. 77ff. The use of *ut fama est* in the citation is of course typical of the seductive adornments of secondary myth; cf. n. 41 and p. 6.

[43] Cf. p. 7 with n. 46.

[44] Cf. Suet. *Gramm.* 17, CRF *s.v.*; Test. 4Fun.; Ov. *Fasti* ed. Bonier. 1, 221f; and perhaps Cic. *Div.* 2. 85 for *libri* of a calendar. Cf. Paul. csc. Fcst. p. 78. 4L and ***TLL*** 7. 2. 1277. 12.

perfectly normal in Latin antiquarian texts of this character,[45] especially indeed in Varro,[46] but this contrasting of identified and summarised earlier narratives apparently does not occur in the extant fragments of Cato, *Origines* 2-3,[47] at least as identified correctly and studied dispassionately (cf. n. 40). Solinus found already excerpted in his source — probably in this case, Suetonius, *Prata*[48] — the variant versions of the foundations of Tibur (2. 8, citing Cato fr. 56P) and (2. 9) Praeneste. The analysis of Solinus' sources is not a simple matter — to it, Mommsen's preface, viiiff, is still the best guide — but it is to misunderstand the epoch of the author and the tradition in which his work stands to suppose that he had ever set eyes upon the *ipsissima verba* of the Censor!

The Verona scholiast to *Aeneid* 7. 681 records: *Cato in Originibus air Caeculum virgines aquam petentes in foco invenisse ideoque Vulcani filium eum existimasse et quod oculos exiguos haberet Caeculum appellatum. hic collecticiis pastoribus urbem fundavit.* (fr. 59P; for fr. 60 see below).

The scholiast supplements this information with material drawn from Varro's *Logistoricus, Marius aut de fortuna*: *hunc Varro ah Depidiis pastoribus educatum ipsique Depidio nomen fuisse et datum cognomentum Caeculo tradidit libro qui inscribitur Marius aut de fortuna.*

Varro's attestations are in fact numerous and complex. To continue: at *Aeneid* 7. 680, Virgil refers to *altum Praeneste*; an etymological, not a conventional epithet;"" we should rather compare

(i) Paul. exc. Fest. p. 250. 22L, *Praeneste dicta est quia is locus quo condita est montibus praestet*;

(ii) Serv. Dan. *ad Aen. 7*. 682, *altum Praeneste: Cato* (*Orig*. fr. 60P) *dicit quia is locus quo condita est montibus praestet*.

Rarely if ever does the complex working of the transmission of the fragments of Latin antiquarian-topographical writing emerge so clearly elsewhere: Varro (*res humanae* 11) excerpts Cato, *Origines*, and in turn is used by Virgil, Verrius Flaccus (Festus), and Pliny, while the commentators on Virgil preserve the name of Cato who first recorded the etymology.'" Since *Origines*, frr. 59 and 60 clearly derive from the same passage in the original, and since the latter was in all probability known to Varro, the possibility that Varro — whether in the *Marius* again, or possibly in *res hum.* 11 — was likewise responsible for the transmission of the former, ultimately to the Verona scholiast, should be considered. The *Marius*, if Dahlmann's identification[50] of the protagonist is correct, is up to a decade later than the *res humanae*,[52] but the two works could well have carried identical or overlapping information about the origins of Praeneste: certainly, given the associations of the Marii with

[45] Cf. below. schol. Ver. *ad Aen*. 7. 681. giving the versions of Cato (fr. 59P) and Varro: also, for instance. Serv. *ad Aen*. 7. 657. Sol. 2. 7. Vurr. *LL* 5. 43, 55, J. E. Skydsgaard. *Varro the Scholar* (Copenhagen. 1968). 101ff.

[46] That Varro was also the main source of DH 2. 49 is highly likely: cf. the analytical bibliography in Letta (n. 40), 433 n. 246. and E. N. Tigerstedt. *The Legend of Sparta*, **2** (Uppsala, 1974), n. 39 on 380-1. Cato fr. 51P (= Sew. Dan. *ad Aen*. 8. 638) has clearly to be dismissed from the argument; citaitons of Cato in the Virgil commentators can be equally delusory elsewhere: cf. *Legend of Aeneas*, n. 134.

[47] At this point the issue is one of method and presentation; the problem of Cato's use of Greek sources does not enter directly into it.

[48] Cf. K. Abel, *PW*, X A. 50. 43ff.

[49] Cf. G. J. M. Bartelink, *Etymologisering bij Vergilius* (Amsterdam. 1965), 54.

[50] B. Rehm. *Das geographische Bild des alten Italien ... Phil. Supplbd*. 24 (1932). 104ff; D. Detlefsen. ***Die*** *Beschreibung Italiens* ... (Leipzig, 1901), 56f; R. Reitzenstein, *Hermes* 20 (1885), 536f. For further argumentation. cf. Horsfall, *Encicl. Virgil*. *s.v.* Varrone (e l'Eneide) forthcoming.

[51] *Abh. Ak. Mainz* 1957. 4. 5ff/715ff.

[52] *BICS* 19 (1972). 120f. Cf. H. D. Jocelyn. *BJRL* 65 (1982), 165 with n. 103.

that town (cf. n. 51), it is easy to see why the *logistoricus* should have concerned itself with the story of Caeculus. It is on the other hand also clear that the *res humanae* contained some mythological material,[53] but exactly how book 11 treated Praeneste and how much it contributed to Virgil's account cannot now be determined. It is no more demonstrable that in *Aeneid* 7. 678ff Virgil depended on Cato; neither there, nor surprisingly, elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, can specific indebtedness to the *Origines* be proved beyond question.

Varro appears to have touched on Praeneste and Caeculus once or even twice more. First. Fest. p. 38. 24L: *alii appellatos eos (sc. Caecilios) dicunt a Caecade Troiano, Aeneae comite*: Caecas may well derive from Varro's *de familiis Troianis*;[54] Baumerich (n. 54. 56) argues quite persuasively that what precedes — *Caeculus condidit Praeneste, unde putant Caecilios ortos* — Verrius Flaccus may have derived, like the account of the descent of the gens Mamilia of Tusculum from Telegonus,[55] from M. Valerius Messalla Rufus' *de familiis Troianis*. It should be noted that the Caecilii are likely to have promoted this genealogy as early as the late second century BC.[56] though there is no evident link between that *gens* and Praeneste. The story of L. Caecilius Metellus, blinded while rescuing the statue of Vesta during a fire in 241 BC, is probably irrelevant; it appears to be an entirely unhistorical elaboration perpetrated in the rhetorical schools.[57]

Secondly, the Caeculus of *res divinae* 14 (= Tert. *Nat.* 2. 15), fr. 63 Agahd, 159 Cardauns, has nothing, Wissowa insists,[58] to do with Caeculus of Praeneste. But note that the etymology given, *qui oculos sensu exanimet*, is close to those in Cato fr. 59 and Serv. *ad Aen.* 7. 678 (*quia oculis minoribus fuit*), and may reflect an etymology also given (elsewhere) for Caeculus of Praeneste.

Thus when Virgil writes (*Aen.* 7. 678ff):

> *nec Praenestinae fundator defuit urbis,*
> *Vulcano genitum pecora inter agrestia regem*
> *inventumque focis omnis quem credidit aetas*
> *Caeculus*

his mythological sources are, paradoxically, given the relative wealth of information about Caeculus, a good deal less clear than in some other places. Nor do the versions given by Solinus contribute to elucidate the picture: *Praeneste, ut Zenodotus, a Praeneste Ulixis nepote Latini filio, ut Praenestini sonant libri, a Caeculo, quem iuxta ignes fortuitos invenerunt, ut fama est, Digidiorum sorores.* The *libri Praenestini* have been discussed above: the Greek version, probably though not necessarily known to and rejected by Virgil. is also found at SByz. *s.v. Prainestos*;[59] it is probably modelled on the very well-attested story of the foundation

[53] (Prob.) *Comm.* in *Buc.* 326. 2ff. (Th.- H.), Plin. *Nat.* 3. 103. 104. 108. for instance. with Rehm (n. 50). 105; Rehm's exclusion of mythological elements from Varro's geographical writing is inexplicable.

[54] H. J. Bäumerich, *Über die Bedeutung der Genealogie* ... (diss. Köln, 1964), 14, 56.

[55] Fest. p. 116. 7L: Liv. 1. 49. 9; DH 4. 45. 1: Ov. F. 3. 97 with Bömer's note: Prop. 2. 32. 4 with Enk's note; Hor. *Iamb.* 1. 29, *Carm.* 3. 79. 8.

[56] T. P. Wiseman. GR 71 (1974). 155.

[57] T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics* (Leicester, 1979), 33.

[58] *PW s.v.* no. 2, RKR 231, n. 3, after W. F. Otto.

[59] But note that with 'Aristocles, Italica 3'. *FGrH* 831 F 1 = PsPlut. *Parall. Min.* 41 = *Mor.* 316A, one is back in the world of the *Schwindelautor* (cf. Bremmer 53 and Geese n. 56.)

of Tusculum by Telegonus,[60] nor is it demonstrably older than Zenodotus, who is not clearly datable! We can say only that he is earlier than Varro and Dionysius of Halicarnassus.[61]

The version in Serv. *ad Aen.* 7. *678* contains, from *erant illic duo fratres qui divi appellabantur* down as far as *condidit*, no new, independently transmitted and authoritative piece of information; the continuation (*et cum ludorum … crediderunt*) is of unclear origin — though it betrays evidently the influence of, for instance. Liv. 1. 9; the passage cites no early sources and represents merely a piece of late antique pseudo-learned elaboration.

It will be noted that this discussion of the attestations of Caeculus fails to date many of them, to arrange them in a stemma, or to trace clear affiliations. That is quite conscious: such results are not permitted by the state of our evidence and it is much better not to attempt them.

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[60] Cf. n. 55. Rehm (n. 50, 16, n. 58) unfortunately writes of Ov. F. 3. 92 and 4. 71 as though they referred to Praeneste: they do not.

[61] K. Abel. PW X A. 49. 67ff.

FROM HISTORY TO LEGEND: M. MANLIUS AND THE GEESE[1]

Since a brief but profoundly disquieting paper by Otto Skutsch in *JRS* 1953,[2] students of early Roman history have been compelled, if not to accept, then at least to acknowledge the existence of,[3] a quite widely diffused story. according to which. in 390 BC, the Capitol fell, like the rest of Rome, to the Gauls. Such a narrative evidently precludes, for example, the rousing of the sleeping garrison by the geese, M. Manlius' blow with his shield-boss to knock the first Gaul over the cliff, and, for that matter, Camillus' last-minute intervention to halt the payment of the ransom (which is anyway a late development in the story).

It has long been recognised that the events of 390 - or rather, 387/6[4] — are. in their transmitted form, a hopeless jumble of aetiological tales, family apologias, doublets and transferences from Greek history.[5] Literary testimonia are exceptionally copious. and the topic has been a matter for fierce academic debate at least since the days of Niebuhr and G. C. Lewis."[6] I shall concentrate almost exclusively upon the Capitol and the geese; much else may then fall into place.

Not all the evidence for the Gallic capture of the Capitol has been surveyed with equal, or with sufficient care, but a detailed assessment of all the evidence is no longer required. Our earliest evidence — and a surprising amount of it comes from within a century of the events — does nothing, it is acknowledged, to encourage acceptance of the traditional Livian version.

(i) Arist. ap. Plut. *Cam.* 22. 3 (= fr. 610 Rose, *FGrH* 840 F 23): Aristotle the Philosopher τὸ μὲν ἁλῶναι τὴν πόλιν ὑπὸ τῶν Κελτῶν ἀκριβῶς δηλός ἐστιν ἀκηκοώς, τὸν δὲ σωσάντα Λεύκιον εἶναί φησιν.[7] Plutarch predictably complains that Camillus' praenomen was Marcus; scholars recently have been tempted to see here a reference to L. Albinius. who carried the *sacra* to Caere.[8]

(ii) Theopompus *ap.* Plin. 3. 57 (= *FGrH* 115 F 317 and 840 F 24): *nam Theopompus, ante quem nemo mentionem habuit* (*sc.* of Rome) *urbem*[9] *dumtaxat o Gallis captam dixit*; as the context makes it quite clear, the force of *dumtaxat* is 'Theopompus says only that the *urbs* was *copra a Gallis*', rather than 'that only the urbs was captured'."[10] It is possible that Just. 20. 5. 4. *legati Gallorum, qui ante menses Romam incenderant*, reflects Theopompus."[11]

[1] I am most grateful to friends in the School of History. Macquarie University. for encouragement and criticism, and to *Classical Journal* for kind permission to reprint *CJ* 76 (1981), 298-311. Several substantial alterations have been made.

[2] *JRS* 43 (1953), 77f, reprinted with important *Postilla* in *Studia Enniana* (London 1968). 138ff; rcferencec hereafter to the ***SE*** pagination. See also *idem* on Enn. *Ann.* 2271:

[3] But not to study in detail; contrast the great mass of literature on Tarpeia, (below. n. 40). E. Norden, *Ennius u. Vergilius* (Leipzig, 1915). 107 n. 2. stumbled upon the version here discussed but did not pursue it.

[4] Cf. Walbank on Plb. 1. 6. 1; M. Sordi, *I rapporti romano-ceriti* (Rome, 1960). 26ff.

[5] Cf, for instance. J. Wolski, *Hist.* 5 (1956), 24ff; M. Grant. *Roman Myths* (London. 1971), 106ff; T. J. Luce, *TAPA* 102 (1971), 290ff; R. M. Ogilvie. *Early Rome and the Etruscans* (London. 1976). 166ff.

[6] *An Enquiry into the Credibility of the Early Roman History* **2** (London. 1855), 324ff, still repays careful study, as do Schwegler's pages, *Röm. Gesch.* 3 (Tiibingen. 1858), 252ff.

[7] 'That the city was taken by the Celts it is quite clear that Aristotle the philosopher has heard, but he says that her saviour was Lucius.

[8] Luce (n. 5), 291; R. M. Ogilvie. ***A*** *commentary on Livy 1-5* (Oxford. 1965). 723.

[9] "The Greek, like Aristotle's, will simply have referred to 'Rome': nothing can be made of the occasional use of πόλις/*urbs* in the sense of 'Acropolis/Capitol'.

[10] O. Skutsch. *JRS* 68 (1978). 93 n. 1. decisively. against Wolski (n. 5), 45.

[11] 'Legates of the Gauls. who had burned Rome months before': cf. Sordi (n. 4), 34.

(iii) Heraclides Ponticus Περὶ Ψυχῆς (*ap.* Plut. *Cam.* 22. 3 = fr. 102 Wehrli, *FGrH* 840 F 23): 'a story prevailed out of the West that στράτος ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἔξωθεν ἠρήκοι πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα[12] Ῥῶμην ἐκεῖ που κατῳκημένην περὶ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν.[13]

(iv) It may well have been narrated to Timaeus — it is so narrated in both DS (14. 117. 7) and Strabo (5. 2. 3) — that it was not the Romans who defeated the Gauls and forced them to withdraw. but the Caeretans;[14] Strabo calls the invaders the Galatians τοὺς ἑλόντας τὴν Ῥώμην, who took Rome.

(v) It is perhaps worth adding the account in Polybius, who here probably follows Fabius Pictor (2. 18. 2):[15] κάτεσχον αὐτὴν τὴν Ῥώμην πλὴν τοῦ Καπετωλίου. But a diversion occurred: the Veneti invaded their territory and they withdrew after making a treaty with the Romans. No word of Camillus. of the payment of a ransom, of a Roman victory as the Gauls withdrew.

It emerges so far only that perhaps by the time of Fabius Pictor the peculiar salvation of the Capitol had in some way been established. No word of such a story appears to have seeped out in the fourth century. though that in isolation is not an *argumentum ex silentio* by which much store should be set.

The positive evidence collected from authors writing in Latin stands as follows:

(vi) Enn. *Ann.* 164f V = 227f Skutsch:

> *qua Galli furtim noctu summa arcis adorti*
> *moenia concubia vigilesque repente cruentant.*[16]

The whole point of the classical Livian version is that the watchmen were not surprised and were therefore not bathed in blood. Attempts have, unnecessarily, been made to reduce Ennius and Livy to narrative uniformity at the cost of violence to the language" or to common sense, for example, by supposing that the guards, though bloodstained, repelled the assault.'"

(vii) Virg. *Aen.* 8. 652ff must be considered at the same time:

> *in summo custos Tarpeiae Manlius arcis*
> *stabat pro templo et Capitolia celsa tenebat . .*
> *atque hic auratis volitans argenteus anser*
> *porticibus Gallos in limine adesse canebat;*
> *Galli per dumos aderant arcemque tenebant.*[19]

[12] Cf. E. Gabba. *Miscellanea . . . Rostagni* (Turin. 1963). 188ff.

[13] 'A story prevailed out of the West that an army from the distant land of the Hyperboreans had taken the Greek city of Rome. established somewhere near the great sea.'

[14] Luce (n. 5). 292: Ogilvie (n. 7). 723. 726: Sordi (n. 4). 32ff.

[15] See Walbank *ad loc.* and on 1. 6. 1: 'they occupied Rome herself except for the Capitol.'

[16] 'On which the Gauls, stealthily at dead of night. attacked the high points of the citadel and made bloody of a sudden walls and guards' (a difficult passage: I gratefully follow Skutsch's interpretation). Prop. 3. 3. 15 is of doubtful relevance: see Skutsch. conim.. 15f. and. unconvincingly. S. J. Heyworth, CQ 36 (1986). 200-1.

[17] Cf. too Skutsch (n. 2). 138f.

[18] Skutsch (n. 2). 141 n. 11. 142 n. I: Norden (n. 3). 102ff.

[19] 'At the top Manlius, guard of the Tarpeian citadel. stood before the temple and occupied the lofty Capitol . . . and here a goose of silver, fluttering in porticoes of gold, gave vocal warning that the Gauls were there on the threshhold: the Gauls were close. through the thickets, and held the citadel.'

Is Virgil saying that the Gauls reached the top? He is characteristically elusive: Servius engagingly comments *deest 'paene'; nam prope tenuerunt.* More sophisticated commentators argue that *tenebant* should be taken *de instanti*, 'were on the point of holding', but it is not easy to take *tenebat* (653) as continuous, of Manlius persisting in holding the citadel, in contrast. as Gransden notes, to the imperfect *de instanti* or conative ('were eager to hold') four lines later (the same verb, at the same point in the line, but used now not of the defenders. but, as Fordyce notes. of the assailants): nor is it easy to locate the Gauls: at 656 *per dumos aderant* — they are on the way up, but in the previous line the goose warned that they ***in*** *limine adesse*, that is. were on the temple steps already. The repetition *adesse . . . aderant* is awkward, not rhetorically effective. Skutsch's suggestion (*loc. cit.*) that the passage is unfinished is attractive: Virgil has Manlius the *custos* of the Capitol, he has the geese fluttering through golden porticoes. and yet. in the plain sense of the Latin, he has the Gauls holding the citadel.

(viii) The evidence of Varro, *de vita populi Romani* ii, has been challenged: the text in Nonius reads *ut noster exercitus ita sit fugatus ut Galli Romae Capitoli sint potiti neque inde ante sex menses cesserint*;[20] *Romae nisi Capitoli* Popma, *Romae praeter Capitolium* Riposati (165 n.1, after Quicherat); = Non. p. 800L = fr. 61 Riposati. The text was emended — 'Rome but for the Capitol' — both to bring Varro into line with the conventional story of the Capitol's survival and to render Varro consistent with himself, for in *de vita* ii he also writes" (the subject will presumably have been *Galli*): *auri pondo duo milia acceperunt, ex aedibus sacris et matronarum ornamentis; a quibus postea id aurum et torques aureae multae relatae Romam et consecratae*;[22] clearly, if the Capitol was seized (fr. 61), then the circunistances in which a ransom was paid, let alone recovered (fr. 62), are not easy to envisage. But there is no reason why Varro should have to narrate the conventional story and certainly no reason why he should have to be made internally consistent — not only on account of his hasty and careless technique of composition, but on account of his regular practice of setting down numerous versions of a story between which he sees no reason to decide.?' There is, therefore. no good reason to alter the text of Varro. and, as it stands, it should be allowed all due weight.

(ix) Lucan: the text of Geoffrey of Monmouth (d. 1154; ed. Griscom) 3. 10. *remansit Brennius in Italia populum inaudita tyrannide efficiens*, is echoed, as has long been recognised. by Matthew Paris (Chron. Mai. 1, 59 ed. Luard; Matthew d. 1259 and here followed directly the *Flores Historiarum* of Roger of Wendover, d. 1236): *et populum inaudita tyrannide fatigavit.*[24] But Matthew (Roger) continues: *de quo etiam Lucanus poeta eximius sic dixit: Tarpeiam cum fregerit arcem / Brennius. hic est, Capitolium.*[25] Morel inserts (not quite

[20] 'Though (?) our army was so routed that the Gauls took possession of the Capitol at Rome nor departed thence for six months.'

[21] Non. p. 338L = fr. 62 Rip.; Nonius' i was emended to ii by Popma to juxtapose the fragments on the Gallic sack. Cf. further M. J. McGann, CQ 51 (1957). 127. n. 4. 'They took two thousand pounds of gold by weight from sacred buildings and matrons' ornaments: from whom thereafter that gold and many golden torcs were brought back to Rome and dedicated.'

[22] Ogilvie (n. 7) on 5. 48. 8. (n. 5) 167: Lucc (n. 5). 293 n. 52; Momniscn. *Röm. Forsch.* 3 (Berlin. 1879), 329f.

[23] Cf. LL 5. 53 and related texts. on the etymology of the Palatine (a striking example): also Horsfall, *Antichthon* 15 (1981), 141f, and *Encicl. Virgil. s.v.* Varrone (e l'Eneide), forthcoming.

[24] Geoffrey: 'Brennius remained in Italy afflicting the population with unheard-of tyranny'; Roger: 'wearied the population with unlieartl-of tyranny'.

[25] 'Of whom too the distinguished poet Lucan speaks as follows: "when Brennius shattered the Tarpeian citadel". That is. the Capitol.' See P. Esposito, *Vichiana* 6 (1977).132ff; 0 . Skutsch. *BICS* 27 (1980); W. D. Lebek, 'Das angebliche Lucan-fragment 12 FPL (Morel)'. *Mittellat. Jhb.* 18 (1983), 226ff. Profs. Skutsch and Lebek were most generous in granting me access to their papers heforc publication, hut I still remain unconvinced by Prof. Lchek's arguments. Cf. also McGann (n. 21), 128. for a possible contest within Lucan's opus for tlie fragment, with F. Ahl, *TAPA* 102 (1971), 4ff.

mandatorily) *saevus* (*exempli gratia*) between *Tarpeiam* and *arcem* for the sake of the metre. *Fregerit arcem* is an unparalleled but not a difficult collocation,[26] and for *Tarpeiani . . . arcem* McGann (*loc. cit.*) compares Luc. 7. 758. There is, as McGann rightly insists, no *prima facie* case why Matthew (Roger) should not have cited a piece of otherwise unknown Lucan. The issue might appear to be complicated by Walter of Chatillon, *Alexandreis* 1. 12ff (1178-82):

> *At tu, cui maior genuisse Britannia reges*
> *gaudet avos, Senonum quo praesule non minor urbi*
> *nupsit honor, quam cum Romam Senonensibus armis*
> *fregit, adepturus Tarpeiam Brennius arcem,*
> *si non exciret vigiles argenteus anser.*[27]

Let us be clear: Matthew (Roger) is not citing Walter directly, nor can the text of the *Alexandreis* be used to help restore a regular caesura in Matthew's (Roger's) quotation: of the five words in common (including *fregit-fregerit* with sharply differing meanings) only *arcem* stands at the same point in the line. Perhaps more seriously, Walter's text clearly follows the traditional story of Manlius and the geese; the narrative in Geoffrey and Matthew (Roger) alike is wholly non-classical and Matthew (Roger) cites 'Lucan' in support of a completely different sequence of events, which will be altogether unfamiliar to conventional ancient historians or to readers of Livy. The climax of both is indeed the capture of Rome. but Geoffrey does not mention the Capitol. Matthew (Roger) cannot therefore be cited in support of the 'deviant' version of the Gallic sack. But is is very hard to suppose that Matthew (Roger) elegantly altered the text of Walter and ornamented it with a false attribution in order to support a story quite other than that in Walter. Far easier to suppose that Matthew's (Roger's) Lucan is indeed Lucan, cited for ornament in a moderately inappropriate context, and that the same text was also known to Walter, who could not credit the deviant version — which was in fact one beyond dispute well-known to Lucan himself, *Phars.* 5. 27[28] — and altered the text neatly, as he at least was very well able to do. to suit the familiar story. Walter, William and Matthew (Roger) all write 'Brennius'; the citation is inevitably normalised. Orthographic modernisation is no argument that Matthew (Roger) also misattributed the citation. Misattribution is of course perfectly possible; it is in no way mandatory. Even if Lucan fr. 12 succumbs to Prof. Lebek's scepticism (I confess that I do not see why it should), it is his great merit (*ad fin*) to have unearthed yet another reference to the sack of the Capitol, as will appear from his citation of Joseph Iscanus' *Antiocheis* (after 1190. 10ff).

(x) Skutsch[29] has recently pointed out new evidence in Tacitus, but Tacitus' position is in fact yet more coniplex: writing of the sack of Rome, 19 Dec. AD 69, he comments, *sedem Iovis Optimi Maximi auspicato a maioribus pignus imperii conditam, quam non Porsenna dedita urbe, neque Galli capta temerare potuissent, furore principum exscindi* (*Hist. 3.* 72. 1). The possibilities that Horatius did not keep the bridge, that Cloelia did not swim the Tiber. and that Rome fell to Porsenna emerge excitingly and are, historiographically, strikingly parallel to the

[26] TLL *s.v. frango* 1241. 78ff; McGann (n. 21), 127 n. 1

[27] 'But you [Archbishop William of Rheims], to whom great Britain rejoices to have borne kings as ancestors, with you as their lord. no less an honour embraced the city of the Senones, than when Brennius. with the arms of the Senones, shattered Rome. being about to capture the Tarpeian citadel. did not the silver goose wake the guards.'

[28] McGann compares Tac. *Ann.* 15. 41. 3 and *versus pop. trp. Suet. Ner.* 39. 2 = Morel FPL 133. 3.

[29] *JRS* 68 (1978). 93f. 'The scat of Jupiter Best and Greatest. founded after auspices by our ancestors. a pledge of empire, which neither Porsenna when the city was surrendered. nor the Gauls when it was captured. were able to defile. was destroyed hy the madness of the emperors.'

story of the fall of the Capitol in 390.[30] Tacitus earns a bouquet:" 'the scepticism of a powerful intelligence'; the story of Porsenna's success is likewise scantily attested elsewhere." But Tacitus clearly appears to suggest that the Capitol escaped during the events of 390. Yet he equally clearly knew the story that the Capitol fell, as we have recently learned: for him the question of which story to use is an issue of rhetorical appropriateness. In *JRS* 1978 (see n. 10), Skutsch drew attention to a passage in the debate about Gallic senators: Claudius (*Ann.* 11. 24. 9) paraphrases an objection which has been raised: *at cum Senonibus pugnavimus*;[33] and answers it: *scilicet Vulsci et Aequi numquam adversam nobis aciem instruxere*. The next objection he restates as: *capti a Galli sumus*; and answers it: *sed et Tuscis obsides dedimus* (cf. n. 32) *et Samnitium iugum subiimus*. The passage in the previous chapter (11. 23. 7) first stating the objection is corrupt:[34] it is transmitted as: *quid si memoria eorum moreretur qui Capitolio et ara Romana manibus eorundem per se saris oreretur*. It is quite immaterial that we are still not entirely sure what Tacitus wrote here (does the sentence end with *perissent*?); the use of *capti*, the link with Porsenna, just as at *Hist.* 3. 72, and the unquestioned reference to the Capito! make the line of argument certain. Claudius' reasoning is not in doubt; whatever the precise text, it is virtually certain that, as Skutsch suggested. Tacitus also knew and here used the 'deviant' version of the events of 390.

(xi) Three passages from Silius which may also bear upon this argument were discussed with admirable clarity by Skutsch in his 1953 article:[35]

1. 625f. *Gallisque ex arce fugatis*
arma revertentis pompa gestata Camilli.
4. 150f. *ipse tumens atavis Brenni se stirpe ferebat*
Crixus et in titulos Capitolia capta trahebat ('Prahlerei'. Norden'").
6. 555f. *Allia et infandi Senones captaeque recursat*
attonitis arcis facies.

(xii) Tert. *Apol.* 40. 9:[37] *omnes dei vestri ab omnibus colebantur cum ipsum Capitolium Senones occupaverunt* . . . The Gauls' capture of the Capitol is presented as the climax of an extended list of catastrophes in the BC period; its sources have been discussed in detail,[38] and it

[30] Cf. Skutsch (n. 2), 140.

[31] R. Syme, *Tacitus* I (Oxford, 1958). 397.

[32] Cf. Plin. 34. 139: DH **5**. 34. Liv. 2. 13. 4 does refer to the hostages.

[33] 'But we fought against the Senones' (the tribe charged in many texts with having sacked Rome: Wolski (n. 5), 32ff; Ogilvie on Liv. 5. 35. 3); '1 suppose the Volsci and Aequi never drew up their line of battle against us': 'but we were captured by the Gauls'; 'hut we also gave hostages to the Etruscans and passed under the Samnite yoke'.

[34] *Oreretur* for *moreretur*, Bach; *arce* for *ara*, Acidalius; *capto* before *Capitolio*, Skutsch. Accurate translation is not possible.

[35] Skutsch (n. 2). 138. Wolski (n. 5) advances inadequate and unconvincing explanations. 'The arms of Camillus borne in the procession on his return. when the Gauls had been chased from the citadel': 'Crixus himself, swollen with pride in his ancestors, held himself of the race of Brennus and carried the capture of the Capitol among his titles'; 'the Allia and the unspeakable Senones and the appearance of the captured citadel returned to men in their terror.

[36] Norden (n. 3), 107.

[37] Cf. G. W. Clarke. CR 81 (1967). 138. 'All your sods were worshipped by everyone when the Senones took possession of the Capitol itself.'

[38] *T*. D. Barnes. *Tertullian* (Oxford, 1971), 204ff; 'a particularly precious piccc of information' (204); *idem*, *Studia Patristica* 14 (1976), 4.

emerges as beyond question the product of wide reading: this reference is not a 'mere' rhetorical flourish.'"

Lastly. we must consider Simylus, an elegist of increasingly less uncertain date,[40] quoted by Plut. *Rom.* 17. 5,[41] who could certainly be interpreted as lending oblique support to the case here argued:

ἡ 6' ἀγχοῦ Τάρπεια παραὶ Καπιτώλιον αἶπος
  ναίουσα Ῥώμης ἔπλετο τειχολέτις,
Κελτῶν ἣ στέρξασα yαρήλια λέκτρα γενέσθαι
  σκηπτούχῳ, πατέρων οὐκ ἐφύλαξε δόμους.
καὶ μετ᾽ ὀλίγα περὶ τῆς τελευτῆς:
τὴν 6' οὔτ᾽ ἄρ᾽ Βόϊοι τε καὶ ἔνθεα μύρια Κελτῶν
  χήραμενοι ῥείθρων ἐντος ἔθεντο Πάδου·
ὅπλα 6' ἐπιπροβαλόντες ἀρειμανέων ἀπὸ χειρῶν
  κούρῃ ἐπὶ στυγερῇ κόσμον ἔθεντο φόνον.[42]

This passage is beset with problems." Tarpeia traditionally betrays Rome to the Sabines in the time of Romulus.[44] Her motive is given either as greed for the Sabines' ornaments, by which she is crushed to death. or, uniquely, by Prop. 4. 4. as love for the Sabine general, Titus Tatius.[45] Propertius' story is of an extremely familiar and widespread type, both in Graeco-Roman literature and elsewhere..'" but there exists no parallel for its application to Tarpeia in the context of Romulean Rome."

The traditional story of Tarpeia and the *armillae* raises a number of formal problems: the story stands in conflict with the fact that the Romans did not yet. in the time of Romulus, occupy the Capitol; it conflicts also with the traditional austerity of the Sabines, who may

[39] I still hope to discuss elsewhere disaster-catalogues in Christian apologetic: tlie capture of tlie Capitol is not attested elsewhere despite its polemic advantages, but that is a product not of the episode's non-esistence. but of the fathers' casual and unscholarly historical reading.

[40] Parsons and Lloyd-Jones do not commit themselves ('possibly imperial'): 'Hellenistic', O. Rossbach, *NJhb* 7 (1901), 416. But (cf. n. 45 below) a case might be made for the influence of Prop. 4. 4: cf. G. W. Williams. *Change and Decline* (Berkeley, 1978). 132.

[41] *Suppl. Hell.* 724: cf. E. Norden, KI. *Schr.* (Berlin, 1966). 382 n. 61; A. D. Momigliano, *Quarto Contributo* (Rome, 1969), 482.

[42] A. La Penna, *SCO* 6 (1956), 116f; Mielentz. *PW s.v.* Tarpcia. 2333. 63ff; Rossbach, *loc. cit.* (n. 40); Ogilvic on Liv. 1. 11. 5-9; J. Gage, *Matronalia* (*Coll. Lat.* 60. Brussels, 1963). 217; M. E. Huhbard, *Propertius* (London. 1974), 119ff; J. Poucet, *Recherches sur* lo *légende Sabine des origines de Rome* (Kinshasa. 1967), 114ff.

[43] 'Tarpeia who dwelt near the Capitoline rock became the destroyer of Rome, she who longed to become the bride of the lord of the Celts did not watch over tlie homes of her forebears.' And after a little, about her end: 'her, rejoicing, tlie Boii and numberless tribes of the Celts did not establish within tlie streams of the Po, but casting forward their armour from their warlike hands they made ornament death upon the hated maiden'. See. above all. H. A. Sanders. *University of Michigan Studies. Humanistic Series* 1 (1904). 22f; his collection of material on Tarpcin is unmatched, but his approach is vitiated by a rigid and untenable source-analysis. Cf. too Momigliano (n. 41), 479ff; K. Miilllcr. MH 20 (1963). 114ff; F. E. Brenk. in *Studies in Latin Literature*, cd. C. Deroux (*Coll. Lor.* 164, Brussels. 1979). 1.1 66f; W. Burkert, *Structure and History* (Bcrkcley, 1979). 761:

[44] The story is at least as old as Fabius, fr. XP: cf. Cincius fr. 5P, both *ap.* D H 2. 38ff.

[45] Motives: Mielentz (n. 42), 2331. 52ff. Is Propertius' version original'? Much depends on the date of Simylus (cf. n. 40); cf. Huhhnrd. *loc. cit.* (n. 42). E. Rolidc. *Der griech. Roman* (Hildesheim, 1960). 82, and F. Münzer, *Cacus der Rinderdieb* (Basel, 1911), 9. suggestively compare Propertius' idiosyncratic development of tlie story of Cacus (4. 9). Cf. further Mielentz (n. 42). 2337. 19ff; Sanders (n. 43), IX: La Penna (n. 42), 116; P. Parsons and H. Lloyd-Jones in *Kyklos, Festschr. Keydell* (Berlin. 1978), XX.

[46] Mielentz (n. 42), 2337. 59ff; Rohdc. *loc. cit.* (n. 45); Sanders (n. 43), 18, 27ff; Ogilvic (n. 7). 74: and. especially, A. H. Krappe. *RhM* 78 (1929), 249ff. Cf. too Poucet (n. 42). 115: G. Dumézil, *Tarpeia* (Paris. 1947), 282ff.

[47] *Pace* Ogilvie (n. 7), 74: Antigonus, *FGrH* 816 F 2 = Plut. *Rom.* 17. 5, does not make love for the enemy general her motive: not Ant. 'of Carystos': so Ogilvic. '? after Mielentz. 2333. 53. See *FGrH*, *loc. cit.*; Sanders (n. 34). 7: La Penna (n. 33). 120 n. 27.

indeed have worn enticing ornaments, but will not have been thought to;'' and thirdly, the story overrides the traditional association of *armillae* with the Gauls.[49] All these apparent difficulties are avoided in Simylus' version, with Tarpeia enamoured of a fourth century Gaul.''' To this version there exist at first sight two analogues:

(i) Schol. Luc. 1. 196, *Capitolium autem dicitur a quadam virgine quae Tarpeia vocabatur, a Gallis quondam interfecta*,[51] but this text may itself derive ultimately from Simylus, for the scholia from which it comes display a good deal of learning from Greek sources. with Plutarch not excluded.[52]

(ii) Clitophon of Rhodes, *Galatika* (?) 1 (*FGrH* 293 F 1 = (Plut.) Par-. *Min.* 15 = *Mor.* 309B-C. Cf. Stob. Flor-. 10. 71):

> Brennus the king of the Galatians. when he was ravaging Asia. came to Ephesus and fell in love with a maiden Demonice. She promised to satisfy his desires and also to betray Ephesus. if he would give her the Gauls' bracelets and feminine ornaments. But Brennus requested his soldiers to throw into the lap of the avaricious woman the gold they were wearing. This they did and she was buried alive by the abundance of gold they were wearing.

The motives of gold and love are here hopelessly confused and Salomon Reinach described the passage as 'd'une absurdité révoltante'.[53] Though Clitophon, like Simylus. does refer to Gauls, the story cannot be pinned down in historical terms; it does not belong to Brennus' invasion of Greece in 280-79, for Asia Minor was spared;'.' it cannot confidently be connected with the Galatian descent on coastal Asia Minor in 277-5,[55] and indeed we are under no very strong obligation to try to locate the romantic episode in a real context of events, for Clitophon is after all a *Schwindelautor*, and has indeed been recognised as such for a long time.[56] Demonice's literary ancestry is irretrievably confused: she may in part be a bastard offspring of the traditional Tarpeia story. At all events, she is wholly the creation of bogus-*Wissenschaft* and spurious ingenuity,[57] and she has no independent existence or value. Without Demonice, Simylus' Tarpeia stands quite alone, like Propertius', and as in the case of Propertius. we may wonder whether she was derived. or was the product of studied originality and unorthodoxy. At first sight, however, Simylus' account has much to commend it: in the fourth century. the Capitol is inhabited by the Romans and the *armillae* are worn, as they should be, by the Gauls. And if we acknowledge Simylus' as an old and independent version of the story (and not merely as an elegantly innovative piece of learned originality), then we may begin to speculate. Was Tarpeia the original betrayer of 390? Did the story of Manlius then displace her'? And was she thus forced back into the Romulean period? Or was that where she had originally belonged and was she brought down to 390 to lessen the shame of the Capitol's fall, as Sinon's

[48] Hubbard (n. 42). 120: Ogilvie (n. 7). 74f.

[49] It is a myth advanced by Rumpf (*JHS* 71 (1951), 168; cf. Ogilvie. *loc. cit.*) that according to DH the Subines had taken over luxury from the Etruscans: at 2. 38. 2, DH says only that the Sabines wcrc not less luxurious than the Etruscans: cf. Poucet (n. 42), 111 n. 194.

[50] DS *s.v.*; Plb. 2.29. 8; DS 5. 27. 3: Liv. 24. 43. X: Claud. Quad. fr. 10bP.

[51] 'The Capitol is also called Tarpeium from a girl who was called Tarpeia, once killed by the Gauls.' *Supplementum adnotationum super Lucanum*, ed. Cavajoni (Milan, 1979), 37.

[52] Sanders (n. 43), 23.

[53] *Cultes, mythes et religions* 3 (Paris. 1908). 252f.

[54] PW *s.v.* Brennus (3).

[55] Cf. Droysen and Nicsc *ap.* Jacoby *ad loc.*; also G. Nachtergael, *Les Galates en Grèce (Brussels, 1977)*, 51 n. 119. a reference for which I am grateful to Dr S. Sherwin-White.

[56] Jacoby. comm. *ad init.*, *idem s.v. PW* (3). *idem Mnem.* 3. X (1940). 73ff.

[57] W. Speyer, *Die literarische Falschung* (Munich. 1975), 75ff; Horsfall, *JHS* 99 (1979), 43.

treachery served to assuage tlie shock to pride and courage of Troy's fall (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2. 196ff)? And was she then — but for Simylus' poem — displaced by the story of Manlius?

But tlie story cannot be made to bear so much weight. It is no real objection to the traditional Tarpeia-story that the Romans are located on the Capitol in the reign of Romulus: in our texts the hill is frequently enough associated with Romulean Rome and no topographical difficulty can have been sensed in the 'normal' story of Tarpeia.[58] I am made suspicious of Simylus' story by his artful blending of two distinct motives — love and greed — kept separate in all other accounts of the episode, into a single version:'" it is tempting to wonder whether Simylus map not have concocted tlie story just because he knew of the lavish and familiar Gallic *armillae* and wanted to achieve independence and originality in his treatment of Tarpeia. One might also. by contrast. consider whether tlie *armillae* of the Sabines in the traditional version might not be the product of the widespread antiquarian urge to find Sabine antecedents for so many Roman social and military practices — in this case, perhaps the wearing of honorific military decorations, however simple originally, on the arm. perhaps prompted by some faint knowledge of Italic gold ornaments.""

The 'rightness' of Simylus' version. which has excited recent enquirers a good deal, does not, I think, withstand sceptical analysis. That is a pity: did it emerge as the sole representative of an old and independent tradition. then it would be very simple to argue that the Gauls' success and Tarpeia's treachery had stood conjoined, till displaced by the classical geese.

The archaeological evidence. both positively and negatively. is entirely inconclusive. 'Damage' in the Forum is not (see below) as convincing as once it seemed.[61] On the Capitol. only one site. the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, has been explored in sufficient detail, and it was already clear from the literary evidence that few or no traces of damage by fire would be found, for the Carthaginian treaty of 509 perhaps survived there:"?and when in 83 BC the temple was rebuilt, the original sixth century foundations were used.[63] Archaeologists no longer acknowledge any surviving traces of the Gallic sack in the Forum; the references to total destruction in the literary tradition (Plut. *Cam.* 31. 1 is perhaps the most extreme) rest upon inference not evidence. There are therefore no relevant deductions to be drawn from the archaeological material.'*

But the literary evidence for the Gauls' capture of the Capitol stands firm without archaeological assistance. Students of early Rome have not been eager to welcome this new datum: 'The story of Manlius and the geese is the authentic stuff of history.'" 'Une hypothèse faiblement fondée du point de vue de la critique et de la vraisemblance historique.'[66] 'Perhaps not enough consideration has been given to the possibility of poetical or rhetorical exaggeration

[58] References in Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography s.v.* Rorna. 729: G. Lugli. *Fontes* 6 (Rome, 1965). 101ff. See. for instance. Liv. 1. 12. 1; DH 1. 85. 4. 2. 37. 1, 38. 1; Plut. *Rom.* 18. 21'. Note Tac. *Ann.* 12. 24. 2, *forumque Romanum et Capitolium non a Romulo sed a Tito Tatio additum urbi credidere*: the form of the sentence implies that Tac. knew of those who thought the Capitol a Romulean addition.

[59] Cf. E. Pais, *Ancient legends of Roman history* (London. 1906). 102. Reinach (n. 53). 251, points to Polyaen. 8. 25. 1 and Fest. p.363M for another connexion between Titus Tatius and Brennus.

[60] Rumpf (n. 49). 168f. 171: Gagé (n. 42). 213; *PW s.v. armillae* (v. Domaszewski).

[61] Ogilvie (n. 7). 751: L. G. Roberts. ***MAAR*** 2 (1918). 58ff.

[62] Plb. 3. 22.

[63] DH 4. 61.4: Tac. *Hist.* 3. 72.

[64] M. Torelli, *I Galli nell' Italia* (Rome, 1978). 227: F. Coarelli, ***ihicl.,*** 229. and *PP* 124 (1977). 181f. I am most grateful to Prof. T. P. Wiseman for these references.

[65] Ogilvie (n. 7). 734.

[66] Wolski (n. 5). 45.

in these instances.'[67] 'How this version (that the Capitol fell) dealt with Manlius and the geese is not known; presumably they were simply left out. At any rate for our purposes it may be ignored.'[68]

Nothing has been done either to discredit Skutsch's evidence in detail (too much has now been accumulated for that to be a real option), or to try to integrate the version he has isolated into a revaluation of the legends of the Gallic sack. In historiographical terms, the situation is of course striking: both capture and non-capture are attested. both triumph and disaster, survival and indignity.

It may be helpful to compare:

(i) The mediaeval legend of Belisarius, which began to develop in the seventh century, in which the campaigns against the Persians; Vandals and Goths are forgotten and Belisarius rebuilds Constantinople, is imprisoned for three years, invades England, but is then blinded — so that his son Alexios rescues the state from a Persian invasion (after which, however. Belisarius is found as a blind beggar by ambassadors from abroad). Every important feature of the historical Belisarius' record comes to be lost. or distorted fundamentally.""

(ii) The story of Roland:[70] in Einhard's *Life of Charlemagne* (§ 9), *Hruodlandus Britannici limitis praefectus* was one of a number of distinguished casualties in Charlemagne's severe defeat by the Basques in the Pyrenees on 15 Aug. 778. It took three hundred years of development for Roncevaux to become a great Christian victory, during which the minstrel Taillefer actually sang of Charlemagne, Roland and Oliver to hearten the Normans at Hastings.[71] Here we have a comparable reversal of historical fact as the end-product of an extended period of heroisation and romanticisation. We should therefore enquire whether there are comparable indications of how capture is turned into survival and how a Gallic *coup de main* becomes a Roman victory. It is altogether implausible — and entirely unparalleled in Roman pseudo-history — that an original national victory had been recast as a catastrophic and embarrassing loss of the greatest national shrine.[72]

The story of the geese is itself of a familiar type;[73] in early Icelandic literature. the warning role is taken by a golden cock, conceivably under indirect Livian influence. Attention has been drawn[74] to an attack by Philip on Byzantium in 346 BC, when the alarm was raised by dogs; one might also wish to compare Agesipolis' use of dogs to enforce his blockade of Mantinea by night,[75] the dogs used for Aratus' defence of Acrocorinth,[76] and the key role played by the gardener's little dogs in Aratus' projected attack on Sicyon.[77] There is, moreover. gentle

[67] Luce (n. 5). 291 n. 41.

[68] T. P. Wiseman, ***His!.*** 28 (1979). 39.

[69] H.- G. Beck. *Gesch. der byz. Volksliteratur* (Munich. 1971). 150ff; B. Knös, *Eranos* 58 (1960). 237ff. I am most grateful to Dr M. Jeffreys for alerting me to the existence of this legend and for assisting me with references.

[70] Charmingly surveyed in D. D. ***R.*** Owen, *The legend of Roland* (London. 1973). 34ff. Cf. further J. J. Duggan, *A guide to studies on the Chanson de Roland* (London. 1976). 97ff; J. Bddier. *Les légendes épiques*, 33 (Paris. 1929), 185ff; ***R.*** Menendez Pidal. ***La*** *Chanson de Roland* (French tr.. Paris, 1960). 181ff; M. de Piquer. *Les Chansons de Geste Françaises* (Paris. 1957). ***21***ff; ***R.*** Fawtier. ***La*** *Chanson de Roland* (Paris. 1933). IX1ff.

[71] Menendez Pidal (n. 70), 271, etc.

[72] I am most grateful to Mr M. Walkley for assistance.

[73] For parallels and analogues. cf. Stith Thompson. *Motif-Index of Folk-literature* I. 2nd. ed. (Copenhagen, 1955), b.521. 3. 3. 143. 1. 5.

[74] Ogilvie (n. 7), 734; actually narrated by Hcsychius of Miletus, *FGrH* 390 F 1 § 27: cf. Schaefer, *Demosthenes u. seine* ***Zeir*** 22 (repr. Hildcshcim. 1966). 511.

[75] Polyaenus 2. 25.

[76] Plut. *Arat.* 24. 1.

[77] Plut. *Arat.* 5. 5, 6. 3. 7. 4f. 8. 1f.

discussion of the merits of dogs as against geese as guard animals in writers on warfare and on natural history, not least since the dogs failed, as we shall shortly see, in **390.**'[77]

No difficulty. then, in inventing an appropriate type of story to account for the survival of the Capitol. It has also been observed[78] that parallels are to be drawn between. for example, Livy's account of the Gallic attack on Rome and the Persians' sack of Athens: 'in particular the resemblance between the massacre of the senators and the liquidation of those Athenians who had taken refuge on the Acropolis, and between the abortive attempt on the Capitol (*sic*) and the successful ascent of the Acropolis is to be noted' (Ogilvie *loc. cit.*). I would add that further parallels should be drawn between the flight to Caere (Liv. 5. **40)** and the flight to Salamis — amid closely parallel scenes of distress.[80] But especially to be noted is the story of the serpent: 'it is said by the Athenians that a great snake lies in their temple to guard the Acropolis: in proof whereof. they do ever duly set out a honey cake as a monthly offering for it: this cake had ever before been consumed, but was now left untouched.'[81] So the Athenians thought the goddess had deserted them and were the readier to flee. The priests, suggests Plutarch, were told what to say by Themistocles.[82] At Rome, on the other hand, the geese were fed despite the famine: *pietas* was preserved: the sacred geese gave the alarm; the citadel was saved. Thus the traditional version — almost as though in calculated antithesis to the story of Athena's serpent.

The geese are at the heart of the matter: the Gauls. wrote Livy, climbed so quietly, *ut non custodes solum fallerent, sed ne canes quidem, sollicitum animal ad nocturnos strepitus, excitarent, anseres non fefellere quibus sacris Iunonis in summa inopia cibi tamen abstinerentur* (Liv. 5. **47. 3).** From this text, it would appear that the dogs were common secular mutts, and that the geese were already there and sacred to Juno in **390."** But with what temple were they associated? Mommsen referred confidently[84] to 'the holy geese of Capitoline Juno'. and Schwegler[85] asserted that their connexion with the Capitoline temple 'liegt in der Natur der Sache'. But there is no text which explicitly confirms the point. The rival claims of Juno Moneta will be considered shortly.

At a later stage, geese and dogs were both involved in a commemorative ritual, on whose detail we are copiously and variously informed: the Gauls were held to have fired Rome on 19 July: the traditional chronology[86] points to a siege from July to the following February[87] but Lydus curiously (*Mens.* **4. 114)** places the ritual on **3** Aug. Minor variants aside. the geese,

[78] A. P. 7.125 (Antip. Sid.); Arist. HA 488b 23. geese are αἰσχυντηλὰ καὶ φυλακτικά; Aen. Tac. 22. 20: Ael. *NA* 12. 33: Veg. 4. 26: Plin. 10. 51. 29. 57.

[79] Ogilvie (n. 7), 720; G. Thourct. *Jhb. XI.* **Phil.** Suppl. 11 (1880), 139f.

[80] Plut. *Them.* 10: Hdt. 8. 41, 51: Aristides. *Panath.* 121 (= Dindorf 1. 224f); *On the four,* **2.** 256f Dindorf: C. Hignett. *Xerxes' Invasion of Greece* (Oxford. 1963). 199f; P. Green. *Year of Salamis* (London. 1970). 160f, 166f; A. R. Burn. *Persia and the Greeks,* (London, 1962), 429ff; **R.** J. Lenardon. *Saga of Themistocles* (London. 1978). 67f.

[81] Hdt. 8. 41 (Loch tr.).

[82] Plut. *Them.* 10. 1; Burn (n. 80). 430; A. Podlecki, *Life of Themistocles* (Montreal, 1975). 106.

[83] Geese sacred to Juno: cf. too DS 14. 116. 6; DH 13. 7: Plut. *Fort. Rom.* 325c; Plut. *Cam.* 27. 2: Lyd. *Mag.* 1. 50: also G. Giannelli, *Bull. Com.* 87 (1980-1), 10, a reference for which I am grateful to John McIsaac: Plut. refers to a *neos,* DH ***to a*** *temenos,* but neither author specifies further, nor of course does Virgil identify temple and colonnades in 8. 652ff: there the impression of spaciousness is epic grandeur and should not be taken as evidence for the Capitoline temple.

[84] *Hermes* 13 (1878), 533.

[85] Schwegler (n. 6). 3. 259 n. 2.

[86] Ogilvie (n. 7), 736: Schwegler (n. 6). 254f; Rohcrts (n. 61), 65f; E. Kornemann, *Klio* 11 (1911), 335f.

[87] Fasti Polem. Silv. *s.v.* Feb. 13.

amid purple and gold[88] were carried on litters. while dogs were impaled or crucified on elder-stakes.[89] The ritual clearly survived till Plutarch's time and the use of the present tense by Arnobius and Ambrose suggests that it went on a good deal longer.[90] The geese were fed by the censors: it was the first of their duties to put out the contracts.'" The dogs were likewise maintained at state expense,"? though it might seem from Cicero that they had acquired a custodial function. and the place of their sacrifice, in the Circus Maximus,[93] is as hard to explain as the date.'"

It is often stated that the geese were sacred to Juno Moneta.'" The temple of Juno Moneta was dedicated in 345,[96] and it seems increasingly likely (see below) that there had been some earlier cult of Juno on the site, but the story of the geese is not itself an argument, since the avoidance of anachronisms is not a characteristic of aetiological stories.'" Bonier rightly observes that there is not a word to connect the geese explicitly with Juno Moneta,[98] and negatively. it is worth observing that though Cicero twice connects Moneta with *monere* (*Div.* 1. 101. 2. 69). the warning is of an earthquake, not of the Gauls' assault.""

The one piece of artistic evidence""" is no more secure: an Antonine relief from Ostia[101] shows two and a half agitated geese in front of a temple. But there is no compulsion to suppose that this must have been the temple of Juno Moneta. though possibly a mid-second century AD artist may have had that temple in mind. The geese are therefore not precisely located. and they do not in themselves provide evidence for a cult of Juno involving geese on tlie Arx prior to 390. though it seems likely from the archaeological evidence that some cult in Juno's honour did pre-exist the temple of 345 (Giannelli (n. 83), 17f).

We may also note that though the Gauls' upward route is variously recorded. it is of no assistance to us in determining the location of the geese:

(i) The Gauls reach the summit of the Capitol by means of a tunnel: Manlius, woken by the geese. ejects them from the temple;[102] though it might appear that the Capitoline temple was meant. it is not so specified.""

(ii) They climb the Tarpeian rock, on the SE side of the *arx* (ie. the northern summit of the hill. overlooking the Forum); a late version of the story.""

[88] Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* X 652: Plut. *Fort. Rom.* 325d; Aug. *Civ. Dei* 2. 22. See further F. Castagnoli, *Arch. Laz.* 3 (1980), 165. Serv.'s reference (*ad. Aen.* X 655) to a silver goose on the Capitol looks very much like an invention perpetrated to 'explain' Virgil's test.

[89] Serv. Dan. *loc. cit.*; Plin. 29. 57; Plut. *loc. cit.* On *sabucus*, see Lucil. 733 (*infelix*); J. Bremmer HSCP 87 (1983), 308.

[90] Plut. *loc. cit.*; Arnob. 6. 20: Ambr. *Hex.* 5. 13. 44.

[91] Cic. *Rosc. Amer.* 56; Arnob. *loc. cit.*; Plin. 10. 51 (cf. Plut. QR 98), 29. 57.

[92] Cic. *loc. cit.*; Arnob. *loc. cit.*

[93] Plin. 29. 57. Cf. Lytl. *Mag.* 1. 50. who refers to a horse-race, and Schwegler (n. 6). 259 n. 3.

[94] G. Wissowa. *Religion u. Kultus* (Munich. 1912), 190.

[95] Cf. too Gagé (n. 42). 211; Ogilvie (n. 7); Thulin, *PW* 10. 1 1 IX: Becatti (n. 101), 33.

[96] Cf. Thulin *loc. cit.* (n. 95); cf. Schwegler (n. 6). 259f. On the temple. cf. Giannelli (n. 83), 711; F. Coarelli, *Il foro Romano* (Rome. 1983), 104ff.

[97] Wissowa (n. 94). 190 n. 10.

[98] On Ov. F. 1. 453: obscured, H. H. Scullard, *Festivals and Ceremonies* (London, 1981), 177.

[99] Cf. Gagé (n. 42). 211; Giannelli (n. 83), 351. n. 129.

[100] E. Nush, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* 1 (Tübingen, 1961), 5161.

[101] Nash *loc. cit.*; G. Becatti, *Bull. Com.* 71 (1943-5), 31ff. Ostia Museum No. 620.

[102] Lyd. *Mens.* 4. 114, Mop. 1 50: Cic. *Dom.* 101, *Phil.* 3. 20. etc.: Wiseman (n. 68), 39f.

[103] Not even the cusc in Lyd. *Mens.* lot.. *cit.*

[104] Liv. 6. 17. 4: Wiseman (n. 68), 41ff.

(iii) In the version of (?) Quadrigarius, as reflected by Livy and Plutarch,[105] they climb up the cliff nearest the Porta Carmentalis, at the SW end of the hill, overlooking the Forum Boarium.[106]

None of these versions points unambiguously to either one of the temples considered. The goose seems not to be connected with Juno elsewhere. An effort has therefore been made to locate the geese of 390 elsewhere on the Capitol: in the *auguraculum*, 'a place where divination was held *ex tripudiis*, by the manner in which birds treated their food'.[107] It is indeed true that for *auspicia ex tripudiis*, no specific birds were required,[108] and it is also true that there was an *auguraculum* on the Capitol."' But an *auguraculum* was only 'ein eigenes, für ihr Kultakte bestimmte Lokal',[110] that is to say, it was a place, in general, for taking auspices, and there is no reason to suppose that the Capitoline *auguraculum* was a permanently established sacred poultry yard of the city of Rome. Moreover. *signa ex tripudiis* are observed primarily for convenience, by generals on campaign, notably:"' it is not clear why Ogilvie (n. 107) wished to import them to the Capitoline *auguraculum*, nor am *I* persuaded either that the goose was an augural bird, or that the *auguraculum* has been found (*aliter*, Giannelli, n. 109). The *auguraculum* is better, therefore, altogether divorced from this argument.

We are not even really clear why geese should be connected with Juno at all, though their alleged modesty and domesticity are attested."' But if the geese had in origin been domestic (and there is no reason why there should not have been, as Prof. Ogilvie suggests to me, an ordinary domestic goose-pen appropriately sited on the Capitol), then it is very hard to see why the connexion with Juno (not, after all, one generally known) should have developed.

It has been suggested that the story of Manlius and the geese is aetiological,[113] either to explain the ritual of the geese and the dogs, or to account for the *cognomen* Capitolinus among the Manlii.[114] The *cognomen* predates the hero of 390 and is most simply explained from the fact that the Manlii lived there."' A simple and conclusive answer does not lie ready to hand.

M. Manlius was disgraced and put to death in 384. On the site of his house on the *arx*, by the Aracoeli church (cf. Giannelli (n. 83). 13ff), the temple of Juno Moneta was put up in 345, by the dictator and *magister equitum* of that year in commemoration of a victory over the Aurunci: they were L. Furius Camillus. nephew or son of the dictator of 390 (PW *s.v.* 41/42). and Cn. Manlius Capitolinus respectively."" The story of the events of 390 is already full enough of doublets. and another might in some form lurk here: certainly the building of a temple to Juno, where Manlius' house had stood, by a Manlius and a Camillus, could be both a powerful stimulus to the creation of legend and a potent source of error.

[105] Liv. 5. 46. 9. 47. 2: Plut. *Cam.* 25; Wiseman (n. 68), 40f.

[106] Cf. further T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics* (Leicester, 1979). 36. and *AJAH* 3 (1978). 169.

[107] Ogilvie (n. 7). 733: Olck. *PW s.v.* Gans, 722. 41ff; W. Richter, ***KI.*** *P. s.v.* Gans.

[108] Cic. *Div.* 2. 73: Wissowa (n. 94). 532 n. 5, 530 n. 3.

[109] Paul. exc. Fcst. p. 17. 14L; Varr. ***LL*** 7. 18; Wissowa (n. 94). 524 n. 6: Coarelli (n. 87), 100ff. Giannelli (n. 83). 19ff, docs not convince.

[110] Wissowa (n. 94). 524: *quod ibi augures publice auspicarentur*, Paul. *loc. cit.*

[111] Pease on Cic. *Div.* 1. 27: Wissowa (n. 94). 532.

[112] Wissowa (n. 94), 190 n. 10; Thulin, *loc. cit.* (n. 95): Gagé (n. 42), 207: Plin. 10. 44; Petron. 137: Arist. HA *loc. cit.* (n. 78).

[113] Schwegler (n. 6), 259f.

[114] Münzer, *PW s.v.* Manlius 1168; Ogilvie (n. 7), 694. 734: Schwegler (n. 6). 258 n. 3.

[115] Wiseman (n. 68), 39f; I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki, 1965), 183, with 19f; B. Doer. ***Die*** *röm. Namengebung* (Stuttgart, 1937). 48: Giannelli (n. 83). 33.

[116] The coincidence is noted by Gagé (n. 42). 207f, but he makes nothing of it.

We should start from the assumption that there were no geese, that Manlius failed, and that the Capitol fell. Four years later, moreover, disgrace and execution. Beyond that, there is only speculation.

We have no idea when the story of the geese developed: evidently before Fabius Pictor (n.15). The motive could have been to re-habilitate Manlius or the Manlii, but rehabilitation may have been no more than a by-product. Though it has been stressed that there is no specific evidence to connect the geese with the temple of Juno Moneta. the coincidence of names is very seductive. Were the geese connected historically with the temple of 345, and if the temple was raised. or thought to have been raised, on the site of Manlius' house,"' then it is easy to see the glimmerings of how the story might have begun: it was creditable to Rome and to the Manlii — and in its later, expanded form to the Camilli. But the story of Manlius and the geese does not seem very early: this is particularly so if I am right in suggesting Greek. if not specifically Herodotean, influence.

The temple geese need not originally have been carried in any splendid procession: their feeding by censorial contract will not always have been connected with their role in rousing the Capitol's defenders; equally the crucufixion of the dogs and the story of their failure to rouse the guards will not have been integrally connected from the first. Schwegler's suggestion that the story explains the origin of the rituals is not mandatory (n. 113). The growth of a popular and patriotic tale could lead to a more complex pattern of growth: some simple ritual involving geese. in honour of Juno Moneta. some sacrifice of dogs. common in Roman religion,[118] could even have developed under the influence of the story into the remarkable procession which so outraged Arnobius. Such a development will have been made possible by the patriotic appeal. the charm, the poignancy of the story, even though there always remained those who knew that the geese had never cackled. But this historical scepticism could not affect the growth of ritual and legend conjoined; the growth of a national folklore was irresistible.

[117] Gagé (n. 42) 207f; Ogilvie on Liv. 3. 7. 12.

[118] Wissowa (n. 94) index *s.v.* Hundeopfer.

MYTH AND RITUAL IN ANCIENT ROME: THE NONAE CAPRATINAE

The most interesting contemporary analyses of Greek religion often concern the complicated relation of myth and ritual, which has been greatly illuminated from narrative, structuralist and functionalist points of view.[1] These new approaches have been hardly applied to Roman myth and ritual which. although less rich in data. presents similar possibilities as an analysis of the Nonae Capratinae. a festival of the Roman matrons and their handmaidens, may illustrate. Until now this festival has defied the best scholars of Roman religion,[2] but modem anthropological insights can significantly further our insights as the present investigation hopes to show.

The myth and the ritual of the festival are described by Plutarch in his *Life of Camillus* (c. 29, tr. B. Perrin), whom we shall quote first:

> They were not yet done with these pressing tasks when a fresh war broke upon them. The Aequians, Volscians. and Latins burst into their territory all at once. and the Etruscans laids siege to Sutrium, a city allied with Rome. The military tribunes in command of the army, having encamped near Mt. Marcius, were besieged by the Latins. and were in danger of losing their camp. Wherefore they sent to Rome for aid. and Camillus was appointed dictator for the third time. Two stories are told about this war. and I will give the fabulous one first. They say that the Latins. either as a pretext for war, or because they really wished to revive the ancient affinity between the two peoples. sent and demanded from the Ronians free-born virgins in marriage. The Romans were in doubt what to do. for they dreaded war in their unsettled and unrestored condition. and yet they suspected that this demand for wives was really a call for hostages disguised under the specious name of intermarriage. In their perplexity, a handmaiden nanied Tutula, or, as some call her. Philotis, advised the magistrates to send her to the enemy with some of the most attractive and noble looking handmaidens, all arrayed like free-born brides; she would attend to the rest. The magistrates yielded to her persuasions, chose as many handmaidens as she thought nieet for her purpose, arrayed them in fine raiment and gold. and handed them over to the Latins. who were encamped near the city. In the night, the rest of the maidens stole away the enemy's swords. while Tutula, or Philotis. climbed a wild fig-tree of great height, and after spreading out her cloak behind her. held out a lighted torch towards Rome. this being the signal agreed upon between her and the magistrates. though no other citizen knew of it. Hence it was that the soldiers sallied out of the city tumultuously. as the magistrates urged them on, calling out one another's names, and with much ado getting into rank and file. They stormed the entrenchments of the enemy. who were fast asleep and expecting nothing of the sort, captured their camp. and slew most of them. This happened on the Nones of what was then called Quintilis. now July, and the festival since held on that day is in remembrance of the exploit. For.

[1] It may bc sufficient here to refer to the work of Walter Burkert.

[2] Cf. F. Bömer, *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom* III (Wiesbaden, 1961). 187: `Voraussetzungen und zahlreiche Einzelheiten (of the festival) sind unklar und trotz minutiöser Untersuchungen der besten Fachkenncr kaum mehr mit Sicherhcit zu deuten.` Bibliography: S. Weinstock, RE 17 (1937), 849-859 (with carlicr bibliography): V. Basanoff. 'Nonae Caprotinae'. *Latomus* 8 (1949), 209-216; W. Bühler, 'Die doppelte Erzählung des Aitions dcr Nonae Caprotinae bci Plutarch', *Maia* 14 (1962), 271-282; H. Kenncr. *Das Phänomen der verkehrten Welt in der griechisch-römischen Antike* (Klagenfurt, 1970): D. Porte, 'Le devin, son bouc ct Junon'. REL 51 (1973). 171-189: G. Dumézil, *Fêtes Romaines d'été et d'automne* (Paris. 1975), 271-283 (incorporating the study by P. Drossart. KHR 185, 1974, 119-139); H. Erkell, *Op. Rom.* 13 (1981), 38f; F. Graf. *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome, 1985), 310: N. Robertson. 'The Nones of July and Roman Weather Magic', MH 44 (1987), 8-41. Except for Graf, none of these studies is very helpful.

> to begin with. they run out of the city gate in throngs. calling out many local and common names. such as Gaius. Marcus. Lucius, and the like. in imitation of the way the soldiers once sallied aloud upon each other in their haste. Nest, the handmaidens, in gay attire, run about jesting and joking with the men they meet. They have a mock battle. too. with one another, implying that they once took a hand in the struggle with the Latins. And as they feast they sit in the shade of a fig-tree's branches. The day is called 'Nonae Capratinae'. from the wild fig-tree. as they suppose. from which the maid held forth her torch: this goes by the name of *caprificus*. But others say that most of what is said and done at this festival has reference to the fate of Romulus. For on this same day he vanished from sight. outside the city gates. in sudden darkness and tempest. and. as some think. during an eclipse of the sun. The day. they say. is called the 'Nonae Capratinae' from the spot where he thus vanished. For the she-goat goes by the name of *capra*, and Romulus vanished from sight while harranguing an assembly of the people at the Goat's Marsh. as has been stated in his *Life* (c.27).

Whereas Plutarch evidently considered the myth of the festival important. modern handbooks of Roman religion do not pay much attention to it: neither is their description of the festival very complete.' Understandably, they all mention the sacrifice; they also give the sham fights. Regarding the other details, however. their information leaves much to be desired. as the following enumeration of their omissions may demonstrate: Wissowa: the begging and the change of clothes: Latte: the feasting and the joking with the males: Dumézil: the feasting, the begging, the chance of clothes and the joking with rhe males. In addition. none discusses or even mentions the problem of the exact name of the festival. Plutarch and a first century inscription (CIL IV. 1555) call the festival Nonae Caprotinae; Capratinus (not: Caprotinus) is also a popular cognomen in imperial times. On the other hand. the manuscripts of Macrobius and his probable source Varro write Nonae Caprotinae. Since Varro is also the only author who mentions the sacrifice to Iuno Caprotina. the inference seems not unlikely that he adapted the name of the festival slightly to suit its connection with the goddess. A close parallel is the name of the Roman foundation festival (cf. below). Whereas all inscriptions and part of the literary evidence have the name Parilia, Varro, and the tradition dependent on him. uses the form Palilia which, as he explains. is derived from the god Pales to whom the festival was dedicated. As has long been seen, the form Palilia is most likely due to Varro's harmonising the name of the god and his festival.' Despite this incomplete report of the evidence, the handbooks felt no difficulty in explaining the festival. Taking his cue from the fig-tree. Wissowa concluded: 'da die Feige eine ausgeprägt obscöne Bedeutung hat und das allbekannte Abbild des weiblichen Geschlechtsteiles ist. so liegt die Beziehung des festes zum Frauenleben völlig klar.' According to Latte. the close connection of Iuno with the fig-tree pointed to fertility, since the tree is 'Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit.' Although Dumézil is in general less receptive to the fertility paradigm, which dominated the study of Greek and Roman ritual during the first half of this century. than most of his contemporaries, he nevertheless also states: 'Figuier, bouc: l'animal comme le végétal fournissent beaucoup à la symbolique de In sexualité.' All these explanations overlook tlie fact that wild fig-trees do not bear fruit and thus hardly can be symbols of fertility; in addition, they leave most of the ritual totally unexplained.[5] We shall therefore look in a different direction.

[3] All texts: Varro ***LL*** 6. 18; Ovid ***AA*** 2. 257f; Plut. *Cam.* 33. *Rom.* 29, ***Mor.***. 313: Polyaenus 8. 30; Aus. *Fer.* 24. 16: Macr. *Sat.* I I. 11. 35-40: Querolus p. 42: Silvius (CIL I. 1), p. 269.

[4] Capratinus: M. Lejeune, ***REL*** 45 (1967). 197. Lejeune's explanation of the alternation Caprotina/Capratina, *ibid.* 194-202, is evidently speculative. Parilia/Palilia: E. Gjerstad. 'Pales. Palilia. Parilia', in K. Ascani *et al.* (edd.), *Studia Romana in honorem Petri Krarup septuagenarii* (Odense, 1976) 1-5.

[5] Wissowa, RKR. 184: Latte, RGG. 106f.; Dumézil, RRA. 301f. Fig-tree: Pliny NN 15. 79, *caprificus . . . numquam matureseens.*

One of the most striking aspects of the festival was the dressing up by the maidens in their mistresses' clothes (§ 1). This reversal strongly suggests that the Nonae Capratinae belong to the so-called 'rites of reversal'. a category of rites which has often been discussed since anthropologists focused their attention on it in the 1950s.[6] In these rites actors assume a role which is usually in straight opposition to the roles they play in normal life: women behave like men, pupils like masters, priests like bishops and slaves like masters (below).[7] It seems evident that the Nonae Capratinae belong to this category of rituals: on one day in the year the handmaidens were permitted to wear their mistresses' outfits; the next day it was the same old clothes. In this chapter, then, the Nonae Capratinae will be analysed as a Roman rite of reversal. We will examine first the ritual, then the myth. thirdly the place of the festival in the Roman calendar, and, finally, the social significance of the festival.

1. The ritual

We do not know how the festival began. It seems not unlikely that mistresses and handmaidens left the city together in procession, in this way dramatizing the leaving of the houses in which they normally lived their various lives. The exit from the city must have been a striking spectacle, since the handmaidens were dressed in the outfits of their mistresses. Clothes were a most important index of social position in antiquity. For example, the Spartan Helots, like other peoples subjected by the Greeks, were obliged to wear animal skins.[8] An Athenian treatise from the second half of the fifth century. reactionary but intelligent and wrongly ascribed to Xenophon, actually complains that as regards clothes slaves can hardly be distinguished any more from free men — which suggests that such a distinction was once possible."[9] In Rome, Cato prescribed a minimum of clothing for slaves; in addition, old clothes had to be taken back to be made into new ones. However. according to Artemidorus, who wrote in the second century AD, the difference between free men and slaves as regards clothing was hardly recognizable. This is confirmed by Seneca who relates an anecdote that it was once proposed in the senate to have slaves wear a distinctive dress. When it dawned upon the senators what great dangers would threaten them if slaves were able to count them, the proposal was withdrawn. Yet. however small the difference may have become, it may never have disappeared completely, and at the Saturnalia, the rite of reversal for Roman male slaves, slaves put on the clothes of their masters. Artemidorus' observation is probably only valid for the house servants of the rich, since Nero still disguised himself on his drinking bouts by donning a slave's outfit.'"[10] Similarly. in the American South. a great difference existed between the field hands and the house slaves about whom, as an English traveller noted, the masters 'feel as natural a pride in having their personal attendants to look well in person and in dress. when slaves, as they do when their servants are free'. But still in 1740 the slave code of South

[6] For a full bibliography see Bremnier. *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton, 1983), 122 n. 143. See now also W. Rösler, 'Michail Bachtin und die Karnevalskultur im antiken Gricchenland', ***QUCC*** ns 73 (1986), 25-44.

[7] Women: N. Z. Davis. *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (London. 1975). 124-151 ('Women on top'). repr. in B. A. Babcock (ed.). *The Reversible World* (London. 1978). 147-190; A. Jacobson-Schuttc. 'Trionfo delle donne': tematiche di rovesciamento dei ruoli nella Firenze rinascinientale', *Quaderni Storici* no. 44 (1980). 474-488. Pupils: K. Thomas. *Rule and Misrule in the Schools of Early Modern England* (Reading. 1976). Priests: J. Hcers. *Fêtes des fous et carnavals* (Paris. 1984).

[8] Myron *FGrH* 106 F 2, cf. J. Ducat. 'Le mépris des hilotes'. *Annales ESC* 29 (1974). 1452-64.

[9] Ps. Xcn. *Athen.* ***Pol.*** 1. 10. For similar complaints about slaves in eighteenth-century America, see W. D. Jordan. *White over Black. American Attitudes towards the Negro, 1550-1812* (Chapel Hill. 1968). 130.

[10] Rome: Cato *Agr.* 2. 3, 10. 5. 59; Artemidorus 2. 3; Sen. *Clem.* 1. 24. 1; Tac. *Ann.* 13. 25 (Nero): Dio Cassius 60. 19. 3 (Saturnalia). On Cato's attitude towards his slaves see A. Astin, *Cato the Censor* (Oxford. 1978). 262-266, 349f (too positive).

Carolina obliged slaves to wear rough clothes and in the whole of the South the slaves' clothing allowance was extremely poor."

Mysta, the mistress of Seleucus the Younger, once escaped the rage of the Galatians by exchanging her royal garments for the rags of a handmaiden. The precise nature of the dress of the Roman handmaidens. the *vestis ancillaris*, is unknown, but we may safely assume that. similarly, it will not have followed the latest fashion. We are better informed about the clothing of the Roman *matronae*. For many centuries they wore the same dress, the *tunica* or *stola*; the material changed. the style did not — in the later Republic purple interwoven with gold was very popular. The debate on the repeal of the Oppian law well indicates the splendour of the appearance of the *matronae*.[12] It is important to note. however, that we nowhere read that the matrons had dressed themselves in the clothes of their handmaidens, or that masters assumed their slaves' clothes on the Saturnalia. This can hardly be chance. Even if the festival contained many elements of reversal. the reality of everyday life had to remain visible enough for the slaves not to get ideas which might lead to a permanent reversal of the social order.

When the women had arrived at the location of the celebration. the Goat Marsh on the Campus Martius, they constructed huts from the branches of fig-trees. in which they dined together while the handmaidens were waited upon by the matrons (or the males — the texts are not completely clear at this point), just as in the British army at Christmas privates are waited upon at dinner by officers and N.C.O.s. and. around the same time. the former Dutch queen Juliana used to pour out hot chocolate for her staff.'?

In antiquity. the feasting slaves, often combined with serving masters. constitute a recurring element of rites of reversal in which the relationship of slaves and masters is the focus of the ritual. During the Athenian Kronia, the slaves dined together with the masters. but during the Cretan Hermaea the slaves dined while the masters assisted in menial duties. In Troizen. slaves were feasted by the masters at a festival which was celebrated during the transition from winter to spring. and a similar reversal of roles took place at the Thessalian Peloria.[14] In Rome, slaves dined together with, or even ahead of, their masters at the Roman Saturnalia. when even the frugal Cato prescribed an increase of rations for field hands. At the Saturnalia, the masters apparently sometimes also waited upon their slaves, just as. rather surprisingly, the Roman matrons did on March 1. A nice example of the combination of feasting and status reversal also occurred during the German peasant revolt in 1525. When the peasants had occupied the house of the Teutonic Order at Heilbronn, they feasted themselves while the knights were forced to stand by the table. hat in hand.'.'

This preoccupation with food recurs in the myth of Kronos' Golden Age which was very popular in Old Comedy. With the exaggeration which is so typical of myth, it was imagined

[11] For the clothes of American slaves, see E. Genovese. Roll. *Jordan*, Roll (New York. 1974), 550-561; P. Escott, *Slavery Remembered* (Chapel Hill. 1979). 39f.

[12] Mystn: Phylarchus *FGrH* XI F 30. *Vestis ancillaris*: Dip. 47. 10. 15 § 15. *Matronae*: J. P. V. D. Balsdon, *Roman Women* (London, 1962), 252-254. Oppian law: P. Desicleri. 'Catone e le donne (Il dibattito liviano sull' abrogazione della *Lex Oppia*)', *Opus* 3 (1984), 63-74.

[13] English army: V. Turner. *The Ritual Process*, 2nd ed. (Harmondsworth, 1974). 160.

[14] Kronia: H. S. Versnel. 'Greek Myth and Ritual: The Case of Kronos'. in Brernmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London. 1987), 121-152. to which I am indebted for various references. Crete and Troizen: Carystius *ap*. Athenaeus 14. 639bc. Peloria: Baton *FGrH* 268 F 5, cf. Bremmer, *Soul*, 122f.

[15] Saturnalia: Cato. *Agr*. 57: Accius fr. 3M: Sen. *Ep*. 47. 14: **Star.** *Silv*. 1. 6. 43: Just. 43. 1; Hist. Aug. *Ver*. 7. 5: Servius *Aen*. 8. 319; Macr. *Sat*. 1. 11. 1 (eating together): Macr. *Sat*. 1. 24. 23 (slaves ahead of masters); Luc. *Cron*. 18; Aus. Fer-. 16: **Macr.** *Sat*. 1. 12. 71; Lyd. *Mens*. 3. 22. 4. 42 (masters waiting upon slaves). March 1: Solin. 1. 35; Macr. *Sat*. 1. 12. 7; Lyd. *Mens*. 3. 22. 4. 42. Heilbronn: H. W. Bensen, *Geschichte des Bauernkriegs in Ostfranken* (Erlungen. 1840), 158.

that in Kronos' time crops grew automatically and that food presented itself to be eaten.'" A similar combination of myth and ritual can still be found in medieval and early modem carnivals where an emphasis on eating and drinking went hand in hand with representations of the imaginary Land of Cockaigne. In pre-modern societies. where the threat of hunger was an ever present possibility, the theme of abundance evidently fascinated the imagination. but it was only at specific and restricted moments of time that people could give in to these fantasies and indulge themselves in an *orgia alimentare*, as these meals have been called (below)."

The most important Greek and Roman rites of reversal, the Kronia and Saturnalia, were dedicated to gods, Kronos and Saturnus, who were considered to belong to a primeval era when the present ruler gods, Zeus and Iuppiter, were not yet in power. According to the ancients, then, the transition from an old to a new period — from scarcity to plenty (Kronia) or from the shortening to the lenghthening of the days (Saturnalia) — was marked by a dissolution of the normal social order and a regression into primeval time. Such a regression could be acted out very seriously. During the Syracusan Thesmophoria, as Diodorus Siculus (5. 4. 7) reports. women 'by their outfit imitated primeval life (*ton archaion bion*)'. Unfortunately, it remains obscure how we have to imagine this primitive outfit (animal skins?), but we are better informed about other cities. In Eretria, women dried meat in the sun — thus imitating the lack of fire in primitive times — and in Athens women squatted on the ground during the festival and lived in huts. Living in huts during a festival, then, could signify a temporary return to primeval times.[18] Did the huts of the Nonae Capratinae perhaps signify a similar return to primeval times when the distinction between freedom and slavery did not yet exist'? We cannot be completely certain about this question, but it does not seem improbable when we look at some other Roman festivals in which huts play a role. On the first full moon of the year in the old calendar (the Ides of March). the Romans celebrated the festival of Anna Perenna. The name of the goddess most fittingly suggests a connection with the beginning (*annare*) and the end (*perennare*) of the year. Ovid tells that the festival was the scene of singing, dancing, heavy drinking and the making of huts. Girls sang ribald songs which suggests a reversal of the normal social order, in particular the sexual order: Ovid's somewhat scabrous aition of the festival in his *Fasti* points in the same direction.'" Similar scenes took place on April 21, when the Romans celebrated the festival of the Parilia. During this festival, the shepherds purified their herds but also themselves by jumping through a fire: the prominence of shepherds demonstrates the antiquity of the festival. The same day the Romans celebrated the birthday of their city: Caligula even ordered that the day on which he began to reign should be called

[16] Cf. W. Fauth, 'Kulinarisches und Utopisches in der griechischen Komödie', *WS* 7 (1973). 39-62: H. J. de Jonge. 'BOTRYC BOHCEI. The Age of Kronos and the Millennium in Papias of Hierapolis', in M. J. Vermaseren (ed.), *Studies in Hellenistic Religions* (Leiden, 1979), 36-49; Versnel (above, n. 14); Kassel/Austin on Crates PCG IV F 17. 7 and Cratinus F 172.

[17] P. Burke. *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London. 1978). 186-190 (with earlier bibliography): F. Delpech, 'Aspects dcs pays de Cocagne: programme pour une recherche'. in J. Lafond and A. Redondo (edd.). *L'Image du monde renversé* !Paris. 1079). 35-48: G. Demerson. 'Cocagne. utopie populaire?'. *Rev. Belg. Phil. Hist.* 59 (1981), 529-553; J.- Ch. Paylen. 'Fubliaux et Cocagne'. in G. Bianciotto and M. Salvat (edd.), *Épopée animale, fable, fabliau* (Paris. 1984), 435-448; W. Biesterfeld and M. H. Haase, 'The Land of Cokaygne'. *Fabula* 25 (1984), 76-83.

[18] Kronos: Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. ***Otl.*** 2. 12. 9; Versncl (above n. 14). Saturnus: A. Brelich, *Tre variazioni romane sul tema delle origini*, 2nd ed. (Rome. 1976). 83-95. Thesmophoria and the symbolic return to primeval times: F. Graf, *Eleusis und die orphische Dichtung Athens in vorhellenistischer Zeit* (Berlin/New York. 1974), 178f.

[19] Ov. F. 3. 523ff; Mart. 4. 64. 16f; Macr. *Sat.* 1. 12. 6: Lyd. *Mens.* 4. 49: D. Porte, 'Anna Perenna. "Bonne et heureuse année"?', *RPh* 45 (1971). 282-291: N. Horsfall, 'The Ides of March: Some New Problems', ***G&R*** 21 (1974. 191-98). 196f.

Parilia, as if Rome had been founded for a second time.?" The combination of purification and new beginning baffled older scholars — Latte does not even mention the new beginning! — but more recent investigations into Greek and Roman ritual have noted the appropriateness of the combination: no new beginning before a complete *katharsis* of the old situation."

During the festival, the goddess Pales received sacrifices of milk and cakes.?' These gifts are in straight opposition to regular Roman sacrifices which consisted of meat and wine. Researches into Greek ritual have shown that bloodless sacrifices and libations of milk (and/or water and honey) are meant to signify marginal phases and transitions during the ritual but are also typical signs of *Urzeit* and *Endzeit*. At the same time, it should be noted that Roman authors also point out that milk. honey and bloodless sacrifices were typical of early Rome when wine and bloody sacrifices were not yet invented; evidently. republican Roman and classical Greek sacrificial systems were closely related.?' Such a sacrifice as Pales received, then, may well signify a retum to the primeval state when Rome was founded. The existence of huts in this festival fully fits in with such a temporary return to a primeval state. Finally, the Parilia displayed extensive eating and drinking, and contacts between the sexes were also not neglected. An orgy of food and sex is everywhere in the world a normal part of *la grande festa*, as the Italian ethnologist Lantemari has called these festivals of renewal."

We also find the huts in another festival of purification and renewal which resembles the Parilia in more than one way. After the shepherds. the farmers purified the fields on the Ambarvalia (May 29). The festival was marked by fires — everywhere in the world a sign of festivals of purification and renewal. On this day, the home-bred slaves were free to play and, as the delightful picture by Tibullus shows, the day was passed in eating, drinking and making contact with the opposite sex. The festival contains clear elements of the dissolution of the social order and the customary orgies of food and sex of the festivals of renewal. although we do not explicitly hear of a return to primeval times. It is not impossible that the huts of the Ambarvalia were part of a ritual scenario more or less similar to that of the festival of Anna Perenna, the Parilia and the Nonae Capratinae.[25] Huts are also mentioned for the Volcanalia. if only in late antiquity. and for the Neptunalia, but there is insufficient evidence available to detennine the precise function of the huts in these festivals.?"

[20] For the Parilia see Wissowa, RKR. 199-201: Latte. RRG, 87: Dumézil, RRA. 385-9; J. H. Vangaard. 'On Parilia', *Temenos* 7 (1971), 91-103: S. Weinstock. *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971). 184-86: p.77 above. Huts: Tib. 2. 5. 9411; Ov. F. 4. 801ff. cf. G. Piccaluga. *Elementi spettacolari nei rituali festivi romani* (Rome, 1965), 63. Caligula: Suet. *Cal*. 16, cf. Weinstock. 191. Note also that Numa, in many ways a second founder of Rome. was believed to be born on the Parilia: Plut. *Numa* 3. 4.

[21] H. S. Versnel, *Med. Ned. Inst. Rome* 37 (1975), 4-8: R. Parker. *Miasma* (Oxford. 1983), 231f13 Bremmer, ***HSCP*** 87 (1983), 318f.

[22] Tib. I. 1. 36, 2. 5. 27f (sprinkling of Pales' statue with milk); Ov. F. 4. 743-6: Plut. *Rom*. 12; Solin. I. 19; Probus on Verg. G. 3. 1.

[23] Greek ritual: F. Graf, 'Milch, Honig und Wein', in G. Piccaluga (ed.), *Perennitas. Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome, 1980), 209-221: A. Henrichs, ***HSCP*** 87 (1983), 93-100, and *Atti XVII Congr. Intern. Papyr.* II (Naples, 1984), 257-261: Graf. *Nordionische Kulte*, 26-9. Roman ritual: Plut. *Rom*. 12 (bloodless sacrifices on the Parilia). *Numa* 8. 16: Plin. ***NH*** 14. 88, 18. 7: G. Piccalugn, *Terminus* (Rome. 1974). 317 (on honey which 'tende comunque ad interrompere il divenire e ad uscire dalla normalità dell' esistenza').

[24] Orgies: V. Lanternari, ***Ltr*** *grande festa*, 2nd ed. (Rome/Bari, 1976).

[25] Ambarvalia: Tib. 2. 1; Warde Fowler, RF. 124-8; P. Postgens. *Tibulls Ambarvalgedicht (2, 1)* (Kiel, 19-10); H. Kosmala, 'Agros lustrare'. *Ann. Swed. Theol. Inst.* 2 (1963), 111-114: U. Scholz. *Studien zum altitalischen und altrömischen Marskult und Marsmythos* (Heidelberg, 1970), 64-76. Huts: Tib. 2. 1. 24. Fire and purification festivals: J. Frazer, *Balder the Beautiful I* (London. 1913). 101-346.

[26] Volcanalia: Paul. Nola *Carm*. 32. 137ff, cf. I. Opelt, 'Die Volcanalia in der Spätantike', *Vig. Christ.* 24 (1970), 59-65. Neptunalia: Festus p. 377L.

The communal sacrifice of matrons and handmaidens is another sign of reversal since the matrons normally had their own cults and festivals. such as the Matronalia or the festival of the Bona Dea.[27] The sacrifice itself, which consisted of the juice of the fig-tree, was in contrast with normal animal sacrifices just as was the case with the sacrifices to Kronos and Pales. The fig-tree itself fully fits in with this pattern of abnormality and reversal. Roman religion distinguished strictly between trees which were fertile, the *arbor felix*, and those which were sterile, the *arbor infelix*.[28] Vesta's fire was always lighted with wood from an *arbor felix*, but criminals were executed on wood of an *arbor infelix*. The wild fig-tree was such an *arbor infelix*, since its fruit did not mature (above, n. 5): its inauspicious character was symbolic for the dissolution of the social order which marked the festival.

There are a few more details which have hardly ever received any attention. During the festival. the handmaidens mocked passers-by and they divided themselves into groups for a good fight. Verbal aggression, sham fights and competitions were also an integral and important part of carnival in early modem Europe when people mocked deviant behaviour, attacked authorities, and enjoyed foot-races, games or egg-throwing. These competitive activities derive most likely from a long tradition, since ritualized fights already took place during Greek and Roman festivals, sometimes combined with purifications. The coincidence of aggression and purification suggests that the violence helped the participants in the festival to let off steam — thus clearing the way for the new beginning symbolised by the purification. The mocking and fighting of the handmaidens, then. was part of the safety-valve character of the festival which we shall analyse below.?" The recipient of the sacrifice — Iuno Caprotina according to Varro (above) — is a shadowy figure about whom nothing of substance is known. In Greece, rites of reversal were connected with a number of gods such as Dionysos, Hermes and Poseidon — evidently the gods were a variable element in these rites: Rome will not have been different.?"

Besides mocking passers-by, the handmaidens also asked them for money. Ritual begging is still widespread in modem folklore. We only need to remember carol singers or the children who go from door to door at St. Martin's Day (November 11). Similar practices also occurred among the Greeks; some of the songs children sang when asking for their rewards are even preserved." Discussions of the custom have not been very illuminating so far. Karl Meuli's suggestion that the singers personified the souls of the dead is rather absurd, nor is there any truth in a statement in the most recent discussion that 'it is agreed by all that the begging was once a more responsible affair, a true *heilige Handlung* mediating supernatural power'.'? Even

[27] On women's cults in Rome see the often too speculative study by J. Gagé, *Matronalia* (Brussels, 1963).

[28] See Bremmer. ***HSCP*** 87 (1983). 308f (with recent bibliography)

[29] Carnival: Burke. *Popular Culture*, 178-204 *passim*. Greece, Rome and ethnological evidence: H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften* IV (Leipzig, 1913). 435-447 (not without serious misinterpretations); H. J. Rose. 'A suggested explanation of ritual combats'. *Folk-Lore* 36 (1925), 322-31; A. Lesky. *Gesammelte Schriften* (Bern and Munich, 1966). 310-17.

"'Variable gods: Versnel (above. n. 14). Iuno Caprotina: Wissowa. RKR. 184: G. Radke. *Die Götter Altitaliens*, 2nd ed. (Munster, 1979). 80f.

[31] Ancient begging: A. Dieterich. *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig, 1911), 324-352; L. Radermacher, *Beiträge zur Volkskunde aus dem Gebiet der Antike*, SB Wien 187. 3 (1918), 114-126; W. R. Halliday, *Folklore Studies. Ancient and Modern* (London, 1924). 116-131; M. P. Nilsson, *Opuscula Selecta* 3 (Lund, 1960). 286-291; O. Schonberger. *Griechische Heischelieder* (Mcisenhcim. 1980). Modem begging: I. and P. Opie, *The* ***Lore*** *and Language of Schoolchildren* (Oxford, 1959), *passim*; W. Burkert. in W. Siegmund (ed.), *Antiker Mythos in unseren Märchen* (Kassel, 1984), 121f; D. Baudy. 'Heischegang und Segenszweig', *Saeculum* 37 (1986), 212-27.

[32] Cf. K. Meuli. *Gesammelte Schriften* 1 (Basel, 1975). 33-68: N. Robertson, 'Greek Ritual Begging in Aid of Women's Fertility and Childbirth', ***TAPA*** 113 (1983). 143-169.

though we have very little information about the actual begging and the response of the givers, there are still some observations to be made.

Ritual begging often takes place during marginal periods of the calendar such as Guy Fawkes, the ancient German Old Year (St. Martin) or Christmas (carol singers) — that is to say in periods characterised by all kinds of reversal. The beggars are usually the more marginal groups of society such as women, children, youths or shepherds who often utter strong threats against the potential givers should they refuse to give but also, as a kind of counter-gift, wish them all the best for the coming new year. Threats from such marginal groups as women. children or shepherds would be totally out of place in normal circumstances. The custom can therefore best be explained as one of the ways in which marginal groups of society try to profit from the temporary dissolution of the social order and the good spirit which this dissolution often entails. Going round the neighbourhood and approaching the opposite sex also has solidarising effects fitting in well with the letting off steam and other ways of releasing tension during festivals of reversal (§ 4). In the case of the Nonae Capratinae, begging handmaidens undoubtedly will have approached males — social contacts which may well have led to sexual contacts.

2. The Myth

Having looked in detail at the ritual we now turn our attention to the myth. It is abundantly clear that the Roman tradition knew of far fewer myths than the Greeks; some scholars have even argued that Rome consciously tried to eliminate from its tradition all mythological stories.'' On the other hand, if we define myth as a traditional tale which is relevant to society we can still speak of Roman myths — even if to a much lesser extent than for Greece.'-' Following this definition we may also consider the story of the handmaidens' victory a myth. since the diversity of the tradition and the fact that the story was the subject of a play during the Ludi Apollinares (§ 3) suggests that the story was popular and of an older, if uncertain. date.''

When we now compare the myth with the ritual we can easily see that in various details the myth reflects the ritual. The striking position of the handmaidens in the ritual reflects itself in the prominent position of the girls in the story. For once, it is not the Roman males who save the country but the very lowest on the social scale. Needless to say, the very idea of a handmaiden advising the senate was an absurdity in the daily reality of Roman life. Both the change of clothes (which, *nota bene*, is not even mentioned by Wissowa and Dumézil) and the fig-tree also figure prominently in the ritual and the myth. And it will hardly be chance that of all the elements of the ritual it is the change of clothes which receives the most attention in the myth. This change of clothes will have been the most striking part of the festival for the spectators.

The tradition of the story contains some variants which are worth mentioning. The name of the enemy is obviously variable, but it is not important for the story whether they are Etruscans, Gauls or Latins. However, it is rather striking that the *Schwindelautor* Aristeides the Milesian actually gives the king of the Gauls a real Celtic name: Atepomarus or 'Owner of great horses'.[36] Some sources even turn the story into a kind of reversed rape of the Sabine women.

[33] On this characteristic of Roman religion see most recently E. Gabba, 'Dionigi, Varrone e la religione senza miti', *Riv. Stor. It.* 96 (1984), 855-870.

[34] See Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London. 1987), 1-9: Horsfall, above. Ch. 1.

[35] Play: Varro LL 6. 19. cf. P. Drossart. 'Le theâtre aux Nones Caprotines'. *RPh* 48 (1974). 54-64.

[36] Atepomarus: Aristeides *FGrH* 286 F 1 (= Ps. Plut. *Mor.* 313A), cf. D. E. Evans, *Gaulish Personal Names* (Oxford, 1967). 52f; add 0 . Masson, *Epigr. Anat.*, no. 7 (1986). 1f, on the name Ateporis.

In Plutarch's version the women are requested for sex but in all other versions for marriage. The civilised Plutarch naturally passed lightly over the sexual orgy between the handmaidens and the enemy which, just as naturally, is stressed by Pseudo-Plutarch's version. Finally, some versions call the leading handmaiden Philotis, others Tutula, Tutela, or even Rhetana, a name which has until now defied explanation. The name Tutela, 'Protection', is a clear normalisation of Tutula, which Jacoby and others explained as a pun on a term for penis. This seems needlessly imaginative. A connection with Tutulina, the goddess protecting the corn, also hardly fits the story. The most convincing explanation suggests a connection with the *tutulus*, the conical hairstyle of the Roman matrons. After clothes. hairstyle was perhaps the second most important status marker in antiquity. and it seems highly likely that the handmaidens wore their hair on the festival just like the matrons used to do."

The myth, then, concentrated not on the whole of the ritual but on its most striking elements. Strange statues, role reversals and uncommon ritual elements intrigue the public and inspire the poets, as Fritz Graf has recently demonstrated in the case of Greek myths.[38] The Roman mythopoeic imagination evidently also concentrated on the uncommon elements of the ritual. Finally, we may perhaps ask whether the myth does not suggest an aspect of the ritual which is not mentioned by any of our sources for the ritual. Sex, also indicated by the name Philotis or 'She who loves', plays an important role in the story: the enemies did not fall asleep from drink alone. The male presence during the festival makes us wonder strongly whether sex was not a prominent element in the festival. Were the handmaidens an easy prey, just like their Victorian counterparts. or was the stress on sex wishful male thinking? Our sources give no answer.

3. The Nonae Capratinae in the calendar

Can we perhaps reach a deeper understanding of the Nonae Capratinae when we analyse its place in the Roman calendar? The festival was traditionally closely connected with the Poplifugia which was celebrated on July 5. Both festivals are the only ones which are located before or on the monthly Nonae (the 5th or 7th of the month). The anomic character of the festival, then. is reflected by its place in the calendar.'" The meaning of the Poplifugia was already obscure in antiquity, but the name was clearly interpreted as a flight of the male population. This flight was acted out by a communal leaving of the city and the shouting of all kinds of names such as Marcus and Lucius. The calling out of the names has been persuasively explained as an example of the *quiritatio*, the Roman custom of loudly calling upon each other in times of crisis. The connection with the Nonae Capratinae looks obvious: victory through women corresponds to male flight. It also seems important to note that the murder of Romulus was situated on the day of the Poplifugia or the Nonae Capratinae. The choice of day cannot be chance. The murder of the founder of Rome had to take place on a day of dissolution and reversal; we may compare the death of king Erechtheus during the Skira, an Athenian festival of reversal. and the disappearance of the Lemnian king Thoas in the myth of the murderous Leninian women, which was connected with a New Year festival. On July 8, however, the

[37] Philotis: Plut. *Cam.* 33; Polyaenus 8. 38: Macr. *Sat.* 1. 38; Silvius. Tutula: Plut. *Cam.* 33 and *Rom.* 29. Tutela: Macr. *Sat.* 1. 38. Tutulinn as corn goddess: Th. Köves-Zulauf, *Reden und Schweigen* (Munich. 1972). 80-86. Connection with penis: Jacoby on Aristeides *FGrH* 286 F 1 (following Bücheler). Connection with *tutulus*: N. Zorzetti, 'La sintassi della crescitu'. *Classense* (published in Ravenna) 15 (1984), 40-58 (whose initiatory interpretation of the festival I cannot follow).

[38] F. Graf. *Griechische Mythologie* (Munich and Zurich. 1985), 98-116.

[39] Position in calendar: Dumézil, RRA, 534. For the connection between Poplifugia and NC see Schlegel, RG. 532-6; Weinstock (above n. 2).

pontifex made a happy sacrifice, *vitulatio*, thus indicating that the days of anomy were over, The order, then, of the various festivals in the beginning of July shows a clear structure."'

Why did these festivals take place in the beginning of July — tlie more striking a position in the calendar. since the Poplifugia and the Nonae Capratinae are the only Roman festivals in tlie period between June 12 and July 19? We know also that on July 7 the gods Consus, the protector of the stored corn, and Pales. who promoted the growth and health of the cattle. received a sacrifice.." Apparently, the beginning of July was a time at which tlie Roman community was concerned for its wellbeing. agricultural as well as pastoral. This worry was well founded, since the beginning of July was the time just before the corn harvest when an abundant crop could guarantee once again the maintenance of the social order. It may well be that just as the Kronia was celebrated in a quiet period before the harvest. the Nonae Capratinae also marked the period before the new crop. It seems a matter of religious economy that it was the women who celebrated their festival at this period: masters and slaves had celebrated the Saturnalia in winter. On the other hand. rituals of reversal were still used in early modern times to stress an important incision in the calendar. In many villages of Western Europe. Ash Wednesday. the transition into Lent, was marked by a temporary rule or prominent position of the women.[42]

4. The Function and Significance of the Festival

In the last section of this chapter we will look once again at the NC as a festival of reversal. Unfortunately we do not possess any information about the festival from the female participants. Yet a comparison with other rites of reversal may help us to give at least an indication of the direction in which we have to look. Recent studies of similar festivals have all pointed to the 'safety-valve' aspect of the reversals. In fact the Roman masters had already observed that these festivals served as a means to corroborate social control. It is interesting to note that Frederick Douglass. one of the most famous ex-slaves from the American South, wrote already in 1855:

> These holidays serve the purpose of keeping the minds of tlie slaves occupied with prospective pleasure. within the limits of slavery. The young man can go wooing; tlie married man can visit his wife: the father and mother can see their children: the industrious and money loving can make a few dollars: the great wrestler can win laurels: the young people can meet. and enjoy each other's society; the drunken man can get plenty of whisky: and tlie religious man can hold prayer meetings. preach. pray and exhort during the holidays. Before the holidays. they become pleasures of memory. and they serve to keep out thoughts and wishes of a more dangerous character. Were slaveholders at once to abandon the practice of allowing their slaves these liberties, periodically, and to keep them. the year round. closely confined to the narrow circle of their homes. I doubt not that tlie south would blaze with insurrections. These holidays are conductors or safety valves to carry off the explosive elements inseparable from the human mind. when reduced to the condition of slavery. But for these. the rigors of bondage would become too severe for endurance. and tlie slave would be forced up to dangerous desperation.

"'For the problems surrounding the interpretation of the Poplifugia, see Chapter 3. 7. Skira: W. Burkert, *Homo necans* (Berkeley etc.. 1983). 143-49; R. Parker, *in* Brcmmcr (ed.), *Interpretations*, 204. Lemnian women: Burkert, *Homo necans*, 190-96 (I owe the Greek parallels to André Lardinois). *Vitulatio*: Macr. *Sat*. 3. 2. 14.

[41] Consus: Tert. *Spect*. 5. 8, cf. Köves-Zulauf (above n. 32). 82. Pales: Fasti Antiates, cf. Dumézil. *RRA*. 386f.

[42] Kronia not a harvest festival: Graf. *Nordionische Kulte*, 93. Women on top: A. Becher. *Frauenrechtliches in Brauch und Sitte* (Progr. Zweibrücken, 1913).

Saturnalia and Kronia shows that in times of abundance or freedom allowed by slave masters virtually identical rituals can originate, conditioned undoubtedly by the same conditions of life."'

One final observation. During the Principate children took over from masters at the Saturnalia; it also looks unlikely that the *matronae* still showed themselves on the NC. In the course of the Empire the distance between the elite and the *humiliores* had become too wide for masters to celebrate festivals alongside their slaves.[50] The corollary must be that rituals of reversal presuppose a society in which high and low still feel a certain tie. On the other hand, the distance between high and low must not become too small. When Queen Juliana abdicated in 1980, her successor Beatrix immediately abolished the royal pouring of chocolate at Christmas. Modem egalitarian society can no longer tolerate reversals of social roles since the hierarchy of the roles itself has become unacceptable. The Nonae Capratinae and similar rituals firmly belong to the 'world we have lost'.[51]

[49] Carolina: K. Stampp. *The Peculiar Institution* (New York. 1956). 368. England: H. Bourne. *Antiquitates Vulgares* (Newcastle. 1725). 229.

[50] Saturnalia: Athenaeus 14. 639b. Empire: P. Garnsey. *Social Status and Legal Privilege in the Roman Empire* (Oxford. 1970).

[51] For information and comments I am most grateful to Fritz Graf and Nicholas Horsfall.

CORYTHUS RE-EXAMINED

I. Introduction

In JRS 63 (1973) I published a paper entitled 'Corythus: the return of Aeneas in Virgil and his sources'.[1] It has met with general, but often uncomprehending, disbelief.[2] Some of what I said then was true, but not clear, some was neither: but while criticism' has pin-pointed those areas of the argument which required reinforcement, clarification. or abandonment, the two main conclusions (that Corythus is not Cortona but Tarquinii, and that Virgil does not invent the story) remain, I believe, substantially valid, though only the second (cf. n. 88) has gained much credence. It may therefore be helpful to have the argument presented afresh here in a suitably buttressed and clarified form; the story represents a peculiarly complex secondary development of the Trojan legend in the West.

The Italian town of Corythus,[3] which Virgil makes the original home of Dardanus and the cradle of the Trojan people (*Aen.* 3. 170, 7. 209, 9. 10), has long been identified with Cortona, between Arezzo and Chiusi.[4] It is the purpose of this paper to suggest that the identification is false; in reviving an alternative suggestion, which has not been current since the Renaissance,[5] I hope to show too that the question of whether or not the story is a Virgilian innovation admits of a decisive answer. The evidence is partly Virgilian (and here Harrison's critique has rendered a notable service) and partly independent.

2. Virgil

His topographical indications are more than usually elusive." From his ancestral throne, King Latinus addresses the Trojan embassy (7. 1950: *dicite Dardanidae, neque enim nescimus urbem et genus, auditique advertitis aequore cursum.*[7] He speaks of Dardanus, ancestor of Aeneas, as his *ortus ut agris* (206); the old story related that *Corythi Tyrrhena ab sede profectus* (209), Dardanus made for Samothrace and then Troy (2070. Latinus' city is represented as lying[8] somewhere between the Tiber mouth and Ardea. that is, 120 miles from Cortona.

[1] Pp. 68-79. 1 am grateful to the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies for permission to re-use parts of that paper. Hereafter 'Horsfall'.

[2] My own and that of others: notably. E. L. Harrison. CQ 26 (1976). 293-5, to which some answer was made. *ibid.*, 296-7: hereafter 'Harrison' and 'Horsfall, Reply'.

[3] Corythuni, mysteriously, J. Heurgon. REL 47. 1 (1969). 288. D. Briquel. 'Les Pelasges en Italic' (*Bibl. Ec. Fr. Ath. Rome* 252. 1984), 161, and *passim.* Admittedly all the attestations in Virgil, Silius and Rutilius are in oblique cases and therefore technically ambiguous. but Serv. Auct. *ad Aen.* 3. 170. Serv. *ad Aen.* 10. 719. and the form of C's numerous homonyms in Greek myth (cf. p.95) may be thought sufficient to establish -us as the correct form for both place and king. Virgil (see n. 13) treats the name as local. not personal. In Serv., the one name fills both roles. and only in Serv. is Corythus inserted into the royal genealogy of Troy: *ad Aen.* 3. 167: Briquel (n. 2), 162. Cf. further n. 12 p. 91.

[4] Apparently first by P. Cluverius, *Italia Antiqua* 1 (Leyden. 1624). 590ff. So too Heurgon. *loc. cit.* (n. 3).

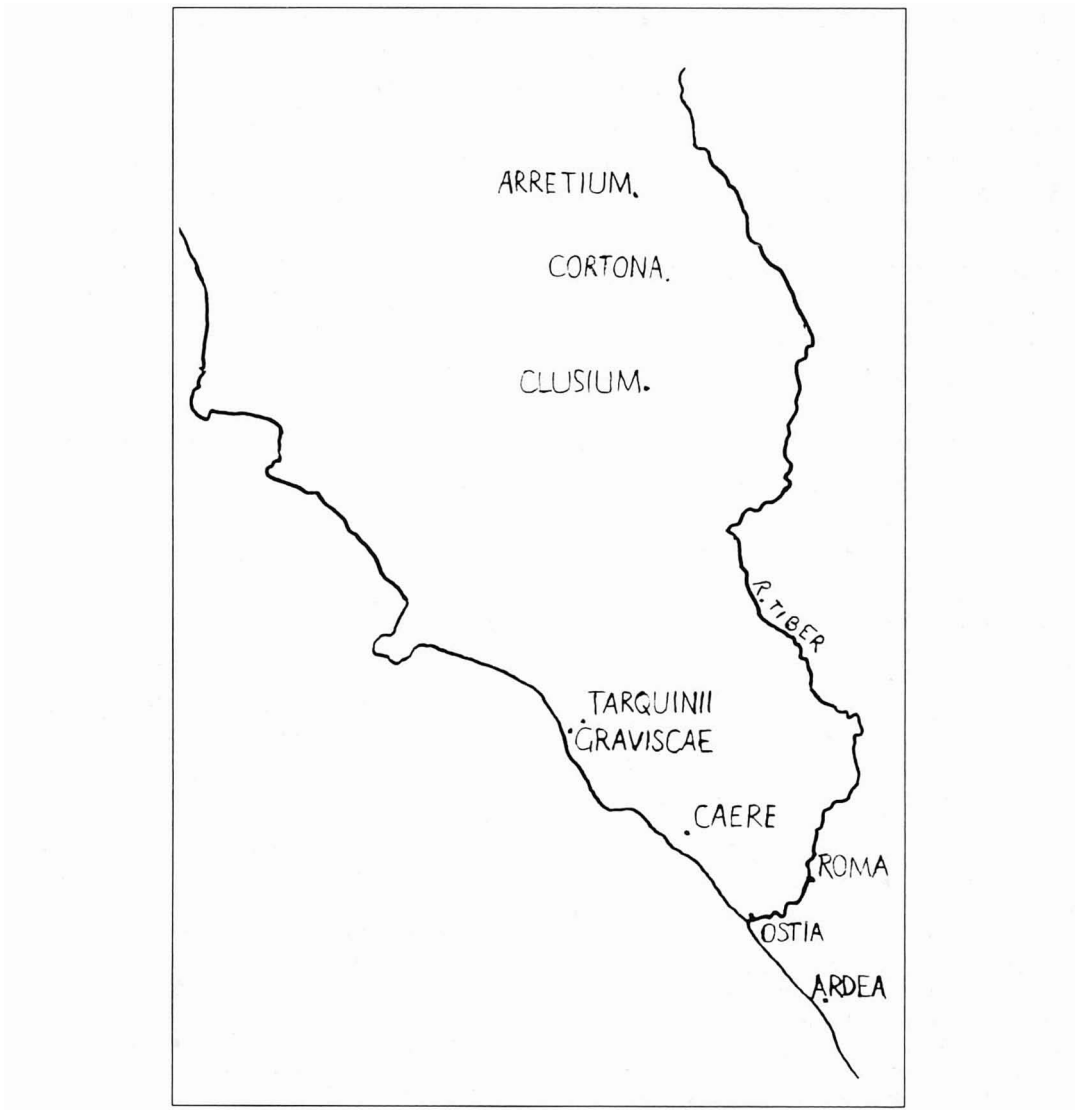
[5] Chronologically, 'proto-umanistica', G. Colonna. *Arch.* Class. 30 (1982), 1. but arguably of more ancient authority, cf. p. 94: intermittently revived: see n. 37.

[6] Cf. Briquel (n. 3). 161 with n. 115.

[7] 'Speak. descendants of Dardnnus — for we are well aware of your city and race. and as known figures you have directed your course here upon the sea . . . born (206) in these lands . . . having started from the Etruscan site of Corythus (209).' Between *auditi* and 7. 167f, *nuntius ingentis ignota in veste reportat advenisse viros*, there is some inconsistency: cf. V. Buchheit, *Vergil über die Sendung Roms* (*Gymn. Beiheft* 3. 1963). 160 n. 41.

[8] Cf. Laurentes, *Laurentum in *Enciclopedia Virgiliana*, forthcoming.

At *Aen.* 8. 36ff. the river-god Tiberinus addresses Aeneas: *o sate gente deum, Troianum ev hostibus urbem qui revehis*[9] *nobis aeternaque Pergama servas.* The god. as climax of his epiphany (8. 65), reveals that *celsis caput urbibus exit* (which could include Cortona, clearly), but. at the moment of speaking, he is to be thought of, evidently, as located somewhere between Ostia and Rome, and Virgil identifies him by the name under which he is addressed in cult at Rome. Tiberinus."'



Neither of the passages discussed so far conveys decisive topographical indications (Horsfall. Reply, 296). In comparison with the distance Aeneas has travelled from Troy, *his* (7. 206) and *revehis* (8.37) could, it might be felt, legitimately point to any Tuscan location.

[9] Note how the language of return recurs in Virgil's account of Dardanus: *repetit* (7. 241), *reduces* (3.96). *reverti* (3. 101). '*O sate* . . . Born from divine stock, you who hring us hack the city of Troy from the enemy's hands and preserve the eternal citadel of Perganium.'

[10] Liv. 2. 10. 11: Serv. *ad Aen.* 8. **72;** *Encicl. Virgil. s.v.* Tevere, forthcoming.

Perhaps rather more helpful are Ilioneus' words to Latinus (7. 239 - 42):

> *sed nos fata deum vestras exquirere terras*
> *imperiis egere suis, hinc Dardanus ortus,*
> *huc repetit, iussisque ingentibus urguet* **Apollo**
> *Tyrrhenum ad Thybrim et fontis vada sacra Numici.*[11]

Vestras must, after all. refer to the *terrae* of Latinus and his people, from which Dardanus came (*hinc*). The *Aeneid* makes no reference to links between the headwaters of the Tiber and the Roman Campagna; coastal Etruria is (8. 470ff, 505ff) quite another matter.

Lastly, 9. 10-11: in 8, Evander tells Aeneas of an old Etruscan settlement. Agylla (= Caere). *haud procul hinc* (478); its citizens are now in revolt, and their tyrant Mezentius, has fled. All Etruria is crying out for a leader: *his ego te*, promises Evander. *ductorum milibus addam* (8. 496f). The leader of this sea-bome host is Tarchon. eponym of Tarquinii. twenty-five miles up the coast beyond Caere (cf. p. 92). Evander gives the Trojans horses, *Tyrrhena petentibus arva* (**8.551**) *and fama volat parvam subito volgata per urbem, ocius ire equites Tyrrhena ad litora regis* (8. 554f). In the evening (8. 606f), Aeneas reaches a mighty wood by the chill stream of Caere (8. 597) and. *haud procul hinc* (8. 603), Tarchon and the Tyrrhenians are waiting for him. Aeneas rapidly reaches an agreement with Tarchon and leads them back by sea to the Tiber-mouth (10. 146ff). That is to say, Aeneas never goes beyond Caere. But in 9. 6ff, Iris tells Tumus that Aeneas has left *urbs*, *socii* and *classis* and gone to the Palatine settlement of Evander.

> *nec satis: extremas*[12] *Corythi*[13] *penetravit ad urbes*
> *Lydorumque manum collectos armat agrestis* (9. 10-11).

Iris' speech is, as Mr Harrison (294f) with justifiable force reminds me, a *Trugrede*, calculated to provoke Tumus into attacking the Trojan camp under a false conception of Aeneas' actual whereabouts. It might therefore appear hopeless to expect to extract any topographical sense from it. That is not quite so: it would be altogether in keeping with the methods already employed by Juno's other agent, Allecto, if Iris' words blended the true, the misleading,[14] the

[11] 'But us the god-sent oracles have driven by their commands to seek out your lands, from here was Dardanus sprung. here he calls the Trojans back, and with mighty commands Apollo drives them towards the Tuscan Tiber and the sacred shallows of tlie brook Numicus.' Dardanus must be the subject of *repetit*; *hinc* and *huc* cannot be separated by a strong mark of punctuation. Servius' suggestion that Dardnnus is here used for Aeneas need not be taken seriously.

[12] *Extremas* must mean not 'Furthest from the city of C.' but 'furthest from tlie grove of Pilumnus' (cf. 9. 3f): tlie former interpretation is both linguistically awkward and. on any interpretation of C.. geographically intolerable.

[13] Corythus: cf. n. 3. The linguistic evidence of the Virgilian citations points the same way: in view of the frequency of the appositional genitive (*urbs Romae*) in the *Aeneid* (cf. 1. 247 with Austin's note and 3. 293 with Williams' note). I rather doubt whether the genitives *Corythi Tyrrhena ab sede* (7. 209), *extremas Corythi . . . urbes* (9. 11), and *antiquis Corythi de finibus* (10. 719) could ever naturally in Virgil refer to an ancient king rather than to a place. Worse follows if C. is taken as a person. not a place at 3. 170: to take sonic of the Virgilian passages personally and others locally is to introduce needless complications. It is easy to take the plural *urbes* as referring to a single town (cf. 7. 207f and 364 of Troy. and the use of *arces* at 3. 553 *et saep.*) and a single town is clearly envisaged at 7. 209, Sil. 4. 719f and 5. 123.

haud procul hinc (8. 478): 'not far from here' ... 'upon these thousands I shall contribute you as leader' (497f) ... 'making for the Tuscan farmland' (551) ... 'a rumour suddenly takes flight, diffused through the little city that cavalry are making fast for tlie Etruscan king's shores' (554f) ... 'not far from here' (603) ... 'nor is that all: lie has reached the distant city of Corythus and is arming the assembled countryfolk, a Lydian hand' (9. 10-11).

[14] Harrison (294. n. 2) claims that *collectos armat agrestis* is. in the light of X. 493f and 10. 148f, wholly false: Tarchon has already collected and armed the Etruscans. But they are in truth gathered in one place under arms: to that extent Iris does not dcccive.

reassuringly familiar. and the evilly inventive:'' Tumus may (or may not) already know that Aeneas has gone off somewhere to the North-West.'" He is at the moment of course at Caere. Iris, though, tells Turnus that Aeneas has gone to the *extremas Corythi . . . urbes*. To fire Turnus to immediate and incautious action. she improves on reality, by, I would suggest, a carefully measured and altogether typical piece of exaggeration: if my identification of Corythus be accepted, Iris places Aeneas in exactly the right direction and neatly doubles the distance.'' The topographical indication she reinforces by the comforting *extremas* (cf. n. 12): it is now. therefore an ideal time for Turnus to attack the Trojan camp.

There is one other reference to Corythus in the *Aeneid*: 10. 719f, *venerat antiquis Corythi de finibus Acro, Graius homo*. It might appear at first sight self-evident that Acro is a Greek because he comes from Cortona. a Pelasgian city and home of Odysseus.[18] But the name suggests an alternative explanation: it is one of those which Virgil borrows from Roman legend.'" for Acro(n) is familiar as the king of the Caeninenses, killed by Romulus (Liv. 1. 9. 8, etc.). Propertius calls Acron *Herculeus* (4. 10. 9), which suggests that Greek associations unknown to us were familiar in Augustan times. and it is still perfectly possible that Virgil did not identify Corythus with Cortona and called Acro Greek for the same (unknown) reason as did Propertius (a son. perhaps?).'"

Nothing in the above is to be regarded as a powerful and conclusive topographical argument, but it will be clear that in none of the passages just discussed would an identification of Corythus with Tarquinii be at all difficult, and that in the case of 9. 10f it would suit very well. It has long been recognised (cf. nn. 4, 21) that the decisive evidence is in Silius and that will now be discussed.

3. Silius

Outside Virgil, three other classical Latin texts refer to Corythus; nothing can be made of Rut. Nam. *de reditu* 600. ***per*** *Corythi populos*. Sil. 4. 718ff, 5. 122ff and 8. 472ff are another matter and constitute a peculiarly complex problem.[21] Describing Flaminius' advance into Etruria before the battle of Trasimene, Silius writes (4. 718ff):

> *ergo agitur raptis praeceps exercitus armis*
> *Lydorum in populos sedemque ab origine prisci*
> *sacratam Corythi iunctoque a sanguine avorum*
> *Maeonios Italis permixta stirpe colonos.*

[15] Cf. Harrison. 794 n. 2: 'initial basis of veracity'. See notably 7. 359ff (Allecto to Amata) and 421ff (Allecto to Turnus), with H. J. Steiner, *Vergil u. Italien* (Aarau, 1967). 23; W. Kiihn, *Götterszenen* (Heidelberg. 1971). 108; E. Frucnhel. *JRS* 35 (1945), 5 = KI. *B*. 2. 153; G. Highet. *The Speeches in Vergil's Aeneid* (Princeton. 1972), 288.

[16] 8. 585ff: Aeneas' open departure: 10. 267: his return. by sen. is surprising.

[17] From the general area of Latinus' city to the Tiber. about ten miles. though Pilumnus' grove might bc thought a little further off towards Ardea. From Pallanteum to Cacre. 25 miles; from Caere to 'Corythus' (on my identification). 25 miles more.

[18] 'Acro, a Grech. had come from the ancient territory of Corythus.' Cf. DH 1. 20. 4; Colonna (n. 3). 7ff; Briquel (n. 3). 101-168.

[19] Cf. Arruns. Herminius. C. Saunders. *TAPA* 71 (1940), 544.

[20] Cf. Briquel (n. 3), 225ff, for the Greek mythological associations of Tarquinii

[21] Far too readily dismissed: Briquel (n. 3), 161 n. 115: Colonna (n. 5). 13: M. Cristofani, *Enciel. Virgil. s.v.* Corythus: A Ncppi Modona. *Cortona Etrusca e Romana*, 2nd ed. (Florence, 1977). 173 n. 4, very closely followed by S. Montcro Herrero. *St. Etr.* 50 (1982), 42 n. 3. Pun. 4. 718ff: 'So the army snatched up its weapons and was hastened swiftly into the territory of the Lydians and the hallowed scat founded by Corythus of old, and the Maeonian settlers linked. from ancient stock, to the Italians. with races intertwined.'

Cortona looks down on Trasimene, and there can be no doubt about the identification of Corythus here. But is is curious that Silius does not refer at all to the Trojan associations of Corythus: to a poet of his generation. the conceit of Rome's ancestors looking down upon her defeat was potentially most attractive. Moreover, he describes Corythus as jointly settled by Italians and Etruscans of Lydian origin; this information is irreconcilable with our other testimonia on the prehistory of that city.[22]

Secondly, Flaminius himself exclaims, shortly before the actual battle (5. 122):

> . . . . . *Poenus nunc occupet altos*
> *Arreti muros, Corythi nunc diruat arcem?*
> *hinc Clusina petat? postremo ad moenia Romae*
> *illaesus contendat iter?*

The line of advance is unmistakeable: Arezzo — Cortona — Chiusi — Rome.

But that is not all: in Silius' Catalogue of the Italian forces. we read (8.472ff):

> *lectos Caere viros, lectos Cortona superbi*
> *Tarchonis domus, et veteres misere Graviscae.*
> *necnon Argolico dilectum litus Halaeso*
> *Alsium et obsessae campo squalente Fregenae.*

The four places securely identified belong in irregular sequence[23] to the coast of the Maremma. The location of Cortona in this company is not in itself so bizarre as might appear, for Silius goes on to Faesulae, Clusium, Luna and Vetulonia, in that order. It is *superbi Tarchonis domus* that gives serious pause for thought. Tarchon has no links with Cortona elsewhere,[24] and Briquel's elaborate explanation of his presence there in this passage will not convince.[25] Nomially, Silius will follow obediently his geographical source, most probably Varro, and very possibly *res humanae* 11, in such matters.[26] What then has happened here? Ancient Virgil-scholarship was very little concerned in general with topography,[27] and the Servian commentaries[28] refer to Corythus only as *mons*, *oppidum*, or *civitas Tusciae*; that is, they know nothing. Nor, given his confused mythological references to both Corythus and Cortona. does Silius seem any better informed.

[22] DH 1. 20. 26: inhabited by Umhrians. Pelasgi, Romans: see now exhaustively Briquel (n. 3), 101ff. Sil. 5. 122ff: 'Should the Carthaginian now seize the lofty walls of Arretium, now destroy the citadel of Corythus, hence make for the walls of Clusium? Finally march on the walls of Rome unharmed?' Sil. 8. 472ff: 'Caere sent chosen men. as did Cortona. the home of proud Tarchon; ancient Graviscae sent them too. So did Alsium. a coast loved by Argive Halaesus and Frepenae enclosed by an uncultivated plain.'

[23] From NW to SE. the geographical sequence is: Cortona (?), Graviscae (? = Porto Clementino), Caere (= Cervcteri). Alsium (= Palo), Fregenae (= Frcgene).

[24] Colonna (n. 5). 13 n. 70. For connections between Tarchon and the Northern dodecapolis of the Etruscans. see schol. Ver. on *Aen.* 10. 200. and Ogilvie on Liv. 5. 33. 9. P. Venini (n. 26). 162. confirms that Silius' information is unique.

[25] That Silius is reliable here, that Tarchon does belong to Cortonu and is there superimposed upon Nana-Odysseus and Corythus: Briquel (n. 3). 240ff.

[26] P. Venini, *Mem. Ist. Lomb.* 36 (1977-8), 220f, evades the problem. But see B. Rehm, *Das geogr. Bild des alten Italien in Vergils Aeneis* (**Phil.** *Supplbd.* 24. 2. 1932). 97ff; he argues for Varr. *Res hum.* 11 (104) as the essential text. Sallmann's dismissal (*Die Geographie des ält. Plinius* (Berlin. 1971), 2390 of *res hum.* 11 should not convince, for the mass of directly relevant material in Virgil and Silius is omitted from his argument (almost completely. but see 79f), and study of the fragments in *FGrH* and HRR will not persuade that Virgil, Pliny and Silius drew their mythological information about central Italy from Alexander Polyhistor (the formulaic expression *hoc totum . . . tradit* in Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 10. 389 should inspire caution) and Ncpos: Verrius and Hyginus are probably both too late to have been used by Virgil for the *Aeneid.* Rehm's arguments seem not therefore to have been overturned, or even shaken.

[27] Cf. my remarks in GR 32 (1985), 203. and in *Encicl. Virgil. s.v.* Laurentes, *Laurentum, forthcoming.

[28] *Ad Aen.* 1. 380, 3. 104. 7. 209. 9. 10. Cf. Serv. and Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.* 3. 170.

But if Corythus is actually to be understood as Tarquinii, then not only is the full subtlety of Iris' *Trugrede* at *Aen.* 9. 10f revealed, but we may also glimpse a possible explanation of the genesis of error in Silius. He calls Cortona Corythus and gives Cortona Tarquinii's founder. Behind this tnisattribution there lurks no wider spread of Tarchon's ktistic activities; rather in *Punica* 8 Silius has at last consulted seriously his chief topographical source and only now learns that Corythus was actually an old name of Tarquinii (which, familiarly, was of course founded by Tarchon[29]), but this rare and correct piece of information coexists in his recollection with his own earlier (and pernicious)[30] answer to the problem of the identification of the Virgilian Corythus, which will have perplexed many readers; Silius. perhaps misled by the similarity of the first three letters," had clearly once thought that Corythus was Cortona. Only, therefore, in *Punica* 8 does the name of the (second) founder bear witness to the fact that he had at last learned the correct identity of Coryihus. It will be found both that this identification provides the only coherent explanation of the origins of the name Corythus and (p. 102) that our sources may supply the faint trace of an explanation for why the town's identity was so generally obscured.

4. Corythus

The modem town of Tarquinia acquired its name in 1922: prior to that it was called Corneto.[32] The earliest evidence for this name is perhaps the reference to an *episcopus Cornensis* in the synod of 504; there is no doubt about the existence of both name and settlement by the eighth century, when the Saracens destroyed the ancient city of Tarquinii, whose acropolis stands about a mile to the North-East of the modem settlement." The first explicit identification of Corythus with Tarquinii occurs in the *Collectiones* of Paul of Perugia (d. AD 1348), excerpted by Boccaccio for his *Genealogia deorum*.[34] Paul is a distinctly mediaeval figure," unaware of renaissance humanism creeping up behind him: also a most learned man, who kept the best company at the Aragonese court of Naples: a transmitter. not an inventor, and certainly not to be dismissed in the same breath as Annius of Viterbo, who died. after all, a century and a half later (1502).[36]

The identification is also mentioned in a poem (post-1454) addressed by one L. Vitellius[37] to Filelfo:

is Coritus mons est, veteris primordia Troiae

[29] Strah. 5 p. 219, etc.

[30] See above. p. 93.

[31] Called suggestively by the Greeks Kroton, Korthonia (Neppi Modona, (n. 21), 176ff).

[32] A royal dccrcc of 10 Sept. 1872 imposed the hyhrid appellation Corneto Tarquinia.

[33] G. Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, 12 (London. 1878), 303f; L. Dasti, *Notizie Storiche archeologiche di Tarquinia e Corneto* (Rome, 1878), 73ff; H. H. Scullard, *Etruscan Cities and Rome* (London. 1967), 86f.

[34] 1, 290. 28ff Romano. Cf. C. G. Hardie, *JRS* 54 (1964). 250: A. Hortis. *Studi sulle opere latine di Boccaccio* (Trieste, 1879), 494ff.

[35] 'Umanistica', G. Colonna in *Gli Etruschi e Roma* (Ronic. 1981), 160 n. 5, quite wrongly.

[36] On Paul. G. Cavallo in *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan, 1982), 611; J. Dunston, *Forrr centres of Renaissance learning* (Sydney, 1972), 16; J. Seznec, *Survival of the Pagan Gods* (New York. 1961). 221; R. Weiss, *Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity* (Oxford. 1969). 27: R. Pfeiffer. *Hist. Class. Schol.* ***1300-IS50*** (Oxford. 1976). 20ff.

[37] On L. Vitellius. see Weiss (n. 36). 119: M. Pallottino, *Saggi di Antichità* 2 (Rome, 1979). 836: P. Supino Martini. *IMU* 15 (1972). 357.

Cornetum quo nunc urbs opulenta sedet.[38]

I tum now to the origins of the name: the name Corythus belongs to seven distinct characters in Roscher; of these the offspring of Paris and Oenone has no relevance that I can discover to the story under discussion. Of the others, only one has an old-established and secure place in Greek legend: the infant Telephus, offspring of Heracles and Auge. was ordered to be exposed by Auge's father Aleus: 'the child. left on Mt. Parthenius by Auge. was found by some shepherds of King Corythus being fed at the teat of a doe. and they gave him to the ruler; Corythus received the child and gladly raised him as his own son.'"[39] This version appears close to that used by Sophocles in the *Aleadae*.[40] Despite the variety in accounts of Telephus' infancy and adventures,[41] it is clear that the suckling hind and the rearing by Corythus are both part of the same version (cf. Binder, *loc. cit.*), though we should perhaps not go so far as to say that where we find the suckling hind. there too must the name of Corythus have been known.

The account cited of Telephus' exposure is very firmly localised:[42] Corytheis is one of the demes of the Tegeates (Paus. 8. 45. 1), and Corythus is clearly to be thought of as its eponym. The deme is situated at the south-eastem end of Mount Parthenius, sacred to Auge (Call. H. 5. 400, where a precinct of Telephus was shown in antiquity. To the West stands Tegea. with which Telephus was closely associated: in the temple of Athena Alea there was a picture of Auge, and on the west pediment, the fight between Telephus and Achilles;[43] to the North. there was a fountain where Heracles was said to have raped Auge (Paus. 8. 47. 30. Perhaps most important for us is the fact that the hind suckling Telephus was depicted on the coins of Tegea."[44]

How then does Corythus reach Italy'? He is an Arcadian, but his presence in the West is probably not to be explained in terms of 'l'arcadisme romain',[45] for Corythus is an extremely unimportant figure; his mythological existence depends on his connection with Telephus and our answer lies rather in the spread of the Telephus-story in the West.[46] Telephus is associated not only with Arcadia but also. even more strongly. with Mysia, whose people he led to the Trojan War: this localisation was apparently to be found in the *Little Iliad*;[47] by the time of

[38] L. Uhrlichs, *Bull. Isl.* 11 (1839), 68. Few scholars have considered the Turquinia identification seriously: L. Holstenius, *ap.* Dasti (n. 33). 75; W. Christ. SB *München*, 1905. 42: Hardie (n. 34): A. G. McKay, *Vergil's Italy* (Bath. 1970). 81.

[39] DS 4. 33. 11. Cf. Apollod. *Bibl.* 3. 9. 1 and 2. 7. 4 with Frazer's notes. 8. 48. 7. 54. 6; Hyg. *Foh.* 99: Tz. ad Lyc. 206; C. Bauchhens-Thüriedl, *Der Mythos von Telephos i.d. ant. Bildkunst* (Würzburg, 1971), 5.

[40] Fr. 89. 2 Pearson/Radt, mentioning the hind; for this element in exposure-stories. G. Binder. *Die Aussetzung des Königskindes* (Meisenheirn. 1964). 130ff.

[41] Conveniently surveyed. Pearson, *ad loc.* (n. 40): Bauchhens-Thüriedl, *loc. cit.* (n. 39); M. Jost, *Sanctuaires et Cultes d'Arcadie* (Paris. 1985), 535.

[42] O. Gruppe. *Griechische Mythologie* (Munich. 1006). 203.

[43] Paus. 8. 45. 4. Cf. C. Dugas, etc.. *Le Sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna* (Paris. 1924), 77ff; Bauchhens-Thüriedl (n. 39), 79 no. 14.

[44] Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Coins. Peloponnesus, 202f; Bauchhens-Thüriedl (n. 38). 371.

[45] J. Bayet. *MEFR* 38 (1920). 63ff. Tegea and Evander: Ov. F. 1. 545. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 5. 299 with J. Perret. *Les Origines de la Légende troyenne de Rome* (Paris. 1942), 43ff.

[46] Colonna (n. 5), 9: Briquel (n. 3), 162. Unfortunately Briquel takes seriously (164f) Servius' note on *Aen.* 7. 209 and Servius Danielis on 3. 170. concluding that there really was an *heroon* at Cortona, with which the Etruscans at some stage associated Corythus father of Dardanus. The mechanical ramblings of the Virgil commentators, when striving without evidence to fill a void, never deserved such consideration!

[47] Fr. 7 Allen = Paus. 3. 26. 9.

Aeschylus' *Mysians*, it was well-established.[48] It is as a Mysian, paradoxically,'" that he is brought into Etruscan foundation-legends, for there is no important Lydian hero of Greek mythology to be claimed as forbear of the Etruscans; so once it was thought desirable to replace the indigenous Lydian genealogies of the Etruscans' origins with something Hellenic and generally acceptable. Telephus was the nearest hero — in crude geographical terms — available for inclusion in their genealogy.'" Lycophron provides our earliest explicit literary evidence for the Telephid origins of the Etruscans: in *Alex.* 1245ff, the brothers Tarchon and Tyrsenus are described as the offspring of Telephus;" and Capuan coins of the mid-third century BC showing the hind suckling Telephus, are clearly the result of Etruscan influence, and are probably meant to rival the wolf and twins of Rome.[52] Many representations of Telephus-stories have also been found in Etruria proper, on vases, cistae, mirrors and sarcophagi.."

Given that Tarchon is sufficiently attested as founder of Tarquinii (cf. n. 29), the position of Corythus in the story of Tarchon's father Telephus[54] serves neatly and credibly to explain the application of Corythus as a name of Tarquinii; at Cortona, on the other hand," the association of the Virgilian Corythus with the Telephus-story — one that appears by now to be *prima facie* obvious and integral — no longer has either purpose or explanation.

Admittedly, this attempt to disentangle our testimonies appears to raise both a geographical and a chronological difficulty. To say that Tarchon is simply an eponym derived from the city-name Tarquinii[56] is to over-simplify the question: the name is authentically Etruscan, related to that of the family of the Tarquins, and of the Asiatic god Tarku (Tarchon: Etr. Tarχna; cf. n.103). Tarchon is therefore a good deal likelier to be an Etruscan *Stadtgott* and even hero than a late construct.[57] His connexion with Tarquinii, perhaps the oldest of Etruscan cities,[58] will have been obvious to all. even though the explicit evidence of that connection might be thought

[48] Mysians: fr. 411ff Mette. Cf. *idem*, *Der verlorene Aischylos* (Berlin, 1963). 77ff; Gruppe (n. 42), 204 n. I I; Bauchhens-Thuriedl (n. 39) 4.

[49] Cf. M. Pallottino. *L'origine degli Etruschi* (Rome, 1947). 17: F. Schachermeyr, *WSt*. 47 (1929). 154ff. *Etr. Frühgeschichte* (Berlin. 1929). 205f.

[50] Cf. Hdt. 1. 94: Xanthus Lydus *ap.* DH 1. 28. 2 = *FGrH* 765 *F* 16: H. H. Scullard in *Ancient Society and Institutions. Studies presented to Victor Ehrenberg* (Oxford, 1966) 225ff. Bayet (n. 45), 76. traces the process of Hellenisation in detail.

[51] We find Tyrrhenus son of Telephus ascribed to 'others' at DH 1. 28. 1

[52] A hind is also associated with the foundation of the city by Capys. Sil. 13. 115ff; J. Hubaux. *Rome et Veies* (Paris. 1958), 264ff; A. Alfoldi. *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor. 1965). 280: Binder (n. 40), 155f; J. Heurgon. *Capoue pré-romaine* (Paris. 1942). 224f:

[53] See most recently. R. D. de Puma. *Röm. Mitt.* 87 (1980), 15ff; *idem* in ***A Guide to Etruscan Mirrors.*** ed. N. ***T.*** de Grummond (Tallahassee. 1982). 91: Bauchhens-Thüriedl (n. 39). 28ff and *passim.*

[54] Telephus is also introduced into the foundation story of Rome: 'others' *ap.* Plut. *Rom.* 2. 1: Rhome and a daughter of Telephus: Malelas, *Chron.* 6 p. 162: Telephus king in Italy and after him his son Latinus (cf. *Suda s.v.* Latinoi); compare Alcimus *FGrH* 560 F 4 = Fest. p. 376. 35L: Romulus a son of Aeneas and Tyrrhenia (on whom see A. Fraschetti, full ref.: Aeneas-legend, n. 67). I was rash to suggest (Horsfall, 78) that these passages 'would appear to point to the . . . conclusion that a Greek writer of the fifth century — possibly Hellanicus — may have linked Aeneas with the Etruscans in his account of the Trojan settlement of central Italy'. Cf. rather T. J. Cornell, *PCPhS* 21 (1975), 18ff, and Horsfall, ***CQ*** 29 (1979), 80. Such scraps should not be bullied into reflecting an ordered and datable conception of the legendary prehistory of Italy (cf. p. 18 n. 66). The ingenuity and learning of the authors cited at the beginning of this note is quite without serious significance: if Telephus' arrival in central Italy requires mythological explanation, it must be in a Tarquinian context.

[55] Cf. Colonna (n. 5), 10, whose explanation in terms of Etruscan onomastics is ingenious but utterly unconvincing: at the mythological level. Cortona entails far more difficulties that Tarquinii.

[56] E. Wikén, ***Die*** *Kunde der Hellenen* . . . (Lund, 1937). 132.

[57] So Schachermeyr (n. 48). 207.

[58] See. for instance, Scullard (n. 33). 84ff; Schachermeyr (n. 49). 208f.

a little scanty (cf. n. 29). But it exists; in the *Aeneid*, however, Tarchon is leader of all the Etruscans and is not connected with Tarquinii at all. Indeed Tarquinii is nowhere mentioned[2"] (cf. n. 105); this omission does make the proposed identification of Tarquinii and Corythus rather easier and may possibly have been made partly for that very purpose.

It may also be thought that Tarquinii has a further substantial advantage in that it lacks an elaborate legendary prehistory;[60] here Tarchon and Corythus can comfortably coexist as parts of the same story. Cortona, however, may be thought overcrowded already:"' apart from a generous range of ethnic origins,"' we should note Nanas, Nanos/Odysseus, and notably Odysseus plain and simple.[63] Given that Virgil takes such pains to separate and contrast Aeneas and Odysseus elsewhere (Horsfall. Reply, 296f), it would be extraordinary were he thought to equate Aeneas' recondite *antiqua mater* (Corythus) with Cortona, a city well-known for its associations with Odysseus. It is no answer to adduce (Colonna, *loc. cit.*) the 'parallel' of Latium. It is not clear that either Hellanicus[64] or Lycophron[65] associated Odysseus explicitly with the foundation of Rome: it is indeed extremely rare to find Odysseus associated with that foundation."" There is room for both Aeneas, Odysseus. and their progeny as *ktistai* of various Latin towns: indeed the way that they are there kept separate suggests rather that they should be kept separate in the foundation-stories of Etruscan towns likewise, and that Aeneas' ancestors do not belong to Cortona, above all in the *Aeneid* where Odysseus is so little respected.[67]

Secondly, there is a problem of chronology. Telephus is a hero of the Trojan War, and his son sailed to Italy after the fall of Troy.[68] Thus the Corythus who tended the infant Telephus belongs to the generation before the Trojan War. But in Virgil, the name of Corythus must pre-exist Dardanus[69] and Dardanus is the great-great-great-grandfather of Aeneas. But this kind of discrepancy should not be allowed to trouble us. Corythus is mythologically insignificant; for Virgil or his source, he has ideal associations but insufficient fame to anchor him in time. The far greater problem of the date of the Etruscans' arrival in Italy is left unsolved in Virgil and elsewhere:"' Tarchon fights alongside Aeneas,[71] belongs therefore to the epoch of the Trojan War, and must further, if regarded as the Etruscans' leader, serve to date their settlement likewise. Yet elsewhere Virgil[72] clearly regards the Etruscans' power as well-established in

[59] Colonna (n. 35). 160. suggests curiously that Virgil supposed that Tarchon had not yet founded Tarquinia.

[60] Strab. 5 p.219; SByz. *s.v.*

[61] Colonna (n. 5). 5ff; Briquel (n. 3). 103ff; Neppi Modona (n. 21). 21ff.

[62] Umbrians, Pelasgians, Etruscans.

[63] Theoponipus. *FGrH* 115 F 354: Lyc. 805f; Horsfall, Reply, 296f. *Contra*, Colonna (n. 5), 7 n. 3. Galinsky's case (*ANRW* 2. 31. 2. 1003, *Gymn.* 81 (1974), 195f, etc.) for V.'s Corythus being a form of reply to Od.'s links with Cortona by the Trojans remains attractive. wherever Corythus is located.

[64] On *FGrH* 4 F 84 see CQ 29 (1979). 378ff, and more cautiously, Aeneas-legend, 15t Quite apart from my doubts about authenticity. it is far from certain, even if it be accepted that μετ' Ὀδυσσεως should be read, in DH 1. 72. 2. that the phrase refers to the foundation of Rome and not to their joint arrival in Italy.

[65] *CQ* 1979. 380; Aeneus-Legend. 20.

[66] CQ 1979. 379 n. 52; Cornell (n. 54). 18 n. 1; H. A. Sanders. *CPh* 3 (1908), 318f.

[67] Cf. Austin on A. 2. 7, 164. etc.: F. R. Bliss. *Studies in Honor of B.* L. *Ullmann* I (Rome. 1964). 99ff; G. K. Galinsky. La!. 28 (1969). 3ff.

[68] 'Others' *ap.* DH 1. 28. 1. Cf. Plut. *Rom.* 2. 1.

[69] Servius makes Corythus the father of Dardanus by various mythological arrangements; cf. E. Thraemer, *PW* iv. 3176. 18ff.

[70] In Herodotus. in the mid-thirteenth century BC: cf. 2. 145. Vell. 1. 1. 3: at the time of Orestes (ie just after the Trojan war). In Lyc., apparently just in time for them to settle and meet Aeneas.

[71] In Virg.. Lyc. Cf. 'others' *ap.* DH 1. 28. 1.

[72] 8. 480, 11. 581. Cf. J. Gagé, MEFR 46 (1929). 120; B Nardi. *Mantuanitas Virgiliana* (Rome. 1963). 1.

Italy at Aeneas' arrival."[73] An early date for the settlement might seem to imply an equally early date for its leader Tarchon, in formal contradiction to his position as son of Telephus and ally of Aeneas. Indeed Lydus has to posit the existence of two Tarchons (*Ostent.* 3)! But for Virgil the name Tarchon. rich in associations. unlike the shadowy Tyrrhenus[74] — will serve as the leader of any generation of Etruscans. If Tarchon is movable in time, then our difficulty about the generation of Corythus is alleviated. But it is unreasonable to demand precise synchronisms between such complex legends.

5. Dardanus Tuscus

The story of Dardanus' Tuscan origins at Corythus is not altogether isolated: there are two other localisations on Italian soil. both of which, it is claimed, have some bearing on the origins of the story."

First. Clusium (?). On an Etruscan inscription from the Wadi Milian, inland from Carthage, expounded notably by Prof. Heurgon,[76] Marce Unata Zutas dedicates to Tin the territory of the Dardanii (Tartaniutn). The dedicator's *gentilicium* belongs exclusively to Clusium, and Heurgon ingeniously connects his presence in North Africa with Appian's reference (B.C. 1. 435) to the followers of Cn. Papirius Carbo from the neighbourhood of Clusium who fled with him to Libya in 82 BC. It would therefore appear that some story which connected Dardanus with. apparently. not Cortona or Tarquinii, but Clusium, pre-dated the *Aeneid* (cf. Colonna, n. 5. 5). Heurgon argues[77] that because the inscription uses a Latin form of the name. the Etruscan origin of the royal house of Troy was not yet known (and that therefore Virgil was likely to have invented the story of Corythus: I disagree: see below). Colonna (n. 5. 3) is rightly less impressed by the form of the name in isolation, and agreeably suggests (5) that if the inscription does anticipate the outlines of the Virgilian story, then these Clusine exiles are claiming older antecedents than Rome herself. Given the circumstances of their departure from Italy, it was hardly likely that 'Dardanii' would be used to signify 'Romans' (Colonna, 4f). Clearly, if Virgil did not invent the story of Dardanus' origins, it need not have been very old (sufficient explanation of the Graeco-Roman fonn of the name): certainly, it need not have derived from the ancient Etruscan culture of Clusium. Cortona or Tarquinii. But older than Virgil. possibly than Varro too, it does. on the evidence of this text, appear to have been.

But not Clusium (?) alone. The Δάρδανος πόλις of Lyc. *Alex.* 1129 may be dismissed:[78] it is Daunian and owes its name to the tribe of Dardi (Plin. 3. 104): Lycophron of course cannot resist secondary allusion by *Gleichklang*!

More seriously. Cora: *Corani* a *Dardano Troiano orti.*[79] A difficult item: clearly Coras is a more plausible *ktistes*, but the *gemini fratres*, Catillus and Coras, are made leaders of the Tiburtines by Virgil (*Aen.* 7. 672),[80] and at least Catillus is already in Cato.[81] Cora is

[73] Docs this imply that Virgil thought the Etruscans autochthonous'? (Cf. Nnrdi (n. 72). 4ff.) I very much doubt it.

[74] At *Aen.* I I. 612. a mere name.

[75] Cf. Briquel (n. 3). 1631': Colonna (n. 5). 2ff, after Hcurgon. below (n. 76). Cf. too now *Enciel. Virgil. s.v.* Dardanus (Musti).

[76] ***REL*** 47. 1 (1969). 286ff; *CRAI* 1969, 526ff.

[77] ***REL***. 290; *CRAI* 550. Cf. M. Bonjour, *Terre Natale* (Paris. 1975). 479.

[78] But see Nardi (n. 72). 21'.

[79] Plin. 3. 63. an isolated mythological item in a list of colonies: Sol. 2. 7; Mart. Cap. 6. 642.

[80] On the founders of Tibur, Catillus and Coras. see pp. 61'. Xf.

[81] Fr. 56P. It is of course far from certain that the long rigmarole in Solinus (*Catillus enim Amphiarai filius* . . . . including Coras in passing) has anything to do with Cato: the authentic citation may well be limited to a *Catillo*

conventionally an Alban colony." So what are we to make of Pliny's assertion? His source is quite unclear and need not be the same as that of the list of colonies itself. Either Pliny, or his source, perhaps. knew the story of Dardanus and Corythus (either from Virgil or from Virgil's source) and was prompted by the similarity of sound between Cora and Cor-ythus to make Dardanus the founder of the latter also." Given that Coras belongs to Tibur and Dardanus to Corythus, both solidly enough, to link Dardanus with Cora smacks of mere casual tinkering. scholarship by loose association. But it does appear to assume the story of Dardanus at Corythus.

6. Sources

In all of the above. only Sil. 8. 472f, the inscription of the Wadi Milian, and conceivably the foundation of Cora may, of our classical evidence. be interpreted as indicating that the story of Corythus is earlier than the *Aeneid.* But in the only substantial modem discussion before mine. Prof. V. Buchheit argued forcefully that it was a Virgilian innovation;" by it, proposed Buchheit, Virgil rescues the Trojan ancestry of Augustus and Rome from the odium incurred by Troy as an eastern city, and sets the claim of Italy to world-rule on the firmer basis of a yet older manifestation of divine planning and favour (n. 7, 166ff).

Buchheit's exposition of the Augustan aspects of the story as developed in the *Aeneid* I do not wish to question.[85] But the fact that the story is developed in an Augustan way[86] is not in itself an argument for Virgil's originality; he has a great talent for exploiting the national potential of the most diverse material. Notice the great importance which Virgil attaches to the theme of 'return'[87] in any way proof of invention: a theme so structurally useful and emotionally satisfying clearly required full exploitation whatever its origins.

The external evidence for the derivative character of the story may be reinforced by indications drawn from the poem itself.[88] Virgil's first allusion to Aeneas' Italian descent occurs at line 380: *Italiam quaero patriam et genus ab Iove summo.*[89] If the reader did not know that the *patria* of Jupiter's son Dardanus was indeed Italy, then the remark would be extraordinarily hard to follow: *patria* might be understood as Aeneas' future home, but the unexplained connexion of Dardanus with this *patria* would constitute an obstacle to any reader.

Arcade praefecto classis Euandri. Sol. 2. 7 also cites 'Sextius' as having linked Coras and Tibur: hardly one of the philosophical Sextii: possibly (R. Rittcr. *Diss. Hal.* 14 (1901), 330) the oft-corrupted poet Sueius lurks here.

[82] *Aen.* 6. 775: ***OGR*** 17. 6.

[83] Briquel (n. 3), 163-4, incautiously and unhelpfully invokes the 'doubtless ancient presence of an Arcadian traclition' of Corythus at Cora — whence lie is transferred to Cortona (cf. Heurgon (n. 76). 290f, n. 3).

[84] Buchheit (n. 7), 151ff. Cf. Bonjour (n. 77). 476f; W. Suerbaum, *Poetica* I (1967), 180f.

[85] The change in Horace's attitude to Troy (*Carm.* 3. 3 to 4. 6, 15) is noteworthy (Buchheit (n. 7), 171 n. 92), but it is an argument for tlie influence of the *Aeneid* as a whole and not for the impact of one story.

[86] Cf. G. Binder. *Aeneas u. Augustus* (Mciscnheim. 1971), 18; A. Montenegro Duque. ***Lo*** *Onomastica de Virgilio* (Salamanca, 1949), 271ff; R. Scuderi (n. 117). 91f.

[87] Buchheit (n. 7). 151ff; Bonjour *loc. cit.* (n. 84); R. Bohn. *Unters. über das Motiv des gelobten Landes in Vergils Aeneis u. in alten Testament* (diss. Freiburg, 1965); Suerbaum (Aeneas, n. 136).

[88] Arguments accepted by Colonna (n. 5). 2. ancl Briquel (n. 5). 163 n. 124. but apparently not by M. Pani, *Ann. Fac. Lett. Bari* IX (1975), 671: n.6.

[89] It is clearly wrong to divide the two halves of 380 by a mark of punctuation (Mynors, Williams). To the convincing arguments of Wagner and Austin I would add that, for Virgil. Aeneas' descent from Jupiter in the male line runs through Dardanus and his Italian ancestry: there is an unbreakable link of scnsc between *genus* and 'Italy. my fatherland': cf. 3. 129. *Cretam proavosque petamus.* It asks much of a reader lo supply both a pause in scnsc ancl construction before *et*, as well as an *est* with what follows. when excellent scnsc can be obtained without either pause or understood copula. Cf. E. Harrison, ***CR*** 22 (1972). 303f.

Next, 3. 94ff; we can hardly be expected to retain a clear recollection of these prophetically allusive fragments for future elucidation. When the oracle of Delian Apollo orders the Trojans:

> *Dardanidae duri, quae vos a stirpe parentum*
> *prima tulit tellus, eadem vos ubere laeto*
> *accipiet reduces, antiquam exquirite matrem*

we must be able to appreciate the precise reference in *Dardanidae*, even though the Trojans cannot. It is one thing for the wanderers to be baffled by the obscurity of this oracle (cf. 3. 103ff, 161ff, 182ff), another for even Virgil's most learned readers not to be able to understand the narrative; it is not enough to write in terms of a gradual solution in the poem to the problem of Corythus (Buchheit n. 7, 166). Virgil must have expected at least some of his readers to grasp the full point of 1. 380 and **3.** 94ff. This could not have been done with a totally new story.

In *Aen.* 7, the fullest statement of the Trojans' Italian origins is elaborately introduced (205ff):

> *atque equidem memini — fama est obscurior annis —*
> *Auruncos*[90] *ita ferre senes, his ortus ut agris*
> *Dardanus . . .*

Buchheit (n. 7, 165) contrasts these words with a simple acknowledgement of tradition such as *accipimus* (7. 48), and suggests that the poet is here implicitly disclaiming any literary dependence. Rather, Virgil in this passage offers a complex and deliberately Italian form of the claim ἀμάρτυρον οὐδὲν ἀείδειν: we may come to admit that Virgil's source is indeed *obscurior*, while doubting that it is necessarily ancient or oral (cf. p. 6). But Virgil's elaborate protestations do not, I suspect, compel us of themselves to infer that he is at this point indebted to a source at once proclaimed and obscured for his material."' Rather, 'a story-teller's device for heightening the discourse', as Mr Stinton subtly remarks of the Virgilian *si credere dignum est*.[92]

Virgil's treatment of the Etruscans continues to attract much, even too much attention."' We cannot be sure either that Virgil's family was Etruscan (though his name was), or that he sat at the feet of the Etruscologist Tarquitius Priscus,[94] or indeed that any of the religious lore in the poem is either distinctively Etruscan or significantly recondite."' It cannot be inferred from the poems that the Mantua of Virgil's youth was a hotbed of romantic nationalism, yet the allure exercised by the Etruscans in the Augustan age is undeniable.""

Whatever the origins of Virgil's partiality. the evidence of the *Aeneid* is striking, displayed notably in the honourable role of the Etruscans in Aeneas' Italian war. Only Mezentius of Caere. in exile on account of his monstrous cruelty, fights, with his following of a thousand

[90] Probably used in a vague sense as an *Urvolk* of central Italy: cf. *Aen.* 7. 795, 11. 318; Plin. 3. 56; Rehm (n. 26), 64f. Cf. also Myth. p. 6.

[91] *PCPhS* 1976.65.

[92] Older discussions: see Horsfall, n. 65. See now Colonna (n. 5). 13f, (n. 35) 159ff; E. Rawson, *JRS* 68 (1978), 139, and *Intellectual Life in the lure Roman Republic* (London. 1985). 29ff.

"'T. P. Wiseman, in *Bourgeoisies* (full title, Myth, n. 9). 306: S. Mratschek, *Athen.* 62 (1984). 178.

[94] Cf. K. Biichner. ***PW*** viii A 1, 1037. 53ff; Westendorp Boerma on Catal. 5. 3f.

[95] The belief that it is is inherited from Serv. (*ad Aen.* 10. 228, etc.) and Macr. (3. 9. 16, etc.); cf. E. Thomas, *Essai sur Servius* (Paris. 1980), 267ff. Such uncritical enthusiams infected, for instance. H. J. Rose. *Aeneas Pontifex* (London. 1948). and J. Hall. *Vergilius* 28 (1982). 44ff.

[96] Nisbet and Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* I. 1. 1; R. Enking. *MDAI(R)* 66 (1959). 94ff; J. Heurgon, *La vie quotidienne des Etrusques* (Paris. 1961), 317ff; W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria* (Oxford, 1971), 24ff; Colonna (n. 5). 13.

men, against the Trojans and the establishment of the Roman order. Against him, *omnis furiis surrexit Etruria iustis* (8. 494). The forces which Tarchon leads to Aeneas' support are fully recorded in a second Catalogue (10. 166ff): they range from Caere and Pyrgi to Mantua. from the Ligurian coast to Clusium. To Aeneas' side they come not so much as allies but as subjects:

> *ipse oratores ad me regnique coronam*
> *cum sceptro misit mandatque insignia Tarchon*

says Evander, passing on the command to Aeneas.'" It must be stressed that this was in Virgil's day an extremely unusual role for Etruscans to play in a text about Aeneas. Livy's account of Mezentius of Caere fighting with Tumus against the Trojans (1. 2. 3) gives the standard version. Of possible antecedents for this apparent innovation in Virgil,[98] the most striking is Lycophron's version (*Alex.* 1238ff.): Aeneas shall come to Etruria"" — to Pisa and Agylla — and will there be met by Odysseus and by Tarchon and Tyrsenus, sons of Telephus. Virgil appears to have known Lycophron intimately.""

It is tempting — and perhaps legitimate — to interpret Virgil's favourable presentation of the Etruscans in historical terms."" In 390 BC, the *sacra*, the Vestals, and the *flamen Quirinalis* were given sanctuary by the Caeretans (Liv. 5. 40. 7f) who were admitted to *hospitium* by way of reward (5. 50. 3); when in 353, the Caeretans were lured into war against Rome by Tarquinii, they at once took fright and sued for peace. which was granted on account of the *vetus meritum* (Liv. 7. 20. 8). Thus in the *Aeneid* Caere is relieved of the guilt of association with Mezentius. and becomes the site of Aeneas' meeting and alliance with all Etruria (8. 603ff). It is less easy to justify historically the well-established account (above) of the hostility of Caere and its ruler Mezentius towards the cause of Aeneas.[102]

Thus Caere is an eminently suitable place for Aeneas to receive the subjection of his Etruscan homeland.[103] The retum of Aeneas to Etruria and his alliance with the Etruscans are clearly related themes. It is peculiarly appropriate that all Etruria should unite to support Aeneas, whose family had in the remote past been Etruscan, but this line of argument is only touched on once in the poem and then lightly (9. 10f; p. 91).

It has already been noted that Aeneas meets Tarchon at Caere, though Iris tells Turnus that he has gone to Corythus (p. 91); Corythus is studiously distanced from the action and Aeneas, on the time-scale tightly worked out by Virgil, could hardly have met his allies so far away from his own camp as the ancestral *patria* of Tarquinii. But there is also an issue of suitability: Caere, as we have seen, has an honourable place in Roman history: Tarquinii, on the other hand, like Veii, had a bad record: home of the Tarquins' family, enemy of the infant republic

[97] Cf. *Aen.* 8. 505f, 10.153ff; Gagé (n. 71). 130ff.

[98] Cf. too *FGrH* 560 F 4 (Alcimus) (n. 54): M. Sordi. *I rapporti romano-ceriti* (Rome. 1960). 10ff; S. Josifovic. *PW* Suppl. xi. 900. 18ff; L. Malten, *ARW* 29 (1931). 49: Buchheit (n. 7). 166: Perret (n. 45). 468f; D. Musti. 'Tcndenze nella Storiografia'. *Quad. Urb.* 10 (1970). 30f.

[99] 1239 παλιμπλανήτην δέξεται Τυρσηνία. It would be imprudent to build much on a sense of 'returning' for K. : cf. von Holzinger, *ad loc.*, *Epigr.* Gr.. 491. 5.

[100] Josifovic (n. 99) 922. 20ff. K. Ziegler, *PW* xiii 2350. 13ff is perhaps too sceptical. See too *Prudentia* X (1976), 86f. For the suggestion that 'Lyc.' followed Virgil. cf. S. West, CQ 33 (1983), 114ff, *JHS* 104 (1984), 130ff.

[101] Cf. Gage (n. 72). 129; C. Saunders. *Vergil's primitive Italy* (New York. 1930). 74.

[102] Hoffmann (*Rom u. die gr. Welt . . . Phil. Supplbd.* 27. 1 (1934). 124ff) suggests improbably that fourth-century Greek sources reflected hostility then existing between Rome and Caere: were contacts ever quite so sensitive'?

[103] Few will have known that. historically. the family of the Tarquinii was probably connected more closely with Caere than with Tarquinii: Gagé (n. 72). 128f; Ogilvie, *Livy 1-5*, 141. A close connection between Tarchon and Caere would have suited no-one.

(Liv. 3. 6f), ally of Veii against Rome (Liv. 5. 16), who took up arms again as soon as the forty-year truce of 351 had expired (Liv. 9. 32ff), a vigorous opponent through the 350's (Liv. 7. 12ff, *passim*). This pattern is so consistent that Gagé invested the subjection of Tarchon and the Etruscans to a Trojan leader with an historical meaning[104]* as foreshadowing the ultimate subjection of Etruria to Rome, and that may indeed at one level of explanation be correct. It might for that matter be felt that a localisation of the Dardanidae in a city (Corythus-Tarquinii) so long and bitterly opposed to Rome is historically intolerable, but Virgil never mentions Tarquinii at all,[105] and leaves the identification of Corythus to those aware of the *fama obscurior*. If. moreover, the story of Trojan Corythus is used to legitimate in mythological terms the subjection of Etruria to Rome and the eventual reconciliation of the two powers, it may be thought that its narrative function in the *Aeneid* is sufficiently divorced from the long hostility between Tarquinii and Rome.

It is quite clear that no-one before Virgil had thought through the possible implications and developments of the Corythus-variant for the Aeneas-legend. but that is by no means the same thing as claiming the Etruscan origin of the Dardanidae as an outright Virgilian invention. Whatever we make of the fireside tales of Auruncan elders (above, pp. 6, 100), it should by now have emerged as likelier than not that Virgil drew on a pre-existing story of Corythus. Evidently, even if there had been some hint in Varro (see below). it was not clear enough to rescue Silius from his confusion, and did not pass into the main stream of geographical lore to inform the Virgil commentators or, for instance, Mela, Pliny, Solinus or Festus. Possible traces of Varro's position must be considered with special care: in Servius Auctus' note on *Aen.* 3. 148, *Varro sane rerum humanarum secundo air Aenean deos Penates in Italiam reduxisse*, Servius' *re-* should not be pressed into implying that Varro ever thought of the Penates as returning; the commentator might well be importing notions from the poem into his citation of Varro.

In Servius' note on *Aen.* 3. 167. *Graeci et Varro humanarum rerum Dardanum non ex Italia sed de Arcadia, urbe Pheneo, oriundum dicunt*, the contrast *non ex Italia sed* might at first sight appear to be Servius' not Varro's: were that so, we should still not be entitled to infer that Varro alluded, even if negatively, to the Trojan's Italian origin. But at Serv. Auct. *ad Aen.* 4. 682. *Varro ait non Didonem sed Annam amore inpulam se super rogum interemisse*, we are encouraged by Servius' note on 5.4 to conclude that the contrast could well have been made by Varro.[106] The form of the contrast does not occur elsewhere in Servius' many references to Varro. On the other hand, in the note on 1. 52. *poetae quidem fingunt hunc regem esse ventorum sed rt Varro dicit rex fuit insularum*, Servius makes it perfectly clear that he is himself contrasting Varro's version with another. In the note on 3. 167. then. it is a possibility to be taken very seriously that Varro did himself draw the contrast between Italian and Arcadian origins; the *Graeci*, perhaps mentioned by Varro as a source for the latter, are here linked with Varro by Servius or his source, not necessarily as having contrasted, like Varro, the two stories, but simply to back up Varro's account of the Arcadian origin of Dardanus.

Possibly, then. Corythus was included in a version mentioned only to be rejected by Varro. Buchheit[107] is surely incautious in suggesting that Varro's account of the Trojans' origins is

[104] Gagé (n. 72). 130ff. comparing *Aen.* 8. 505ff and DH 3. 59ff (the subjection of Etruria by Tarquinius Priscus).

[105] Perhaps because not coastal. perhaps because of associations at Rome: see Gagé (n. 72), 122ff; Saunders (n. 102), 74f. Cf. also n. 59.

[106] Cf. *PVS* 13 (1973-4), 11: Varr. LL 5. 62, *non quod … sed …*, 5. 58. *non quas … neque ut vulgus putat … sed …*.

[107] Buchheit (n. 7). 164. 'von dem uns Servius gleich mehrmals die griechische Abstammung des Dardanus bestätigt'.

quite clear; the LL is rich in rejected and alternative explanations[108] and we should never suppose that Varro always offered the same account when discussing a single phenomenenon in different places.[109] But this discussion, despite the seductive implications of Servius' note on 3. 167, is not committed to Varro as Virgil's necessary source. Buchheit (n. 7. 165f) is again unwise to suggest that no antiquary of the age would venture to go against the magisterial dictum that, for instance, Dardanus was an Arcadian. It bears repeating that Varro was descriptive, not prescriptive, and that the listing of alternatives is a regular technique of his.[110] Nor was his authority necessarily revered: note for instance Hyginus' departure from Varro's view on the important topic of the origin of the Sabines.[111] Nor should we exclude the possibility that the Corythus-story be attributed to another antiquary of Varro's own lifetime, perhaps writing before the appearance of the *res humanae*.

E. Thraemer[112] observes that in Virgil, the Penates are never Samothracian. but Trojan or Phrygian (2. 747, 3. 148); unless, he argues, we suppose that Dardanus and Iasion set off from Italy without *väterliche sacra*, then Aeneas is bringing back from Troy Penates that are originally Italian.[113] But of this 'return of the Penates', which one might feel deserves to be a theme of major importance, there is not one word in the *Aeneid* and it cannot be accepted as an account current in the late republic.[114] But he is much likelier to be right in his suggestion that (n. 112. 63ff) the 'schon zu Varros Lebzeiten einsetzenden Neigung, die römische Religion mit der *Etrusca disciplina* in Verbindung zu bringen' provides the right context for the development of the much of the Etruscan element in the story of the Trojans' exile. The introduction of the Corythus-story represents an attempt to expand that element beyond the bounds of Aeneas' landing and the immediately subsequent events. Of course Aeneas cannot himself be made an Etruscan, but his family now certainly can.

Corythus represents an elegant development of secondary myth, and does appear to have been invented for reasons of Etruscan patriotism; Virgil, writing of Aeneas, exploits the development strongly but discreetly, introducing the element of *nostos* into the wanderings of Aeneas and his followers.[115]

The interest in things Etruscan that flourished in late-republican Rome has been studied closely in recent years: the work of A. Caecina, Nigidius Figulus, Tarquitius Priscus and C. Fonteius Capito on Etruscan divination is well-known: Varro himself appears to have read *Tuscae historiae*[116] and clearly had done some work on the subject in general.[117] In this context. it is perfectly credible that a late republican antiquary, Etruscan himself. or of Etruscan

[108] Cf. LL 5. 53. 48, 49, 51, 69, 83. Dardanus from Arcadia: Sew. on 3. 167, above. Thereafter Samothrace, Phrygia: ***RH*** 2 *ap*. Serv. Dan. *ad Aen*. 3. 148; cf. Varr. *ap*. Serv. Dan. *ad Aen*. 3. 178. *RD* cd. Cardauns sv b; G. Wissowa. *Hermes* 22 (1887). 40ff = *Ges. Abh*. (Munich. 1904). 107ff; S. Weinstock. *PW* six. 453. 37ff; A. J. Kleywegt. 'Varro über die Penaten', *Meded. kon. Ned. akad*. NR 35. 7 (1972), 261ff.

[109] For instance the city of Rome in LL 5 and ***RH*** 8 (for which Mirsch's collection of fragments must still be used).

[110] *Antichthon* 15 (1981), 142.

[111] J. Poucet in *Études Étrusco-Italiques* (Louvain. 1963). 173ff.

[112] PW iv. 2176, 41ff.

[113] Cf. Sew. *ad Aen*. 3. 15, *cum omni hereditate maiorum diviserunt etiam deos Penates Dardanus et Iasion fratres, quorum alter Thraciam alter Phrygiam incoluit occupatam.* Cf. too now Suerbaurn (Aeneas. n. 136).

[114] Wissowa. *Ges. Abh*. (n. 109), 113 n. 3.

[115] Cf. n. 84.

[116] Cens. 17. 6. cf. LL 5. 9 on the *trágoediae Tuscae* of Volnius. On late republican Etruscology, cf. nn. 92, 93, 96; J. Kaimio in P. Bruun (ed.) *Studies in the Romanisation of Etruria* (Rome. 1975), 101ff: T. J. Cornell, ***ASNP*** 3. 6. 3 (1976). 411ff; M. Torelli, *Elogia Tarquiniensia* (Florence. 1975). 93ff; R. Scuderi. *Aevum* 51 (1978), 89f.

[117] Harris (n. 95), 4ff; S. Weinstock. ***PBSR*** 18 (1950), 44ff; Heurgon (n. 96). 28811'; Enking (n. 95). 94; Cornell (n. 117).

sympathies, should. in a spirit of patriotism. have decided, by a clever mythological stroke, to capture the whole glorious house of the Dardanidae for his nation, given the secure place of both Aeneas and Telephus on Etruscan soil. at least in Lycophron! This new and ingenious speculation was. it has been suggested, alluded to and rejected by Varro; by Virgil, though, it was admired and followed.'"

[18] Robert Ogilvie, Tim Cornell and Colin Hardie did much to improve the original version of this paper.

SLOW CYRELE'S ARRIVAL

In 204 BC the Romans festively introduced into their city the Anatolian goddess Cybele. whose stone had arrived by ship from the Troad.[1] Her sea-journey was completely unmemorable; but around the last stage of her journey, from Ostia to Rome. there arose a legend. several of whose details will be discussed below.[2] Our main source is Ovid. who gives the followin,ʊ account:

> She had arrived at Ostia. where the Tiber divides to join the sea and flows with ampler sweep. All the knights and the grave senators. mixed up with the common folk. came to meet her at the mouth of the Tuscan river. With them walked mothers and daughters and brides. and the virgins who tended the sacred hearths. The men wearied their arms by tugging lustily at the rope: hardly did the foreign ship make head against the stream. A drought had long prevailed: tlie grass was parched and burnt: the loaded bark sank in the muddy shallows. Every man who lent a hand toiled beyond his strength and cheered on the workers by his cries. Yet the ship stuck fast. like an island firmly fixed in the middle of the sea. Astonished at the portent, the men did stand and quake. Claudia Quinta traced her descent from Clausus of old. and lier beauty matched her nobility. Chaste was she. though not reputed so. Rumour unkind had wronged her. and a false charge had been trumped up against lier: it told against lier that she dressed sprucely. that she walked abroad with her hair dressed in varied fashion. that she had a ready tongue for gruff old men. Conscious of innocence. she laughed at fame's untruths: but we of the multitude are prone to think the worst. When she had stepped forth from the procession of the chaste matrons. and taken up tlie pure water of the river in her hands. she thrice let it drip on her hand, and thrice lifted her palms to heaven (all who looked on her thought that she was out of lier mind). and bending the knee she fixed her eyes on the image of the goddess. and with dishevelled hair uttered these words: 'Thou fruitful mother of the Gods. graciously accept thy suppliant's prayers on one condition. They say I am not chaste. If thou dost condemn me. I will confess my guilt: convicted by the verdict of a goddess. I will pay the penalty with my life. But if I am free of crime. give by thine act a proof of my innocency. and. chaste as thou art. do thou yield to my chaste hands.' She spoke, and drew the rope with a slight effort. My story is a strange one. but is attested by the stage.'[3]

Ovid's version, as he himself (326) indicates. was evidently influenced by the fact that this tale of Claudia was acted out on the stage. The most likely occasion for such a performance of Claudia's feat was the Megalesia, the yearly festival of the Magna Muter, during which. since 194, plays had been performed. One can hardly doubt that a play concerning a noble lady whose behaviour was not beyond suspicion must have been highly attractive for a public

[1] On the historical background. see T. Köves, 'Zuni Empfang der Magna Mater *in* Rom', *Historia* 12 (1963). 321-347; F. Bömer, 'Kybele in Rom', *Röm. Mitt.* 71 (1964). 130-151: T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics* (Leicester. 1979). 79ff; D. Porte. 'Claudia Quinta et le problème de la lavatio de Cybèle en 204 av. J.C.'. *Klio* 66 (1984). 93-103; F. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte* (Rome. 1985). 304f; D. M. Cosi, *Casta mater Idaea* (Venice. 1986). 22-27. On Cyhelc. see most recently M. J. Vermaseren, *Cybele and Attis* (London. 1977). and *Corpus Cultus Cybelae Attidisque* (= *CCCA*), vols. 1-9 = EPRO 50 (Leiden. 1977ff); F. Nauman, *Die Ikonographie der Kybele in der phrygischen und der griechischen Kunst* (Tübingen. 1983); W. Burkert, *Greek Religion* (Oxford. 1985). 177-179. 419f; Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*. 107-115.

[2] For all sources. see E. Schmidt, *Kultübertragungen*, RGVV 8. 2 (Giessen. 1910). 1-30: 0 . V. Henkel, *De komst van de Mater Magna naar Rome* (Diss. Utrecht. 1979). 192-225.

[3] Ov. F. 4. 291-328 (tr. J. G. Frazer), cf. Bömer *ad loc*. For the iconography. see *CCCA* 3. no. 218f and index *s.v.* Cybele: for tlie conditional confession (320f). see R. Pettazzoni, *La confessione dei peccati*. vol. 3 (Bologna. 1936). 123: for the form of her prayer. see A. Henrichs. ***HSCP*** 80 (1976). 2751'.

confronted with the attempts of Augustus to improve the morals of precisely the class to which Claudia belonged.'

Claudia's miracle is first mentioned around 16 BC when Propertius (4. 11. 51) praises the matrona for having moved 'slow Cybele' (*quae tardam movisti fune Cybellen*). Cicero, however. who mentions Claudia on various occasions (*Har. resp*. 27, *Cael*. 34), is completely silent about the lady's miraculous feat. It seems, then. that this particular legend developed in the second half of the first century BC.'

It is hard to detennine the reasons for this development. Wiseman has well summarized the mixed attitudes Cybele evoked among the Romans: 'To the superstitious crowd, Cybele was an awesome power. a worker of miracles: to the rationalising philosopher, she was an allegory of Mother Earth; to the Roman statesman, she was the first of the deities annually honoured by the aediles` games. But many Romans in Virgil's lifetime thought of her in terms of madness and high camp — a sinister alien goddess served by a priesthood of contemptible half-men.'" Even though Cybele was promoted as an acceptable goddess in Augustus' time. many Romans must still have felt somewhat uneasy about her rites. It is this uneasiness which may well explain the curious detail of Cybele's 'slowness'. Littlewood has suggested that the silting of the Tiber played a role in this respect.' but such a 'realistic' reading overlooks the resemblance to other legends relating the 'slow arrival' of a statue. We shall therefore approach the problem in a different, more structuralist manner, but must first look at some other interesting legends.

Pausanias reports the following local legend from Erythrae:

> The statue (of Heracles) at Erythrae is not like the statues they call Aeginetan or the most ancient Athenian statues. but sheer Egyptian if ever a statue was. There was a wooden raft the god sailed on from Phoenician Tyre, though why this should happen even the Erythraeans are unable to say: but when the raft reached the Ionian sea they say it anchored at the Middle Cape, which is a mainland cape. the midmost that you pass sailing out of harbour at Erythrae to the island of Chios. When the raft came to the cape. the Erythraeans took great trouble and the Chians showed no less enthusiasm each to bring the statue to their own city. Now there was an Erythraean who lived by fishing out at sea and had lost his eyesight from a disease; in the end the fisherman (who was called Phormion) saw in a dream that the women of Erythrae had to cut off their hair and the men must plait the women's hair into a cable and pull home the statue with it. The city women utterly refused to obey the dream, but those Thracian women who were enslaved or living in freedom in Erythrae allowed their hair to be cut off. and so the Erythraeans hauled in the rat't. The Thracians are the only women allowed into the Herakleion, and the people there still preserve the rope of hair even in my time: and in fact they say the fisherman's eyes were open and he could see for the rest of his life."

To these two legends a third has to be added. Motifs like those encountered in the classical legends can also be found in the medieval 'Anschwemmungslegenden'. From these legends we

[4] Cf. R. J. Littlewood. 'Poetic Artistry and Dynastic Politics: `Ovid at the Ludi Megalenses (*Fasti* 4. 179-372)'. CQ 31 (1981). 381-395. On the Augustan reforms, see most recently S. des Bouvrie, 'Augustus' Legislation on Morals — which Morals and what Aims?'. SO 59 (1984). 93-113: E. Badian. 'A Phantom Marriage Law', *Philologus* 129 (1985). 82-98; A. Wallace-Hadrill. 'Propaganda and Dissent'? Augustan Moral Legislation and the Love Poets'. *Klio* 67 (1985). 180-184 (with earlier bibliography).

On the development, see J. Gérard. `Legende et politique autour de la Mère des dieux'. REL 58 (1981). 153-175.

[5] T. P. Wiseman, 'Cybelc. Virgil and Augustus'. in A. J. Woodman and D. A. West (edd.), *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge. 1984). 117-128, esp. 119. 225-9. On Cybclc in Rome. see also G. Arrigoni. 'Alla ricerca della *meter* Tebana e dei *veteris di*`, *Scripta Philologa*, vol. 3 (1982). 7-68: D. M. Cosi, `L'ingresso di Cibele ad Atene e a Roma', *Atti Ce*. R. *D*. A. C. 9 = N.S. 1 (1980-XI [1984]). 81-91.

[7] Littlewood (n. 4), 393 n. 60.

[8] Paus. 7. 5. 5-8 (tr. P. Levi, spelling slightly adapted), 242f: cf. Graf, *Nordionische Kulte*, 300-3.

may adduce that of the Wimpassinger Kreuz, a thirteenth-century crucifix — more than seven meters high and four meters wide — which perished in 1945 in the fire of the Stephans- dom at Vienna. Around 1350 a great cross with the image of the crucified Saviour painted on it floated down the Danube and was stranded near Rossau where it proved to be immovable. The following day a procession of the clergy arrived with the local population. and a simple Franciscan pulled the statue out of the river with his girdle without any difficulty."

When we compare these legends, we notice the following similarities:

1. There is a rather unusual statue.
2. It arrives from a distant place.
3. Near its place of destination it runs aground.
4. The statue is moved by or through mediation of persons who are outside or at the margin of society or the ruling social class.

It is the aim of this final chapter to discuss the last two motifs. Why is the solution brought about by an 'outsider' and why did these statues run aground before arriving at their place of destination? Our point of departure will be the second of these two motifs: the statues come from a distant place. They are therefore — it is immaterial for our purpose if this is in reality or according to the legend — strangers who are incorporated into a new society. This means that our problems have to be situated in the context of the rites of passage. It is now nearly seventy years ago that Arnold van Gennep published his classic study on the rites of passage. Van Gennep showed that a fixed scheme could be discovered not only in the important passages in the life-cycle — such as birth. maturity, marriage. and death — but also in territorial passage and in the transition from peace to war and from Old to New Year. The scheme is well-known. At first there is the separation from the old situation. the 'rite de separation'. next the period of transition, the 'rite de marge`, and finally the passage to a new situation. the 'rite d'aggrégation`. These rites receive more or less attention depending on the importance of the passage.[10]

From a theoretical point of view little progress has been made since Van Gennep in the analysis of the rites of passage. This is why we have to be brief on our first problem. since no study of the person who brings about a passage is available."

Yet, as regards this person a pattern seems to exist. Claudia is suspected of unchastity and does not behave like a proper *matrona.* The statue of Heracles is brought in on advice of a *blind* man after a sacrifice of *Thracian* women. that is to say. non-Greek women.[12] Here we even have a double opposition to normality: women and aliens." The Wampinger Kreuz is landed by a mendicant friar. the lowest class of monks.'.' These examples are not unique. Prometheus, who brought about the passage from chaos to civilisation by his capture of fire

[9] Cf. L. Schmidt. *Die Volkserzählung* (Berlin. 1963), 265-276; Graf. *Nordionische Kulte*. 303.

[10] A. van Gennep. *Les rites de passage* (Paris 1909) = *The Rites of Passage*. tr. **M.** B. Vizedom and G. L. Caffee (London. 1060). In a recent reprint (Paris. 1969). the notes in Van Gennep's own copy have been added. On Van Genncp. see K. van Gennep. *Bibliographie des oeuvres d'Arnold van Gennep* (Paris. 1974): **H.** A. Senn. 'Arnold van Gennep: Structuralist and Apologist for the Study of Folklore in France'. *Folklore* 85 (1974). 229-243; N. Belmont, *Arnold van Gennep*, tr. **D.** Coltman (Chicago/London. 1979).

[11] But see E. Leach, *Culture and Communication* (Cambridge. 1976), 82.

[12] For Thrace as the foreign country *par excellence*. see I. Chirnssi Colombo. 'The Role of Thrace in Greek Religion', in *Primus congr. stud. Thrac.* = *Thracia* 2 (Sofia. 1974), 71-79: F. Graf. in Bremmer (ed.), *Interpretations of Greek Mythology* (London, 1987), 99-101.

[13] For women us marginals in the polis, see J. Gould, *JHS* 100 (1980), 571; P. Vidal-Naquet, *Le Chasseur noir*. 2nd ed. (Paris. 1983), 267-288.

[14] Cf. G. Widengren, *Orientalia Suecana* 2 (1953), 78-85.

(below), was a Titan. a being in between gods and men." The culture-hero is indeed often a smith or someone else who is at the margin of society. Even if he is a god. he is generally characterised as a trickster. the rogue who moves about outside the social order." In all these casec tlie transition is effected by someone who is at the margin or outside the human or divine society. Evidently order cannot be established by a person who is already pan of that order

On the second problem. we are better placed. Various scholars have studied the classification of the rites of passage." In particular the liminal period. the proper rite of transition, has received full attention from the late Victor Turner who has shown that this period is characterised by reversals and confusion of status and a series of oppositions to normal life such as different clothes. behaviour. and place of habitation.[18] Progress has also been made on rites of separation and incorporation. Already in 1916 it was demonstrated on the basis of some rites of passage — initiation, wedding. funeral and mourning rites — that the element of delay and resistance is an important factor in these rites. Society and/or the individual has. or pretends to have. great difficulty in changing status or position."' There is often resistance against this change but — and this was largely overlooked by scholars of the nineteenth century — this resistance is never carried through to the very end.

Examples of this ritual delay and resistance can often be found in ancient Greece as the following examples from initiation, the wedding and funeral rites may illustrate. To begin with the initiation and some non-Greek instances. Among North-American Nootkan tribes 'the affair was initiated by the kidnapping of the principal novice by (men dressed up as) Wolves who pounced on him without warning and carried him off. Of course, this was all staged: the novice had to be in the right place at the right time.' Among the Nawbeda of Togo. future novices were surprised in their house and. although they tried to escape, were carried by force to a place where they were tattood on their shoulders and on their face: the sign that initiation had started. Among the Wagenia of Zaïre, during their most recent initiation, only the very first novices (but in the light of other parallels this seems to be a later development) were forcibly captured during a game of football (!), a trap designed by the novices of the previous initiation.[20]

A similar capture for which the Greeks explicitly used the word *harpage*, 'robbery. capture, seizure', occurs in an initiatory context in Greece. namely on Crete. Here, at the end of the initiation the novices, provided that they had both famous ancestors and were of a captivating beauty. were captured by an adult for a paederastic relationship. a well-known part of many initiations. During this capture it was necessary for the boy to run away, to be pursued by his prospective lover and his own friends until he was taken to his lover's *andreion*, or 'men's

[15] On Prometheus see most recently J.- P. Vernant, *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs*, 5th. ed. (Paris, 1971), vol. 2. 5-15. and *Mythe et société en Grèce ancienne* (Paris. 1974). 177-194.

[16] Smith: H. Tegnaeus, *Le Héros civilisateur* (Uppsala, 1950). Trickster: see most recently M. Luscott-Rickets. 'The North American Trickster'. *History of Rel*. 5 (1965-66). 327-350; L. Makarius, 'Le mythe du "Tricksrcr" '. *Rev. Hist. Rel*. 175 (1969). 17-46: B. Babcock-Abrahams, '"A Tolerated Margin of Mess"', The Tricksrcr and His Tales reconsidered', *Folklore Institute* 11 (1075). 147-186.

[17] J. van Baal. *Symbols for Communication* (Assen, 1971), 133-9: L. Honko, 'Zur Klassifikation dcr Riren', *Temenos* 11 (1975), 61-77, and 'Theories concerning the ritual process: an orientation', in L. Honko (ed.), *Studies in the methodology of the science of religion = Religion and Reason* 13 (The Hague, Paris. New York. 1978), 526-554.

[18] V. W. Turner. *The Forest of Symbols* (London, 1967). 93-111; *The Ritual Process* (Harmondsworth, 1974); 'Process, System and Symbol: New Anthropological Synthesis', *Daedalus* 3 (1977), 61-80. On Turner (1920-1983), see B. A. Babcock. *J. Am. Folklore* 97 (1984), 461-4.

[19] E. C. Parsons, 'Holding back in crisis ceremonialism', *Am. Anthrop.* 18 (1916), 41-52.

[20] Nootkan: Ph. Drucker. in *Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin* 144 (Washington, 1951), 392ff. 399 (a mass kidnapping). Togo: D. Paulme (ed.), *Classes et associations d'âge en Afrique de l'Ouest* (Paris. 1971), 41-52. Zaïre: A. Droogers, *The Dangerous Journey* (The Hague, Paris, 1980) 91.

house'. The ritual character of the novice's resistance against his capture appears from the fact that this 'kidnapping' was really a *must* since it was considered a disgrace not to have had one, at least if one came from the proper class. It is therefore completely understandable that Plutarch (*Mor.* 1 IF) calls the practice 'the so-called capture'."

A similar capture was also part of many wedding ceremonies. It is superfluous to adduce here examples, since the rite has been extensively described by Victorian scholars such as McLennan,[22] Dargun,[23] Robertson Smith,[24] Spencer[25] and Westermarck.[26] They were fascinated by this ritual and generally considered it a survival of the (desirable) times that the women were really captured.[27]

Much less attention was given to the fact that the bridegroom too in some cases had to be forced to marry. Among the Caucasian Abschases the bridegroom ran away on his wedding-day and hid himself, and. finally, had to be forced to come back.[28] A similar custom existed among some Indian Garo tribes as a former deputy commissioner of Eastern Bengal and Assam reports: ' ... it is the custom for a man to refuse at first to marry the girl who has sought his hand, and to run away and hide himself. A party of friends seek for him, and bring him back by force — and apparently very unwilling — to the village, whence he usually escapes. He is captured a second time, but should lie run away a third time. it is taken for granted that lie really does not wish to marry the girl, and he is allowed to go.' Tlie custom could cause certain complications since the commissioner notes: 'I have known this custom to form the subject of judicial proceedings. for a man appeared in court one day. at Tura, and filed a petition in which he claimed compensation from the father of a girl having failed to give him his daughter in marriage. Tlie complainant explained that he had been chosen by the girl but, according to custom. he had refused to marry her and had run away. To his disgust, nobody came to seek for him, and the girl chose and married another man who was less strict in his ideas of Garo etiquette.'[29]

The ritual charcter of this kind of resistance has been seen for the first time in the classic study on the funerary rites by Robert Hertz, who explained the capture as a resistance against

[21] Cf. Bremmer, 'An Enigmatic Indo-European Rite: Paederasty', *Arethusa* 13 (1980), 279-298; H. Patzer, *Die griechische Knabenliebe* (Wiesbaden, 1982), 70ff; B. Serpent, *L'Homosexualité dans lo mythologie grecque* (Paris, 1984), 36-53.

[22] J. F. McLennan, *Primitive Marriage, An Enquiry into the Origins of the Form of Capture in Marriage Ceremonies* (Edinburgh, 1865). The recent reprint (Chicago, London, 1070) contains a valuable bio- and bibliography of McLennan by Peter Rivière.

[23] L. Dargun, *Mutterrecht und Raubehe und ihre Reste im germanischen Recht und Leben* (Breslau, 1883). On Lothar von Dargun (1853-1893), see the *Polski Slownik Biograficzny*, vol. 4 (Warsaw, 1938) 436f.

[24] W. Robertson Smith, *Kingship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1903), 89-99. On Smith, see T. O. Beidelman, *W. Robertson Smith and the Sociological Study of Religion* (Chicago, London, 1974).

[25] H. Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology* I (London, 1876), 652-7; *The Fortnightly review*, ns 21 (1877), 895-902 (a polemic against McLennan). Spencer explained the resistance of the bride as being due to real or pretended sexual coyness — an explanation typical of the Victorian bachelor that Spencer was. On Spencer, see J. D. Y. Peel, *Herbert Spencer, The evolution of a Sociologist* (Lonclon, 1971).

[26] E. Westermarck, *The History of Human Marriage* I (London, 1891), 383-402, and *The History of Human Marriage*, vol. 2, 5th ed. (London, 1921), 240-277. On Westermarck, see most recently T. Stroup, 'Edward Westermarck: a reappraisal', *Man* 19 (1984), 575-592.

[27] For modern anthropological views see E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Position of Women in Primitive Society* (London, 1965), 14; R. Firth, *Symbols, Public and Private* (London, 1973), 110; J. Goody, *Production and Reproduction* (Cambridge, 1976), 2.

[28] N. V. Seidlitz, *Globus* 66 (1894), 40.

[29] A. Playfair, *The Garos* (London, 1909), 67.

the transition from one group to another.'[30] Shortly after, he was followed by van Gennep who, probably independently, had arrived at the same conclusion.[31] Such a capture — the same word *harpage* is used — could also be found among the Spartans where it preceded the wedding ceremony. Our source, Plutarch (*Lyc.* 15. 4), is unfortunately rather short: but McLennan already noted that from his report it appears 'that the seizure was made by friendly concert between the parties'.[32] The third example comes from the funeral rites. The Greeks in the Archaic Age believed that the souls of the dead did not go immediately to the Underworld but remained in the vicinity of the dead body until the funeral rites had been concluded, which was a process of some days. Evidently, it took some time before it became tolerable to imagine that the deceased had left this world forever.[33]

Although it should now be clear that the elements of resistance and delay in the rites of passage were encountered among the Greeks, one more example may be adduced. It is reported that every year the inhabitants of Locris sent two girls to Ilion who were obliged to remain there for a year. There is one element of this rite which is of interest for our argument. Aeneas Tacticus (31. 24) relates that the inhabitants of Ilion were unable to prevent the girls from entering the city, even though they did their utmost to stop them. It is clear that here too we have a case of a ritual, not real, resistance since it is unthinkable that so small a city as Ilion should have been unable to prevent the maidens from entering.[34]

Compared with Greece, our knowledge of Roman ritual is poor. In historical Rome, initiation rituals are not attested but a 'capture-scene' occurred in the Roman wedding ritual where the bride had to be pulled away from her mother's lap. A similar scene took place when the pontifex maximus removed and led away a Vestal recruit from her father, 'as if she had been taken in war' (*veluti* hello *capta*). It is precisely at these highly dramatic moments when a Roman girl leaves her home for ever that we would have expected elements of resistance to occur.[35]

The idea of delay can be found in Christian Rome. When the English bishop Augustine asked Pope Gregory the Great whether it was permitted for a man who had had intercourse with his wife to enter the church before he had washed, the pope answered that 'it has always been the custom of the Romans *from* ancient rimes, after intercourse with one's wife, to seek purification by washing and reverently to abstain from entering the church *for* a *brief period*'. Even if purified, a man cannot enter the church directly: the transition would have been too abrupt.'[36]

One example remains, though a literary one. When Aeneas has gone down the Underworld to pluck the golden bough, the plucking is described in the following way (Verg. *Aen.* 6. 210f):

> corripit Aeneas extemplo, avidusque refringit.
> *cunctantem*, et vatis portat sub tecta Sibyllae.

[30] R. Hertz. *Death and the Right Hand*, tr. R. and C. Needham (London, 1960). 27-86 (first published in 1907). On Hertz. see most recently F. Isambert. in Ph. Bcsnard (ed.), *The Sociological Domain. The Durkheimians and the Founding of French Sociology* (Cambridge. Paris. 1983). 152-176. esp. 165-172.

[31] Van Gennep (n. 10), 124.

[32] McLennan (n. 22). 13. M. Torelli. *Lavinio e Roma* (Rome, 1984), 75f, and J.- P. Vernant, *La mort dans les yeux* (Paris. 1985), 45, still support the idea of a real capture.

[33] Brcmmer. *The Early Greek Concept of the Soul* (Princeton, 1983), 89-94.

[34] Locrian Maidens: F. Graf. 'Die lokrische Mädchen', *Studi Storico-Religiosi* 2 (1978), 61-79. Small size of Ilion: J. Cook. *The Troad* (Oxford. 1973). 100.

[35] Wedding: Festus 364L, misinterpreted by Torelli. *Lavinio e Roma*, 76f: see also Cat. 61. 56ff, 62. 33. and perhaps Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 15. 21. Vestal recruit: Aul. Gell. 1. 12. 10-14. cf. M. Beard. *JRS* 70 (1980), 13-15.

[36] Beda. *Hist. Eccl.* 1. 27.

'At once Aeneas takes hold of the bough and breaks it off avidly, *although* ***it resists.*** and carries it to the home of the prophetic Sibylla.'

Illustrious Virgilian scholars such as Norden and Austin want to explain *cunctantem* as a mere botanical detail: the tree is tough. It is true that the plucking of a bough normally meets with some resistance — a detail for which Virgil could well have cared — but this does not explain the stress laid on the detail, a stress which is accentuated by the enjambement of *cunctantem*. No, here the delay dramatizes the plucking of this highly important bough. Certainly, Aeneas will receive the bough but he will not gain possession without resistance.

To these classical examples of delay and resistance a few instances from other cultures may be added. Among many peoples myth tells how the change from chaos to civilisation could only be brought about by the robbery of a vital element, usually fire.'' The myths speak. however, not only of fire. The possession of all sorts of vital elements for the life of the community or group — such as water, cereals, *Rauschtrank* and *soma* — are explained through a 'robbery-myth'.[38] Curiously, attention has virtually never been paid to the question of why these elements had to be stolen in the first place. We suggest that it was necessary to the 'primitive' mind that the robberies took place since in every case man is promoted to a higher level of existence; such a promotion could not possibly have been imagined to occur without a certain resistance from the side of the gods or whoever was thought of as possessing the vital element.

Finally, one example from the Old Testament: Saul's election as king (1 *Samuel* 10. 21-23). When it was clear that Saul would be the future king, the people went looking for him; 'and when they sought him, he could not be found. Therefore they inquired of the Lord further, if the man should yet come thither. And the Lord answered, Behold, he hath hid himself among the stuff. And they ran and fetched him thence ...'. The example is unique in the Old Testament, but when we compare similar hidings in other rites of passage, we can hardly escape the conclusion that the author of *Samuel* gives us here a valuable insight into the way the king's election must have happened in real life.

It will by now be clear why, in our vision, the ship with Cybele ran aground, and the raft with Heracles and the Wimpassinger Kreuz became stuck fast not far from their destination. When the Roman imagination had to dramatize the arrival of Cybele, it evidently could not imagine that the alien goddess had been accepted on Roman soil without any delay or resistance. In this way the story is an instructive illustration of the mixed feelings the Romans had about the goddess. Despite all the Augustan propaganda. *tarda Cybele* remained a marginal in the Roman conscience.'''

[37] Cf. A. Kuhn. ***Die*** *Herabkunft des Feuers und des Götterdranks*, 2nd ed. (Gütersloh, 1886); J. G. Frazer, *Myths of the Origin of* ***Fire*** (London, 1930); S. Thompson. *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature*, vol. I. 2nd ed. (Copenhagen. 1956). 224: C. Levi-Strauss, *Le cru et le cuit* (Paris. 1964); M. Kuusi, 'Beiträge zur Feuerniythologie', in *Miscellanea K. C. Peeters* (Antwerp. 1975), 384-9: H. Aufenanger, 'Die Herkunft des Feuers im religiösen Denken schriftloser Volker'. in H. Janssen *et al.*, *Carl Laufer* ***MSC.*** *Missionar und Ethnologe auf Neu-Guinea* (Freiburg. Basle. Vienna. 1975), 244-257.

[38] Water: A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, vol.1, 2nd ed. (London. 1913). 42-4: F. Boas. *Bella-Bella Tales* (New York. 1932). 5; A. Krause. *The Tlingit Indians*, 1st ed. 1885 (Seattle. 1956). 178: Thompson. *op. cit.*, 1941': E. E. Evans-Pritcliard. *The Zande Trickster* (Oxford. 1967). 38f. Corn: T. Obayashi, 'Das Körnerdiebstahl-Motiv in Ostasien', in *Festschrift A. E. Jensen*, vol ***2*** (Munich. 1964). 433-459. *Rauschtrank*: R. Doht, *Der Rauschtrank im germanischen Mythos* (Vienna. 1974). 36-168. *Soma*: U. Schneider. *Der Somaraub des Manu. Mythus und Ritual* (Utrecht. Antwerp, 1966), 124f.

[39] An earlier version of this chapter appeared in M. J. Verniaseren (ed.). *Studies in Hellenistic Religions* = EPRO 78 (Leiden, 1979), 9-22. I should like to thank once again Fritz Graf and Theo Korteweg for their comments on that version.

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