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## Roman Myth and Mythography

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## THE AENEAS-LEGEND FROM HOMER TO VIRGIL<sup>1</sup>

The chief importance of the Homeric Aeneas is that he survives: Poseidon (Il. 20. 302ff) declares that he is fated to escape, and his descendants and their children's children, in deliberate and moving contrast to Priam's, will rule over the Trojans (307),<sup>2</sup> not over Troy, though that is how Strabo takes it.<sup>3</sup> 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 ἀνώξει was introduced to flatter the Romans.<sup>4</sup> 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*.<sup>5</sup> 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 demoi (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.<sup>6</sup>

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; 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

<sup>1</sup> 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; *RBP* 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.

<sup>2</sup> P. M. Smith, *HSCP* 85 (1981), 46ff; Horsfall, *CQ* 29 (1979), 372; Momigliano (n. 1), 42f.

<sup>3</sup> Strab. 13. 1. 53; Smith (n. 2), 42f.

<sup>4</sup> Strab. 13. 1. 53; imitated, Virg. *Aen.* 3. 97; note the suspicions of Ar. Byz. *up.* schol. Eur. *Tro.* 47.

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

<sup>6</sup> Fr. 6 Powell; Horsfall (n. 2), 373.

<sup>7</sup> 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 Aeneia show Aeneas' departure from Troy.<sup>8</sup> 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" 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.<sup>12</sup> Two sharply divergent patterns of explanation for this geographical spread exist: Bérard<sup>13</sup> 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,<sup>14</sup> 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,<sup>15</sup> 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<sup>17</sup> 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 ἄλλ' ἔα, for he regularly makes most acceptable offerings to the gods (11. 20.

<sup>8</sup> 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.

<sup>9</sup> *Troika* = DH 1. 46. 1 - 48. 1.

<sup>10</sup> 'The graphic and literary tradition of the escape of Aeneas'. diss. London. 1983 (unpub.), 108ff.

<sup>11</sup> Cass. Hem. fr. 5P; Critolaos. *FGrH* 823; Perret (n. 8), 24ff; Gabba (n. 7), 90; Suerbaum (n. 134).

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

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

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

<sup>15</sup> On whom see now L. Braccisi. *La leggenda di Antenore* (Padova, 1984). 11.

<sup>16</sup> 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.

<sup>17</sup> 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.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. A. Drummond. *JRS* 62 (1972). 218f; Horsfall (n. 2). 384ff.

297). His rescue of Anchises must have been represented in archaic art," and is popular on black-figure vases (nn. 75-6); the earliest literary account is in a fragment of Soph. *Laocoon*.<sup>20</sup> Aeneas' rescue of the Trojan *sacra*, extremely rare in Greek art," 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." 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,<sup>23</sup> (iii) that occasionally he helps Paris in the rape of Helen,<sup>24</sup> and (iv) that sometimes he is represented as a traitor.<sup>25</sup>

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;<sup>26</sup> 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: the 'treason' belongs firmly in the world of sensationalist or propagandist historiography.<sup>27</sup>

The artistic evidence for associating Aeneas with the treason of Antenor is altogether illusory.<sup>28</sup>

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 ΘΗΚΙΧΟΠΟΝ; 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;" 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<sup>29</sup> 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<sup>31</sup> the authenticity of the Stesichorean attributions has been questioned and I have recently re-stated the arguments against at length." It is particularly striking that Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who knew Stesichorus well, never mentions the poem in his minute survey of the Aeneas-

<sup>19</sup> W. Fuchs. *ANRW* 1.4. 615ff.

<sup>20</sup> Fr. 373 Pearson/Radt = DH 1. 48. 2.

<sup>21</sup> *LIMC*. 95.

<sup>22</sup> 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.

<sup>23</sup> As, for instance, on a Parthenon metope, *LIMC*, 156. For authenticity and traditional date, see now V. J. Gray, *Hermes* 113 (1985), 156n.

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

<sup>25</sup> See below. Cf. Horsfall (n. 2), 385-6.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Acusilaus. *FGrH* 2 F 39: Smith (n. 2), 31.

<sup>27</sup> 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.

<sup>28</sup> *LIMC* s.v. Antenor, 17. 18 (M. I. Davies): Horsfall (n. 2), 386.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. Horsfall, *JHS* 103 (1983). 147: Addenda. section (ii).

<sup>30</sup> Cf. M. L. West. *CQ* 21 (1971), 306.

<sup>31</sup> *Ann. Inst.* 1 (1829), 234 n. 10; cf. Horsfall. *JHS* 99 (1979). 36.

<sup>32</sup> Horsfall (n. 31), 35ff; summarised (n. 2), 375f; not accepted by H. Lloyd-Jones, after M. Davies, *Magna Graecia* 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.<sup>33</sup> 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.<sup>34</sup> The evidence for a Sicilian phase in the transmission of the Aeneas-legend is in general elusive.<sup>35</sup> Segesta's Trojan origins (Plut. *Nic.* 1. 3) are fifth century, and are connected with Athenian diplomatic initiatives;<sup>36</sup> Thuc. 6. 2. 3 refers to the partially Trojan origins of the Elymians.<sup>37</sup> No word specifically of Aeneas. That the cult of Venus Frutis at Lavinium derives from Eryx is speculation.<sup>38</sup>

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.<sup>39</sup> It should also firmly be excluded that Aeneas<sup>40</sup> was early connected with Campania or that he reached Lavinium and Rome by a Campanian route.<sup>41</sup> 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.<sup>42</sup>

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<sup>43</sup> and abounds in narrative improbabilities;<sup>44</sup> in it, Aeneas finally comes to Italy with Odysseus,<sup>45</sup> 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<sup>46</sup> that Rome was founded by a Trojan eponym, Rhome, who burned the Trojan ships.<sup>47</sup> 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

<sup>33</sup> 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.

<sup>34</sup> Castagnoli (n. 1), 7f.

<sup>35</sup> Perret (n. 8), 292ff. Cf. J. Heurgon. *Arri 8 Conv. Magna Grecia* (Naples. 1968), 22ff.

<sup>36</sup> J. Perret. *Mél. Heurgon* (Coll. Ec. Fr. Rome 27. 2) (1976), 801ff.

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

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

<sup>39</sup> 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.

<sup>40</sup> 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.

<sup>41</sup> As suggested by, for instance, G. de Sanctis. *Storia dei Romani* 12 (Florence. 1956), 194.

<sup>42</sup> Perret (n. 8), 302ff; Horsfall (n. 31), 39f; Galinsky (n. 5), 108; Castagnoli (n. 1), 7f.

<sup>43</sup> Cf. Varro's account at *Serv. ad Aen.* 3. 256 and Simmias fr. 6 (see n. 6).

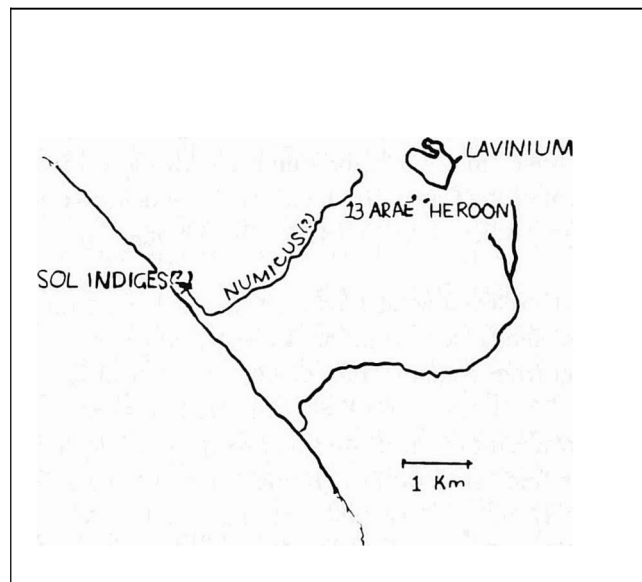
<sup>44</sup> Cf. Horsfall (n. 2), 379f. F. Solmsen, *HSCP* 90 (1986), 93ff, mitigates but does not dispel the difficulties.

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

<sup>46</sup> 'Senseless', E. J. Bickerman, *CPh* 47 (1952), 66. But see Solmsen (n. 44), 105ff.

<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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..<sup>49</sup> 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'.<sup>50</sup> 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'.<sup>51</sup>



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'.<sup>52</sup> 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*.<sup>53</sup> Remains have been found West of the Fosso di Pratica, compatible with a

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

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

<sup>50</sup> 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.

<sup>51</sup> Castagnoli (n. 38), 99; Horsfall (n. 2), 382.

<sup>52</sup> 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.

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

fifth century sanctuary,<sup>54</sup> but the published material is still extremely scanty, and identification depends finally upon that of the Numicus:<sup>55</sup> 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 testimonialia 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.<sup>56</sup> 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 'Heron of Aeneas'<sup>58</sup> 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 Πατρός θεού χθονίου, ὃς ποταμοῦ Νομίκιου ρέυμα διέπει (= (?) Pater Indigesj (DH 1. 64. 5) is highly problematic.<sup>59</sup> 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.<sup>60</sup> 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.<sup>61</sup> 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.<sup>62</sup> Weinstock, followed by Galinsky, proposed an identification between Dioscuri and Trojan Penates which has not met with general acceptance.<sup>63</sup> It seems likely that the Laviniate cult of the Penates was far older than any specific association with Trojan Aeneas.<sup>64</sup>

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.

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

<sup>55</sup> F. Castagnoli, *Arch. Class.* 19 (1967), 235ff; *idem* (n. 38), 91f.

<sup>56</sup> 4262 metres: the actual distance is 4150 metres.

<sup>57</sup> 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.

<sup>58</sup> *Messenger*, 31 Jan. 1972; P. Sommella, *Rend. Pont. Acc.* 44 (1972), 47ff; *idem*, *Gymnasium* 81 (1974), 273ff.

<sup>59</sup> 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 ... J. Carcopino* (Paris, 1977), 171f; B. Liou-Gille, *Cultes 'héroïques' romains* (Paris, 1980), 94ff; Galinsky (n. 17), 43f.

<sup>60</sup> Castagnoli (n. 38), 92.

<sup>61</sup> 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.

<sup>62</sup> Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 198ff.

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

<sup>64</sup> 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,<sup>65</sup> occasional references occur,<sup>66</sup> but only to the foundation of Rome by a descendant of Aeneas.<sup>67</sup> 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.<sup>68</sup> Stories of a Trojan founder we have seen are likely to be external creations, and the growth of a legend of Aeneas in the city of Rome remains at best an hypothetical by-product of the period of Etruscan domination.<sup>69</sup>

The archaeological evidence for awareness of Aeneas in Etruria is a good deal more substantial:<sup>70</sup>

(i) a late seventh century oenochoe, of Etruscan origin;<sup>71</sup> 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.<sup>72</sup>

(iii) An Etruscan scarab, ca 490;<sup>73</sup> 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.<sup>74</sup> Nowhere is Aeneas shown carrying a sacred object.<sup>75</sup>

(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.<sup>76</sup>

(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).<sup>77</sup>

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

<sup>65</sup> Cornell (n. 1), 19f.

<sup>66</sup> 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.

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

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

<sup>69</sup> Galinsky (n. 17), 45ff; J. Poucet, *RBP* 61 (1983), 154.

<sup>70</sup> Castagnoli (n. 1), 4ff; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 165ff; J. Poucet, *RBP* 61 (1983), 152f.

<sup>71</sup> *LIMC* 93a: F. Zevi, *St. Etr.* 37 (1969), 40f, and (n. 50) 148.

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

<sup>73</sup> *LIMC* 95; P. Zazoff, *Etr. Skarabäen* (Mainz, 1968), no. 44. I am not as sure as either Prof. Zazoff himself or as J. Poucet, *RBP* 61 (1983), 151, about the relevance of Zazoff no. 45.

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

<sup>75</sup> Horsfall, *AK* 22 (1979), 104f.

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

<sup>77</sup> Thus, for instance, Alföldi (n. 72), 287, and Zevi (n. 50), 149.

<sup>78</sup> 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."<sup>79</sup>

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,<sup>82</sup> and consequently no reason to suppose that they imposed him either upon Lavinium (Alföldi) or upon Rome (Galinsky).<sup>83</sup> There is equally no basis for the suggestion<sup>x</sup> 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.<sup>85</sup> 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.<sup>88</sup> 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<sup>y2</sup> 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

<sup>79</sup> 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.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 165ff; J. Poucet, *RBPh* 61 (1983), 154.

<sup>81</sup> Alföldi (n. 72), 284ff.

<sup>82</sup> Cornell (n. 1), 12; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 171.

<sup>83</sup> Galinsky (n. 5), 131; Cornell (n. 1), 5.

<sup>84</sup> Made notably by F. Bomer, *Rom: u. Troia* (Baden Baden, 1951), 47ff.

<sup>85</sup> Horsfall (n. 2), 385, 388.

<sup>86</sup> Castagnoli (n. 63), 351.

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

<sup>88</sup> 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.

<sup>89</sup> But see Cornell (n. 1), 14f.

<sup>90</sup> 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 toponymi Troia (cf. n. 52) should also be considered.

<sup>91</sup> Virg. *Aen.* 12, 794; Castagnoli (n. 38), 110; Dury-Moyaers (n. 13), 211ff

<sup>92</sup> 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<sup>94</sup> 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.<sup>98</sup> 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:<sup>100</sup> 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<sup>103</sup> 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.

<sup>93</sup> Note the exemplary scepticism of T. J. Cornell's remarks, *LCM* 2.4 (1977).82.

<sup>94</sup> Aeneas and Lavinium, 1253-62; foundation of Rome 1333. with Horsfall (n. 2). 380.

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

<sup>96</sup> *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* (1979), 341ff.

<sup>97</sup> S. R. West. *JHS* 104 (1984), 104ff, and *CQ* 33 (1983), 129f.

<sup>98</sup> Cornell (n. 1), 22; G. D'Anna, *Problemi di letteratura latina arcaica* (Rome, 1976), 76.

<sup>99</sup> 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.

<sup>100</sup> 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.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Horsfall, *CQ* 24 (1974), 111ff; D'Anna (n. 92), 101f.

<sup>102</sup> *Imagines ap. Lyd. Mag.* 1. 12.

<sup>103</sup> *Contra*, Gabba (n. 7), 85.

<sup>104</sup> Momigliano (n. 1), 14f; E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (Oxford. 1958), 33ff.

<sup>105</sup> Perret (n. 8), 501ff.

Demetrius Poliorcetes, in 290,<sup>106</sup> referred to the *syngeneia* of the Romans and Greeks: this is not a certain reference to Rome's Trojan origins.<sup>107</sup> Nine years later, Pyrrhus, descendant of Achilles, made war, at the Tarentines' request, on the Trojans' colony,<sup>108</sup> 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,<sup>109</sup> and the Trojans' arguably barbarian status is a source of endless polemic and ambiguity.<sup>110</sup> With Pyrrhus' attack, Rome's Trojan origins were born, argued Perret:<sup>111</sup> 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.<sup>112</sup> 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.<sup>113</sup> 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.<sup>114</sup> 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.<sup>115</sup> The *carmina Marciana*<sup>116</sup> may have referred to the Romans as *Troiugeneae*, in confrontation with the *alienigenae*.<sup>117</sup> Seven years later, the Romans set about importing the Magna Mater from Pergamum;<sup>118</sup> it was suggested that both the Romans and Attalus I had the ancient kinship in mind.<sup>119</sup> Delphi shortly acknowledged the Romans' origins,<sup>120</sup> Flamininus' dedications there (196) referred to him as *Aineiadas* and to the Romans as *Aineiadae*.<sup>121</sup> 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,<sup>122</sup> first curiously attested as early as 205.<sup>123</sup> Lampsacus could appeal to kinship by 196.<sup>124</sup> Two Scipiones visited Ilium in 190 amid

<sup>106</sup> On the difficulties of the date, see L. Braccesi, *Alessandro e i Romani* (Bologna, 1975), 50f.

<sup>107</sup> Strabo 5. 3. 5; Galinsky (n. 5), 157; N. Petrochilos, *Roman attitudes to the Greeks* (Athens, 1974), 134.

<sup>108</sup> Paus. 1. 12. 2. Cf. E. Weber, *WSSt.* 8 (1972), 214f.

<sup>109</sup> Petrochilos (n. 107), 133f.

<sup>110</sup> Momigliano (n. 1), 12f; Perret (n. 8), 419f; Galinsky (n. 5), 93ff; Perret (n. 36), 792ff.

<sup>111</sup> Perret (n. 8), 408ff, modified (n. 68), 48.

<sup>112</sup> 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.

<sup>113</sup> Momigliano (n. 1), 15; Weber (n. 108), 217; Rizzo (n. 108), 83ff; Gabba (n. 7), 100.

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

<sup>115</sup> *Plb.* 2. 12. 8; see Walbank's note.

<sup>116</sup> ? 213. *Liv.* 25. 12. 5f.

<sup>117</sup> Carthaginians, Galinsky (n. 5), 177f.

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

<sup>119</sup> *Ov. F.* 4. 271-2. Cf. Graillot (n. 118), 43; Momigliano (n. 1), 15.

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

<sup>121</sup> *Plut. Flam.* 12; Parke and Wormell (n. 120), 1, 261.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Justin 31. 8. 1-4; Gabba (n. 7), 76.

<sup>123</sup> *Liv.* 29. 12. 13f; but see, for instance, Badian (n. 104), 59.

<sup>124</sup> *JGR* 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.<sup>125</sup> Rome's later benefactions to Ilium are a matter of antiquarian curiosity.<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>127</sup> is founded in 748-7, *πολὶ ὕστερον*.<sup>128</sup> 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;<sup>130</sup> at least one Alban king is also known to Naevius.<sup>131</sup> Ennius likewise preferred a startlingly early date for the foundation of Rome and made Romulus a grandson of Aeneas.<sup>132</sup> Twenty years later, Cato devoted pan of *Origines* 1 to Aeneas:<sup>133</sup> 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, Tumnus and Mezentius into the story of Aeneas.<sup>134</sup> 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.<sup>135</sup>

The first clear sign that the *gens Iulia*, one of the Alban *gentes*, which reached Rome by way of Bovillae,<sup>136</sup> 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.<sup>137</sup> It is unclear both whether the claim was older, and what prompted the Julii to exploit it then. Wiseman<sup>138</sup> 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<sup>139</sup> it is not clear that the Trojan families had long made their distinctive boast: antiquarian preoccupation

<sup>125</sup> Liv. 37. 37. 3. 38. 39. 10; but see D. Magie, *Roman Rule in Asia Minor* 2 (Princeton. 1950). 950.

<sup>126</sup> 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, *Kl. Schr.* (Berlin, 1966), 370. Cf. Momigliano (n. 1), 3.

<sup>127</sup> Fr. 6P (cf. Horsfall (n. 102), 112), perhaps after Diocles of Peparethus. *FGrH* 820 F 2.

<sup>128</sup> Fabius *ap.* Manganaro *loc. cit.* (n. 112): A. Alföldi, *Röm. Frühgeschichte* (Heidelberg, 1976). 87.

<sup>129</sup> 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.

<sup>130</sup> Fr. 33 Marm. = 27 Strz.; Cornell (n. 1), 3.

<sup>131</sup> 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.

<sup>132</sup> 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.

<sup>133</sup> 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, *Hommi. Schilling* (n. 59). 404n.

<sup>134</sup> Schroder (n. 133). 96. modifying Perret (n. 8), 540ff.

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

<sup>136</sup> Liv. 1. 30. 2, with Ogilvie's note; S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius* (Oxford. 1971), 5.

<sup>137</sup> M. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* 1 (Cambridge. 1974), 284.

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

<sup>139</sup> 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."<sup>140</sup> In this context, Trojan origins look like a (? late) second century antiquarian improvement upon Alban genealogies.<sup>141</sup> After 129, 103."<sup>142</sup> 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.<sup>143</sup> But not the Iulii alone: also the related Marii.<sup>144</sup> Possibly also the Cornelii: certainly Sulla's concern with Venus is evident; arguably, he brought the 'Trojan game' back from the East.<sup>145</sup> Consequently, variations upon the story acquire sharp political significance: Lutatius Catulus asserted Aeneas' treason and was answered by Sisenna.<sup>146</sup> Compare the familiar conflict: the kings of Alba as descendants of Aeneas and Creusa<sup>147</sup> or of Aeneas and Lavinia.<sup>148</sup> 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."<sup>149</sup> L. Iulius Caesar, possibly the consul of 64, wrote about the Italian descendants of Aeneas.<sup>150</sup>

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.<sup>151</sup> Five years later, Cicero referred to *maiorum eius amplitudo*.<sup>152</sup> The works of Varro, *de familiis Troianis*, and Hyginus (same title, but probably post-Virgilian)<sup>153</sup> must be understood in terms of Caesar's programmatic politicisation of mythology.<sup>154</sup> 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,<sup>155</sup> contributions to Roman knowledge of the legend,<sup>156</sup> and influence on the *Aeneid* are all issues still imperfectly understood:<sup>157</sup> cf., for example, *res div. fr.* 2a Cardauns on the rescue of the Penates by

<sup>140</sup> Eg the Caecilii Metelli on Caeculus of Praeneste, Weinstock (n. 136), 4ff; Wiseman (n. 138); Cornell (n. 1), 15f.

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

<sup>142</sup> Crawford (n. 137), 325.

<sup>143</sup> Weinstock (n. 136), 17.

<sup>144</sup> Plut. *Mar.* 46; Weinstock (n. 136), 17.

<sup>145</sup> Weeber (n. 79), 189ff.

<sup>146</sup> *Ap. OGR* 9. 2: Sisenna fr. 1P; E. Paratore in *Gli storiografi Latini...* (Urbino, 1975), 223ff.

<sup>147</sup> Virg. *Aerr.* 1. 267ff; cf. Liv. i. 3. 2.

<sup>148</sup> Virg. *Aen.* 6. 760ff; cf. Liv. 1. 1. 11

<sup>149</sup> Cf. Ogilvie on Liv. 1. 3. 2; D'Anna (n. 132), 20f.

<sup>150</sup> 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.

<sup>151</sup> Suet. *Caes.* 6. 1 = *ORF*, 2nd. ed.. C. Iulius Caesar. 29.

<sup>152</sup> *Car.* 4. 9; S. Farron, *Acta Classica* 23 (1980), 59.

<sup>153</sup> On the date, cf. Baumerich (n. 150), 77 n. 1.

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

<sup>155</sup> Horsfall, *BICS* 19 (1972), 120ff.

Aeneas,<sup>158</sup> 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.<sup>159</sup> 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.<sup>160</sup> And so on. Nor any visible diminution after his death:<sup>161</sup> 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.<sup>162</sup> The highly idiosyncratic Sall. *Cat.* 6. 1 (the only surviving Latin text to make Aeneas the founder of Rome) belongs to the same period.<sup>163</sup> Perhaps unexpectedly, there is only a faint reflection of this preoccupation with Aeneas in the literature of the Triumviral period.<sup>164</sup> 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.<sup>165</sup> After Actium, Octavian founded Nicopolis: here citizens were to be *cognati* of the Romans;<sup>166</sup> to Rhoeteium in the Troad he returned the monuments removed to Egypt by Antony.<sup>167</sup> In 30-28, Virgil embraced the story of Troy and Octavian's Trojan-Julian ancestry as a fitting theme for epic.<sup>168</sup> 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<sup>169</sup> 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.<sup>170</sup>

<sup>156</sup> To be reconstructed chiefly from DH and Serv.

<sup>157</sup> 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 *Encycl. Virgil. s.v.* Varrone (e l'Eneide), forthcoming; D'Anna (n. 131), 32f.

<sup>158</sup> Which Varro held to be of Samothracian origin. Cf. Kleywegt (n. 158).

<sup>159</sup> 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).

<sup>160</sup> 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.

<sup>161</sup> Norden (n. 127), 373; Farron (n. 153), 60.

<sup>162</sup> Couch: Suet. *Cues.* 84. 1. Statue: DC 45. 7. 1. Painting: Plin. 35. 91.

<sup>163</sup> D'Anna (n. 50), 162 n. 10, (n. 98) 116ff, *Magna Grecia* 155-6 (1980), 11.

<sup>164</sup> Hor. *Serm.* 2. 5. 62f; Virg. *Buc.* 9. 47.

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

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

<sup>167</sup> Strab. 13. 1. 30.

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

<sup>169</sup> Norden (n. 126), 360.

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