Abstract

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D.Phil Thesis

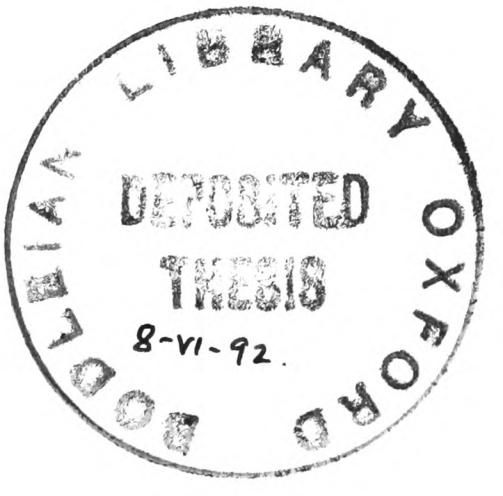
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Augustan Accounts of the Regal Period.

This thesis examines accounts of the regal period in Cicero's *de republica*, Varro, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy, as well as references to the period in Propertius IV and Ovid's *Fasti*. Cicero, Varro and Dionysius all present idealized accounts of the period, responding to the aetiological traditions concerning it, and making Rome's founders represent ideal originators, in different ways depending on the nature of their interests. Cicero acknowledges the problems of idealizing history, pointing to the influence of historical context on views of history. Dionysius' historiographical theories are examined, revealing a coherent theory in the light of which Dionysius' idealization can be seen as an informed attempt at an historical reconstruction. Livy too gives the regal period an originative function, to display in microcosm many themes important in later history. His interest in the origin of Rome's problems prevents him from idealizing the period. Instead he demonstrates political and social development under the kings which leads to a republic where the tensions of Rome's later history can be foreseen. Elegy had traditionally rejected history, but in Propertius IV history is included, much of it regal. Propertius establishes a particular relationship between the regal period and the elegist which is continued in Ovid's *Fasti*. Both poets reinterpret history, applying the self-conscious skill which had hitherto rejected historical material, and subverting expectations of the relationship of past to present. Ovid also displays kinship to themes of the Augustan revival, celebrating the present as the culmination of the past. The main unifying feature of all accounts is the dominance of the author's view of the present in shaping his version of history, stemming from the importance of the regal period as the period of Rome's origins. In the conclusion, these writings are placed within their Augustan context.

AUGUSTAN ACCOUNTS OF

THE REGAL PERIOD



By M.A. Fox

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Introduction.

The interpretation of the regal period by Augustan writers offers at first sight great potential for an examination of the appearance of political ideologies in literature. Augustus could surely have seemed to many of his contemporaries to be like a king, and the depiction of those figures who acted as a historical precedent for Roman monarchy may therefore reveal something about the writers' attitudes to monarchy, and thereby to the *princeps*. The opening chapter of Tacitus' *Annals* ironically suggests that the principate was a recurrence of the monarchic principle of government under which Rome originated. Tacitus obliquely refers to the anti-monarchical tradition of republican rhetoric, in which the tyrannical figures of the last years of the republic were vilified as Romulus or Tarquinius Superbus, his concern being to point to the continuity between the regal period and the empire by naming particularly dominating individuals.

To deduce an attitude to the principate from an attitude to monarchy perceived in a depiction of the regal period is not, however, a straight-forward matter. We shall see that clear messages about the principate are hard to discern, and the grounds for assuming that monarchy can be equated with principate are anyway shaky. We will never be aware exactly of what Augustus' view of monarchy was, and our ignorance may quite possibly be the result of his careful avoidance of Caesar's fate. I have decided, therefore, not to begin with speculations in the political sphere. I shall return to it in the conclusion, with greater certainty at least about the nature of the problems, and of the relevance of the regal period to political reality.

My evidence is the detailed reading of a few accounts of the regal period. In analysing these accounts, I hope to show what the regal period meant to those who chose it as their subject between the end of the republic and the closing stage of Augustus' life. Observing what the regal period was thought to be like, and examining the works in which it appears, will allow an understanding of why writers chose the regal period. I shall aim to compare what each account of the regal period can tell us about its author's attitude to the times in

which he lived, and place these conclusions within the context of Augustus' own way of referring to the past, as far that can be perceived.

I begin with Cicero's *de republica*, not only because it is the first coherent narrative of the regal period to survive, but also because Cicero is aware of the anti-monarchical tradition at Rome, and undertakes to explain it in a very subtle way. The work represents very clearly the complete divide between two traditional attitudes to Rome's kings. On one hand there is the idealization of the regal period as the origin of Rome's great dominion, on the other the rhetorical exploitation of kings, among others, to act as embodiments of *regnum*, anathema to the republican mind. The evidence for the latter is almost entirely found in occasional references to individuals in polemic rhetoric, divorced from any narrative structure. In versions which actually give an account of the regal period, veneration for the kings is standard. Cicero goes someway to explaining the emergence of these two traditions. Furthermore, he tackles many of the problems of historical depiction of the regal period which lie behind all accounts of the period, but which are nowhere else brought into open debate.

Cicero's account of the regal period can only be understood by an analysis of the part which the historical narrative plays within the scheme of the whole work; the same assumption is applied to all the authors discussed, and in each case, I have chosen a way of approaching each text which seemed to best suit its character. Like Cicero, Varro is particularly helpful in illuminating the republican traditions about the regal period; he investigated the copious aetiological traditions which had accrued to the kings. I do not discuss republican traditions about the kings apart from these two chapters. Given the fragmentary and disparate nature of the remains, it would demand a great deal of unavailable space.[1]

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1 See C.J.Classen, 'Die Königszeit im Spiegel der Literatur der römischen Republik', *Historia* 14(1965)385–403. M.A.Guia, 'La valutazione della monarchia a Roma in età repubblicana', *SCO* 16(1967)308-29. E.Gabba, 'Considerazione sulla tradizione letteraria sulle origni della repubblica', *Entretiens Hardt* 13(1967)135–74.; T.J.Cornell, 'The formation of the historical tradition of early Rome', in Past Perspectives, ed.by I.S.Moxon and others, (Cambridge,1986),pp.67–86.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus comes next, and because of the happy survival of his works of literary theory, I take the opportunity to build upon the discussion of Cicero's account, and treat the historiographical problems of the regal period in the light of Dionysius' ideas on historical writing. Cicero, Varro and Dionysius depict the regal period in distinctly idealistic terms, and my interpretation of Dionysius tackles the problems of idealization and historical truth which are relevant to all the accounts of the regal period. There follows a chapter on Livy I, which differs in character from that on Dionysius, just as the dense variety of Livy differs from the monotony of Dionysius, a monotony which requires explaining rather than consistent analysis. The rest of the thesis describes the role of the regal period in Augustan poetry, in particular elegy; I have chosen Propertius IV because it can be thought to contain a new poetics, one which allows elegy to include historical references. Ovid's *Fasti* is Propertius IV's obvious successor.

The choice of detailed textual analysis leads to a different kind of result from one where "what the Augustans thought about the regal period" is demonstrated by the collation of material from a wider variety of sources under a system of headings. I do not systematically discuss the general Augustan perception of Servius Tullius, or the creation of the senate, for example; individual texts are only sporadically compared for similarity or divergence on such matters. This is in part because this task is frequently performed by historians of the regal period, although obviously they do not restrict themselves to Augustan evidence.[2] It is due also to the difficulty of adequately representing any Augustan view of the regal period under a set of categories which suit a modern conception of how the period should be broken up for analysis. P.Martin's recent work on the idea of royalty at Rome demonstrates the incongruity between modern analytical systems, and the nature of the evidence which supplies the necessary data.[3] It is through a desire to represent the Augustans in their own historical context, and to give full weight to the

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2 The most spectacular version is R.Thomsen, *King Servius Tullius* (Copenhagen,1980)

3 P.Martin, *L'idée de royauté à Rome: de la Rome royale au consensus républicain* (Clermant–Ferrand,1982).

implications of each account, that I sacrifice what would be a fruitful, but different, enquiry.

The question of periodicity can be taken as an example of the methodological implications of taking an Augustan view of the regal period. By periodicity, I mean whether it is justifiable to speak of the regal period as if it were a separate, well-defined unit, and if so, in what ways it is distinguished from those periods which precede and follow it. It is difficult to imagine a satisfactory way of answering this question. One can attempt to trace in the lost annalistic tradition the places authors tended to divide their books; if there was a long tradition behind Livy's containment of the period in one book, it would be justifiable to speak of the well-defined boundaries of the period. It is clear that in the annalistic tradition, there was a broad conception of Rome's *origines*, and that these stretched down to somewhere around the twelve tables.[4] Calpurnius Piso seems, uniquely, to have ended his first book somewhere around the start of the republic, but the division adopted by Peter in *HRR* is misleadingly based upon the division which Livy makes, and suggest more clearly than the evidence allows that Piso was Livy's source for ending a book with Tarquinius Superbus' exile. However, such a method of definition in fact reveals very little; to tell us anything about the particular character of the regal period it needs to be accompanied by a discussion of the significance with which the events of the period are themselves endowed. Until Cicero, this is almost impossible. We can assume that the foundation of Rome was always thought in some way to mark a beginning, but if we wish to go beyond this, to see how the Rome of Romulus differed from the Latium of Numitor, it is necessary to examine in greater detail the conceptions of life in the regal period which various texts contain, the position of the regal period in each historical analysis. If we wish to understand how the Augustans defined the regal period, we can only look at how the regal period is treated in each work, and with what particular character it is depicted. Such examinations make up this work; at the end, we will have a

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4 See D.Timpe, 'Fabius Pictor und die Anfänge Römischen Historiographie', *ANRW* 1.2(1972)928-69.

clear idea of what sort of definition it is appropriate to make, and of what makes the regal period special.

It should be admitted here, however, that the term 'regal period' has no ancient equivalent, and is adopted for convenience. At the same time, it will emerge before the reader is very far advanced, that what we call the regal period did have a very specific role in Roman conceptions of their own history, but this did not depend upon the erection of sharp boundaries. For reasons of space I have tended to exclude detailed discussion of anything before the foundation of Rome itself; a great deal has been written on the story of Romulus and Remus, and its exploitation in Latin literature;[5] I have preferred to focus upon Romulus as a king, in relation to his successors. Notwithstanding, where discussion of a text would be a misrepresentation without discussion of pre-foundation material, I have included it. The same holds true, but to a lesser extent, for the early Republic.

One aim of this thesis is thus to justify its subject, to bring to light whether the regal period had a particular place in Augustan conception of the past. Parallel to this question, I shall be describing the character that the period possessed, how that character was created, and how the representation of the regal period is shaped by particular views of Rome's history, and of the best way of providing a written account of it.

In the conclusion the views of the regal period will be placed within the wider framework of the meaning of the past in the time of Augustus. The subject is one that has recently received a great deal of attention, most notably in the analysis of Augustan monuments. Such analysis has revealed a great sensitivity to symbolic or emblematic representation as a central feature of Augustan art. The intricate signals of Augustus' great sundial, Forum or *Ara Pacis*, just as much as those conveyed by coins or engraved gems, produce a glorification of the present by juxtaposing it to momentous events or figures from the past and from myths, and sometimes by bringing to bear the order of the cosmos. Such works use symbolic images to create an impression of greatness, and do not speak

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5 See the now old survey article of H–J.Krämer, 'Die Sage von Romulus und Remus in der Lateinischen Literatur,' in H.Flashar & K.Gaiser (eds.), *Synusia, Festgabe für Wolfgang Schadewaldt zum 15.März 1965* (Pfullingen,1965),pp.355–402.

directly of a concrete relationship of past to present. Whilst they may demand to be read and understood as texts, they are still very different from actual written texts, particularly narrative accounts of the past which aim to reconstruct it. Nonetheless it is worthwhile to attempt to read written accounts of the past alongside monumental ones, and in the conclusion I shall try to summarize the Augustan accounts of the regal period in such a way that they can be understood against the background of monumental evocation of the past. However I shall not be undertaking detailed analysis of particular monuments, or of Augustus' building programmes. That would exceed the scope possible in a thesis concerned with literary material. My aim is not to provide a complete picture of Augustan attitudes to the past, but rather to allow the character of particular literary accounts of one period to emerge in as full a way as possible.

The Regal Period in Cicero's *De Republica.*

Introduction.

Cicero's fragmentary treatise on government, the *de republica*, includes a short narrative account of the regal period. As background to the examination of Augustan accounts of the regal period, it is important for a number of reasons. Firstly, it is the most substantial evidence from the late republic of attitudes to the regal period and monarchy generally, and as such acts as a counterbalance to the defamatory accusations of *regnum* in rhetorical polemic, which are anyway quite distinct from the narrative presentation of Rome's regal period.[1] Secondly, because narration of the regal period forms only part of the *de republica*, the main purpose of which is not the retelling of Roman history, we can observe how that narrative is shaped to a specific end, to illustrate the development of the Roman *res publica*. The result is an idealization of the regal period, based upon its particular function in the work. The same process can be observed in other authors; Varro, Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Ovid. The unique value of the *de republica* is that because it is a work of political theory, the forces that shape the idealization are not far to seek. Thirdly, Cicero was a sophisticated thinker, and not content simply to idealize the distant past. As a result, this idealization itself becomes an object of scrutiny, and we can observe Cicero's assessment of and response to the difficulties of writing this part of Rome's early history. It is for this that I include the work. I shall not undertake a thorough examination of the depiction of each king, nor shall I touch upon the question of Cicero's relationship to his sources, for the discussion of constitutions or the ideal statesman. All these topics and

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1 C.J.Classen, 'Die Königszeit im Spiegel der Literatur der römischen Republik', *Historia* 14(1965),385–403. regards the *de republica* as the culminating piece of evidence of all the positive representations of the regal period in the republic. M.A.Guia, 'La valutazione della monarchia a Roma in età repubblicana', *SCO* 16(1967),308-29. comes more to grips with anti-monarchical trends.

many others are fully discussed in the recent and comprehensive commentary of K.Büchner.[2] I shall limit my discussion to points in the work where questions that relate to the *narration* of the regal period are discussed; it is in isolating the problems of regal historiography that the *de republica* facilitates entry to the Augustan texts.

I should like to begin with two passages that pertain to the historiographical problems specific to the *de republica.* The first is the beginning of the *de legibus.* That work opens with a discussion of the survival of ancient traditions, and their relationship to history. The starting point is Cicero's poem Marius, and a certain collection of oaks mentioned in the poem. When Atticus asks Cicero whether the oaks really existed in Marius' time, Cicero deflects him by asking whether it is true that Romulus was deified, or if Aquilo abducted Orythia in the area of Athens where Atticus had a house.

> A. Quorsum tandem aut cur ista quaeris?
>
> M. Nihil sane, nisi ne nimis diligenter inquiras in ea, quae isto modo memoriae sint prodita.
>
> A. Atqui multa quaeruntur in Mario fictane an vera sint, et a non nullis, quod et in recenti memoria et in Arpinati homine versere, veritas a te postulatur.
>
> M. Et mehercule ego me cupio non mendacem putari; sed tamen non nulli isti, Tite noster, faciunt imperite, qui in isto periculo non ut a poeta, sed ut a teste veritatem exigant; nec dubito quin idem et cum Egeria conlocutum Numam et ab aquila Tarquinio apicem inpositum putent.
>
> Q. Intellego te, frater, alias in historia leges observandas putare, alias in poemate.
>
> M. Quippe, cum in illa omnia ad veritatem, Quinte, referantur in hoc ad delectationem pleraque; quamquam et apud Herodotum, patrem historiae, et apud Theopompum sunt innumerabiles fabulae.
>
> *De leg.*I.i.4

Cicero suggests that the same people who demand the truth in a poem about a recent historical figure are likely to be too credulous (N.B not "too rigorous about the truth") when it comes to the stories of the regal period. In other words, they do not understand the particular nature of poetic stories. When it comes to poetic elaborations of events, there is no distinction to be made between distant and recent past. In both, faced with stories of

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2 K.Büchner, *M.Tullius Cicero. De Republica* (Heidelberg,1984)

this kind, one should not enquire too closely, but simply accept the story for its *delectatio*. The talk then turns to the possibility of Cicero himself writing a history of Rome, and to a discussion of Latin historians, which is generally believed to be a coded reference to the sources used for the historical narrative of the *de republica*.[3] Quintus and Atticus mention their respective preferences for contemporary history or history *a Romulo et Remo*, then Cicero claims that he has no time for such an undertaking, and at last the subject turns to the laws of the ideal state.

The passage can be taken as a statement of the problems of writing early Roman history. It is curious to find such a statement after an account of the earliest period of Roman history has been given in the *de republica*. As we shall see later when we come to examine the account of the deification of Romulus in the *de republica*, the attitude that Cicero takes here towards unbelievable stories is totally at odds with the treatment that Scipio gives to the deification. In the *de legibus* the speakers, Cicero and his friends, are content not to draw a firm line between *vera* and *ficta*, but Roman history is not the subject of the work. In the historical parts of the *de republica* such a distinction is drawn, but the historical narrative is mediated by the historical dialogue form. This process of mediation is the subject of a second preliminary text, a reference to the composition of the *de republica* in a letter from Cicero to Quintus Cicero. Quintus, it seems, had asked after Cicero's latest work, *de optimo statu civitatis et de optimo cive*. Cicero describes a change of plan (as far as we can know, never actually realized) prompted by the criticism of his friend Sallustius.

> ii libri cum in Tusculano mihi legerentur audiente Sallustio, admonitus sum ab illo multo maiore auctoritate illis de rebus dici posse si ipse loquerer de re publica, praesertim cum essem non Heracleides Ponticus sed consularis et is qui in maximis versatus in re publica rebus essem; quae tam antiquis hominibus attribuerem, ea visum iri ficta esse.
>
> Ad Q.Frat.3.5.1.

Heraclides seems to have preferred to set his dialogues in the past, as opposed to Aristotle's practice of putting himself in his dialogues.[4] Sallustius clearly thought, and

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3 E.Rawson, 'Cicero the historian and Cicero the antiquarian', *JRS* 62(1972),33-45. esp.pp.36-7, and on Cicero's own historiographical ambitions, pp.43-45.

4 See J.G.F.Powell (ed.), *Cicero: Cato Maior De Senectute* (Cambridge,1988)p.6f.

convinced Cicero, that by setting a dialogue in the past one lost the obvious credibility that could be gained by speaking in one's own person. Without overstating the point, nor discussing the resonances of *ea visum iri ficta esse*, it is clear that in his decision to reject Sallustius' advice and retain his original plan for the work, Cicero was aware that words put into the mouths of his speakers might seem artificial, and that this would detract from their authority. I shall argue that the representation of the regal period in the *de republica* relates closely to the choice of the historical dialogue form, and that in choosing this form, Cicero is commenting upon the characters in the dialogue, upon the history they discuss, and about the reliability of their words.

The theoretical discussion of book I.

Mention of the regal period first occurs in *de republica* I, during the discussion of the relative merits of the different forms of constitutions. Scipio begins by describing the different forms, monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, with their respective degenerate versions, and the processes of change that lead from one to another. He concludes by asserting his own opinion, that the best, because of its stability, is the mixed form of constitution.[5] Laelius says that he has often heard Scipio state this preference, but even so, desires him to come out in favour of one of the simple forms.[6] Scipio responds by arguing the case for each form, using what he presents as political theory learnt from others.[7] As Scipio comes to a close, Laelius again presses him to say which simple form he regards as the best.[8] Scipio approves of Laelius' question, but again, only gives a brief summary of the attractions of each of the simple forms. When Laelius points out that unless he answers this question they will not be able to get any further, Scipio at last responds, and begins to find reasons for a preference for monarchy.[9] What we have, therefore, is Scipio

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5 I.29.45.
6 I.30.46.
7 From I.31.47 to 34.53.
8 I.34.54.
9 I.36.56.

repeatedly dodging the question, affirming that the mixed constitution, Rome's own, is the best form, and that confronted with this preference, the simple forms only demonstrate their drawbacks. They are theoretically all as good and as bad as each other. If, however, one must choose, then the the best simple form of constitution must be said to be monarchy.

The justification of Scipio's claim is based not upon considerations of its theoretical superiority. The detailed discussion so far has shown that a choice on these grounds is impossible. Rather, the superiority of monarchy is demonstrated by its occurrence, in different forms. First Scipio refers to traditional cosmology; Jupiter rules the gods as king, and thus man should agree to do the same as the gods.[10] However, this view of the gods is dismissed as the work of simple minds, and Scipio moves on to (at least) two other areas for justification of his choice. The text is lacunose, but we can see that the first choice is philosophy, with the opinions of learned men being opposed to the fictions of the ignorant.

> sive haec in errore inperitorum posita esse et fabularum similia didicimus, audiamus communis quasi doctores eruditorum hominum, qui tamquam oculis illa viderunt, quae nos vix audiendo cognoscimus.
> I.36.56.

Reading the text closely, we can see that the distinction between the two areas of proof depends not on the quality of the belief itself, but on the kind of person holding the belief. It is the unskilled compared to the erudite. Proof of the excellence of monarchy must come from its acceptance by sophisticated thinkers.

After the lacuna, the subject has changed, and Scipio is justifying his preference for monarchy by using the precedent of Roman history. Scipio is aware that for the kings to function as precedent for his own choice of a constitution, he must prove that the society in which the kings ruled was sufficiently similar to that of his own day for his choice of monarchy to be vindicated by the choice of a king in the regal period. Again, Scipio demands a certain level of sophistication in the witness he brings to his cause. I quote from the end of the lacuna:

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10 I.36.56

> SCIP. sed, si vis, Laeli, dabo tibi testes nec nimis antiquos nec ullo modo barbaros.
>
> LAEL. Istos, inquit, volo.
>
> SCIP. videsne igitur minus quadringentorum annorum esse hanc urbem, ut sine regibus sit?
>
> LAEL. vero minus.
>
> SCIP. quid ergo? haec quadringentorum annorum aetas ut urbis et civitatis num valde longa est?
>
> LAEL. ista vero, inquit, adulta vix.
>
> I.37.58.

Clearly it would have been quite possible to claim that four hundred years was indeed a long time.[11] However, antiquity is defined in such a way that it serves the needs of the argument. Because the kings must be thought of as ruling quite recently, four hundred years is said to be recent.

Soon afterwards, the same method of circular argument is used to show that the kings were not barbarians.

> num' SCIPIO 'barbarorum Romulus rex fuit?'
> LAEL. 'si ut Graeci dicunt omnis aut Graios esse aut barbaros, vereor ne barbarorum rex fuerit; sin id nomen moribus dandum est, non linguis, non Graecos minus barbaros quam Romanos puto.'
> et SCIPIO: 'atqui ad hoc de quo agitur non quaerimus gentem, ingenia quaerimus.'
>
> I.37.58

Barbarian is defined in such a way that the kings and their subjects must be civilized.

Scipio glibly concludes:

> si enim et prudentes homines et non veteres reges habere voluerunt, utor neque perantiquis neque inhumanis ac feris testibus.
>
> I.37.58.

The existence of the kings, and more particularly the fact that the early Roman chose to have kings, is evidence for Scipio's preference for monarchy. It is the similarity between

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11 This objection, that the kings were too old and barbarian to be used as a precedent, may well have occurred in the lacuna, judging from the tone of Scipio's first words. Dionysius' whole treatment of the kings fights against the polemic that they were barbarian; as part of the programmatic introduction, see *A.R.* I.5. This may well have been a common way of denigrating Rome and the kings, although from the fragmentary republican accounts it is not possible to say. But cf. the anti-Roman polemic in a speech in Pompeius Trogus, where the kings are the centre of the attack. Justinus, XXXVIII.iv-viii.

those men who chose to have kings and the men of Scipio's day that enables the regal Romans to act as *testes*. From this examination of the arguments employed to introduce the regal period, it is evident that Cicero acknowledges that there are problems involved in using the kings as precedents. He does not use them without justification, and his justification, in the mouth of Scipio, takes the form of an argument which makes claims to intellectual sophistication, but that is at the same time clearly logically inadequate. It derives its proof from premises that are defined with that proof in mind.

Scipio concludes the discussion of the first book by again asserting the superiority of the mixed constitution. He builds upon his discussion of monarchy, which has by this point managed to extract from monarchy as a constitution a kind of monarchic principle, which, Scipio asserts, should be evident in the mixed constitution.[12]

> <ex> tribus primis generibus longe praestat mea sententia regium, regio autem ipsi praestabit id quod erit aequatum et temperatum ex tribus primis rerum publicarum modis. placet enim esse quiddam in re publica praestans et regale, esse aliud auctoritati principum inpartitum ac tributum, esse quasdam res servatas iudicio voluntatique multitudinis.
>
> I.45.69.

The creation of such a principle depends upon the firm separation of monarchy from its degenerate form, tyranny, and the off-loading of all the bad associations onto the degenerate form. This is aided by the idea that monarchy in inherently unstable; it is an easy and slippery slope from Cyrus to Phalaris.[13] When Scipio takes the role of the democrats, this separation is extended, so that all kings become tyrants, and to describe them as kings is almost sacrilegious, so sacred is the name of *rex*.[14] Of course, it is clear from the dislike that Scipio expresses for that form of constitution when it is first mentioned that he is acting as devil's advocate.[15] Nonetheless, although it is intended to denigrate monarchy, the argument in fact depends upon a very positive evaluation of monarchy, that is made possible by its firm separation from tyranny. To distinguish

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12 H.Cambeis, 'Das monarchische Element und die Funktion der Magistrate in Ciceros Verfassungsentwurf', *Gymnasium* 91(1984),237-60. analyses the constitutional plan in *de legibus* in the light of the monarchic principle isolated in the *de republica*.

13 I.33.44.

14 I.33.50.

15 I.26.42....vel ipse populus, quamquam id est minime probandum...

further between the good and bad qualities of absolute rule, Scipio points out that the love of the early Romans for their kings did not depend upon monarchic terminology. The following words analyse a quotation from Ennius:

> non eros nec dominos appellant eos, quibus iuste paruerunt, denique ne reges quidem, sed patriae custodes, sed patres, sed deos; nec sine causa.
> I.41.64.

This sharp division between monarchy and tyranny in the initial theoretical discussion, the depiction of monarchy as only benign, means that all bad associations are divorced from the kings. This is the basis for the idea of the monarchic principle, which then allows a link to be forged between Scipio's preference for monarchy, and his choice of the mixed constitution.

The historical narrative.

Scipio himself realizes how close is his preference first for the mixed constitution, then for monarchy, to the actual course of Rome's historical development, and he states clearly a change in the method of argument between the discussion of the first book and that which is to follow:

> sed vereor ... ne si diutius in hoc genere verser, quasi praecipientis cuiusdam et docentis et non vobiscum simul considerantis esse videatur oratio mea. quam ob rem ingrediar in ea, qua nota sunt omnibus, quaesita autem a nobis iam diu. sic enim decerno, sic sentio, sic adfirmo, nullam omnium rerum publicarum aut constitutione aut descriptione aut disciplina conferendam esse cum ea, quam patres nostri nobis acceptam iam inde a maioribus reliquerunt.
> I.46.70.

Scipio distinguishes between the discussion thus far, where he has been acting as an instructor, and that which is to come, where he will deal with Roman history, a subject well-known to all. The best constitution will be seen to be that bequeathed by Roman history, independent of the theoretical discussion of different types of constitution, based upon learned opinion, that has occupied Scipio until now.

> simul et qualis sit et optimam esse ostendam, expositaque ad exemplum nostra re publica, accommodabo ad eam si potero omnem illam orationem quae est mihi habenda de optimo civitatis statu.
> I.46.70.

When Scipio begins his narrative of the regal period, it becomes clear that he will fulfil his promise by showing that the course of Roman history in fact demonstrates the ideal constitution. The circular method of argument is again in evidence, as the kings are made to demonstrate the excellence of Rome's development. In turn, the narrative begins with the assumption of this excellence as its starting point. The vocabulary of Scipio's statement of intent leaves it unclear how far he will be altering his account of Roman history to fit his discourse on the ideal constitution, and how far he will be using his account of history to prove his contention. The words with which, in the next book, he concludes his narrative are, if anything, more ambiguous:

> quod autem exemplo nostrae civitatis usus sum, non ad definiendum optimum statum valuit — nam id fieri potuit sine exemplo — sed ut <in> civitate maxima reapse cerneretur quale esset id, quod ratio oratioque describeret.
>
> II.39.66.

This ambiguity exactly defines the relationship between the ideal and history. It is not made explicit whether it is the concerns of the historian that dominate over the conceptions of the political theorist, nor whether the ideal is the result of historical observation. However, before examining the other places where Cicero sheds light upon how he can reconcile an idealized account of exemplary history with historical fact, we should observe the kinds of ideas that the regal period is shown, or made, to illustrate.

The first achievement of Romulus' reign was his choice for the site of Rome. In this Romulus showed remarkable foresight, and was well aware of all the advantages of his choice. His knowledge and forethought are stressed several times.[16] In this first step, which is given fairly lengthy exposition, Romulus is credited with an informed motivation rather more emphatically than in most of his other measures. Scipio describes the rape of the Sabine women as a "novum et subagreste consilium", although it was part of a plan to strengthen the state, the plan of a great man of distant vision. The connotation of rustic primitiveness builds upon the description of Romulus' childhood and rise to power. It is interesting that when dealing with this early part of Romulus' life, Scipio draws a clear

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16 Twice in II.3.5l; cf.II.5.10 and, for the natural defences, II.6.11.

distinction between *facta* and *fabula*, associating the latter with the stories of his childhood and adolescence, and reserving fact for his political deeds:

> ...in agresti cultu laboreque aluissent, perhibetur, ut adoleverit, et corporis viribus et animi ferocitate tantum ceteris praestitisse, ut omnes qui tum eos agros ubi hodie est haec urbs incolebant, aequo animo illi libenterque parerent. quorum copiis cum se ducem praebuisset, ut [et] iam a fabulis ad facta veniamus, oppressisse Longam Albam, validam urbem et potentem...
> II.2.4.

We can note that *ferocitas* would not normally be a praiseworthy attribute. There is, in fact, a definite opposition of associations; on the one hand, rusticity, simplicity and a certain low-key brutality; on the other hand, political wisdom and beneficent leadership. Concurrently here we find the contrast between *fabula* and *facta.*

Thus, when Scipio accepts a certain barbarism in the rape of the Sabine women, he shades the view of the rational, historical figure, with associations that he has said belong to his mythical aspects. In effect, the bland rationalism apparent in the positioning of the city is mitigated. Scipio is similarly gentle when it comes to Romulus' establishment of the senate. It is said to have been established during the joint rule with Tatius:

> sed quamquam ea (ie. the senate and the division into tribes) Tatio sic erant discripta vivo, tamen eo interfecto multo etiam magis Romulus patrum auctoritate consilioque regnavit.
> quo facto primum vidit iudicavitque idem, quod Spartae Lycurgus paulo ante viderat, singulari imperio et potestate regia tum melius gubernari et regi civitates, si esset optimi cuiusque ad illam vim dominationis adiuncta auctoritas.
> II.8.14-9.15.

In other words, Romulus acted first, and came to the abstract realization of the significance of his actions later. This falls in line with the claim that lies behind the whole of the historical narration, that Rome came naturally to the same conclusions that Greece reached by thinking about them.[17] Scipio also suggests that it was only gradually that Romulus began to realize the full use he could make of the senate, thus that it was not conceived

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17 Very similar is the point made in the prologue concerning the relative merits of the βίος πρακτικός and the βίος θεωρητικός. Cicero concludes that the latter is usually entirely ineffective without the former. See below p.23.

initially in its final form, as the product of extraordinary far-sightedness, but rather, it developed with the perceptions of the king.[18]

In spite of this gradual shading, the dominant picture is of the civilized and aware politician. He fought wars with the backing of the senate, and gave all his booty to the people; he introduced the auspices; he organized his people into groups, and kept them in order with the threat of fines, rather than by "vi et suppliciis".[19] No wonder, then, that after his death, the people resisted the attempt of the senate to rule, and insisted upon another king.

After the king's death, Scipio concludes that his rule had led his people to a state of maturity:

> videtisne igitur unius viri consilio non solum ortum novum populum neque ut in cunabulis vagientem relictum, sed adultum iam et paene puberem?
> II.11.21.

In centring his description of Romulus' development of Rome upon the people, Cicero recalls the arguments used when the regal period was first mentioned in *de republica* I. It was the informed choice of the early Romans of a king that allowed the early kings to be used as justification for Scipio's preference for monarchy.[20] In turn, it is by raising his people to this level that Romulus in fact lays the way for the development from monarchy to the mixed constitution.[21] The mixed constitution is not actually said to exist under Romulus, and it is crucial to the arguments of Cato with which Scipio prefaces his account of the kings that no one individual is credited with its invention.[22] However, the tripartite

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18 Nevertheless, in summing up his reign, Scipio says that Romulus engendered two "firmamenta rei publicae". the auspices and senate. II.10.17. He does not mention Tatius. Equally, in a passage known from Nonius describing the change that occurred with Superbus, the monarchy up to this point is described as the "constitutio Romuli". II.31.53.

19 II.9.15-16.

20 See above, p.12f. In both places it is the cultural level of the people that becomes the centre of attention.

21 A very similar idea shapes Livy's account. This will be treated at length in chapter 4.

22 Laelius reiterates Cato's idea after Scipio's description of the institutions of Tarquinius Priscus, introducing the next king, Servius Tullius.

> "nunc fit illud Catonis certius, nec temporis unius nec hominis esse constitutionem <nostrae> rei publicae; perspicuum est enim, quanta in

structure of the mixed constitution is shown to be in existence by the end of Romulus' reign, when the people are capable of forcing the senate to choose a king, and the senate responds to the people by introducing the interregnum, until a suitable candidate is found.[23] When Numa arrives, he is so scrupulous that he passes a curiate law concerning his succession, even though the people had already done this. His action is repeated by Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Marcius.[24]

Romulus' education of his people is said to be so successful that they realized what Lycurgus did not, that hereditary monarchy would not be as reliable as a king chosen for his virtue, even though they were *agrestes*.[25] In this small point, rustic simplicity and civilized judgement confront each other head-on. Cicero shades the picture of remarkable foresight, even less tenable in the case of Romulus' people than for the king himself, with acknowledgement of their rustic nature. By this acknowledgement he undermines the image of rational control, yet deflects objections to it, by showing that he recognizes its short comings. Thus it can continue as the dominant trait of the characterization of early Rome, although in a qualified form.

It is in this light that the relationship between the monarchy and the mixed constitution of the republic must be viewed. The separation between monarchy and its bad associations made in *de republica* I is extended, so that the constitutional term monarchy does not necessarily contain the idea of the king ruling unaided. A monarchic constitution does not preclude an important role being played by the people and the senate. As Scipio points out after describing the election of Tullus Hostilius,

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singulos reges rerum bonarum et utilium fiat accessio. sed sequitur is qui mihi videtur ex omnibus in re publica vidisse plurimum."
II.21.37.

One may note that Servius was the only other king with a large concatenation of popular mythology. See E.Gabba, 'Studi su Dionigi da Alicarnasso II, il regno di Servio Tullio', *Athenaeum* n.s.39(1961),98–121. Cicero totally neglects this, preferring to focus on the equally abundant tradition of political measures, translated into this statement of his great political understanding. The rationalizing version of the story of the miraculous burst of flame from Servius' head is revealing: non latuit scintilla ingenii, quae iam tum elucebat in puero; sic erat in omni vel officio vel sermone sollers. (II.21.37)

23 See II.12.23.

24 II.13.25.; 17.31 ; 18.33.

25 II.xii.24. .

> et ut advertatis animum quam sapienter iam reges hoc nostri viderint tribuenda quaedam esse populo - multa enim nobis de eo genere dicenda sunt -, ne insignibus quidem regiis Tullus nisi iussu populi est ausus uti.
>
> II.17.31.

Indeed, the emphasis that is placed upon the exceptional nature of Tarquinius Superbus in the work, and, it seems, in most republican references to the regal period, almost makes it seem that absolute monarchy without the participation of the subjects is in fact tyranny, at least in the example of Rome.[26] All the other kings diligently delegate; only the tyrant rules alone. One quotation can demonstrate how high is the standard that Scipio holds up for a king to remain a king.

> simul atque enim se inflexit hic rex in dominatum iniustiorem, fit continuo tyrannus, quo neque taetrius neque foedius nec dis hominibusque invisius animal ullum cogitari potest.
>
> II.26.48.

The force of the comparative *iniustiorem* makes it quite clear how little the king needs stray from the path of justice before ceasing to be a king. This is the necessary condition for the use of the regal period as the period during which the mixed constitution developed. Laelius comments, after the description of the reign of Tullus Hostilius, "neque enim serpit, sed volat in optimum statum instituto tuo sermone res publica."[27]

The reign of Romulus shows the king to be an exemplary monarch. Even though Cicero keeps alive the dialectic of simplicity and sophistication, it is clear that it is the latter that dominates, and that Romulus is to be thought of as a historical figure, in full control of the forces of government. In the account of Romulus' deification, myth is totally repudiated, and what could so easily become the focus for associations of primitiveness, instead becomes proof of modernity. It is true that it is never unequivocally stated that Romulus did become a god. However, Scipio points out that the idea that apotheosis had taken place is all the more remarkable, and gives even greater proof of Romulus' excellence, since it occurred during a period when literacy and education had long since removed false thinking from men's lives.[28] Arguments exactly parallel to those with

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26 See Classen and Giua, op.cit (note 1)

27 However, the reference to the importance of Scipio's contribution to the analysis might well be interpreted ironically, along with other indications of an idealized reconstruction of history. See below, p.24ff.

28 II.10.17-18.

which the kings are first introduced in the work are given, to prove the lateness of the events: chronological arguments and comparisons with Greece, which confirm that the regal period was one of rational and civilized thought. Cicero's emphasis on literacy surely enables us to press the idea that he is not only concerned with the intellectual level of the society. He uses literacy to dismiss the objection that these events were simply mythical stories. Literacy implies education, and with the spread of learning people could distinguish between history and fiction.

> intellegi potest permultis annis ante Homerum fuisse quam Romulus ut iam doctis hominibus ac temporibus ipsis eruditis ad fingendum vix quicquam esset loci. antiquitas enim recepit fabulas fictas etiam non numquam incondite, haec aetas autem iam exculta praesertim eludens omne, quod fieri non potest, respuit.
>
> II.10.19.

It would be an overstatement to say that this constitutes a distinction between history and myth that depends on the literacy of the society. Since Homer is presumably regarded as written, one cannot baldly link myth to illiteracy, history to writing. This passage does, however, make clear that history in the sense of a true written record of events is the medium in which the regal Romans would analyse the events of their own time. It suggests that the account given of Romulus' reign is one that dates from the period itself, since the perceptions of Romulus' people were of a requisite level of sophistication to be regarded as true in Scipio's own terms. Romulus is, in short, a historical figure, and all the associations of sophistication we have already observed are bound up in the assumption that a true historical account of his reign is at the root of the information available to Scipio. Things that could not have happened would not have been reported as true, and the version of regal history that Scipio gives is an accurate representation of the culture.

Because of the tension that Cicero creates between sophistication and primitiveness in the account of Romulus' reign, and because blatant rationalization is often shaded by this tension, the basic process behind the historical account is not found in a pure form. However, the emphasis given to historical truth points to this process. The arguments against myth all result from the need for Romulus, and the other kings, to function convincingly as exemplary monarchs. Not only this; proofs of the historical nature of

Scipio's information are necessary if we, or Scipio's audience, are to be convinced by the ideas or themes made to be born by the regal narrative. The most important of these, and most central to the whole work, is that the Roman mixed constitution, the best according to the discussion of *de republica* I, was gradually produced during the regal period, with contributions from many men.[29] It is to support this theme that the kings are presented as model rulers, and to justify this presentation, that Scipio so diligently defines the field of history.

Another crucial, and related, theme is the relationship of Rome to Greece, which we have observed in the comparisons between Romulus and Lycurgus. Scipio is very emphatic in his denial of the rumour that Numa was a pupil of Pythagoras. Manilius expresses relief at the success of Scipio's chronological arguments:[30]

> Di immortales ...quantus iste est hominum et quam inveteratus error. ac tamen facile patior non esse nos transmarinis nec inportatis artibus eruditos, sed genuinis domesticisque virtutibus.
>
> II.15.29.

The education of the early Romans, so important as proof of the validity of their political experience, is, mercifully, the product of home-grown virtue. The opposition between learning grounded in genuine virtue, and *ars*, rootless and acquired, is a particularly revealing encapsulation of Roman disdain. However, having sufficiently established native wit, Cicero admits Greek learning's importance with its arrival with Tarquinius Priscus.[31] The postponement of Greek influence comes hand in hand with the idea that the Roman constitution developed through history, rather than as the result of theory. It is another

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29 Cato's idea, voiced in the introduction to the narrative, II.i.2. For Cato, as for Scipio, this collective development is the principle support for a claim that the Roman constitution was the best possible. It is this pride in Roman history and constitution that motivates the whole discussion.

30 It is the same Manilius who collated Numa's laws. See Büchner's commentary, ad. V.2.3.

31 During the reign of Ancus, the start of a great flood. II.xix.34. Interestingly, Varro seems to share Cicero's idea of a break within the period with Priscus, although for him it takes a form more in accord with his view of the primitive sanctity of the regal period. Priscus was the first to introduce of images for gods. Pliny, *N.H.*35.157 =*antiquitates divinae* Fr.22 Cardauns. cf *de vita populi Romani*, Fr.15 Riposati. It may also be that Cicero and Varro are dealing in different ways with the same idea of a movement away from indigenous purity with this king; for Varro it is religious, for Cicero, intellectual, and that images of Gods were thought to be a Greek idea.

way of using the regal period to embody an ideal; Cicero makes the period as a whole act as a vehicle for a particular conception of the relationship of Rome to Greece.

The idealization of early history.

The use of the regal period as the embodiment of some kind of ideal overshadows all the accounts that I shall examine in this thesis. The *de republica* is particularly interesting as a guide, in that the process of idealization is much more clearly spelled out than in any other work. Cicero brings explicitly to the front such questions as the problem of fact and fiction, of ideal and historical. In the *de republica* there is an open dialectic between the use of history to carry ideas, and the idea of historical accuracy, of history which is a true record of events. We have seen that Scipio stresses the accuracy of his knowledge of the regal period as he presents it. In spite of this, it is clear that the account of the regal period is an idealized version of the past, dependent on a particular view of the creation of the Roman constitution as the best possible constitution. This relationship between the ideal and history is a complex one. Few modern analyses discuss the process that lies behind the historical narrative of the *de republica.* After all, it is only one small part of what is essentially a discussion of political theory, rather than a history.[32] However, Richard Klein and Alain Michel both deal directly with the relationship of the ideal to history.[33] Klein loses sight of how far the conception of the ideal state is supposedly derived in the

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32 Much more work (of which very little is in English) has been concerned with analyzing the picture of the ideal statesman, and Cicero's relationship to his sources. P.L.Schmidt, 'Cicero *De re publica*: Die Forschung der letzen fünf Dezennien', *ANRW* 1.4(1973),262–333. gives a complete bibliography from 1923-73. See also J.Michelfeit, 'Der König und sein Gegenbild in Ciceros *Staat* ', *Philologus* 108(1964),262-87. for summaries of much of the most important literature. More recent contributions include: S.Döpp 'Der Gedankengang in Cicero De Re Publica 1,33,50.',*RhM* 127(1984),285-92., the latest in a series of articles on this troubled fragment; J.–L.Ferrary, 'L'archéologie du *De Re Publica* (2,2,4-37,63): Cicéron entre Polybe et Platon', *JRS* 74(1984),87-98.; G.Hamza 'Ciceros Verhältniss zu seinen Quellen, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Darstellung der Staatslehre in *De Re Publica* ', *Klio* 67(1985),492-97.

33 R.Klein, *Königtum und Königszeit bei Cicero* Diss. Erlangen, 1962. A.Michel, 'A propos de l'art du dialogue dans le *De Republica*: l'idéal et la réalité chez Cicéron', *REL* 43(1965),237-61.

work from history itself. "Ciceros res publica ist eine Idee und als solche wesentlich geschichtslos".[34] He sees history as opposed to the ideal in a way that takes the argument into the realm of Cicero's metaphysics, and away from the continued emphasis on history in the work. Michel, on the other hand, recognizes the dominance of history:

> "Ainsi, dans le récit historique lui-même, on voit se rencontrer deux attitudes de pensée. D'une part, l'auteur recourt à une fiction ideále inspirée notamment par la république imaginaire du Platon. D'autre part, il présente certaines considérations sceptiques qui se fondent sur les faits que se sont produits réellement, et insiste (comme le faisait Philus au livre III) sur le rôle que jouent dans l'histoire le casus et la necessitas. Entre ces deux manières de voir on peut trouver, ici encore, un moyen terre, en cherchant, dans certains faits historiques privilégiés, des coïncidences entre l'idéal et le hasard des réalités."

Nonetheless, Michel is too fond of the idea of the mean. Both Klein and Michel bring out the role that Cicero's prologue to the dialogue continues to play in the rest of the work. There Cicero discusses the different virtues of the βίος πρακτικός and the βίος θεωρητικός. The same opposition recurs in the rest of the work, taking the form of the relationship between the ideal form of constitution and the importance of history. Indeed, the difference between the theoretical arguments for the best form of constitution that occupy *de republica* I and the historical narrative of *de republica* II re-enacts this opposition. However, in both the prologue and the change between the first two books, the practical aspect is clearly victorious. As Cicero says in the prologue, "virtus in usu sui tota posita est".[35] Likewise, the theoretical arguments of the first book are set aside by Scipio for his historical narrative.[36] This dominance of the practical has the same logical pattern as the dialectic between the sophisticated exemplary and the primitive sides of Romulus' reign, and again between Greek theoretical knowledge and Roman learning through virtue. In terms of the relationship between the ideal and history, then, we must surely say, given the diligence with which Scipio defines what constitutes historical reliability, that the historical narrative of the regal period must have dominance over the ideal. Scipio wants us to believe him, that it was in the course of history that the ideal

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34 Klein, p.29.
35 I.ii.2.
36 See the passage quoted above, p14.

constitution emerged, and that he is not simply chosing his ideal, and then shaping his account of history around it. Repeatedly Scipio privileges the Roman, practical, rational historical aspects of the opposition, against the mythical, theoretical, Greek aspects. His claim that the ideal emerged from history, and that Roman history was in fact spontaneously ideal in its development, is insistently pressed, and upheld by being part of a much more widespread series of associated ideas.

It is this victory of history over theory that allows Scipio to be shown to be the supporter of monarchy. Looking for a moment at Cicero's portrait as an historical representation of Scipio and his friends, is is surely paradoxical that Scipio is the defender of monarchy, when a major part of the opposition to Ti.Gracchus in which Scipio partook depended upon accusations of *regnum*.[37] However, it ceases to be such a paradox if one lays adequate stress upon the details of the argument: Scipio's portrayal of monarchy as represented by the regal period at Rome does not constitute a theoretical love of monarchy in other forms. There is nothing in the *de republica* which could not fit with the historical Scipio's famous response, that if Ti.Gracchus had been aiming to take personal control of the state, he was justly killed. The relationship between the ideal and history in the *de republica* is so organized that the form of monarchy that is said to have existed at Rome becomes idealized, without having the universal applicability that a more broadly theoretical ideal would have. Further, as I have shown, that idealization is a very narrowly defined version of benign kingship indeed, one that even fosters the mixed constitution.

The ironization of the ideal.

In spite of the recurrence of ideas that endorse the victory of history over theory, Scipio's account of the regal period is clearly unsatisfactory. It is difficult to take seriously his assertions of the reliability of his information, and the circularity of the arguments with which he justifies the modernity of his conceptions of the kings is quite obvious. What is

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37 See A.E.Astin, *Scipio Aemilianus* (Oxford,1967),pp.232ff.

more, by sustaining the hints of a mythical unsophisticated aspect to the period, Cicero keeps before our eyes the artificiality of Scipio's insistence on history. He does not allow Scipio to eliminate the opposition. There is also one place where he quite overtly allows the assumptions of historical reliability to collapse.

After the conclusion of the narration of the reign of Romulus, Laelius praises Scipio's account for its superiority to that of Plato and his followers:

> ... te quidem ingressum ratione ad disputandum nova, quae nusquam est in Graecorum libris. nam princeps ille, quo nemo in scribendo praestantior fuit, aream sibi sumpsit, in qua civitatem extrueret arbitratu suo, praeclaram ille quidem fortasse, sed a vita hominum abhorrentem et moribus; reliqui disseruerunt sine ullo certo exemplari formaque rei publicae de generibus et de rationibus civitatum; tu mihi videris utrumque facturus: es enim ita ingressus, ut, quae ipse reperias, tribuere aliis malis quam, ut facit apud Platonem Socrates, ipse fingere, et illa de urbis situ revoces ad rationem, quae a Romulus casu aut necessitate facta sunt, et disputes non vaganti oratione, sed defixa in una re publica. quare perge, ut instituisti; prospicere enim iam videor te reliquos reges persequente quasi perfectam rem publicam.
>
> II.11.21-22.

This picks up Scipio's own claim, at the end of his prelude to his narration, to be presenting his own state, in different stages of development, rather than to make one up, as Socrates does in Plato.[38] In these references to Plato, Cicero effectively fractures his own fictional sphere. If Socrates is a parallel to Scipio, then Plato is a parallel to Cicero himself, and the author thus intrudes into the fictional setting, and draws attention to his fiction.[39] Scipio's words are shown to be the product of someone with greater control over the work than we had hitherto seen presented. This in essence constitutes a disclaimer; Scipio's narration of Rome can no longer be regarded at its face value.[40] This comes at the same time as Laelius points out that when in fact Scipio claims to observe a process at work in history, this is only his rational analysis of something that was really the product of accident. Cicero is hinting that history cannot really be analysed in terms of the spontaneous manifestation of the ideal, as Scipio has been claiming. Rather, he points out

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38 II.1.3. cf II.30.52.

39 cf.J.Christes, 'Bemerkung zu Cicero, De re publica 1,60;2,21-22;2,30;3,33.', *Gymnasium* 96(1989),38-48., who describes Laelius' words as the ironic unmasking of Scipio.

40 Of course, this can be suspected from the outset. It is just made more definite by this clear indication of the author.

that the *ratio* of the historical account is the work of the Scipio himself, based upon his own discovery, and not the product of the enlightenment of figures from the past. The ideal behaviour of Romulus is shown to be formed with the ideal in mind, rather than the revelation of the ideal, as is assumed throughout the discussion of Roman history. Identical is the development of the mixed constitution within the regal period, with which Laelius' speech ends (quasi perfectam rem publicam). Cicero shows both that he does not believe in the accuracy of his account of history, and that the process whereby the ideal constitution is revealed in the historical account is based upon *a priori* assumptions, and not an impartial analysis of the past.[41]

Two questions emerge. Firstly, how far does this particular moment of deconstruction spread into the rest of the narration? The answer has already been hinted at: this precise expression of Cicero's own mistrust of the process of Scipio's historical narrative only picks up tensions that he carefully maintains throughout the narrative, tensions between primitive and sophisticated in the depiction of Romulus, but also more generally, the ironic tensions created by the unsatisfactory structure of the argument. Further, it does come fairly near the beginning of the historical narrative, and thus must overshadow the remainder, in which the opposition between sophistication and primitiveness is noticeably less strong. It is really only with Romulus that associations of rusticity can be observed, and after the point where Cicero shows up the artificiality of his historical narrative, as if to press home the point, the rationalization of the past becomes more complete, and the idealization of the past, now shown up to be such, takes on this role more fully. The trite interjection of ?Laelius preceding Scipio's account of Ancus can be read as an reiteration of the praise of Scipio's attempt to make his idealization autonomous:

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41 It is tempting to take a remark of Scipio's that is prompted by ignorance of the identity of Ancus' father as another point where the pretence of the historical narrative is shown up, since it seems to show that reliable information concerning the regal period is hard to find:

> sed temporum illorum tantum fere regum inlustrata sunt nomina.
> II.xviii.33.

However, this does not mean "Only the names of the kings are known from that time", but rather, "From that time, almost the only names that are known are those of the kings."

> (LAEL.?)'*<neque> enim serpit sed volat in optimum statum instituto tuo sermone res publica.
>
> II.18.33.

If we refer back to Cicero's letter to Quintus, Cicero can be said to have put the fictitious nature of the dialogue form to work, to create a picture of regal history that functions coherently as an idealization, but only within a setting that allows it to be perceived as such. Cicero himself is firmly disassociated from the picture of the regal period presented in the work.

Secondly, with what aim does Cicero so carefully construct a historical account that is then subjected to ironic scrutiny? What is his aim in presenting Scipio's account of Roman history, only to hint that it is not to be trusted as history? The answer must lie in the relationship between the preference for monarchy that Scipio expresses, and the polemic aim that occupies the last two books of the work, the plea for responsible individuals to take control of the state, in the delineation of the ideal *princeps*. Unfortunately, these books are a great deal more fragmentary than the early part of the work; there is one fragment, however, where the behaviour of king Numa is shown as a direct precedent for the idea of the *princeps*, in his guise as a dispenser of justice. The passage demonstrates how direct is the influence of king as a model for the ideal statesman, and how successfully the bad associations of absolutism have been eliminated.

> <nihil esse tam> regale quam explanationem aequitatis, in quo iuris erat interpretatio, quod ius privati petere solebant a regibus, ob easque causas agri arvi et arbusti et pascui.
>
> V.2.3.

Stress is laid upon the superiority of Numa to the other kings, in that he took the role of law giver more consistently than the other kings, who spent too much time at war. However, the king is shown to work for equality; there is no trace of the idea of the self-interest usually associated with absolute rule. The end of the section makes it clear, that Numa is to be taken as a direct precedent for the behaviour of the ideal statesman. "...quod quidem huius civis proprium de quo agimus..."

Scipio himself is clearly to be seen as a historical ideal *princeps*. The account of Roman history that he gives, with its depictions of the kings again as exemplary individuals, reflects his own role as a model statesman. Obviously there is a great

difference between the kings, constitutionally invested with absolute power, and the kind of *princeps* Cicero envisages, whose influence in politics resides in personal *auctoritas* rather than in a monarchic right. None the less, when Scipio is brought reluctantly to express a preference for monarchy, a certain inevitability can be felt, that is based in conscious pride at his personal greatness. It is also possible that as a family, the Aemilii Scipiones deliberately cultivated all possible associations with Rome's monarchy, and with kings in general. T.P.Wiseman has recently evoked a picture of republican Rome dominated by the public works of the Aemilii, which very often contained an association with the regal period.[42] Cicero builds upon this background, in presenting Scipio as one for whom Rome's early rulers were a matter of pride, and who found parallels to his own enlightenment in their achievements. Cicero's portrait of Scipio as the embodiment of the regal element within the mixed constitution has its historiographical counterpart in the idealization of the regal period.

Further, by chosing to set his dialogue at this particular point in Rome's past, Cicero is making his own point about Roman attitudes to history. Pohlenz analyses the pathos adhering to Cicero's choice of setting, just before Scipio's death.[43] Errant individuals were the major problem of the following century, and this point in the past is complemented by the idealized view of the regal period that Scipio is shown to hold. From another angle, Cicero implies that to find the historical precedent for great men taking control of the state, one has to pass over the last century of Roman history. He has to distance himself from the endorsement of monarchy, framing his appeal for new *principes* in a nostalgic picture of the Scipionic circle, with equal nostalgia for a time when pride in Roman history could extend back right to the foundation of the city. Scipio's is a view of history that can use the earliest kings as precedents, and which desires to stress the

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42 See T.P.Wiseman, "The resplendent Aemilii", lecture delivered in Cambridge, January 1989. E.D.Rawson, 'Caesar's Heritage: Hellenistic kings and their Roman equals', *JRS* 65(1975),148-59. pointed out that the elder Scipio was far from modest in his assimiliation of regal associations, and it may well be that the younger Scipio assimilated the personality cult of the elder.

43 M.Pohlenz, 'Cicero De Republica als Kunstwerk', in *Festschrift Reitzenstein* (Leipzig,1931),pp.70-105.

continuity with and similarity to the past, rather than the distance. It was, in Cicero's idealistic view, a sense of history not dominated by the feeling of decline, so pervasive in the late republic. It is his rejection of those who neglect the political life of the present that lies behind Cicero's opening arguments for public participation. To reinforce them, he presents a view of Rome's past where history could still inspire men to action, rather than simply to dwell on what had been lost.

For providing a model for examining Augustan attitudes to the regal period, Cicero's *de republica* is a very fertile work. It is, it must be admitted, far more complex than any of the other historical accounts, and brings into open debate issues which historians naturally desire to ignore. However, particularly for comparison with Dionysius, Cicero most usefully shows us what kinds of questions it is reasonable to raise. He is very aware of the possibility of different ways of representing the past, and of the implications that these ways have for the narrator's attitude to his own time. He clearly links the question of the distinction between history and myth to the question of the implicit aim with which a historical narrative is given. The rationalized account of the regal period given by Scipio is motivated by a view of history, one that Cicero treats nostalgically, that stresses similarity and in which historical figures can be used as precedent without anxiety, and where the ideal can still be perceived in the past.

Varro and the Regal Period.

I include a discussion of the regal period in Varro even though, given the almost total loss of his work, any analysis must be regarded as provisional. The reason is that it is still possible to find confirmation in Varro of several important features of Cicero's account. The insistence that the regal period belonged to history is perhaps the most significant; but Varro also seems to have shared with the speakers of Cicero's dialogue a desire to show that the kings were remarkable men, capable of an insight that transcended, or indeed was encouraged by, the simple spiritual purity of Rome's first days. Apart from this confirmation of Cicero's account, there is no doubt of the importance of the contribution that Varro's antiquarian investigations made to the picture of early society held by his contemporaries. I shall attempt to investiage exactly what kind of society Varro envisaged; and, further, whether he had a particular view of the regal period itself upon which his reconstruction was based.

Apart from a portion of the *de lingua latina*, all the works in which Varro referred to the regal period have been lost. Largish fragments are present in St. Augustine's *Civitas Deii*, and since Augustine's aim is to discredit the philosophers of paganism, these fragments are quite detailed. However, Augustine's theological interests naturally mean that his citations mostly involve religious matters, and come from the compendious *Antiquitates divinae*. Otherwise, our knowledge of Varro's other works is largely limited to short citations, from a great variety of sources, frequently lexicographers, since Varro's own work often involved the interpretations of archaic words. The fragments of the *Antiquitates Divinae* have recently been assembled by Cardauns;[1] but those of the *de vita populi Romani* were put in order fifty years ago, while the *de gente populi romani* has not been touched since 1907.[2] In itself this is witness to the intractable and impoverished state of all these works.

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1 B.Cardauns (ed.),*M.Terrentius Varro: Antiquitates Rerum Divinarum* (Wiesbaden,1976).

2 B.Riposati, *M.Terrenti Varronis, De Vita Populi Romani* (Milan,1939); P.Fraccaro, *Studi Varroniani. De Gente Populi Romani* (Padua,1907).

Indeed, so little is known that each sentence of this chapter should by rights begin "It seems as though Varro may.have.." In order to prevent stylistic tedium congesting an already difficult subject, I have written with more certainty than is appropriate in an area where I do not wish to pose as an expert. This is, as I have said, purely from stylistic considerations.

Varro and the simplicity of early Rome.

As almost all we know of Varro comes from others, we can begin with Cicero's dedication to Varro of his *Academica*, a work in which he also appears as a speaker.

> in nostra urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum reduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere.
> Cicero,*Academica* I.3,9.

Cicero here singles out one particular aspect of Varro's work that may still be thought to have been the most influential, that of topographical aetiology. Varro may well have been the originator of the formula "ubi nunc Roma est ..." to introduce a comparison of Rome past and present. With these words he begins that section of the *de lingua latina* which is the most substantial testimony to this method that remains to us, and of which echoes in the poets are frequent, the tour of Rome based upon aetiologies.[3] Naturally, when it came to origins in Rome, the regal period provided a fairly ample store of material, as a glance at *DLL* V.41ff will show. However, in attempting to piece together Varro's conception of the regal period, a discussion based upon aetiology is of limited use. For one thing, the study of origins was not a new idea, and regal aetiologies come in the earliest Roman writings. For another, the tracing of the origin of a later institution to its primitive beginning does not necessarily reveal anything other than rather one-dimensional conceptions of the past. All one can really deduce about Varro's idea of the regal period from his aetiologies, is that he thought it was less sophisticated, materially and spiritually, than the present.[4] Indeed, this

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3 *DLL* V.41ff.

4 One can argue that aetiology is by its nature more accurately described in terms of conceptions of the present, than of the past. This is certainly the case in the evolution

is generally regarded as the mainstay of Varro's conception of the past, one typical of Roman conservatism, always comparing the decadence and wealth of the present day, to the simple virtuous parsimony of the *maiores*. His methodical antiquarian and historical researches were undertaken to prove and elaborate this view.[5]

Aetiology is only one small aspect of Varro's research, although it may well be that a hidden structure of comparison that resembles aetiology is present in some way in all Varro's enquiries into the past. It is, however, important to explore the kind of researches Varro did conduct, and to see whether a particular view of the regal period lay behind them. Although we shall not, in the end, get much further than the cliché of a decadent past and a simple present, we need to see what kinds of categories Varro applied to the past, and what his methods themselves can tell us about such categories.

As far as we know, the only place where Varro treated the regal period as a unity was the first book of the *de vita populi romani*.[6] At least, the main content of the book is agreed to be the regal period; most of the kings are named, and mention is found of several events from their reigns. Unfortunately, there is a complete absence of material from after Servius Tullius until the first fragments of the second book, which refer to the Gallic sack of the early fourth century. It is thus impossible to say whether Varro ended the book with the fall of Tarquin, or whether, like Fabius Pictor, Cato in the *Origines*, or Cicero in the *De Republica*, he continued it down to the twelve tables, or some other point in the fifth century.[7]

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of the form in Greece. See G.Codrignani, 'L'*aition* nella poesia greca prima di Callimacho', *Convivium* n.s.26(1958),527-545.

5 See e.g. F.Della Corte, 'Passato e presente in Varrone', reprinted in *Opuscula* VI (Genoa, 1978),pp.213-239. A.Salvatore, *Scienza e poesia in Roma: Varrone e Virgilio* (Naples,1978).

6 Hereafter *VPR*.

7 See D.Timpe, 'Fabius Pictor und die Anfänge Römischen Historiographie', *ANRW* 1.2(1972),928-69. esp 935ff, for a full discussion of the cultural significance and consequent definition of *ktisis* narratives.

The *VPR* was dedicated to Atticus, and the nature of the work seems to accord well with the tastes of the dedicatee.[8] Nepos tells us that Atticus used to imitate the customs of the ancients, and was a lover of the antique.[9] Many of the fragments bear witness that Varro here examined aspects of the everyday life of the early Romans, their clothes, houses and domestic customs, such as would be of particular interest to Atticus, who seems to have been unusually fond of material recreation of the past.[10] It is important to remember that such specific and curious interest in the details of life of the past does not seem to have been common. Rawson's account of antiquarianism makes it clear that the number of practitioners was very small. Cicero may not be exaggerating when he praises the great difference Varro has made to Roman perceptions of their city.[11] Doubtless, as dedicatee of the work, this would be what Varro would want to hear, but this is in itself no reason to suspect it as insincere flattery. The work as a whole does not flatter; in the opening stages of the dialogue Varro is compared unfavourably to Cicero, as the latter will attempt what the former will not, the propagation of Greek philosophy for a Roman readership.[12] What is important is that Varro is shown to have played a unique part, to have expertise and an effect that is beyond the ordinary. As we can see from all that remains of his work, his investigations were very detailed and demonstrate a high degree of specificity. He did not view his task in terms of grand generalizations; he illustrated the past in minute detail.

The remaining fragments of the first book of the *VPR* demonstrate Varro's success in creating a detailed picture of regal life, but they tell us little of his approach to his subject. None of the fragments is at all substantial. Many of them are quotations in the dictionary of Nonius Marcellus, while others are much less exact paraphrases. For neither kind is the

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8 The date is after 49, the start of the war between Pompey and Caesar, alluded to in Frs.116 and 118.Ripos., and before Atticus' death in 32. For more detailed possibilities see Riposati, p.84ff.

9 Nepos, *Atticus*, 18.

10 Rawson describes the climate. *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman republic* (London,1985), p.234ff.

11 Cicero, *Academica* I.iii.9. Quoted above,p.31.

12 ibid. I.ii.8: Varro says he sends any philosophically inclined friends of his to Greece, and although philosophy does creep into his work, he does not go far enough for Cicero in expounding Greek philosophical doctrine.

extent of the citation sufficient to be able to deduce a context, nor the structure of the work. Riposati does a very thorough job of reconstructing a probable structure, but his result has to be described as optimistic, and is shaped more by the desire to fit Varro's account of early Roman culture into a general picture of Roman culture in all our ancient sources. He collates the mention of a subject in Varro with what we know of that subject from other antiquarian references. Thus he was not really concerned to observe Varro's method, but on the other hand, the state of the material does not really allow such an enquiry. There is one fragment where the Varro seems to have announced the subjects he was about to treat :

> primum de re familiari ac partibus; secundo de victuis consuetudine primigenia; tertio de disciplinis priscis necessariis vitae.
>
> Fr.24 Ripos.

And to correspond to this, we do have several fragments which can fit into this classification. Fragments 31-43 discuss food and drink; they are mostly short explanations of how food or drink was prepared, or etymologies connected with them:

> cocula, quî coquebant panem, primum sub cinere, postea in forno.
>
> Fr.34 Ripos.

> adoreum quoque ab eo dictum putat [Varro] quod cibi ora, id est principium, sit far.
>
> Fr 36.c.Ripos.

> passam nominabant si in vindemia uvam diutius coctam legerent eamque passi essent in sole aduri; vino adito lorea <vel> lorea passsum vocare coeperunt <quod ex ea expressum>.
>
> Fr.41 Ripos.

There is also one fragment referring to the abstemiousness of ancient women:

> quantopere abstemias mulieres voluerint esse, vel ex uno exemplo potest videri.
>
> Fr 38.h.Ripos.

Riposati adduces several others, (Frs.38.a-g.) which he plausibly thinks go back to Varro, to suggest that this example was that of one Metennius who, while Romulus was king, killed his wife to punish her for drinking wine. Another fragment describes what ancient noble women did drink, *lorea* or *sapa* or *defretum* or *passum*, the making of which is also described. It is not clear from the fragments how alcoholic this was.[13]

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13 Frs. 39-43 Ripos.

Likewise clothes:

> praeterea quod in lecto togas ante habebant. ante enim olim toga fuit conmume vestimentum et diurnum et nocturnum et muliebre et virile.
>
> Fr.44 Ripos.

It seems reasonable to suppose that this represents a more primitive way of dressing than that which developed later:

> posteaquam binas tunicas habere coeperunt, instituerunt uocare subaculam et indusium.
>
> Fr.45 Ripos.

Other fragments of book I describe the Roman house, marriage customs, household utensils, and a few religious rituals; the casting of beans on the Lemuria, the act of purification by the scattering of grain in the Lupercalia, and one rite from the Consualia.

Importantly, there are also references to events from the regal period, that suggest that apart from these sociological reconstructions, Varro did produce some kind of narrative of the regal period. We find Romulus' asylum, based upon a discussion of the identity of its guardian goddess, Panda.[14] Romulus' division of the people into tribes is described as maintaining a stable mixture in society:

> sed quod ea et propter talem mixturam inmoderatam exacescunt, itaque quod temperatura moderatur in Romuli uita tripilicis civitatis.
>
> *VPR*. Fr.5 Ripos.

The death of Mettius Fufetius is mentioned, and the method of his execution described as *imperiosius quam humanius*.[15] We also find mentioned the abodes of Tullus Hostilius and Ancus Marcius, the former in the Velia, where the temple of the Penates now stands, the latter on the Palatine. There seem to be references to the reforms of Servius, and perhaps linked to this an informative discussion of the forms of ancient wealth.

One of the fragments on wealth can act as a focus for what, for our enquiry, is the most interesting aspect of the book:

> pecunia erat parva: ab eo paupertas dicta, cuius paupertatis magnum testimonium est.
>
> Fr.10 Ripos.

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14 Fr.4 Ripos.

15 Fr 6 Ripos.

The word *paupertas* is proof of the poverty of the period; but can we take it as a characterization specific to the period? Is Varro only making a generalization about the poverty of early society, or does his remark have particular relevance to Rome just after its foundation, in other words, to the narrative sequence in which it seems to be placed? This question can be phrased in other ways. How did Varro link a narrative account with sociological observation? How concrete was the connection between the regal period and the very general social institutions whose origins are described in that context? Does the combination of two incongruous categories, historical narrative, and cultural origin, enable us to conclude that Varro thought of the regal period as the time in which such common objects as cooking utensils or poverty were actually found for the first time?

The *VPR* itself does not yield any answers to these questions; First, however, we can turn to we the putative companion-piece to the *VPR*, the *de gente populi romani.*[16] There, Varro seems to have granted the regal period a particular role in the course of world history which widens our picture of his attribution to the regal period of origins of things which were not simply the inventions of particular individuals.

The role of the regal period in providing origins.

It seems probable that the *VPR* was written in conjunction with the *de gente*, both of them together acting as a Roman version of Dicaearcus' Βίος Ἑλλάδος.[17] In the *de gente* Varro traced the chronology of the whole world as far back as was possible, the flood that took place under king Ogygus, and which seems to have coincided with the start of the list of Argive kings.[18] It is possible that the aim of the work was to give a sketch of the whole of the history of the world, and to place the Roman people in this very broad context. He divided world history into three periods; *adelon*, *mythicon* and *historikon*, the first

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16 Hereafter *de gente*, fragments of which are in *HRR* II.

17 See P.Fraccaro, *Studi Varroniani*. Rawson, *Intellectual Life*, pp.242-247 summarizes the content and methods of both works.

18 Augustine *CD* XVIII.2. says that the work began with the Argive kings, while at XVIII.8. that Varro began with the flood.

stretching from the beginnings of man to the first flood, which took place under king Ogygus.[19] The second stretched from the flood to the first Olympiad, and the third, *historicon*, from then to the present.[20] This is the summary given by Censorinus; it is not clear, however, how exact Censorinus is being. The next surviving fragment relates the view that history was structured around astrological cycles of 440 years; it is the view of Peter that Varro measured his epochs in terms of such cycles. The last of the three mythical cycles would stretch from the fall of Troy to the foundation of Rome, 1193 to 753.[21] Sadly, it is unclear exactly where Varro stood in such reckoning; at all events, the foundation of Rome was dated by him to sixth, rather than the first Olympiad, so it is not quite clear exactly where in Rome's history, myth ended and history began.

Notwithstanding, that there was a distinction between history and myth at all at some point just before the regal period allows us to read greater significance into Varro's choice of the regal period for the cultural analysis of the *VPR*. Varro's periodization of historical time is not simply a scheme for incorporating Rome into the most ancient pre-history.[22] He follows through the implications of his periodization and discovers much more material for historical analysis after the foundation. In writing the *VPR* he proves that the sense in which we enter history with the first Olympiad is that the whole nature of the material available for historical investigation changes. What, however, is undeniably strange, is that with such a broad view of what constituted the origins of the Roman people, Varro should still places the origins of details of food and clothing within an account of the regal period, when he had dedicated a whole work to demonstrating how ancient the Roman people were, how broad a conception of their development it was possible to have.

Of course, we can not be certain that the first book of the *VPR* did not discuss the evolutions of Latin customs in Latium, in the time before the foundation of Rome; there is

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19 Thus we can assume that although he recognized three distinct phases, he understandably failed to give an account of the first, *adelon*, before the flood.

20 *De Gente Populi Romani*, *HRR* II. Frag 3. .

21 Peter, HRR xxxii.ff. See also Rawson, *Intellectual Life*, pp.244-5.

22 F.Della Corte, 'L'idea della preistoria in Varrone', in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Varroniani* (Rieti 1976),pp.111-136.examines the prehistorical in all Varro's works.

merely no evidence. It is likely that Varro did not underestimate the debt the Roman people had to neighbouring races, in Greece as well as Italy.[23] What our fragments, and the relationship of the *de gente* to the *VPR*, do indicate is that Varro found the regal period to be the time when detailed investigation into the material aspects of Roman culture could first be conducted. Indeed, one can see the important question presented by the *VPR* as this; did Varro chose to examine the culture of the regal period because it was in the regal period that Roman culture had its origins, or did he chose the regal period because he thought the foundation of the city so important, while still maintaining a more diffuse idea of cultural origin?

In the fourth book of the *de gente*, Varro probably discussed the history of the world after the foundation of Rome.[24] Unfortunately, the fragments reveal nothing about changes in method in the new historical period. However, although we are thus prevented from examining the change over from myth to history, it is clear from the traces discernible in Augustine's *City of God*, that what Varro did for the mythical period, was to put the doctrine of Euhemerus to work, and give an account of the human deeds of the Olympians.[25] The contrast is striking, between what must have been a rationalistic rewriting of myth in the shape of history, and the detailed cultural analysis of the *VPR*. Although this doesn't help us to clarify Varro's conception of the regal period, it does reveal the kind of level on which his distinction between the mythical and historical periods operated, and suggests that this distinction had clear methodological consequences.

It may seem obvious that a work on the life of the Roman people should begin with the foundation of the city; however, as we shall see later, the example of Livy suggests that the more detailed the conception of the culture that preceded the foundation is, the less important it can become to depict in detail the culture of the regal period itself. Varro thought of it differently. In spite of being able to provide an historical account of the world

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23 A.La Penna, 'Alcuni Concetti base di Varrone sulla storia Romana', *Atti del congresso*, pp.397-407 discusses the importance of learning by imitation in Varro's studies of the origins of Roman culture. See also Della Corte, *L'idea della preistoria*, op.cit.. J.Collart, 'Le Sabinisme de Varron', Resumé, *REL* 30(1952),69-70.

24 Fraccaro, *Studi Varroniani*, p.74. There is, however, only one fragment.

25 Augustine's own prehistory, openly using Varro, is at *CD* XVIII.

from the flood, he marks a very substantial change with the regal period, feeling able to make a much more detailed reconstruction of life of the time, and indicating that as far as the methods to be applied to the enquiry, that the regal period rested in the same historical period as his own day.

Origin and Etymology.

Having established that for Varro history began either with the foundation of Rome, or sometime before it, we can look at the one of his dominant tools for the discussion of early society, etymology. The etymology of *paupertas* quoted above seems to say that as evidence of their poverty, the word *paupertas* came to be coined in the regal period. This begs all kinds of questions about the process that Varro envisaged behind the creation of the word, about the nature of regal society, and about what Varro thought happened before the word existed. The solution to these problems seems to lie abandoning clear distinctions of this nature; as with the question of the origin of language itself, Varro held a view which was very fluid, particularly in comparison with the traditional philosophical views to which he was heir.

I do not intend to give a full account of Varro's etymological theory.[26] For an understanding of Varro's conception of history, and particularly of the relationship of past to present, the central concept is the idea that through etymological research, the past can be reconstructed. Words bear the the past with them; the point in the past at which they were coined is the most important aspect for our enquiry. Varro himself does make a distinction between types of etymology, under which lies another distinction upon different grounds, the age of the word.

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26 See J.Collart, *Varron, Grammarien Latin* (Paris 1954); A Traglia, 'Dottrine Etimologiche ed Etimologie Varroniane', *Entretiens Hardt* 9(1962),35-77.; R.Schröter, 'Die varronische Etymologie', *Entretiens Hardt* 9(1972),79-116.; G.de Poerk, 'Etymologia et Origo à travers la tradition Latine', in *ANAMNHΣIΣ:Gedenkboek E.A.Leemans* (Brugge,1970),pp.191-228. Collart and de Poerk are a great deal more lucid than Traglia and Schröter.

It is the famous and much discussed division of etymology into four *gradus*.[27] The first is that which even the *populus* can manage, simple words compounded from other already existing ones, e.g. *viocurus*, from *via* and *curus*. The second is the one treated by old-style *grammatica*, the analysis of poetic neologisms. The third is that of philosophy, which involves the explanation of words in common use. The fourth is more elevated:

> Quartus, ubi est adytum et initia regis.

Schröter argues for the emendation:

> Quartus, ubi est aditus ad initia regis.

There is general agreement that this king is some ancient nomothete, in line with Stoic ideas of the origin of language.[28] The stoics believed in a natural relationship between words and the things they represented. Sounds had a meaningful relationship with the objects they conveyed; words were not, as the defenders of θέσις would have it, purely the product of social convention. However, this did not exclude the idea that words were imposed upon things. Stoics seems to have thought that the namer would be a great early ruler, whose knowledge of nature would be so deep that he would be able to find the word most natural to the object in question. Because such a man would be unique among his people, he would undoubtedly be a king.[29] Varro himself seems to allude to this idea when he says that he will not restrict his study to the analysis of poetic diction, but will attempt to rise further up the scale:

> non enim videbatur consentaneum quaerere me in eo verbo quod finxisset Ennius causam, neglegere quod ante rex Latinus finxisset, cum poeticis multis verbis magis delecter quam utar, antiquis magis utar quam delecter. an non potius mea verba illa quae hereditate a Romulo rege venerunt quam quae a poeta Livio relicta?
>
> *DLL* V.9

It is clear, though, that in the *de lingua latina*, Varro has a much less distinct idea of the origins of language, than this apparent appeal to Latinus and Romulus suggests. At one

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27 *DLL* V.7-9.

28 See M.Frede, 'Principles of Stoic Grammar', reprinted in *Essays in Ancient Philosophy* (Cambridge,1987),pp.301-37. esp.333f. and de Poerk, op.cit.(note 26).

29 Frede suggests that this would answer an epicurean objection "how would the nomothete be able to enforce his names." It is against this idea of language that Diogenes of Oenoanda takes up his stand, Fr 10c IVf.

point he does seem to be about to embark upon a discussion of he *primigenia*, the *principia verborum*. Concluding his account of the origins of words to do with time, Varro makes an interruption to describe the four types of *declinatio* which words can undergo, and cites one Cosconius as his authority, that through such *declinatio*, from the one thousand *primigenia*, you would end up with five hundred thousand words, as each *primigenium* would yield five hundred derivations.[30] Varro then goes on to define *primigenia* as words that do not derive from others. Anyone who could uncover the origins of these primigenia would would in the process find the origins of their five hundred thousand derivatives. However, Varro then justifies failing to do this:

> Quare si quis primigeniorum verborum origines ostenderit, si ea mille sunt, quingentum milium simplicium verborum causas aperuerit una; sin nullius, tamen qui ab his reliqua orta ostenderit, satis dixerit de originibus verborum, cum unde nata sint, principia erunt pauca, quae inde nata sint, innumerablilia.
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> *DLL.* VI.37.

It seems clear that this kind of research is the fourth *gradus* referred to above. Failure to account for these original words is compensated for by the great number of words whose origins can be given even if only these original words are reached, without being explained. The important point is the obscurity of the origins of the *primigenia*; these origins do lie in a point in the past where they are accessible. Even if Varro does believe in an original onomothete, his creations are so far in the past that their significance is lost in time. This in turn explains the almost total lack, in the etymologies given, of a clear sense of a historical period when the meaning was created.[31] In spite of it clearly being the case that etymology was a key to the past, and although Varro shows traces of the more concrete etymological doctrines whereby words could be taken back to a specific point, he himself

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30 *DLL* VI.36.

31 Rawson, *Intellectual Life*, p.237 states "Though it would be unfair to accuse Varro of having a completely 'block' view of the past, we shall find that uncertainty as to the exact date of his *veteres*, *antiqui* or *maiores* often overtakes us." This is not so much an oversight on Varro's part, as an acceptance of the problems of the too literal sense of origin that was present in the doctrinal traditions. It is part of his tendency to take a middle line in a field dominated by a traditional opposition, as analogy and anomaly, or, as here, in the case of verbal origin, θέσις and φύσις. Varro dissociates himself from need to find the origin of every word at *DLL* VII.4; see J.Collart, *Varron, Grammarien Latin*, p.256ff.

seldom goes further than explaining how words combine with each other, or undergo various changes, to make new ones, and very rarely locates the origin of a word with an act of naming. He thus scarcely ever comes to recreate the past in anything other than a very unspecific way.[32] Etymological doctrines did exist, and were known to Varro, whereby the origin of the word would provide direct information about the past. But he himself worked with a much less dogmatic attitude to the creation of words. Varro does create the sense of a primitive culture coining words as their experience enlarged, but he does not give this culture an historical location. Where such a sense of historical period is felt, it is at the rare points where a word is clearly named after a person or attributable to a person, as the Caelian hill from Caelius Vibenna, who came to help Romulus against in the Sabine wars against Tatius, or the Esquiline from the trees planted by Servius Tullius.[33] Needless to say, these few points are often in the regal period.

Although these few places where Varro finds a regal aetiology are useful, they do not tell us much about his sense of how far the regal period contained Rome's origins in a broader sense. Were the reference to Romulus at *DLL* V.9, and a similar one to Numa at VII.3 true indications that Varro located a large part of the origin of the Latin language in the regal period, one would imagine many more references to the kings than one actually finds. Schröter uses them to suggest that Varro conceived whole-heartedly of the kings as original onomothetes, in the Stoic sense.[34] The reference to Numa is to the words of the Salian hymn, which must be the one of very few examples available to Varro where words can be attributed to an origin in the regal period, apart from the kings leaving their names to things. In fact, these references to Romulus and Numa are isolated references, and should be taken rather as rhetorical devices, used to provide examples to make a particular point, in

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32 Contrast, for example, the assertion of Schröter: "Wenn der Etymologe bereits ein großes Wissen von der altrömischen Welt besizt und keine Mühe scheut, geleiten ihn die *antiqua, prisca verba* geradenwegs bis zu den Ursprüngen in der frühesten Königszeit." *Entretiens Hardt* 9,p.99. In the *de lingua latina* Varro makes nothing like so concrete a reconstruction of the past.

33 *DLL* V.46; V.49.

34 "Wenn Varro *LL* V.9 von den Wörtern spricht, *quae hereditate a Romulo rege venerunt*, und *LL* VII.3 vom *Pompili regnum* als *fons* einer bestimmten Wortgruppe, so wird auf den König selbst zurückgefuhrt, was unter seiner Herrschaft oder durch ihn Existenz gewann." *Entretiens Hardt* 9, p.95.

a proem.[35] Although the kings do evoke a sense of the ancient origin of language, they do not indicate a firm doctrine of the development of language at any definable point in the past.[36]

To return to *paupertas:* Varro certainly regarded the regal period as displaying primitive poverty; he does not necessarily think the word *paupertas* was invented in the regal period, nor that the kind of culture where money was scarce was restricted to Rome.

So our result so far is rather negative; Varro's conception of the regal period as a repository of origins does not carry with it a strong theoretical justification; he does not seem to have a monolithic view of regal period being uniquely significant for the whole of later Roman culture, at least in terms of its material trappings, social customs and language. Indeed, what we can emphasize is that it is unlikely that Varro did regard the objects and practices he discusses as being susceptible of the ascription of a specific origin at a particular point in time. This means that his choice of the regal period to describe these matters has to be taken much more as a statement about his interest in the regal period, and about the possibility of creating a detailed picture of that society, and the intrinsic importance of such an enquiry. The regal period presented itself to Varro as a time requiring historical and antiquarian study for its own sake, capable of detailed recreation as the first historical culture, and not studied because it contained the roots of everything that came later. Indeed, the fragments of the *VPR* do not bear witness to a particularly dominant aetiological method.

In what little we can gain from Varro's picture of individual kings, this sense of the historical accessibility of the regal period is reinforced. Indeed, it appears that Varro's confidence in being able to understand and characterize the period led him to impute to

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35 Varro speaks in Cicero of the philosophical commitment of his proems in the *Antiquitates*. Cicero, *Acad.*I.ii.9. He is describing the places where he is philosophical; i.e., we can assume that in the main body of his works, he tended not to be. Thus the references to kings in the proems of *DLL* V & VII, can be taken as a philosophical flourish, which is not carried through in the rest of the work.

36 cf *DLL*.IX.34, & X.18 where Varro uses the naming of Rome after Romulus as an example of deliberate imposition. That he cannot think of a more sophisticated example is surely an indication that he was unwilling or unable (or both) to tie all such impositions to one point in time.

some of the early kings a knowledge of philosophy that far exceeds the accounts of all our other Latin authors. It is only in some fragments of Varro's works on religion that we find characterizations of individual kings that suggest that Varro did, at least on occasion, idealize the regal period, and show figures from that time playing a part in the history of Rome that is far more remarkable than any of the rather neutral descriptions of the culture of Rome in the *VPR*.

Varro's idealization of some kings: Numa.

Augustine, quoting the logistoricus *Curio de cultu deorum*, discusses Varro's account of the discovery of Numa's books.[37] The books contained the explanations behind his reform of Roman religion. Varro wrote that Numa derived the philosophical knowledge upon which his reforms were based, and which formed part of the contents of his books, from direct divine guidance, procured through hydromancy. He decided to keep his explanations secret, so burying the books; that he was right to do so is confirmed by the fact that the senate decreed their destruction when they were dug up. Delatte gives various explanations of the likely doctrines.[38] Perhaps it was Euhemerism, which would make a direct link between a favourite method of Varro's for explaining early history, and the knowledge he imputed to Numa. Conversely, all three of the accounts nearest to the event, Calpurnius Piso, Cassius Hemina and Valerias Antias, call the doctrines Pythagorean.[39] Euhemerism, although it could fit, is unlikely to be behind such a description. Augustine tells us that Varro called it *sacrorum causas ...velut physicas*. The exact doctrine is not important for us; what is important is that Varro seems to attribute to Numa a basis for his

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37 Augustine, *CD* VII.34-35. See also B.Cardauns, *Varros Logistoricus über die Götterverehrung: Curio de cultu deorum*, Diss.Köln, 1958.

38 A.Delatte, 'Les doctrines pythagoriciennes des livres de Numa', *B.A.B.,Cl.d.Lett.*,22(1936),19-40.

39 Antias Fr.8 = Pliny, *N.H.* 13,87; Piso Fr.11, Hemina Fr.37 = Pliny *N.H.* 13.84.

religious works of a natural-philosophical kind, and that he found this knowledge through hydromancy. Proof of this came from an etymological explanation of the truth behind the fable of Egeria. She arose from *egerere*, because Numa used to take away water for divination.

Varro also said that Numa, and later Pythagoras, imported hydromancy from Persia.[40] Numa's books were an important part of the tradition that Numa was a pupil of Pythagoras, although they did not start this tradition, which may well have been present in Ennius, or even Fabius Pictor, but only took advantage of it.[41] At the time when they were "discovered", 181 BC., consciousness of the chronological problem had not intervened. Varro himself tended towards Pythagoreanism; he was buried according to Pythagorean rites, in a clay coffin.[42] Apart from this there are also discernible Pythagorean influences in the philosophical assumptions of many of his works.[43] Although it is clear that Varro understood the chronological problems of making Numa a pupil of Pythagoras, it is apparent that for Varro Numa's understanding of religion was based on natural-philosophical ideas, and that these were quite possibly within a Pythagorean mould.

What is interesting is that this is not a naive idealization, but rather the workings of a strong rationalizing historical technique. It is through the rigorously scientific explanations of etymology that Varro refutes the idea that Numa met with a goddess. Neither does Varro simply assume that Numa *was* a Pythagorean. He does not seem to doubt the authenticity of Numa's books, which is perhaps surprising, but from the fact that they were thought damaging to traditional Roman religion, he deduces that they contained definitions of divinity that were incompatible with traditional Roman ways of worship. The possible

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40 Augustine, *CD* VII.35.

41 See K.Rosen, 'Die falschen Numabücher: Politik, Religion und Literatur in Rom 181 v.Chr.', *Chiron* 15(1985),65-90.; on Ennius, p.77. This is the most recent treatment of the subject, examining the discovery of the books in its historical context.

42 Pliny, *N.H.* 35.160

43 It is not my place to discuss this; See P.Boyancé, 'Etymologie et Théologie chez Varron', *REL*.53(1975),99-115. who offers interesting comparisons with Philo, whose work shows the same blend of philosophical influences.

explanations of divinity available to Numa would not, for Varro, be particularly varied; in seeking himself to construct the relationship between Roman religion, and the philosophies of religion known to him, he would naturally find, in Numa's books, the confirmation that such doctrines did lie at the root of Roman belief.

The important categorization of different types of religion, held by both Scaevola and Varro, possibly from Panaetius, the elder's teacher, into civil, philosophical and poetic, lies at the root of the idea of Numa's books being detrimental to religion. Scaevola held that civil theology was the most important, and that the other kinds could be dangerous to it.[44] Another passage makes it clear that Varro thought that the founders of Roman religion deliberately created the fabulous aspect of religion, because most people were not capable of the profundity necessary for an understanding of its philosophical truths.[45] Augustine also tells us that Varro believed in different ways of honouring the gods, and that though the traditional representations of gods conceal deep philosophical truths, they also allowed the uninitiated to worship in ignorance.[46] The picture found in Livy, of Numa possessing far greater knowledge of religion than his simple people, and its more emphatic version in Plutarch, where Numa is again a fully-fledged Pythagorean, can be seen to complement this idea. Varro imputed to Numa the creation of a philosophical basis of Roman religion. His own investigations into the philosophy of religion would show him that such a basis did lie at the root of Roman practice, and his view of the way in which religion evolved, the inspired founders shielding the esoteric philosophical truths in media that would appeal to the layman, would convince him that his own investigations were simply uncovering those elements which had been put there originally, by king Numa.

The tradition that Numa was a Pythagorean was a long one.[47] Rawson points out that Pythagorean ideas evoked particular nostalgic emotions in the later republican mind;

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44 Augustine *CD* IV.27

45 *CD* IV.32.

46 *CD*, IV.31 = frs.12 and 21c.Card. cf Cicero, *de nat. deo*. I.xxvii.77, where Cotta suggests one of the possible origins of anthropomorphism was the desire of the wise man to turn the minds of the ignorant *a pravitate vitae*.

47 A bibliography is given by B.Scardigli, *Die Römerbiographien Plutarchs, Ein Forschungsbericht* (Munich,1979),p.25.

perhaps the idea of ancient, slightly primitive wisdom, and one that developed on Italian soil.[48] Ennius' annals had a metempsychotic proem; and Cicero aims to create a particular sense of the historical setting of his dialogue, when he ends the *de republica* with the pythagorean *somnium Scipionis*. Varro succumbed to this tradition, passed over the chronological difficulties, and made Numa a Pythagorean *avant la lettre*. Of course, this implies a particular kind of sophistication for Numa, that far surpasses that shown in any of our other accounts. It is one thing to depict Numa as a Pythagorean, when he has had lessons from the master; it is quite another for him to reach that same degree of enlightenment on his own. And in Numa's adoption of Persian hydromancy, we can percieve how different was Varro's view of the importation of foreign learning to Rome from Cicero's, for whom it is very important that the achievements of the first four kings are wholly indigenous. Indeed, for Cicero, exploding the misconception about Numa being a pupil of Pythagoras, which for him comes to the same thing as Numa being a Pythagorean, provides the opportunity to emphasize how great were the achievements of native wisdom.

> di inmortales, inquit Manilius, quantus iste est hominum et quam inveteratus error. ac tamem facile patior non esse non transmarinis nec inportatis artibus eruditos, sed genuinis domesticisque virtutibus.
>
> *de republica* II.xv.29.

Tarquinius Priscus.

Varro credits Tarquinius Priscus with a similar kind of philosophical expertise.[49] Of course, for Cicero too, Priscus brought Greek learning to Rome for the first time.[50] However, Varro makes Priscus into an initiate of the mysteries of Samothrace, *Samothraciis religionibus mystice imbutus* is the phrase use both by Servius and

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48 See Rawson, *Intellectual life*, p.292.

49 P.Boyancé, 'Sur la théologie de Varron', *REA* 72(1955),57-84. was the first to point out how remarkable was Varro's conception of Priscus and Numa. I only represent part of his arguments; he also sets Varro within his philosophical tradition, and makes very revealing comparisons between Varro and Scaevola, that highlight how heterodox Varro must have been in terms of traditional Roman conceptions of religion.

50 *de republica* II.xiv.34.

Macrobius.[51] For Priscus, the three Capitoline deities, Jove, Juno and Minerva, represented three aspects of the cosmos, the middle air, the earth and air, the canopy of the sky, and were summed up together as the Penates, the Roman version of the Samothracian θεοὺς μεγάλους. The tradition of linking these Roman gods to the θεοὺς μεγάλους goes back at least to Cassius Hemina.[52] Aeneas, in Cassius, may have stopped off at Samothrace on the way from Troy, and there picked up the images of the Penates, but Varro seems to have preferred a version that Dardanus took them first to Troy from Samothrace.[53] So, as for Numa, Varro seems to have unearthed a tradition that had later lost credence, or become obscure to popular conceptions.

Central to Priscus' knowledge of the Samothracian mysteries, and the true nature of the Capitoline deities, is that Varro credits him with a conception of the gods that was not the traditional Roman one. In placing them together on the Capitol, he recognized the mystical kinship, their origin in the Samothracian system, in which they represented the universal forces of nature, that were now symbolized in anthropomorphic form.[54] Another reference to Priscus in Varro makes him the first to introduce graven images of the gods to Rome. Augustine quotes Varro's view that this was the beginning of misconception as to the true nature of the gods.[55] It seems probable, then, that in introducing sculptures of the gods, Priscus was acting in accordance with his sophisticated mystical beliefs, working along the same lines as Numa, in recognizing a difference between theoretical philosophical foundation, and public religious practice.[56] Boyancé points out that Varro is alone in

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51 Varro, *A.R.D.* Fr.205 Card. Priscus must have traveled widely in Greece before coming to Italy.

52 Macrobius *Sat.*3.4.8.

53 See A.J.Kleywegt, 'Varro über die Penaten und die *grossen Götter* ', *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akadamie van Wetenschappen, Afd.Letterkunde*, Nieuwe Reeks,37.7.(1972).

54 Augustine, *CD.* VII.5 = Fr.225 Card.

55 *CD* IV.31 = fr.18.c Card.cf.Fr.37, where under the rule of Numa, the gods were worshiped without images.

56 Although Varro may have been a source for Pliny naming Vulca of Veii as the sculptor summoned by Priscus to make the statue of Capitoline Jove (*N.H.* 35.157), there is no evidence of a link between these two passages. However, it is not unreasonable to suppose that it was Priscus' desire for a suitably beautiful sculpture to inspire both initiated and ignorant to contemplation of the hidden *numen*, together with the lack of indigenous religious art, that led him to Veii.

conceiving of the early regal period without sculptures of the gods; Vertumnus in Propertius IV.ii and the statue of Jove crammed into too small a hut in IV.1, testify to how natural it was to picture sculpture at Rome from the very start.[57] Varro's view of the changes made to Roman religion under Priscus may well have been heterodox; at any event, the role attributed to Priscus makes him, uniquely, into a religious reformer, who affected the whole style of worship at Rome. Further, he stands in a direct line with Numa, in that he too understood that religious truth needed to be varied for the audience; undoubtedly the introduction of sculpted gods was for Varro a point of decline, and its late introduction is important proof for him that in its pristine form, Roman religion displayed a high degree of theological purity. The enlightenment of the one who introduced sculpture ensures that behind anthropomorphic gods there is no trace of the doctrine that divinities themselves actually resembled men; they were simply represented as men. It is also possible that in making such a change under Priscus, Varro recognized a different stage in the development of the Roman people, who were, perhaps as their city grew, less capable of maintaining the purity of their religion, and needed to have it concretized in some way.

The striking feature that Numa and Priscus share in Varro is the way in which, in the creation of Roman religious institutions, they conceal deep philosophical and theological learning behind what becomes the traditional Roman form of worship. Augustine himself put the finger on Varro's dilemma; he tried to reconcile his own theological beliefs, with which Augustine has some sympathy, with the incompatible structure of traditional Roman worship.[58] And later he discusses Varro's consistent failure to commit himself when it comes to this very question.[59] This should warn us against suggesting that Varro would normally make decisive philosophical interpretations of traditional religious institutions; what does seem clear, is that in the cases of Numa and Priscus, he found that his own philosophical interpretations originated in their creations. Through an idealistic view of their enlightenment, he gives a supposed historical basis for his own theological

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57 Boyancé, 'La théologie de Varron', pp.66-67.
58 See e.g. Augustine, *CD*.VII.5. Rawson, *Intellectual life,* p.312ff.
59 *CD*.VII.17.

interpretation of Roman religion. However, it is not just an idealization. Although he seems to have believed that Numa's books were genuine, where he perhaps should not, the accounts of the discovery of the books may have confirmed Varro in his belief that Numa's conception of Roman religion was a natural-philosophical one.

There is the possibility that if Varro's view of Priscus was consistently held, he would have had opportunity to air it in the *VPR*. There are two quotations by Nonius which use the material sophistication of religious objects and buildings to focus comparisons of ancient poverty with present day opulence:

> haec aedis, quae nunc est, multis annis post facta sit. quia omnia regis temporibus delubra parva facta.
>
> Fr.13 Ripos.

> quid inter hos Ioues intersit et eos, qui ex marmore, ebore, auro nunc fiunt, potes animadvertere et horum temporum divitias et illorum paupertates.
>
> Fr.15 Ripos.

Although neither of these directly suggests Priscus, he may well have been discussed in this context.

It is clear that the evidence for Varro's conception of Numa and Priscus as great philosophically enlightened reformers is not strong enough to indicate a consistently held view of Varro's. He makes no mention of it in the works which survive better, as he may have done were it particularly important to him. None the less, taken together with the representation of the period in the *VPR*, the characterizations of the two kings can reinforce the extent to which Varro felt confident of the accessibility of the regal period, of his own ability to make a detailed historical reconstruction. His Priscus and Numa are very much more extreme characters than those found in Livy or Cicero, but the detail with which he depicted the culture within which they lived was also much greater. As we shall see, particularly in the case of Numa, the relationship of the king to his people is the object of particular attention in Livy as it was in Cicero, and reveals in both authors a conception of the culture of the period. For Cicero, it is an essential part of Scipio's defence of monarchy that the people of the regal period should have been similar to the speakers of the dialogue. Curiously, Varro's greater sense of the everyday life of the people of the regal period may have led him to a much greater confidence to understand of the motivations of the kings

themselves, to the extent where he has no qualms in attributing to them his own philosophical interpretations of Roman religion. As he had a very clear picture of both the philosophical basis of religious practices, and of the simple state of the life of the Roman people in the regal period, he seems to have put these together, to produce a rather lurid version of the simplicity of one, and the sophistication of the other, which finds a more dilute manifestation in most of our other accounts.[60]

Conclusion.

In his detailed recreation of the regal period Varro demonstrates that it could be thought of as a time existing in its own right, not simply the distant location of things that were much clearer in their present day manifestations. This optimism about recreating the past explains how he can credit Numa and Priscus with an understanding of Roman religion that stands aloof from the traditional idea of its meaning. While it is not true to say that Varro does not discriminate between the past and the present, since it is clear that he frequently draws comparisons between the two that stress their great difference, it is the case that he regarded the regal period as totally comprehensible, given enough research. The opinions of the kings, like the household arrangements, lay well within the grasp of his investigations, and did not require any readjustment of assumptions to take into account the passage of time.

It should now be clear that although we may think of Varro's attitude to the regal period as being dominated by a desire to trace present day institutions back to their origin in the past, an aetiological method in discussing the regal period was not Varro's only one. The significance of his view that the regal period lay at the beginning of the historical period of the world's development resides in his attempt to describe a historical society as fully as possible, not feeling the need to think of it only in terms of the origins within in it of

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60 Should one attempt to extend Varro's view of Priscus and Numa to cover the other kings? For most of them we have lists of the gods that they introduced to Rome, e.g. *ARD* Frs.35-39, *DLL*.V.74. Unfortunately, analogous theological discussion is lacking.

modern institutions. Rather, Varro's ideas of the origins of culture are much more diffuse, and his detailed study of the regal period in the *VPR*, and in his pictures of the kings in the *ARD* were the result not of what he deduced about it from survivals in the present, but of what he could reconstruct about that period, taking it as an historical object in its own right.

Such a conclusion has important implications. Varro's work demonstrates the interplay of the aetiological traditions about the regal period with the attempt at a rigorous historical reconstruction, apparently carried out with an understanding of historical development and cultural change. Part of the result appears to us as an absurd idealization and we can raise the same questions that Cicero raised, about whether Varro's conception of the regal period rested upon his consideration of history, or upon his own philosophical theories. In the discussion of Dionysius which now follows, these ideas occur again, and hope to shed some light upon the conception of historical truth which is implicit in such reconstructions.

The account of the regal period in Dionysius of Halicarnassus' *Antiquitates Romanae*.[1]

An examination of Dionysius of Halicarnassus' strongly idealized account of the regal period can benefit from the light shed on the nature of idealization in the discussion of the accounts of Cicero and Varro. Taken in this context, his work can be considered on its own terms, something which is not commonly done. Critics have continually resisted the possibility that Dionysius' interpretation of early Rome can be taken at its face value, as a sincere attempt at an historical account of the subject. Early in the century Dionysius' rhetorical interests were used to denigrate his historical ones, the underlying assumption being that no one who produced such an obvious idealization could be credited with having seriously considered the processes of historiography. The accident of the survival of both the rhetorical writings and the history has made Dionysius the especial victim of a common misconception, that the interests of the rhetorician are incompatible with those of the historian.[2] Schwartz's *RE* article from 1905 set the standard for a long series of dismissive accounts; his initial assumption is that by chosing a period of such remote history, Dionysius can fulfil his desire to make history the servant of rhetorical display, adding, with scorn, that Dionysius' love of the Romans disqualifies him from being a real Greek.[3] Schwartz was still being quoted with approval in 1959.[4] Palm is so convinced that Dionysius can not have believed what he was writing that he ascribes the meticulously executed proof that the Romans were Greeks to "paradoxe Effekte", in which anyone

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1 Hereafter *A.R.*, or, in references, without name.

2 H.Peter, *Wahrheit und Kunst* (Hildesheim,1965), pp.333-335, for example, thought that Dionysius was not interested in the truth, and did not even have a well thought out rhetorical theory. A.J.Woodman, *Rhetoric in Classical Historiography* (London,1988) is the most recent representative of those who think that rhetorical invention leads to a different conception of truth from our own.

3 "Die tragischen Schmerzen, die jenen echten Hellenen das Begreifen des römischen Primats gekostet hatte, sind dieser kleinen Seele fremd." *RE*.V.1, 934.

4 J.Palm, *Rom, Römertum und Imperium in der greichischen Literatur der Kaiserzeit* (Lund,1959),p.10.

writing a rhetorical exercise of this kind would be careful to indulge.[5] The polemic seems to have relaxed in recent years, although by far the most common use of Dionysius' history is to treat it as a source for antiquarian anecdote or for the lost annalistic tradition, often to illuminate the originality of Livy against the background of this tradition.[6] Most recently, Schulze has given Dionysius a more sympathetic reading, but this has led to a rather unconvincing assertion of his interest in historical development.[7] In other words, she has attempted to reclaim Dionysius from those who criticize him because of his failure to live up to a modern conception of what constitutes good history, while sticking with that conception. Those who study Dionysius' criticism rarely concern themselves with his history, and from those concerned with his history there has yet to emerge an analysis of Dionysius' narrative which takes the idealized account seriously, and seeks to explain it by looking at Dionysius' own, unusually well represented conception of the nature and purpose of historical writing.

The redemption of Dionysius from his critics is closely related to a study of his account of the regal period. We shall see that the regal period had a particular significance in Dionysius' view of Rome's history, and, as Schwartz observed, the decision to begin so early can be seen as the root of Dionysius' method. Moreover, if we see that Dionysius stands within a tradition of idealization of the regal period, the decisions he makes concerning his narrative may appear less peculiar. At the same time, he sheds an invaluable light onto this tradition, both through the frankness with which his political aims are stated, and because his theoretical works can give greater depth to our understanding of the processes of idealizing historiography. As with Cicero and Varro, I hope to examine precisely what lies behind Dionysius' characterization of the regal period: what he thinks

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5 ibid. Not that this idea was Dionysius' own; it seems to have existed from at least the fourth century. See E.Manni, 'Relazione fra Roma e il mondo ellenistico', *Parola di Passato* 11(1956),179-90.

6 J.P.V.D.Balsdon, 'Dionysius on Romulus: a political pamphlet', *JRS* 61(1971),18-27, gives a critical summary of the supposed sources for the account of Romulus' legislation.

7 C.Schultze, 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus and his audience', in I.S.Moxon et al.(eds.), *Past Perspectives* (Cambridge,1986),pp.121-141.She thinks that Dionysius saw the progress of Rome's history in terms of the slow growth of plebeian power, although the places in the text which support her idea are very few and very far apart.

the regal period was like and in what way he conveys this in his narration. Thereafter, I shall examine Dionysius' views on historiography, in order to understand more precisely the theoretical framework upon which his idealization is based, and then to observe in greater detail how his ideas of historical composition are manifested in the narrative account. I hope to show that it was not through stupidity or intellectual limitation that Dionysius produced his idealization. Rather, that although his account appears to take little notice of modern conceptions of historical composition, it does fit very closely into a system of historiography which had its own logic, a knowledge of which can lead to a more complete understanding of why the regal period is pictured as it is.

Dionysius' preface and the role of the regal period in his conception of Rome's history.

It is clear from the very start of the *Antiquitates Romanae* that the regal period plays a particular role in Dionysius' view of Roman history. In the prologue Dionysius discusses his motivation in writing his history, the reasons for his choice of period, and the sources he has used. Several times he indicates the particular importance of the regal period, as well as bringing forward what he regards as the central reasons for Rome's development to the greatest world power in history. The prologue opens with a statement of Dionysius' conception of the tasks of a historian; in a closely bound set of ideas, the morality of the historian, his choice of subject matter, and respect for historical truth are brought together.

> ἐπείσθην γὰρ ὅτι δεῖ τοὺς προαιρουμένους μνημεῖα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς τοῖς ἐπιγιγνομένοις καταλιπεῖν, ἃ μὴ συναφανισθήσεται τοῖς σώμασιν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου, καὶ πάντων μάλιστα τοὺς ἀναγράφοντας ἱστορίας, ἐν αἷς καθιδρῦσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑπολαμβάνομεν ἀρχὴν φρονήσεως τε καὶ σοφίας οὖσαν, πρῶτον μὲν ὑποθέσεις προαιρεῖσθαι καλὰς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς καὶ πολλὴν ὠφέλειαν τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις φερούσας, ἔπειτα παρασκευάζεσθαι τὰς ἐπιτηδείους εἰς τὴν ἀναγραφὴν τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἀφορμὰς μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τε καὶ φιλοπονίας.
>
> I.1.2.

I shall return later to the dominating idea of historical truth, and focus here upon the question of subject matter. The historian's choice of subject reflects upon his own

morality; anyone attempting to leave μνημεῖα τῆς ἑαυτῶν ψυχῆς must ensure that his subject is noble and of benefit to his readers. Those who choose an unworthy subject, motivated by the hope of fame, or to display ἡ περὶ λόγους δύναμις, are judged by their readers to have admired the men they describe and to share their moral standards. The Roman empire is, of course, a very suitable subject, and Dionysius compares it at length to other successful regimes. Rome is the largest and most durable state there has ever been. The explanation reflects upon Dionysius' decision to go right back to the beginning:

> εὐθὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμὸν τὰ πλησίον ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ μάχιμα ὄντα προσήγετο καὶ προὔβαινεν ἀεὶ πᾶν δουλουμένη τὸ ἀντίπαλον
>
> I.3.4.

Right from the start, Rome began to expand. Soon after, Dionysius tackles openly the question of why he begins his history so early, and makes it clear that this choice could seem perverse.

> Ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἄνευ λογισμοῦ καὶ προνοίας ἔμφρονος ἐπὶ τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν ἱστορουμένων περὶ αὐτῆς ἐτραπόμην, ἀλλ' ἔχων εὐλογίστους ἀποδοῦναι τῆς προαιρέσεως αἰτίας, ὀλίγα βούλομαι προειπεῖν, ἵνα μή τινες ἐπιτιμήσωσί μοι τῶν πρὸς ἅπαντα φιλαιτίων, οὐδέν πω τῶν μελλόντων δηλοῦσθαι προακηκοότες, ὅτι τῆς ἀοιδίμου γενομένης καθ' ἡμᾶς πόλεως ἀδόξους καὶ πάνυ ταπεινὰς τὰς πρώτας ἀφορμὰς λαβούσης καὶ οὐκ ἀξίας ἱστορικῆς ἀναγραφῆς, οὐ πολλαῖς δὲ γενεαῖς πρότερον εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν καὶ δόξαν ἀφιγμένης, . . .
>
> I.4.1.

He goes on to clarify the kind of perception of this part of Rome's history which is widespread in Greece, which explains his need to justify his choice of subject matter.

> ἔτι γὰρ ἀγνοεῖται παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὀλίγου δεῖν πᾶσιν ἡ παλαιὰ τῆς Ῥωμαίων πόλεως ἱστορία, καὶ δόξαι τινὲς οὐκ ἀληθεῖς ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀκουσμάτων τὴν ἀρχὴν λαβοῦσαι τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐξηπατήκασιν, ὡς ἀνεστίους μέν τινας καὶ πλάνητας καὶ βαρβάρους καὶ οὐδὲ τούτους ἐλευθέρους οἰκιστὰς εὑρομένης, οὐ δι' εὐσέβειαν δὲ καὶ δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἁπάντων ἡγεμονίαν σὺν χρόνῳ παρελθούσης, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτοματισμόν τινα καὶ τύχην ἄδικον εἰκῇ δωρουμένην τὰ μέγιστα τῶν ἀγαθῶν τοῖς ἀνεπιτηδειοτάτοις ·
>
> I.4.2.

This is is not just the view point of the ordinary man; it is the work of particular malicious historians, writing for barbarian kings, whom they presented with οὔτε δικαίας οὔτε

ἀληθεῖς ἱστορίας.[8] Dionysius then states his purpose, to supplant these wayward, false conceptions with true ones, by discussing who the founders of the city were, and showing that in fact they were Greeks. In the following books he will give an account of the actions of the first Romans, so far as he is able omitting nothing that is worthy of historical record, so that people may observe the appropriate way to think of a great city, to know that their subjection is in accordance with reason, and not to make accusations against τύχη for granting dominion to such an undeserving city.

> μαθοῦσί γε δὴ παρὰ τῆς ἱστορίας, ὅτι μυρίας ἤνεγκεν ἀνδρῶν ἀρετὰς εὐθὺς ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετὰ τὸν οἰκισμόν, ὧν οὔτ' εὐσεβεστέρους οὔτε δικαιοτέρους οὔτε σωφροσύνῃ πλείονι παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον χρησαμένους οὐδέ γε τὰ πολέμια κρείττους ἀγωνιστὰς οὐδεμία πόλις ἤνεγκεν οὔτε Ἑλλὰς οὔτε βάρβαρος, εἰ δὴ ἀπέσται τοῦ λόγου τὸ ἐπίφθονον· ἔχει γάρ τι καὶ τοιοῦτον ἡ τῶν παραδόξων καὶ θαυμαστῶν ὑπόσχεσις.
>
> I.5.3.

Proof comes from the many examples of virtue that Rome produced *straight after the foundation.* Dionysius accepts that this claim may provoke scepticism, and he explains the scepticism's origin: the absence of a comprehensive history of this early period written in Greek; Dionysius then proceeds to a brief discussion of this tradition.[9] What will distinguish Dionysius' account from those of his predecessors is the cursory way in which they described the early period. The Greek historians, Hieronymus of Cardia, Timaeus, Antigonus, Polybius and Silenus, all wrote differently, but in their accounts of ἡ Ῥωμαϊκή

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8 E.Gabba, 'Storici Greci dell'impero Romano da Augusto ai Severi', *RSI* (1959),365-68., attributes this to a particular historical tradition, which included Timagenes and Pompeius Trogus. G.W.Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, (Oxford,1965),p.131, points out that Dionysius means those historians who lived at barbarian courts, thus Timagenes, who lived the later part of his life in Rome, can not be included. cf.p.108ff. On Timagenes see M.Sordi, 'Timagene di Alessandria: un storico ellenocentrico e philobarbaro', *ANRW* 30.1(1982),775-797. with bibliography. On Anti-Roman historiography, H.Fuchs, *Der geistige Widerstand gegen Rom* (Berlin,1938) is still excellent.

9 He does not mention Diodorus Siculus, but as many historians had written Rome's early history, this is hardly the point. What is important is the extent of Dionysius' rendition of the early period; other historians have only discussed it κεφαλωδῶς, while Dionysius will treat it ἀκριβῶς. As noted by E.Noé, 'Ricerche su Dionigi d'Alicarnasso: La prima stasis a Roma e l'episodi di Coriolano', in E.Gabba (ed.), *Ricerche di storiografia Greca di età Romana*, I, (Pisa 1979),pp.36-7, the extraordinary detail of Dionysius' account stems from this desire for ἀκριβεία. Schultze, 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus and his audience', points out that Dionysius certainly makes light of the achievement of Timaeus.

ἀρχαιολογία, wrote little, rushed over it, and compiled it from whatever sources they stumbled upon:

> ἕκαστος ὀλίγα καὶ οὐδὲ ἀκριβῶς αὐτῳ διεσπουδασμένα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτυχόντων ἀκουσμάτων συνθεὶς ἀνέγραψεν.
>
> I.6.1-2.

Dionysius then explains other benefits that his history will have, this time for Romans; it will help them to live up to their origins and ancestors.

Dionysius clearly felt that the question of sources and his relationship to the historical tradition of archaic Rome were things that needed to be dealt with more comprehensively. He is aware that those who have read earlier Greek historians, and who find new material in Dionysius' account, may suspect that he has invented it (σχεδιάζειν). He counters this suspicion with an account of the length of time he has lived in Italy, his knowledge of Latin, and a list of the Roman authors he has consulted. He also says that he learnt some things from personal instruction gained during contact with the most learned men.

This preface is useful for the light that it sheds on a number of connected points of interests. First, it makes it clear how important the period after the foundation of Rome is to the particular view of Rome's development put forward in the work. The anti-Roman polemic seems to have been directed against the founders of Rome, and Dionysius' retort is based on claims made for the virtue of the earliest Romans. It is also from this period of origins, from the examples of virtue that were then displayed, that Dionysius' Roman readers will derive moral inspiration. In other words, it is an explicit statement of the function of the period of origins, one that corresponds to the presentation of this period in Cicero and Varro.

Second, it contains evidence for two important features of the intellectual background to the work, the question of Dionysius' audience, and the anti-Roman historiographical tradition. Dionysius' account of anti-Roman histories is a revelation of Greek resentment of Roman rule, and of the incorporation of this resentment in certain concrete historical ideas; that the early Romans were barbarians vagabonds, that their rise was due solely to Fortune and nothing to do with virtue, which vagabond barbarians would in any case not

display.[10] Again, it can be stressed that the part of Rome's history that immediately followed the foundation is the area where Rome's rule can be either justified or denigrated.

This reference to anti-Roman history, and the need to rid Greeks of any false impressions, of course pre-suppose an intended Greek readership. It is commonplace, however, to subordinate this readership to the Roman one, presumably because Dionysius lived at Rome.[11] While no-one denies the importance of the Greek readership, it seems to me that several points in the preface have not been given sufficient weight, and that these should affect the balance between Greek and Roman in the presumed readership. Most simple is the fact that the Greek audience is mentioned first, and that Dionysius dedicates many more words to explaining that his history will rid Greeks of their misconceptions and help them to accept Roman rule, than to the rather more conventional idea that the Romans will benefit. It is clear that the first aim is more pressing, and meeting it is part of a mission of gratitude to the Romans, of which the other part is to help them to live up to their ancestors.

Moreover, when Dionysius discusses his sources, he assumes that his readers may have read other Greek historians, and then brings forward his knowledge of Latin and of the Roman historical tradition as justification of the new material he has included. That the emphasis is this way round, and that reading of the Latin historians is explanation of his source material, reinforces the idea that he is to be compared by his readers to other Greek historians, rather than being predominantly read by those who already know the Roman sources. The claim that the Romans were in fact Greeks, although clearly intended as a compliment to the Romans, is surely imagined to appeal more to the Greeks. It demonstrates a lack of accord with the indigenous Italian ideology preferred by the principate, which has been regarded as subversive,[12] but it is more satisfactory to locate

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10 cf. II.8.3. for an anti-Roman etymology of patrician.

11 E.g. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, p.130-1. Palm, *Rom, Römertum und Imperium* p.11. Schulze, op.cit, does not incline one way or another.

12 H.Hill, 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus and the Origins of Rome', *JRS* 51(1961),88-93. rejected without explanation by Bowersock, who obviously thinks it would be subversive were it true, op.cit.p.131 note 5; p.110 note 7.

his hellenocentrism within the wider context of a presumed Greek audience, and other hellenocentric historians, such as Timagenes.[13]

Laying a greater emphasis upon a Greek audience also helps us to understand the particular emphasis which Dionysius gives to the regal period narrative, the consistent depiction of the expansion of the city. It is in the favourable explanation of this expansion that Dionysius will justify Roman world rule. The first chapter of his narrative begins with a summary of the racial origin of the Romans; they began as Greek Pelasgians, who drove out the native Sicels, and remained in the same area continuously, changing their name twice, first to Aborigines, then, under king Latinus, to Latins. Then follows a statement of what Dionysius sees as the key to their later development:

> ἔθνος τε μέγιστον ἐξ ἐλαχίστου γενέσθαι σὺν χρόνῳ παρεσκεύασαν καὶ περιφανέστατον ἐξ ἀδηλοτάτου, τῶν τε δεομένων οἰκήσεως παρὰ σφίσι φιλανθρώπῳ ὑποδοχῇ καὶ πολιτείας μεταδόσει τοῖς μετὰ τοῦ γενναίου ἐν πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖσι, δούλων τε ὅσοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερωθεῖεν ἀστοῖς εἶναι συγχωρήσει, τύχης τε ἀνθρώπων οὐδεμιᾶς εἰ μέλλοι τὸ κοινὸν ὠφελεῖν ἀπαξιώσει·
>
> I.9.4.

Rome grew through the humane incorporation of vanquished peoples, and the distribution of citizenship, to those who put up noble show, to freedmen, and to anyone who could benefit the common good. We shall see that φιλανθρωπία recurs frequently in the narratives of conquest, and is the most obvious characteristic of the Roman kings. This opening section encapsulates Dionysius' vision of Rome's whole history; it was the humane enlargement and expansion of a group of Greeks, who displayed the virtues any Greek would expect from his compatriots. As we shall see, it is not only a deduction that because the Romans were descended from Greeks, that they behaved virtuously. They were, in fact, aware of their Greekness, and often used Greek precedent as a starting-point for their humane institutions.

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13 Sordi, 'Timagene di Alessandria' discussses Timagenes' reputation for being anti-Roman, and observes that it rests more upon anecdotal than on firm evidence from the fragments.

To the modern reader, it is clear from the preface that Dionysius will present an idealized account. When Dionysius sets out to vindicate Roman rule by looking at the first inhabitants, and refutes the accusations of barbarity by discovering that the earliest Romans were in fact virtuous Greeks, one must wonder whether his evaluation of the Romans is due to his study of their history or whether he shapes his historical account in order to further a previously formed conclusion. Dionysius has defined his political and moral aims, and in his conception of Rome' development he blurs the distinctions between what is true and what is good, between the morally praiseworthy and an unbiased reading of the historical evidence.

Yet we have also seen in the accounts of Cicero and Varro the *a priori* formulation of an ideal, which is then found to be revealed by studying the past. Their precedent suggest that idealization is not just, as most commentators on the *Antiquitates* assume, the province of a rhetorician whose intellectual pretensions need not be taken seriously. Dionysius' preface makes it clear that he is entirely sincere in his view, and that what we may think of as an idealization of the Romans is for him the correct explanation of their history. Further, he openly acknowledges that readers may suspect, on reading something they have not found elsewhere, that he has invented much of his account. He counters this by describing his sources. His long residence in Italy and his wide reading have led him to the conclusion that judgements held by Greeks to be the product of a lack of proper information. For the moment, I shall postpone discussion of the theoretical problems of history formed around an ideal; rather, I shall assume that to take Dionysius at his word will lead to a more fruitful analysis of his narrative. At the end of that analysis, I hope it will be clear that the modern distrust of an idealized account does not necessarily mean that Dionysius did not understand what historical truth was.

Idealization in practice.

Although Dionysius states explicitly that it is from its foundation that Rome provided moral examples, the way in which he treats the death of Remus, which correctly speaking

precedes the foundation, demonstrates several points which can be taken as exemplary of Dionysius' technique in the attempt to thwart hostile traditions. The quarrel between Romulus and Remus that results in the death of the latter is explained, but rather than having Romulus himself kill his brother, Dionysius presents us with two versions of the killing, which to different degrees avoid the idea of fratricide. In the first version Remus is killed in the battle that takes place when the supporters of each brother take up their disagreement.[14] The people join the cause of each of the brothers, and a bloody battle ensues. This is the version that Dionysius prefers, as being the most believable version, ὁ μὲν οὖν πιθανώτατος τῶν λόγων. The other version, which he concedes should be related, tells of Remus' contempt for the wall built by Romulus, which he then jumps over, only to meet his death, not, as we expect, at the hands of his brother, but at those of Celer, the man in charge of the building.[15] Even then, the words that conclude the episode suggest the first, preferred account, in that they describe the quarrel as a στάσις. "τὸ μὲν δὴ τέλος τῆς στάσεως τῶν ἀδελφῶν τοιοῦτο λέγεται γενέσθαι". Likewise, just before killing him, Celer describes Remus as τὸν πολέμιον. The enmity between the brothers does not lead to them meeting each other in battle; rather, in both versions their quarrel is extended into a conflict involving two parties in the state.

There are several important implications in these apparently routine methods of expression that can be seen to extend over much of Dionysius' narrative of the regal period, and which can really be said to determine the particular character of the period in his history. Central, of course, is the definition of πιθανώτερος. From the points where Dionysius explicitly chooses between versions, labelling one as more true or more believable, we can deduce his view of the truth. Schulze points out that truth is never defined, and that it is "often the rationalized residue of a traditional story after it has been stripped of its mythical elements."[16] Thus, for example, describing in great detail the numerous traditions concerning the birth and youth of Romulus and Remus, Dionysius introduces unmythical versions of the story:

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14 I.87.2-3.
15 I.88.2.
16 Schultze, op.cit,p.126.

> Ἕτεροι δὲ οὐδὲν τῶν μυθωδεστέρων ἀξιοῦντες ἱστορικῇ γραφῇ προσήκειν τήν τε ἀπόθεσιν τὴν τῶν βρεφῶν οὐχ ὡς ἐκελεύσθη τοῖς ὑπηρέταις γενομένην ἀπίθανον εἶναί φασι
>
> I.84.1.

Such ideas of inappropriate mythology are widespread.[17] However, central to understanding Dionysius' conception of Rome's history is the sequel; what this rejection of myth leaves behind. What, in other words, the rational truth consists of. From the distinction between the accounts of the death of Remus it is possible to deduce two things. First, that Dionysius regards the story of fratricide as unbelievable, so unbelievable that this version is omitted altogether. Secondly, that he regards the death of Remus as likely to have been the result of a more general, less personal struggle than the product of any kind of direct individual rivalry; thus, even in summing up the second, less believable version of his death he describes the motive as στάσις. Dionysius' favoured interpretation, which places the two brothers within a much wider context that makes fratricide seem unlikely, again makes the point that there was nothing unusual about Remus' death.

In Dionysius' account of the rape of the Sabine women, the same kind of morally improved rationalization can be found. The rape is the first of the " ἄλλαι πράξεις " of Romulus, after the description of the various customs and laws he introduced. Romulus realized that neighbouring peoples would be unwilling to intermarry with the newly established and as yet insignificant state, but that if forced, they would yield, provided no insult were attached to the compulsion, βιασθεῖσθαι δὲ εἴξουσιν εἰ μηδεμία γένοιτο περὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην ὕβρις. The idea he thought up was approved by his grandfather, Numitor, and was also voted on in the senate.[18] Dionysius relates the seizure itself very briefly, not making any attempt to describe the scene or convey excitement. When Romulus comes to speak to the Sabine women on the following day, he does so in reported speech, pointing out that there is illustrious ancient Greek precedent for this form of marriage:

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17 Plutarch, *Theseus*, I.3, from the introduction to the pair *Romulus* and *Theseus*, demonstrates the same approach, the divestment of history of its mythical trappings:

> εἴη μὲν οὖν ἡμῖν ἐκκαθαιρόμενον λόγῳ τὸ μυθῶδες ὑπακοῦσαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἱστορίας ὄψιν . . .

18 II.30.2-3.

> τῇ δ' ἑξῆς ἡμέρᾳ προαχθεισῶν τῶν παρθένων, παραμυθησάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν ἀθυμίαν ὁ Ῥωμύλος, ὡς οὐκ ἐφ' ὕβρει τῆς ἁρπαγῆς ἀλλ' ἐπὶ γάμῳ γενομένης, Ἑλληνικόν τε καὶ ἀρχαῖον ἀποφαίνων τὸ ἔθος καὶ τρόπον συμπάντων καθ' οὕς συνάπτονται γάμοι ταῖς γυναιξὶν ἐπιφανέστατον
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> II.30.5.

Neither in the narrative of the rape, nor in the reactions of the women does anything exceed the bounds of reasonable emotion; Romulus is faced only with the task of consoling despondency.

There follows a discussion of the chronology and motivation of the event. Some have said that it occurred in the first year of Romulus' reign, but Dionysius, following Gnaeus Gellius, thinks it was in the fourth year. His reason is this:

> νέον γὰρ οἰκιζομένης πόλεως ἡγεμόνα πρὶν ἢ καταστήσασθαι τὴν πολιτείαν ἔργῳ τηλικούτῳ ἐπιχειρεῖν οὐκ ἔχει λόγον.
>
> II.31.1.

As to the motivation, some point to the scarcity of women, but others, οἱ δὲ τὰ πιθανώτατα γράφοντες, with whom Dionysius naturally agrees, cite the need to enter into bonds of alliance with neighbouring states. The response of the Rome's neighbours to the event was correspondingly mixed;

> αἱ μὲν αὐτὸ τὸ πραχθὲν πρὸς ὀργὴν ἐλάμβανον, αἱ δ' ἀφ' ἧς ἐπράχθη διαθέσεως καὶ εἰς ὃ τέλος ἐχώρησεν ἀναλογιζόμεναι μετρίως αὐτὸ ἔφερον,
>
> II.32.1.

Dionysius carefully reincorporates his own preferred analysis, the διάθεσις and τέλος, into the perceptions of some of Rome's neighbours. It is a small but revealing point; Dionysius ascribes this theory of the motive for the deed to the historians who provide the most probable account, and very shortly afterwards we find the contemporary witnesses reflecting upon the same analysis of the event. The assessment of what is most probable does not remain within the realm of the evaluation of the historical tradition; rather, the result of historical conjecture is then manifested in the considerations of the historical figures themselves.[19] Something similar occurs in a more compressed form in the discussion of the chronology of the rape; what Romulus would have done in the first and

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19 This not uncommon device can also be perceived in Livy's regal period. See below, p.127f.

fourth years of his reign is evaluated with undefined criteria of what is reasonable for rulers of new cities, and Romulus is shown to have acted, more or less consciously, in accordance with these principles. Again, the citation of Greek precedent by Romulus himself replicates the interest in Greek precedent, or precedent surpassed, that Dionysius himself claims so often for Rome.[20] There is no difference in type between the interpretations of Dionysius and the motivation of Romulus, no suggestion of a gap of comprehension caused by the great distance in time. Put another way, Dionysius reconstructs in his narrative the interest in Greek precedent which he is sure characterized Rome from the start. Romulus' remarks are proof of Dionysius' contentions of the quality of Roman behaviour.

Cicero too credited Romulus with a surprising political awareness; in *Antiquitates Romanae*, Romulus' knowledge reflects those virtues which Dionysius claims for Roman rule as a whole, openness and humanity. Drawing his conclusions at the end of the first book, after Romulus has just drawn the outline of the city, Dionysius again points out the achievement of his account:

> ὥστε θαρρῶν ἤδη τις ἀποφαινέσθω , πολλὰ χαίρειν φράσας τοῖς βαρβάρων καὶ δραπετῶν καὶ ἀνεστίων ἀνθρώπων καταφυγὴν τὴν Ῥώμην ποιοῦσιν, Ἑλλάδα πόλιν αὐτήν, ἀποδεικνύμενος ‹μὲν› κοινοτάτην τε πόλεων καὶ φιλανθρωποτάτην, ἐνθυμούμενος ‹δὲ› ὅτι τὸ μὲν τῶν Αβοριγίνων φῦλον Οἰνωτρικὸν ἦν, τοῦτο δὲ Αρκαδικόν ·
>
> I.89.1-2.

The Greek origin of Rome shall discredit the arguments of those who claim she was founded by barbarian wanderers. The intermingling of Greek with barbarian is then discussed, and Dionysius allows that the Romans have diverged from the Greeks, because of living so much among barbarians. But of course, this is part of being κοινοτάτη καὶ φιλανθροποτάτη, and moreover, the Romans have retained more traces of their Greek origin than most Greek colonists:

> τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ὁπόσα γένους Ἑλληνικοῦ μηνύματ' ἐστὶν ὡς οὐχ ἕτεροί τινες τῶν ἀκποικησάντων διασώζοντες, οὐ νῦν πρῶτον ἀρξάμενοι πρὸς φιλίαν ζῆν, ἡνίκα τὴν τύχην πολλὴν καὶ ἀγαθὴν ῥέουσαν διδάσκαλον ἔχουσι τῶν καλῶν οὐδ' ἀφ' οὗ πρῶτον

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20 See below, and p.96f. and note 101.

> ὠρέχθησαν τῆς διαποντίου τὴν Καρχηδονίων καὶ Μακεδόνων ἀρχὴν καταλύσαντες, ἀλλ' ἐκ παντὸς οὗ συνῳκίσθησαν χρόνου βίον Ἕλληνα ζῶντες καὶ οὐδὲν ἐκπρεπέστερον ἐπιτηδεύοντες πρὸς ἀρετὴν νῦν ἢ πρότερον.
>
> I.90.1.

So the Romans of the regal period match in virtue those of Rome's heyday, after her great expansion in the Mediterranean. Again, the particular importance of the period of origins is obvious, the virtues of the first Romans acting as supplementary proof to Dionysius' anthropological researches, that they were in fact Greeks.

The exact workings of Roman expansion are, in this context, something of particular significance, and Dionysius is diligent in his depiction of the processes. To begin with, when Romulus offers the citizens of his new city a new constitution, they reject the idea, in the knowledge that their ancestral one already provides them with the greatest benefits known to man, freedom and rule over others.[21] It is a basic assumption that conquest and rule are good in themselves. Likewise expansion; Romulus does not need to be credited with any particular reason for wishing his city to become larger than its neighbours; indeed, it is on the basis of this assumption that he made regulations concerning the exposure of infants, and also set up the asylum, which was a response to the fact that in many Italian cities, tyrannies and oligarchies existed, and that these produced refugees.[22] It was οἰκεῖα κακὰ which drove these people to seek exile at Rome, and once there, Romulus' kindness kept them. Of course, Romulus' most important policy, πολίτευμα, was the treatment of conquered peoples, whom he integrated into the Roman state.[23] It was one of the things in which Rome was greatly superior to Greece, and which was the basis of Rome's freedom and hegemony. Dionysius devotes some time to comparing it to the importance placed upon birth at Athens and Sparta.[24] But it was not just in opening the citizenship to the conquered that Rome secured its expansion; more important was Romulus' institution of patronage, by which stable relationships between Rome and her

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21 II.4.1-2
22 II.15.1-4.
23 II.16.
24 II.17.

satellites were maintained.[25] The same bonds between patron and client which Romulus introduced at Rome, were to be established between Rome and her colonies and allies.

In the narratives of the wars themselves, subjugation to Rome, or the incorporation of citizens to Rome, is often the final result of the account of the war, the happy ending. Indeed, the narrative is so structured by wars that the culmination of the conquests marks natural stopping points in the history.[26] Conversely, a frequent motivation for military aggression by Rome's neighbours is their fear of Rome's prodigious growth; the two together reinforce the impression of the fairness and humanity of Roman foreign policy, and the unreasonable envy of its victims. The Sabines, after the rape of the women, are a particularly clear example. Several other cities, Caenina, Antemnae and Crustumerium, used the rape as a pretext (πρόφασις) to attack Rome, their real reason being the foundation and growth of the city.[27] They attempted to spur the Sabines to action by sending embassies, but the Romans had got there first, and their diplomacy made the Sabines indecisive.[28] Antemnae and Caenina go to war anyway, and are defeated, and Romulus celebrates the first triumph.[29] After this victory, the colonization of the two cities, and another against Crustumerium, report of Romulus' moderation and bravery began to spread. First of all noble leaders migrated to Rome, bringing troops and their families, and later, whole cities spontaneously submitted to become colonies.[30] This, however, only showed the Sabines their own mistake in not having stopped Rome right at the start, and in irritation they muster themselves for a large scale attack.

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25 II.11.

26 E.g.: Romulus' invitation to the people of Camerini, II.50.4-5; and Veii, II.55.6.; Tarquinius Priscus, after a series of conquests against Latin cities, receives a mass spontaneous surrender of some III.51.; this is a half-way stage to a greater conquest of Latium, ending in a triumph, III.54.

27 II.32.2.

28 II.33.1.

29 Dionysius makes Romulus celebrate three triumphs during his reign, this first one against the king of Caenina, then against Camerini, II.54.2., and the most magnificent, against Veii, II.50.5. The dedication of the *spolia opima* is not emphasized, being described simply as an adjunct to the first triumph, and occasioning the dedication of a small temple. II.34.4.

30 II.36.2.

The antithesis between the benign motives of the Romans and the mean envy of Roman rule remains constant throughout the narrative of the regal period.[31] Ancus Marcius, for example, made it a deliberate policy to wean his people back to agriculture and religion, and away from war, hoping to have a peaceful life like his grandfather Numa.[32] However, he was forced to war with the Latins, when, purely from dislike of Rome, they violated a treaty that had been made with the previous king, and began to make plundering raids into Rome. It is clear that the Latins' violation of the treaty should be seen as unreasonable. The idea that after the death of one king the treaties made with neighbouring lands become void recurs at the start of Tarquinius Priscus' reign.[33] It is, of course, an ideal device for making the Roman conquest the result of what has begun as a just war of revenge.

The justice of expansion, then, is something that Dionysius regarded as important in the regal period; it fits with the claims made at the beginning of the work, and which are then made manifest in the narrative. To see exactly how it became a characteristic of Roman foreign policy, we can look more closely at Dionysius' explanation of patronage.

Dionysius explains that Romulus embodied the Roman virtues of φιλανθρωπία and of the good treatment of the conquered in the institution of patronage, which he sees taking place both within the city and between Rome and other cities:

> ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος ἐπικλήσει τε εὐπρεπεῖ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐκόσμησε πατρωνείαν ὀνομάσας τὴν τῶν πενήτων καὶ ταπεινῶν προστασίαν, καὶ τὰ ἔργα χρηστὰ προσέθηκεν ἑκατέροις, καὶ φιλανθρώπους καὶ πολιτικὰς ἀπεργαζόμενος αὐτῶν τὰς συζυγίας.
>
> II.9.3.

> οὐ μόνον δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πόλει τὸ δημοτικὸν ὑπὸ τὴν προστασίαν τῶν πατρικίων ἦν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἀποίκων αὐτῆς πόλεων καὶ τῶν ἐπὶ συμμαχίᾳ καὶ φιλίᾳ προσελθουσῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκ πολέμου κεκρατημένων ἑκάστη φύλακας εἶχε καὶ προστάτας οὓς ἐβούλετο Ῥωμαίων.
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> II.11.1.

As with the rape of the Sabine women, the virtues that Dionysius sees in Roman rule are not simply those things which he observes to have happened; they are the product of

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31 In the closing section of this chapter I shall describe in detail the narrative of the destruction of Alba, which is exemplary both for Dionysius' use of classical models, and for his preoccupation with humane expansion.

32 III.36.

33 III.49.2.

the deliberate application of ideas by the early Romans themselves. This particular process can be said to characterize what is, from a modern viewpoint, the most obtrusive feature of Dionysius' idealizing account of the regal period. Dionysius credits his protagonists with insights that are beyond the reach of historical enquiry, and which also reflect a preconceived stereotype. Their actions fit into an already defined conception of what regal history was about, of what Rome's early development was leading to, and this in turn is sometimes shown to be the result of the conscious reflection of the historical figures. This is not only true for the places where the kings make political decisions; it also holds for that kind of narrative which dominates the account of the regal period, the ordinary narrative of the expansion, battle narrative.

In what follows, I shall first examine, at some length, the question which lies behind the idealization of the political awareness of the kings; in Dionysius' rhetorical writings we can find what can be thought of as a theoretical basis for his *a priori* formulation of what is more believable. Thereafter I shall look at how the same ideals appear in the routine methods of expression with which a sense of regal culture is created, in the kinds of fighting which Dionysius envisages for the period, in the sorts of political arguments he thinks appropriate. In the language used in these areas the constant reminiscence of classical authors is felt, and I shall examine the processes of literary imitation, of *mimesis*, which directed Dionysius' creation of regal culture.

The historian's virtues and the creation of historical models.

Although such an idealized account will always flaunt the laws of historiography as we understand them, it is important to realize that Dionysius' historiographical method was not the product of thoughtlessness or stupidity, but rather reflected a coherent and well defined set of values, albeit values different from our own. To describe these values, I shall now turn to some of Dionysius' theoretical writings, since by seeing that certain views are consistently presented, we can discern the reasoning behind what at first sight seems to be the product of a logical solecism.

A central element of Dionysius' conception of historiography is the importance he places upon the moral goodness of the historian's work. In his *Letter to Pompeius*, Dionysius compares Herodotus and Thucydides, and the terms of the comparison are very clearly moral ones.[34] Before examining the text in detail it is important to something about the letter itself. Although Dionysius says in the letter that he is quoting from his early treatise *περὶ μιμήσεως*, which has survived in a fragmentary form, Sacks has convincingly suggested that what Dionysius is in fact doing is rewriting this earlier treatise more fully in order to provide a definitive statement of his views on historiography, something which would otherwise be a significant omission from his output.[35] In his preface to the collection of essays *On The Ancient Orators*, he says he will treat historians too if he has time, and in Sacks's interpretation the section on historians in the *Pomp.* is an attempt to fulfil this desire, something he otherwise had no time to do, but which was at the same time an important field of criticism.[36] The point is that the views expressed in the letter need not be thought to represent the immature Dionysius, or at least not to have been disowned by the older Dionysius. It is clear that the nature of the work determines the kind of discussion; the comparison of the two authors is supposed to help those desiring to write see what is worthy in each of imitation. As a result, the contrast between what should be imitated and what avoided is made rather blatant. It is the strength of this contrast that has led to the assumption that the work represents the immature Dionysius, particularly when compared to the more balanced criticism of *Thuc.*.

The first point of comparison concerns the choice of subject matter, about which Dionysius maintains the same view that he gives in the preface to his own history, that πρῶτόν τε καὶ σχεδὸν ἀναγκαιότατον ἔργον ἁπάντων ἐστὶ τοῖς γράφουσιν πᾶσιν

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34 Abbreviations follow *LSJ*; *Letter to Pompeius* = *Pomp*; *On the ancient orators* =*Orat Vett*; *Thucydides* = *Thuc.* etc.

35 K.S.Sacks, 'Historiography in the rhetorical works of Dionysius of Halicarnassus', *Athenaeum* 61(1983),65-87. The discord between the remaining fragments of the *περὶ μιμήσεως* and the supposed transposition of the same material in the *Pomp.* was explained by Usener as being due to the use of a later edition of the earlier work.

36 Theodorus of Gadara, Caecilius of Caleacte, among Dionysius' contemporaries, and Theophrastus as a precedent. had all written περὶ ἱστορίας.

ἱστορίας ὑπόθεσιν ἐκλέξασθαι καλὴν καὶ κεχαρισμένην τοῖς ἀναγνωσομένοις.

Herodotus is superior to Thucydides, whose choice is wholly reprehensible:

> ὁ δὲ Θουκυδίδης πόλεμον ἕνα γράφει, καὶ τοῦτον οὔτε καλὸν οὔτε εὐτυχῆ· ὅς μάλιστα μὲν ὤφειλε μὴ γενέσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, σιωπῇ καὶ λήθῃ παραδοθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιγιγνομένων ἠγνοῆσθαι.
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> *Pomp.* 3,p.372.

The events themselves were so terrible that it would have been far better for them to have passed into oblivion. The catalogue of cities destroyed and of natural disasters, given in the prologue, is Thucydides' way of making clear his bad choice, and of alienating his readers before they have even begun:

> ὅτι δὲ πονηρὰν εἵληφεν ὑπόθεσιν, καὶ αὐτός γε τοῦτο ποιεῖ φανερὸν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ· πόλεις τε γὰρ δι' αὐτὸν ἐξερημωθῆναί φησι πολλὰς Ἑλληνίδας, τὰς μὲν ὑπὸ βαρβάρων, τὰς δ' ὑπὸ σφῶν αὐτῶν, . . . ὥστε τοὺς ἀναγνόντας τὸ προοίμιον ἠλλοτριῶσθαι πρὸς τὴν ὑπόθεσιν, Ἑλληικῶν μέλλοντας ἀκούειν.
>
> ibid.

Dionysius then directs his criticism to the second major task in the historian's treatment of his subject, where to start and how far to go. Thucydides is criticized for choosing as a starting point a stage when Greek fortunes began to turn bad. This was quite unnecessary, especially for an eminent Athenian; it was really the product of φθόνος against his own city.

The criticisms that Dionysius makes of Thucydides in *Thuc* are again revealing for his view not only of how history should be written, but more generally of what kinds of things actually happen, and what kinds of interpretations it is fitting for the historian to make. In his discussion of the Melian debate Dionysius rejects as historically implausible the harshness with which Thucydides treats Athens and the Athenian empire. The basis for this rejection is not just taste or sensibility, but also his own sense of the historical traditions of Greek values. Dionysius begins his analysis of the dialogue with stylistic criticisms, which gradually admit an element of moral evaluation into the argument.[37] This leads to a short explanation of how Greek history influenced the kinds of things that it was likely the Athenians would have said to the Melians:

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37 *Thuc* 39.p.580ff.

> βασιλεῦσι γὰρ βαρβάροις ταῦτα πρὸς Ἕλληνας ἥρμοττε λέγειν· Ἀθηναίοις δὲ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας, οὓς ἠλευθέρωσαν ἀπὸ τῶν Μήδων, οὐκ ἦν προσήκοντα εἰρῆσθαι, ὅτι τὰ δίκαια τοῖς ἴσοις ἐστὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους, τὰ δὲ βίαια τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς πρὸς τοὺς ἀσθενεῖς.
>
> *Thuc* 39.p.580.

He continues for some time in outrage at the atrocities uttered by the Athenians, until in very similar language he objects to Thucydides' wrong assessment of the respect of the Athenians for divine intervention, and claims that the famous maxim that the strong will rule where they can is δυσείκαστος, hard to understand, and quite outside human experience. He concludes,

> ἀκόλουθα καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς πρώτοις καὶ οὔτε Ἀθηναίοις οὔτε Ἕλλησι πρέποντα εἰρῆσθαι.
>
> *Thuc* 40.p.586.

Dionysius then explains why such things constitute downright historical errors; Thucydides was certainly not on Melos, and his invention here exceeds the criteria set out in 1.22.1., which Dionysius quotes. These criteria are, of course, adjuncts to the more universally applicable ones of τὸ πρέπον or τὰ προσήκοντα, which Dionysius usually backs up by referring to traditions of Athenian piety or wisdom, against which Thucydides' judgement offends. As in *Pomp.*, Dionysius conjectures that Thucydides' motivation for his slanderous account is the personal grudge he holds against Athens for banishing him.[38]

Dionysius should not be dismissed at once for simple-mindedness; the skill with which Thucydides represents the moral decline of Athens in the course of the war is one of the most compelling aspects of his work. What Dionysius is speaking of is feelings of alienation experienced by Greeks when reading such an account, and in this respect his word need not be doubted.[39] It is clear from the defensiveness of Dionysius' *Thuc.* that his detraction of Thucydides invited a great deal of opposition, but it is likely that it was predominantly his dislike of Thucydides' condensed style that irritated Dionysius' critics; Thucydides was a fashionable model for classicizing rhetoric.[40] In any case, it is not the

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38 εἰ μὴ ἄρα μνησικακῶν ὁ συγγραφεὺς τῇ πόλει διὰ τὴν καταδίκην ταῦτα τὰ ὀνείδη κατεσκέδασεν αὐτῆς, ἐξ ὧν ἅπαντες μισήσειν αὐτὴν ἔμελλον. *Thuc* 41.p.591.

39 cf.*Thuc*.41.p.590; the Athenians themselves would have been very upset.

40 Cicero *Orator* 9.30 points to the beginning of this trend, "Ecce autem aliqui se Thycydidios essse profitentur: novum quoddam imperitorum et inauditum genus." See

criticisms of his morals themselves that need examination; Dionysius rightly perceives that Thucydides consciously set out to give a bad impression of Greece. What really is problematic, is the narrow conception of the value of historical writing, whereby history that offends is bad history, and only those histories that are pleasing can be useful or morally good, or even respond to the demands of historical writing. Dionysius' criticism of the Melian dialogue makes clear that there is no incongruity between what was οὐ πρέποντα and what was untrue.[41]

In this connection, the preface to *A.R.* gives the same view as the *Pomp.*, although the ground is slightly different, in that here it is a question of individual examples of virtue, rather than of history's subjects as a whole.[42] A historian who records the actions of ignoble men may fairly be judged to admire those men.

> . . . δόξαν ἐγκαταλιπόντες τοῖς ἀναλαμβάνουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς ἱστορίας ὅτι τοιούτους ἐζήλωσαν αὐτοὶ βίους, οἵας ἐξέδωκαν τὰς γραφάς ἐπιεικῶς γὰρ ἅπαντες νομίζουσιν εἰκόνας εἶναι τῆς ἑκάστου ψυχῆς τοὺς λόγους.
>
> I.1.3.

This corresponds to the main claims of the preface, that Rome provided models of imitation right from the start, and that it is these examples of virtue that justify the writing of this history.[43] The exact vocabulary is important; the author admires the lives of his characters, and his representation of them is itself regarded as an image of his own soul. This is the same process of admiration and reproduction that defines the mimetic theory of writing which lies behind all of Dionysius' critical writings. Ζηλῶ is the key word in one of two famous definitions from Dionysius' treatise *On Mimesis* which survived as an isolated fragment:

G.W.Bowersock, 'Historical problems in Late Republican and Augustan Classicism', *Entretiens Hardt* 25(1978),57-78.esp.p.64ff.

41 As I argue below, what Dionysius regards as fitting derives largely from what he thought the Greeks were actually like, from his reading of historians and rhetoricians. His reaction to Thucydides is not simply a prudish gut reaction with no historical dimension. See p.82.

42 In criticizing Thucydides, Dionysius directs his attention to the large-scale question of the whole of his subject, and not to the question of individuals. Indeed, in *Thuc* he praises Thucydides explicitly for being fair in his judgement of individuals. *Thuc.* 8,p.480.

43 See above p.56f

> μίμησίς ἐστιν ἐνέργεια διὰ τῶν θεωρημάτων ἐκματτομένη τὸ παράδειγμα
> (mimesis is the action of taking an impression of the model according to principles)
>
> ζῆλος δέ ἐστιν ἐνέργεια ψυχῆς πρὸς θαῦμα τοῦ δοκοῦντος εἶναι καλοῦ κινουμένη.
> (admiration is the action of the soul motivated by wonder at what seems good.)
>
> Fr.3, U-R.

Both of these, but particularly the second, could describe both the admiration of particular historical events, and the use of literary models for composition. The overlapping of these two rather different categories is another aspect of the negation of the history of unpleasant events; just as one must avoid certain literary models in composition, so one must avoid bad historical subjects. It is only the good that is entertained as an object for imitation.

It is clear that Dionysius was particularly aware that whatever the nature of the historical event, the written account of that event would have an immense influence in determining the event's character. Dionysius recommends that anyone writing a history should not choose their subject matter as Thucydides did; in this aspect, Thucydides is not a good model for imitation (although in other aspects, of course, he is.[44]) In his choice of subject matter, his faults should be avoided. If anyone is tempted to describe the Peloponnesian War, they should do it in quite another way, and as Dionysius shows in the subsequent discussion, and again in the *Thuc.* in less castigating terms, second to choice of subject is where to start and end, which exerts a huge force upon the character of the narrative; it is possible to give the Peloponnesian war a happy ending.[45]

For Dionysius, the creation of an historical account does not consist in the objective observation of a set of events that defines itself. To him, the historian's decision about where to begin and end his history depends more upon the reasons for writing that history than upon the nature of the events. If one is a good historian, these reasons will be admirable, and if not, they will be mean. Dionysius believed first of all that good historians pick good subjects, but that thereafter, with a different emphasis, a different framework and a different explanation, the same event can be represented in several

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44 In *Pomp*, he is superior in συντομία, for example.3,p.382.
45 *Pomp*. 3.p.374-6. cf. *Thuc* 10.

different ways. However, a good historian perceives what the right way to represent each event is, responding to its actual character by choosing the right ending, for example. A better historian than Thucydides would have produced a different account of the Peloponnesian war. Best of all, since the event was itself a miserable one, would have been if it had never been given an historical account. This is perhaps the most important part of Dionysius' historical theories. It makes clear Dionysius' awareness of the complexity of the relationship between fact and interpretation, or between historical explanation and the significance of an historical account. For him, the writing of history was guided by universal moral criteria (including truth), and it was these that dictated the way in which the historical material would be explained and described.

So that Dionysius' view of historical truth should not simply be dismissed, it is important now to make some kind of comparison with those modern ideas of historical truth which motivate the criticism of Dionysius with which we began. Comparison of ancient and modern views of historical truth is a difficult matter; obviously, for the comparison to be helpful, a full definition of both views is necessary, but it is not common for historians, particularly perhaps of the ancient world, to feel the need to define their method, how they reach what they regard to be the truth in an historical analysis. There is, indeed, a strong historiographical tradition which holds that history resides in the practice of the historian's craft, perceived as the informed handling of historical sources, rather than in the self-reflective definition of that craft through rigorous methodological enquiry.[46] Nevertheless, there are certain key ideas which constitute what is accepted as good historical method; perhaps the most important of these is the idea of the objectivity of the historian. In the desire for objectivity there is an implied ideal, of history acting like a science, its aim being to discover the truth, where the skill of the historian enables him to

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46 Momigliano can be taken as a self-proclaimed representative of this tradition, and, of course, his influence has been very great; see e.g. his review of H.White's *Metahistory*, 'The Rhetoric of History and the History of Rhetoric: On Hayden White's Tropes', in *Settimo Contributo* (Rome,1984),pp.49-59. A stunning polemic account of classical scholarship and anti-theoretical historiography is given by F.Jameson, 'Marxism and Historicism', in *The Ideologies of Theory, vol. 2* (London,1988),pp.148-77,esp.p.151ff.

transcend the partial nature of the material he is dealing with, and uncover what really happened.

Clearly, Dionysius' history is very far from being objective; he holds certain opinions as to the nature of good and bad history, and good and bad are moral categories, which he would apply just as readily to the behaviour of his contemporaries as to the achievement of Thucydides. It seems to us that he shapes his history to a pre-conceived notion of historical goodness, which in no way derives from an objective consideration of the events which he describes.[47]

Before condemning Dionysius for the application of pre-conceived notions to a subject where he should be more objective, we need to consider the idea of objectivity. Since the enlightenment, the model for objectivity in any kind of analysis has been scientific investigation. Discussion of the method of investigation in the humanities has been divided almost since then between those who believe that the failure of history, for example, to conform to the standards of science was due to an insufficiency of data, and those who wished to defend the special nature of the humanities, and to describe adequately their particular qualities.[48] The rejection of the scientific model was essentially based upon the realization that that model was inappropriate to the humanities, since the contribution of the critic, reader or historian was clearly an important part of their value.[49] This in turn raised the question of how important that contribution was, and indeed, where the line was to be drawn between the critic and his object of study. Important in the background was Kant's idea that there was an *a priori* element to all knowledge. Any kind of understanding was

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47 I shall examine the nature of Dionysius' ideas of good and bad in the next section.

48 H.-G.Gadamer's *Wahrheit und Methode*, 4th edn (Tübingen,1975) translated (from 2nd edn) as *Truth and Method* (London 1979) is a monumental discussion of the nature of understanding and interpretation, and many related philosophical currents, and gives an account of the history of hermeneutics. See also G.Warnke, *Gadamer* (Oxford,1987). H.White, *The Content of the Form* (Baltimore,1987),p.59ff briefly summarizes the debate on aspirations to scientific status. I have also found useful R.J.Howard, *Three Faces of Hermeneutics* (Berkeley,1982). For a discussion of the historical background to Weber's idea of *Wertfreiheit* as the basis for the new science of sociology, see F.Jameson, 'The Vanishing Mediator', *The Ideologies of Theory, vol 2* (London,1988),pp.3-34.esp.pp.10-12.

49 These same reservations are now arising in the so-called new physics.

impossible without some kind of pattern within which experiences could be located.[50] Two centuries later, the *a priori* element in understanding has become regarded as historically determined. Husserl suggested that even the scientific idea of objectivity was inescapably bound to a particular historical moment, and that its claims to universality were a reflection, not of real objectivity, but of the conditions in which it had arisen and was practiced. Heidegger produced a sophisticated model of how historical context and conditions totally determined all understanding. For him, all existence should be defined as existence within time, of the individual within history, so that the historical process is part of our being. Each person lives in the middle of process of constant reflection on the past and anticipation of the future. Here is Gadamer's lucid summary of Heidegger's idea of the fore-structure of understanding. The reading of a text is described, but the process applies equally well to the historian's understanding of the past.

> A person who is trying to understand a text is always performing an act of projecting. He projects before himself a meaning for the text as a whole as soon as some initial meaning emerges in the text. Again, the latter emerges only because he is reading the text with particular expectations in regard to a certain meaning. The working out of the fore-project, which is constantly revised in terms of what emerges as he penetrates into the meaning, is understanding what there is.
>
> *Truth and Method*,p.236.

The creation of any historical account, modern or ancient, can be thought of as the production of an analysis, formed by expectation, and then reassessed in the light of the evidence. Even the attempt at objective history is, in these views, inseparable from the subject undertaking that attempt.[51] The creation of an historical interpretation should not be thought of in terms of two separate entities, the events and the historian. The historian's understanding and reconstruction of those events can only take place with a dialectic between his own criteria of what kinds of meanings historical events have, and the evidence supplied by the events themselves. When Dionysius used a preconceived model

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50 Although, of course, for Kant, this was true of all knowledge, and did not undermine the scientific paradigm.

51 Recent criticism of these ideas focusses upon their conception of the subject, which modern linguistic philosophy regards as untenable. It is not the absolute validity of these ideas which concerns me, however, so much as their usefulness in the present context.

to reconstruct the regal period, he is doing nothing extraordinary. His work is methodologically no different from any other historical reconstruction.

This is not to claim that the result resembles a modern historical account If all interpretations depend upon the situation of the interpreter with regard to his own history, we must accept that historical truths can differ widely, without being aberrant. What we have been able to isolate as the ideal to which Dionysius shapes his historical account would not have appeared as an ideal to Dionysius. For him, it was something that seemed to emerge naturally from the material he was treating. The process of obsolescence in modern historical accounts can be described in similar terms; as the dominant idea around which they are formed no longer appears natural, but becomes obtrusive, they can be considered to have dated, and to be in need of replacement. It is by no means necessary that the next historical analysis will have a theoretically superior basis which will enable it to last longer. Endurance is more likely to be linked to continuity in the historical conditions in which the analysis was produced. It may seem a truism to state that Dionysius had a different view of the past from us. It can however be an acknowledgement that his historical understanding is defined by his own history, that his interpretations are an expression of expectations of meaning and of the future, based upon his experience and understanding of the past. His view of the regal period was true to him, and satisfied his conceptions of historical accuracy. Methodologically it was different from ours only in terms of the criteria around which historical accounts are usually shaped.

If we make a brief comparison with Cicero's account of the regal period, we can see the broad outlines of the influence of historical context. Cicero's careful framing of the regal period by the historical setting of his dialogue reflects his own view of Rome's decline. The history of Rome after the Gracchi had made it better for Cicero to express his wish for great men to exert their influence over the state in a form distanced from his own day. His qualified idealization of the regal period is thus an expression of a desire for what is clearly an unrealistic optimism about his own day. With the coming of the principate, that optimism no longer needed qualification, at least not from Dionysius' viewpoint. Roman history had demonstrated that the tradition of great men controlling affairs, which began

with the kings, was one that ultimately led to peace and prosperity rather than to strife. Dionysius perceived that recent events showed that the early view of Rome's kings, the view attested by a variety of sources, was after all the correct one. He feels compelled to supplant the misapprehension of Rome, and the ignorance of the past which fed this misapprehension, with a true version of events. Further, he is driven by a political aim: to replace an account based upon a view of injustice, barbarism and the perversity of the universe, with one that stresses order, progress, and historical significance.

Historical good and bad in Dionysius.

We can now look at Dionysius' treatment of the idea of philosophical rhetoric, in order to understand how his conception of historical good and bad functioned. Dionysius begins the preface to his collection of essays *Orat Vett.* by praising the age in which he lived, which was witness to a revival of the old φιλόσοφος ῥητορική. This is more than simply the demise of decadent Asiatic rhetorical styles. The cause of the revival is Rome, and particularly the example of virtue and education that Rome's leading men provide for the whole of her realm.[52]

> ταύτης δὲ αὐτῆς οἱ δυναστεύοντες κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κρατίστου τὰ κοινὰ διοικοῦντες, εὐπαίδευτοι πάνυ καὶ γενναῖοι τὰς κρίσεις γενόμενοι, ὑφ' ὧν κοσμούμενον τό τε φρόνιμον τῆς πόλεως μέρος ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπιδέδωκεν καὶ τὸ ἀνόητον ἠνάγκασται νοῦν ἔχειν.
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> Pref to *Orat Vett.* 3.

According to Dionysius, the result of this renewed political sense has been a great flood of histories, political and philosophical works, by both Greeks and Romans, hopefully marking the imminent end of the ζῆλος ἀνοήτων λόγων. The work Dionysius is writing will contribute to this decline; he is not modest in describing its universal appeal:

> ὑπόθεσιν τοῦ λόγου κοινὴν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον καὶ πλεῖστα δυναμένην ὠφελῆσαι λαβών. ἔστι δὲ ἥδε, τίνες εἰσὶν

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52 K.Heldmann, 'Antike Theorien über Entwicklung und Verfall der Redekunst', *Zetemata* 77(1982). discusses Dionysius' conception of rhetorical revival on p.122-131, against a background of his and other authors' conceptions of history and the history of rhetoric.

> ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητόρων τε καὶ τίνες αὐτῶν ἐγένοντο προαιρέσεις τοῦ τε βίου καὶ τῶν λόγων καὶ τί παρ' ἑκάστου δεῖ λαμβάνειν ἢ φυλάττεσθαι . . .
>
> ibid.4.

The virtues and faults of the ancient writers are not just stylistic; the decisions they make in their writings and the decisions they made in their lives are juxtaposed, and both can be an example to humanity. This continues the picture of the cultural revival at Rome; Dionysius clearly envisages education, rhetoric, literary production and political leadership as forming a whole, in which the contiguity of personal behaviour and rhetorical style is assumed.[53] Again, this is the idea that writing reflect the soul of the author; in the case of the works of the great orators, the blend of life and writing is obviously much closer.

Isocrates was particularly important for Dionysius for this conception of political rhetoric.[54]

> πρῶτος ἐχώρησεν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐριστικῶν τε καὶ φυσικῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς καὶ περὶ αὐτὴν σπουδάζων τὴν ἐπιστήμην διετέλεσεν, ἐξ ἧς, ὥς φησιν αὐτὸς, τὸ βουλεύεσθαι καὶ λέγειν καὶ πράττειν τὰ συμφέροντα παραγίνεται τοῖς μαθοῦσιν.
>
> *Isoc*.1.

The aim was to inspire readers to political action. Turning to the description of the individual works of Isocrates, under the main heading of ὁ πραγματικός τόπος Dionysius begins the section on the *Panegyricus* with a rhetorical question, of a kind that is repeated when he goes on to speak of other works. "τίς γὰρ οὐκ ἂν γένοιτο φιλόπολις τε καί φιλόδημος ἢ τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐπιτηδεύσειε τὴν πολιτικὴν καλοκἀγαθίαν ἀναγνοὺς τὸν Πανηγυρικόν; ".[55] Reading Isocrates will change the political consciousness of the reader. Moreover, the *Panegyricus* will do this through its historical content; Dionysius' discussion is limited to the retelling of the virtues of the men of old who liberated Greece from the barbarians, who form the subject of the work. The excellence of Isocrates' choice of subject matter depends upon the improving quality of the

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53 The idea that you had direct access to the author through his writings, and that criticism could reasonably include both, was not new. See Polybius, XII 24.1, and Pédech, ad.loc.(Budé ed.). and H.Homeyer, 'Zu Plutarchs De Malignitate Herodoti', *Klio* 49(1967),181-187.

54 See H.M. Hubbell, *The influence of Isocrates on Cicero, Dionysius and Aristides* Diss. Yale 1913, p.41ff

55 *Isoc* .5.

virtues it describes; it inspires its readers to imitation of these virtues. Dionysius commends Isocrates' method of choosing his subject matter because it ennobles his readers; of course he has felt its influence himself, and he now directs his readers to it. The influence of Isocrates as a model for Dionysius is important in the background to *A.R.*. The belief in the power of literature to make a political difference is the condition for Dionysius' aims in his work. Further, when he discusses the rebirth of philosophical rhetoric under Rome's influence, he draws attention to the particular relevance of his work; it is the greatness of the empire which inspires his history, but such a history is only possible at a time when under the example of the educated at Rome, political literature has been granted new vigour.

The need for history to provide examples of virtue is thus not an isolated idea, but rather forms part of the mimetic theory of writing, whereby virtue is perpetuated in a stream of admiration and imitation.[56] According to this theory, anyone embarking on any kind of composition first of all knows that his words will reflect his character, and is thus motivated to leave the most favourable impression of his character that he can to posterity. Secondly, he must know what constitutes true nobility, and this knowledge comes from reading, history or the speeches of historical figures, which will lead him in turn to realize how he can represent noble events in the best possible way. The judgment of what is best is taken partly from the use of historical models themselves (perhaps in the form of a ready-made analysis by Dionysius), and partly from the idea of benefit to readers, which is in turn the product of the mimetic theory, in that everything that is well written is well written because it inspires admiration in its readers, which can in turn lead to desire for imitation. In this way, to conclude his discussion of Thucydides, Dionysius examines the work of Thucydides' imitators, as if it were an integral part of the study of that author.[57]

These conceptions explain the terms in which good and bad history are assessed, and they add a historical dimension to what otherwise appear as unhistorical moral criteria; the

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56 Compare [Longinus] 13-14. See H.Flashar, 'Die Klassizistische Theorie der Mimesis," *Entretiens Hardt* 25(1979),79-111. for a discussion of Dionysius' theory in a context that goes back to Aristotle.

57 *Thuc.*52-55.

idea of Greece, and how it should be represented, which plays such an important part in the correct depiction of early Rome, is the result of Dionysius' wide reading of Greek authors. And indeed, this knowledge of Greece often leads him, as we have seen, to comparisons which are more favourable to Rome. Such a comparison shows Dionysius striving to create a sense of early Rome's own cultural identity. It is based not upon the application of an ahistorical ideal, but upon the process of evaluation in the light of other historical accounts, and, in rhetorical works, documents.

The moral duties of the historian, his knowledge of the truth, his way of describing it, are, for Dionysius, all part of one holistic process of education. The true explanation of events that his account of early Rome purports to be fits within this framework. His account of Romulus is an explanation of the glorious events surrounding Rome's foundation, which is based upon the character of the events themselves, and which depicts them in such a way as to make this greatness apparent. The difficulty that Dionysius himself acknowledges is that when dealing with very early periods, about which very little is known, there is the danger of seeming to invent. Naturally, a reconstruction is necessary with such scantily documented periods as the regal period, and his execution of this reconstruction fits with his historiographical theories. As well as his particular view of the regal period determining his choice of this early historical subject, Dionysius' decision to treat such an early period corresponds to his particular idea of benefit, and also to his views on the role of myths in historical accounts.

The practical use of history and the problems of early history.

Dionysius understood that different types of history presumed different types of audience, and he related to the practical use that history will be to his audience. The question of the readership and their benefit is one that Dionysius treats specifically when discussing Thucydides, where his words are an important side-light on the idea of the readership discernible in his own history. It comes towards the end of *Thuc.*, after Dionysius has critically examined at length the impenetrable and rebarbative language of the speeches. He then turns to certain critics, who have claimed that such a style should not be judged by the same terms as actual forensic writing, and was well suited to a historical work. They believe that Thucydides' writing was not aimed at the man in the street, but at those who had been thoroughly trained in rhetoric and philosophy.[58] Dionysius counters this view:

> πρὸς μὲν οὖν τοὺς οἰομένους μόνων εἶναι τῶν εὐπαιδεύτων ἀναγνῶναι τε καὶ συνεῖναι τὴν Θουκυδίδου διάλεκτον ταῦτα λέγειν ἔχω, ὅτι τὸ τοῦ πράγματος ἀναγκαῖόν τε καὶ χρήσιμον ἅπασιν (οὐδὲν γὰρ ‹ἂν› ἀναγκαιότερον γένοιτο οὐδὲ πολυωφελέστερον) ἀναιροῦσιν ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ βίου, ὀλίγων παντάπασιν ἀνθρώπων οὕτω ποιοῦντες, ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχουμέναις ἢ τυραννουμέναις πόλεσιν·
>
> *Thuc.*51.

For Dionysius then, the particularly beneficial quality of Thucydides' work should not have been restricted to a small, highly educated minority, in the same way that government by the many is preferable to government by the few. If we recall the preface to the history, the harmony is obvious between this criticism of Thucydides and Dionysius' own hopes of benefitting his readers. Furthermore, the twofold nature of Dionysius' aims, the two different kinds of audience, continues this democratic idea of benefit, in that the encouragement to Romans to live up to their ancestors is part of the imitative process of reading and living, while the political aim of helping the Greeks to understand Rome corresponds to a wider, but no less moral idea of the benefit of history.

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58 *Thuc.* 50.

When it comes to the idea of the direct practical use of history, mention of Polybius cannot be omitted. Like Dionysius, Polybius tells his readers, with great emphasis at the start of his work, that his choice of subject matter is the most noble possible.[59] Of course, Dionysius can not avoid contact with Polybius; he holds an identical view of the importance of the central theme, "how did Rome reach world domination?" Dionysius also shares his predecessor's concern with the importance of evidence and scientific research; together with the noble subject, it is the main criterion for any history worthy of the name at the start of his preface.[60] However, there are central areas where Dionysius must come into conflict with Polybius, and these centre on the possibility for the collection of evidence from sources other than eye-witnesses. The decision by Dionysius to end his history at the point where Polybius began his can usefully be seen as an epitome of Dionysius' relationship with Polybius. It implies both reverence for Polybius, as if his account makes revision redundant, but also suggests a significantly different historical method from the one Polybius propounded. Gozzoli singles out a different view of the importance of the reader as one of the key points of polemic on the part of Dionysius.[61] She isolates the two authors' views of the historian Theopompus as embodying this view. Polybius believed that emotion and ψυχαγωγία detracted from the true aim of history, and that what we might describe as cultural or local history was aimed specifically at ψυχαγωγία and the entertainment of readers.[62] This criticism is directed specifically at Theopompus at XVI 12, where the earlier historian is criticized for including records of events that go against the laws of what is both reasonable (εὔλογος) and possible (δυνατός), in this particular case in the narration of miracles. Polybius is strict in limiting his history to factual matters: here, matters that are within the field of reasoned discussion. The entertainment value of local history is presumably thought to depend on such things as mythological figures in

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59 Polybius I.1ff. At I.4. he puts forward the idea of universal history.

60 I.1.2.

61 S.Gozzoli, 'Polibio e Dionigi D'Alicarnasso', *SCO* 25(1976),149-176.

62 See Polybius IX.2, where histories that use genealogies and myths are dismissed and their entertainment value denounced in comparison with the benefit to be gained from factual history, which will recquire dedicated reading; ὠφελία and τέρψις are contrasted at XV.36.

local genealogies, or in the childish (παιδικῆς) observation of peculiar customs. Polybius regards such entertainments as unnecessary for his purpose, and not required by his reader.

For Dionysius' views on Theopompus, we can turn to the *Pomp.*. There, Dionysius attributes to Theopompus many of the virtues of the historian that Polybius claims for himself: recognition of the importance of autopsy or full time dedication to history.[63] Dionysius then points out that the many-sided nature of Theopompus' narrative does not lead merely to ψυχαγωγία, but is entirely beneficial.

> καὶ μηδεὶς ὑπολάβῃ ψυχαγωγίαν ταῦτ' εἶναι μόνον· οὐ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ πᾶσαν ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ὠφέλειαν περιέχει. ἵνα δὲ πάντ' ἀφῶ τἆλλα, τίς οὐχ ὁμολογήσει τοῖς ἀσκοῦσι τὴν φιλόσοφον ῥητορικὴν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πολλὰ μὲν ἔθη κιὰ βαρβάρων καὶ Ἑλλήνων ἐκμαθεῖν, πολλοὺς δὲ νόμους ἀκοῦσαι πολιτειῶν τε σχήματα, καὶ βίους ἀνδρῶν καὶ πράξεις καὶ τέλη καὶ τύχας;
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> *Pomp.*6.p.392-4

The answer to this rhetorical question may well be imagined to be Polybius. However, clearly any such answer is here implicitly dismissed. Dionysius envisages great benefit for the student from just the kinds of subjects Polybius rejects. He divorces them from the charge of ψυχαγωγία.

It is possible that the ground for holding out against Polybius is the difference of practical aim that Dionysius envisages for his history. Polybius believed his work would be directly useful to politicians, but was exclusive about this; his history was for one kind of reader only.[64] Gozzoli points out that the projected readership of Dionysius is much broader, and we have seen that the great politicians of Rome are only part of it. Certainly, the wide political significance with which he invests literary erudition is a significant rebuff to Polybius' narrow conception both of the role of history in political life, and of the role of literary value in history. Dionysius had a broader conception both of his readers and of the variety of subjects important to them. The blending of the literary and political in the role that Dionysius imagines for the student of rhetoric enables him to vindicate the inclusion of much material into his history against the forbidding achievement of Polybius. In this vindication, the first book of *A.R.* is crucial, where the evidence for the most important

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63 *Pomp.*6,p.392, Loeb.

64 IX.1 This leads in turn to the dismissal of entertaining history.

theme of the work, that the Romans were Greeks, is adduced, but at the same time it depends for this evidence upon material that Polybius would exclude, myth and local history. It sets out to treat these sources with the same criteria of rational assessment that could be applied to contemporary evidence. It is not for nothing that at the start of the work Dionysius discusses the importance of rigorous handling of evidence, even before he proclaims the importance of the subject of his work. Set against Polybius' criteria for history, the first book of *A.R.* is outrageous, but Dionysius sets out to meet the challenge.

In *A.R.* I the result of the application of rigorous criteria to mythical evidence is, naturally, a bizarre rationalization of myth. I include an illustration of the technique in the belief that it will aid the understanding of the more historical part of Dionysius' narrative: the account of Hercules' killing of Cacus. To begin, Dionysius alerts us to the fact that there are two versions of the story:

> Ἔστιν δὲ τῶν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δαίμονος τοῦδε λεγομένων τὰ μὲν μυθικώτερα, τὰ δ' ἀληθέστερα.
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> I.39.1.

What is interesting is that whereas one might imagine that this would allow Dionysius to narrate two very different accounts, what instead we find is two accounts that vary only in the degree to which the story is rationalized. In the mythical version, Heracles is driving the cattle of Geryon back from Spain, stops in the neighbourhood of Pallantium, attracted by the fertility of the spot, and falls asleep. At this, a local bandit, Cacus, finds the cattle and abducts a few of them. He has none of the monstrous characteristics that Virgil gives him. Rather Dionysius takes us into his thoughts:

> ἐν δὲ τούτῳ λῃστής τις ἐπιχώριος ὄνομα Κάκος περιτυγχάνει ταῖς βουσὶν ἀφυλάκτοις νεμομέναις καὶ αὐτῶν ἔρωτα ἴσχει. ὡς δὲ τὸν Ἡρακλέα κοιμώμενον αὐτοῦ κατέμαθεν, ἁπάσας μὲν οὐκ ἂν ᾤετο δύνασθαι λαθεῖν ἀπελάσας, καὶ ἅμα οὐδὲ ῥᾴδιον ὂν τὸ πρᾶγμα κατεμάνθανεν. ὀλίγας δέ τινας ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ ἄντρον, ἐν ᾧ πλησίον ὄντι ἐτύγχανε τὴν δίαιταν ποιούμενος, ἀποκρύπτεται ἔμπαλιν τῆς κατὰ φύσιν τοῖς ζῴοις πορείας ἐπισπώμενος ἑκάστην κατ' οὐράν.
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> I.39.2.

The narrative is very detailed, and nothing is left unexplained. A cause is attributed to every point, even if it is just a question of something happening to exist. This atmosphere of reason continues with Heracles' reaction to the discovery of the theft:

> ὡς δ' οὐχ εὕρισκεν ἐπὶ τὸ σπήλαιον ἀφικνεῖται τοῖς μὲν ἴχνεσι διαρτώμενος, οὐδὲν δὲ ἧττον οἰόμενος δεῖν διερευνήσασθαι τὸν χῶρον. τοῦ δὲ Κάκου πρὸ τῆς θύρας ἑστῶτος καὶ οὔτ' ἰδεῖν τὰς βοῦς φάσκοντος ἐρομένῳ οὔτ' ἐρευνᾶσθαι ἐπιτρέποντος αἰτουμένῳ τούς τε πλησίον ὡς δεινὰ πάσχοι ὑπὸ τοῦ ξένου ἐπιβοῶντος, ἀμηχανῶν ὁ Ἡρακλῆς ὅ τι χρήσεται τῷ πράγματι εἰς νοῦν βάλλεται προσελάσαι τῷ σπηλαίῳ τὰς ἄλλας βοῦς.
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> I.39.3.

This device leads to the discovery of the oxen, and Heracles kills Cacus with the same detachment in the narration. The whole episode is dominated by the careful progression from one step to another, and the focus on the minute decisions of the protagonists. There is nothing distinctively mythical, one might say.

However, the contrast that Dionysius predicts between the two versions is carried through. The degree of rationalization in the the version that is ὁ δ' ἀληθέστερος, ᾧ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐν ἱστορίας σχήματι τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ διηγησαμένων ἐχρήσαντο [65] verges on the extreme. Chapter 41 characterizes Heracles as the greatest general of his day. His journey through Italy was part of his mission to reform the world and make it more civilized. He destroyed tyrants, thwarted bandits, reconciled hostile neighbours and performed many feats of engineering; changing the courses of rivers, building cities in deserts, and roads through mountains. He was not just passing through Italy with his cattle. Rather, he was leading an army, and came on purpose to subjugate the country, and was detained because of the absence of his fleet and the recalcitrance of the inhabitants. Paradoxically, in this version Cacus is much more brutal and monstrous as the leader of a band of brigands, and he deliberately sets out to oppose Heracles. The version ends with the assertion that it was because of his great deeds that Heracles gained great fame and reputation, and that this led to honours that were ἰσόθεοι. The account is essentially an euhemeristic one, and closely resembles the one given by Diodorus Siculus.[66]

The idea of the ἱστορίας σχῆμα encapsulates the way in which Dionysius can attempt to meet Polybius' distrust of myth. It implies, if one interprets it cynically, that history is characterized by a certain method of discourse, that can be applied, even where the subject

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65 I.41.1

66 Diodorus, IV.17ff. Polybius' shadow hung just as heavily over Diodorus, who was likewise atttempting universal history. See E.Rawson, *Intellectual Life* pp.223-4.

matter is unsuitable. In other words, if something looks like history, then it is historical. However, if one brings to bear the mimetic theory of literary creation, it is a very short step from this cynical interpretation to one that is derived from a sympathetic consideration of the significance of *mimesis*. The assumption behind Dionysius' account of Heracles is that somewhere in the traditional accounts lies a body of fact, and that if this is given appropriate analysis, in accordance with the demands of historical writing, an improving and essentially true version will result. Dionysius is asserting the value of myth as a historical source, while simultaneously showing that it can be narrated with other aims than the gratuitous entertainment of its readers.[67]

The polemic with Polybius concerns the possibility for narration of early history with the historical criteria that Polybius set for his treatment of contemporary events. It is clear from the preface to *A.R* that a rigorous examination of evidence will fit the grandeur of Rome, and the rational character of the myths in the first book, like the antiquarian researches, is directed to the production of a historical account of a subject that seems to us beyond the scope of history. It was only with the growth of antiquarianism that such ideas were possible; by Dionysius' time, Varro had made euhemeristic research respectable at Rome, and had himself used in in his investigations into very distant pre-history. For Polybius, the field had yet to be expanded in this way. The technique for dealing with myth, as demonstrated in the versions of the story of Heracles and Cacus, is essentially to analyse the figures as though they were real, investigating their motives and thoughts. This is the least possible; it is what we find in the version presented as more like a myth. Dionysius prefers to go beyond this, to an account that makes Heracles into a historical figure.

To sum up, we can refer again to the idea of practical use for history. Myth for Dionysius does not imply ψυχαγωγία, but rather contains the evidence necessary to prove that the Romans were in origin Greek, and from the earliest times, behaved better than the Greeks themselves. The justification of his choice of subject matter is the importance of his

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67 Let us not forget that myth is still regarded as historical source today. See the attack on the idea that myth conceals historical raw material by C.Sourvinou-Inwood, '"Myth" and History: On Herodotus III.48 and 50-53', *Opusc. Ath.* 17(1988),167-82.

political aims, the benefits that he hopes his work will bring, both to Greeks and to Romans. He has an ambitious view of the effect of his work upon his audience, and the idea of improving their understanding, as described in the preface, depends upon helping them to recognize the Greek origin, and in describing, in appropriate language, the models of morality and statesmanship that Rome brought forth from the earliest times. It is important to make a link with the processes of mimetic composition. The presentation of an event to bring out its improving and beneficial quality depends upon giving a true version of events. Knowledge of the truth is, for Dionysius, the result of his reading, of the awareness of how a true and beneficial historical account should be written. The historicity of his work is thus created through the reminiscence of classical historians. It is from his dependence upon models for historical discourse, without which no good historical account could be produced, that the events he narrates are shown to be historical.

Imitation in the *Antiquitates*.

We must now look in more detail into the imitation of classical models in *A.R.*. It has long been the object of study to isolate exactly those places in Dionysius' history where the direct imitation of specific models can be discerned.[68] This research was summed up by Usher, who re-examined supposed echoes in the speeches of *A.R.*[69] Usher points out that classicizing elements are a distinctive feature of Dionysius' style, and for this analysis, his study is indispensable. By far the most important aspect of Dionysius' relationship to classical authors is in the creation of his plain and unobtrusive prose, which is really where the theory of mimetic composition is most effectively executed. Usher draws a rather negative conclusion, however, when it comes to a more problematic field, the specific localized use of a particular classical model.

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[68] J.Flierle *Ueber Nachahmungen des Demosthenes, Thucydides und Xenophon in den Reden der Römischen Archäologie des Dionysius von Halicarnass.* Leipzig 1890. S.Ek, *Herodotismen in der römischen Archäologie des Dionys von Halikarnass*, Diss. Lund, 1942.

[69] S.Usher 'The style of Dionysius of Halicarnassus in the *Antiquitates Romanae*', *ANRW* 30.1(1982),817-838.

> Dionysius succeeded in accomplishing something more difficult than the mere assimilation of Attic authors' words and phrases. Most of his speeches are closely relevant to the political debates of which they are a part; and since these debates have almost no counterparts in Greek history and oratory of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., opportunities for close modelling are few.

Apart from ignoring the great influence of Greek historiography upon the shaping of the Roman historical traditions, Usher's conclusion seems to me to deny what for some is the predominant feature of Dionysius' narrative, that even if one cannot consistently draw an exact parallel, there is the constant sense that one has read it somewhere before.[70] It is important, if one is attempting to describe how Dionysius creates a picture of regal culture, to see whether, and in what way, this sense of recognition contributes to our understanding of the character of Rome and the nature of her inhabitants and their behaviour. Further, the resemblance to Greece must bring up the question of national stereotypes, and the importance that a classical Greek style has for furthering one of the major stated aims of the narrative, that is, the representation of Rome as Greek.

The account of the destruction of Alba Longa under Tullus Hostilius is a central point in Dionysius' narrative of the regal period. Dionysius makes it by far the most dominant part of the reign of this king, and narrates it very fully, with several debates and long battle scenes, including the elaborately treated episode of the Horatii and Curiatii, while framing it with rather plain accounts of the reigns of Numa and Ancus Marcius. The reason for this emphasis is clear; the idea of Rome's expansion and the envy of her neighbours was drawn out throughout the account of Romulus' reign, and the conflict between Rome and her mother city provides the opportunity for Dionysius to bring into relief the justice of Rome's rise against the narrowness of her opponents in a context which lends a sense of finality to the idea, culminating, as it does, in the destruction of Alba. Of course, the relationship of Rome to Alba is emblematic of Rome's treatment of her subjects later in

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[70] In the words of one critic, for whom Dionysius should have been able to exercise self-restraint, and realize that he lacked the necessary understanding to write a history, "Für den Kenner der klassischen Literatur ist es ein Graus, die von echtem, wahrem Pathos getragenen Reden eines Thucydides oder Demosthenes hier in leeres rhetorisches Phrasengeklingel aufgelöst zu sehen." H.G.Strebel, *Wertung und Wirkung des Thucydideischen Geschischtswerkes in der griechisch-römischen Literatur*, Diss. Munich, 1934,p.47.

history; and, as Dionysius explains in his preface, the Greeks of the early empire can learn from Rome's foreign policy in the regal period.

My examination of this text is shaped by the need to understand more fully the nature of Dionysius' imitation of classical authors; it is not, however, a comprehensive survey of every reminiscence within the episode. Rather, it is directed particularly towards Dionysius' use of themes and phrases from Thucydides, with the aim of finding out whether these have a particular contribution to make to the meaning of the episode, and if so, of what kind; or whether they are simply otiose clichés.

The war with Alba and the use of Thucydidean national characteristics.

The reign of Tullus Hostilius begins with the start of *A.R.* III. The first chapter of the book describes the election of the king; Dionysius is at pains to stress the constitutional nature of the office. After the death of Numa the control of government has reverted to the senate, which, abiding by the decision of the δῆμος, decides to continue with the institution of royalty. Tullus Hostilius is chosen by the *interreges*.[71] After recording his descent (his grandmother was the woman most dominant in the peace concluded by the Sabine women) Dionysius tells us that Tullus' first deed was the redistribution of land that had accrued to the monarchy. It was land that had originated in conquests by Romulus, which had been used by the king for the provision of produce destined for public sacrifice, and which had subsequently passed through Numa to Tullus. It was no longer a δημοσία κτῆσις, but had become part of the royal κλῆρος. The donation of this land to the landless endeared him to the people, particularly to the poor. Dionysius describes it as an action motivated by φιλανθρωπία. The opening impression is of a king not only motivated by a sense of propriety, but also working within a wholly constitutional framework, and eager not to exploit for his own benefit the hereditary advantages of monarchy and the fruits of conquest. His generosity is exemplified by the idea that he will use his own πατρῴα κτῆσις for public sacrifice as well as living off it.[72]

A brief comparison with Livy can shed light on Dionysius' technique. It is by no means certain that the image of Tullus in Livy is the product of a more reliable or well-established tradition than the one that Dionysius uses. In fact, it would seem likely that the violence that characterizes Livy's account of the reign is his own invention, and an integral part of the somewhat schematic characterizations of the kings by which Livy explores the possible variations of monarchy, in his attempt to make the regal period an essential preparation for the establishment of liberty and the republic. However, if we keep this in

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71 III.1.1-2.
72 III.1.5.

mind, comparing the opening of Livy's account with Dionysius' is interesting. At I.22.1. Livy records the same descent and mechanism of election as Dionysius, and then introduces us to the king himself:

> Hic non solum proximo regi dissimilis sed ferocior etiam quam Romulus fuit. Cum aetas uiresque tum auita quoque gloria animum stimulabat. Senescere igitur ciuitatem otio ratus undique materiam excitandi belli quaerebat.
>
> Livy I.22.2

This is very different from Dionysius' philanthropist, who, throughout his reign, seems to be coerced into war by the aggressive and treacherous actions of his neighbours. The war with Alba is the first, and Dionysius stresses that the cause was the raving resentment of Cluilius, inspired by envy at the success of Rome.[73] However, in spite of his mental instability, Cluilius realized that he could not persuade the Albans, from whom the founders of Rome had come, to send out an army without δικαίαι προφάσεις.[74] Thus he initiated a series of unofficial plundering raids into Roman land. These are reciprocated, and then both cities attempt to get in first with their ambassadors to state that the other has broken their old treaty. However, this in itself was only another πρόφασις, enabling war to be openly declared. Then, after the mysterious death of Cluilius, his successor, Mettius Fufetius, ἀνὴρ οὔτε πολέμου ἡγεμὼν ἱκανὸς οὔτε εἰρήνης βέβαιος φύλαξ, realized that war would be disadvantageous. Besides, he discovered the threat of a revolt in Veii and Fidenae, and managed to persuade the Romans to join Alba in order to defeat the common enemy.

It may be gathered from this sketchy summary that the kinds of processes involved in this war are based on the characteristics of the one described by Thucydides. The character of the warfare itself, small incursions into the enemy's land, resembles the first ten years of the attacks of Sparta against Athens. Then there is the question of motivation for war as distinct from the excuse for it; Dionysius sums up the diplomatic moves of Alba and Rome as προφάσεις at III.4.1. Thucydides' famous summary of the causes for the Peloponnesian war is clearly a model.[75] In his criticism of Thucydides, Dionysius

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73 III.2.1.
74 III.2.2.
75 Thucydides I.23.6.

complains that Thucydides elaborated on the excuse, or less true πρόφασις, for the war before he deals with the true cause, thus narrating the events at Epidamnus, Corcyra and Potidaea before giving the Pentacontaetia.[76] In reverse, as it were, he prefaces his account of the diplomatic excuses by describing the personal ambitions of Cluilius, the real cause. It is not impossible to see that in comparison with the cause of the Peloponnesian war, that of the Alban war, obviously a very much smaller affair, is described in a way that makes the motivation for it seem deliberately trivial. Essentially the causes for both wars are the same; at Alba it is the fear of the growth of the new city. However, this is scaled down to the level of the individual's φθόνος.[77] This makes it much easier to see which side has the more respectable motivation.

Then there is the idea that Veii and Fidenae are engaged in an ἀπόστασις, made more particularly Thucydidean by their motivation, which was a desire for freedom based on an assessment of their increased power as a result of growing prosperity.[78] As in the revolt of Mytilene in Thucydides III, Rome and Alba are alerted by friendly fifth-columnists. Rallying the Romans to join Alba against the conspirators, Fufetius openly recalls Cleon in the Mytilenean debate, claiming that not just ἀπόστασις, but ἐπανάστασις is planned.[79] In any event, Dionysius makes it seem that Rome's relationship to Veii and Fidenae can be adequately described in the terms that are used for Athens' domination of her allies.

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76 *Thuc.*10.p.484ff; summed up at the start of 11.p.490.

77 III.1.1-2.

78 III.6.1.

79 Thucydides III.39.2. Are we meant to remember Cleon at this point? Dionysius does not appear to take into account any of the features of the Thucydidean context, apart from the obvious fact that both concern revolts. The central questions of the Mytilenian debate, concerning the power of rhetoric to influence moral decisions, and the contrast between expediency and justice are entirely absent from Dionysius' debate. Does his use of Cleon's words contribute bad associations to Fufetius? It may be that Dionysius is attempting such a characterization, and perhaps the echo of Cleon is intended to substantiate the character judgment made on Fufetius' first appearance. If so, this contradicts the impression of Fufetius' honesty that Dionysius creates, by repeating his analysis of Fufetius' motives in Fufetius' own statement of them to the Romans. The echo of Cleon, then, would be the only hint that we should mistrust Fufetius. Such a clash of suggestions can best be attributed to Dionysius' clumsy handling of his models, and his lack of sophistication when it comes to understanding the relationship of language in speeches to characterization. It may be possible to argue that in the end Fufetius turns out to have had dishonourable intentions all along, and that perhaps here, in his speech to the Romans, the echo of Cleon is a subtle way of shadowing his honesty. However, this is probably to overestimate the potential of a small reminiscence.

There follows a debate, consisting of two pairs of speeches. In the first pair, Fufetius and Tullus discuss the conclusion of the present conflict, and Tullus suggests that most of the population of Alba move to Rome. The second pair involves the question of whether Rome or Alba should rule the other. There are a number of direct resemblances to Thucydides. The moral duties of a colony to her mother city was the question which dominated the conflict between Corinth and Corcyra in Thucydides I. Tullus' presentation of the glories of the Roman way of life is modelled in part on Pericles' funeral speech, and like its model begins with an exhortation to remember ancestral glory.[80] Tullus begins by countering Fufetius' charge that it was the duty of the colony to make the first move towards peace with the claim that Rome was not the aggressor, but only defending itself, with words that definitely echo Pericles' speech to the Athenians at the end of Thuc I.[81] He then continues, inviting the Albans to become residents of Rome, by juxtaposing the growth of Rome and her success in attracting the Sabines and Etruscans, with a prediction

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80 Flierle thought Fufetius' speech contained substantial imitation of Alcibiades' to the Spartans at Thuc.VI.89ff. However, this is based on a very superficial resemblance of the opening phrases of both speeches and the fact that after the opening, both speakers launch into their *narratio*. In fact, as this section illustrates Flierle's method rather well it is worth representing more fully. The two openings are as follows:

ἀναγκαῖον περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς διαβολῆς πρῶτον ἐς ὑμᾶς εἰπεῖν, ἵνα μὴ χεῖρον τὰ κοινὰ τῷ ὑποπτῷ μοῦ ἀκροάσθαι.

Thuc VI.89.1.

ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι μοι δοκεῖ τὰς αἰτίας πρῶτον ἐπιδεῖξαι, δι' ἃς ἐγὼ πρῶτος ἠξίωσα περὶ καταλύσεως τοῦ πολέμου διαλέγεσθαι, οὔτε μάχῃ κρατηθεὶς ὑφ' ὑμῶν οὔτ' εἰς ἄλλην κατακεκλεισμένος ἀνάγκην οὐδεμίαν, ἵνα μή με ὑπολάβητε τῆς μὲν οἰκείας δυνάμεως ἀσθένειαν κατεγνωκότα, τὴν δὲ ὑμετέραν ἰσχὺν δυσκαταγώνιστον εἶναι νομίζοντα εὐπρεπῆ ζητεῖν ἀπαλλαγὴν τοῦ πολέμου

III.7.2.

Flierle comments, "Diese Stelle gibt ein bezeichnendes Bild von der Nachahmungsweise des Dion.: Die gedrungene Knappheit des Thuc. und der endlose Wortschwall, die weitshweifenden Erweiterungen des Rhetors." Perhaps this can be looked at another way, as a kind of improving imitation, as excessive *gedrungene Knappheit* in Thucydides was one of his major faults for Dionysius (e.g. *Thuc.*28ff). However, it is hard to believe in the echo of Alcibiades' speech, or if one can, to derive significance from it, particularly as there is no similarity in context or thought. One can only describe such imitation as very general imitation of the kinds of phrases and devices that characterize the speeches of the classical authors, for the isolation of which Flierle's treatise is very useful.

81 πολέμου δὲ οὐκ ἄρξομεν, ἀρχομένους δὲ ἀμυνόμεθα, Thuc.I.144.2;cf. οὐδ' ἤρξαμεν αὐτοὶ πρότεροι τοῦ πολέμου, ἄρξαντας δὲ ἠμυμάμεθα III.9.2.

that the Albans will stick to their ancestral hearths.[82] Fufetius' reply fulfils the prediction, as the Albans refuses to migrate, and this leads to the second pair of speeches on whether Alba or Rome should rule the other.

The arguments advanced by the Albans include their racial purity; the natural law that parents should command their offspring; the unchanged nature of the Alban race, as opposed to the Romans, who have admitted barbarians as citizens;[83] and generally the well established and ancient, unchanging nature of the Alban culture.[84]

The Roman response involves the citation of both Athens and Sparta as precedents. Sparta ruled over the Dorians, by whom she was founded;[85] Athens is the precedent for a policy of racial openness. This then leads into quite close imitation of Pericles' funeral oration. Like the Athenians, the Romans are only interested in virtue, not money, when it comes to holding public office.[86] Tullus adds the further point that racial origin is not important. This does not correspond to anything specific in Pericles' speech, although the general idea of openness is one that Pericles stresses, and it includes pride in the contrast with Sparta; Athens does not believe in ξενηλασία.[87]

The analyses of national ideologies that Thucydides puts into the mouths of the Corinthians as they incite the Spartans to war reemerge in the Alban debate as a further proof that Dionysius is making us think of Thucydides. The Corinthians contrast the dynamism of the Athenians and their constant innovation, with the caution, conservatism and lack of ambition of the Spartans. Like the Spartans, the Albans want to keep what they have. However, when it comes to the question of the rights of the metropolis, Tullus'

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82 III.9.7.

83 The barbarians are the Etruscans and Sabines; Dionysius had established in the researches of his first book that the Latins and Albans were both Greek.

84 III.10.3-6.

85 Founded as a colony: τοῦ Δωρικοῦ γένους ὅθεν ἀπῳκίσθη, III.11.2.

86 Thuc.II.37.1.; *A.R.*III.11.5.

87 Thuc.II.39.1. This is highly significant, in that it helps justify an emphasis on Thucydides as a source for Athenian ideology. It would be difficult and perverse to cite the orators for an Athens that pursued a policy of racial open-ness. Thucydides plays down the idea of authochthony entirely, but in some versions of what constituted the most notable characteristics of Athenian culture, it is very important. Even though the question of racial open-ness is not one that is derived directly from Thucydides' version of Athens' characteristics, it is one that fits in with the general picture of Athens in Thucydides, and does not fit with some other versions of Athenian ideology.

citation of Sparta should be seen as outweighing the Albans claims. Although the Albans are made to resemble the Spartans, it is the Romans who can actually use them overtly as precedent. It is quite clear that for Dionysius, Tullus' arguments are victorious; the precedent of both Athens and Sparta is an important step in his argument.

This contrast between the ideologies of Rome and Alba resurfaces at the conclusion of the Alban war, after the episode of the Horatii and Curiatii, and the treachery of Fufetius at the battle against Veii and Fidenae, where only Tullus' decisiveness prevents defeat. Tullus decides that the only way to prevent recurrent conflict between the two states is to raze Alba and evacuate its inhabitants to Rome. The whole of Tullus' speech to the Albans is an object lesson in the humane treatment of the conquered. Tullus believes the pleas of the Alban δήμος that they knew nothing of the treachery of Fufetius, and then points out that it is only because he is aware that the πλῆθος were not involved in the conspiracy that he can propose taking advantage of Rome's power to punish those responsible, rather than simply put up with injustice because of ties of kinship.[88] The response of the Albans to the resettlement in Rome is the best indication of the character of the city that has yet been given. The poor are pleased, and the aristocracy find they have no option.[89] This certainly reinforces the analysis of Alba as an aristocratic state, in the Spartan mould, where the aristocracy's ideals represent those of the state; obviously here this means the desire to maintain the traditions and preserve the ancient heritage. All that is in contrast to the populist perception of Rome's king, and the chord he strikes with the people of Alba.

However, it is essential to the way that Dionysius writes that a clear cut attribution of imitated ideologies is very difficult to to produce. It is possible that it is the virtues of the Athenians, open-ness and merit as a criterion for office, that lead Rome to victory, while the faults of the Spartans, narrow-mindedness and a exaggerated respect for tradition, contributed to the destruction of Alba. However, it is made clear several times that Fufetius was not popular with the Albans themselves, and this is brought out in the final settlement of the dispute. Although it is far from clear that the Albans would have been displeased

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88 III.29.3-4.

89 III.30.1.

with the result had Fufetius' conspiracy succeeded, it is important that it is Fufetius' own treachery that was responsible for bringing the situation to a head and for creating the circumstances which made the destruction of Alba necessary. Dionysius seems to have difficulty in coming clean and making the Albans as a whole represent a set of undesirable attitudes, perhaps wishing not to tarnish Rome by imputing a disreputable national identity to her mother city. The continued emphasis on the individual clouds the question of national characteristics.

Can the aristocratic tendency at Alba can be thought to rest upon an explicit difference in constitution from Rome? Dionysius does not make this explicit. Rome takes its own constitution from Alba by popular decision at the start of Romulus' reign, but Romulus does, of course, make significant adjustments by inventing the senate and people's assembly. However, Alba has some kind of democratic structure; Cluilius and Fufetius are not kings, but some kind of elected high magistrate and a general.[90] The main difference must really be seen in the democratic style of Tullus and the autocratic one of Fufetius. Dionysius presents a confusing picture of the relationship of the Albans to Fufetius. Although he kept his conspiracy secret, it is unclear, apart from his personal unpopularity, whether the Albans would prefer Rome to Fufetius. They hesitate to enter into war with Rome at the start of the book, but this does not seem to be due to any principle, but rather to doubt of their success.[91] After the failure of the Curiatii, Fufetius becomes an object of public mistrust, as the Albans blame him for losing the war. Their mistrust was compounded by his contravention of the Alban constitution, by holding an office for 3 years. However, he he was doing this on the instructions of Tullus.[92] In short, Dionysius' analysis that the poor of Alba were happy to leave their homeland comes as something of a surprise. It is never suggested that they were happy to do this before, nor that they could be distinguished in their opinions from the aristocracy. To sum up, the resemblances to Spartan and Athenian ideology cannot really be said to make a weak division of national characteristics any clearer.

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90 III.2.1; III.5.3, στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ.
91 III.5.3; 6.4.
92 III.23.3.

Improvement on Thucydides.

The resemblance to Thucydides, then, can be seen to act as an independent level of meaning that reinforces the themes of the narrative, but only up to a point. Tullus' evocation of Roman life encourages a parallel with Athens, and this is certainly important, particularly since it is to the idealized picture of Athens in Pericles' funeral oration. However, the contrast between Rome and Alba only suggests the most superficial reproduction of the differences between Athens and Sparta which is not reinforced by distinct echoes. It is, therefore, time to look at the question from a different angle. Instead of taking as a starting point the events that are narrated, we can begin, as Dionysius' views on writing suggest we should, at the other end, with the historian and the production of his work. After the fall of Alba, Dionysius related briefly the wars between Rome and Latium. He describes the character of the warfare thus:

> ὁ πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοεθνεῖς πόλεμος, προὔβη δὲ ἄχρι πενταετοῦς χρόνου πολιτικός τις γενόμενος καὶ ἀρχαϊκός. οὔτε γὰρ ἐκ παρατάξεως ὅλοις τοῖς στρατεύμασι πρὸς ὅλα συμβάλλουσι μεγάλη συμφορὰ καὶ φθόρος ὁλοσχερὴς συνέβη οὔτε πόλις αὐτῶν οὐδεμία πολέμῳ κρατηθεῖσα κατασκαφῆς ἢ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς ἀνηκέστου συμφορᾶς ἐπειράθη· ἀλλ' ἐμβαλόντες εἰς τὴν ἀλλήλων γῆν ὑπὸ τὴν ἀκμὴν τοῦ σίτου καὶ προνομεύσαντες ἀπῆγον ἐπ' οἴκου τὰς δυνάμεις διαμειβόμενοι τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους.
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> III.34.4

This is an even more exact replica of the early stages of the Peloponnesian war. The word ἀρχαϊκός sums up the particular nature of Dionysius' treatment.[93] It is not clear whether the style of battle is old from the point of view of those engaged in the war, that is the early Romans, or from the point of view of the narrator or reader, whose attention has been drawn to the similarity with Thucydides and his period.

In the same way, Dionysius draws attention to the resemblance of the episode to classical Greek occurrences by making the protagonists refer to Greek cities. Tullus claims both Athens and Sparta as precedent; we can recollect Dionysius' claim in the preface that

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93 cf. Romulus' citation of archaic Greek precedent for the seizure of the Sabine women, above, p.63f.

Rome is greater than either Sparta or Athens.[94] Author and character again overlap as Tullus points out the importance of φιλανθρωπία as the basis for Rome's success.[95] He then alludes to the maxim put forward by the Athenians in the Melian dialogue, that the strong will rule where they can.[96] However, the *mimesis* of this sentiment serves to point out the superiority of Rome over Athens. Rome derives her power from the participation of her citizens, rather than through the sinister ruthlessness that the maxim evokes in its original context. Thus while the war in which Rome is engaged recalls the war that has, paradoxically, yet to occur within the historical time scale, she is shown to be superior to any party in that war. Simultaneously, Dionysius can be said to be surpassing Thucydides. In writing an account of Rome that stresses the unequivocal virtue of her rise, he re-uses themes from Thucydides' work in a way that is morally preferable. Thucydides used the maxim to cast his own city in a bad light; Dionysius re-uses it for the opposite effect. In this particular case, we can compare Dionysius' criticism of Thucydides with his history, as Dionysius found this sentiment totally bewildering in its original context.[97] The same kind of improvement occurred with the question of true motives and excuses at the start of the Alban war; Dionysius isolated Cluilius' envy, a mean, personal motivation, which left no doubt as to the moral position of Rome.

Improvement on Thucydides, with greater feeling of loyalty towards Rome than Thucydides ever shows to Athens, can again be seen in the way in which Rome deals with the survivors of the razing of Alba, or in the treatment of the citizens of Fidenae, when eventually the revolt there is ended by a siege. Although from similar situations in Thucydides one might expect the conclusions of wars with treacherous allies to end in the slaughtering of innocent inhabitants, in the sacking of Alba, all the inhabitants are saved and transported to Rome.[98] Not only that; they can take their possessions with them and

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94 I.3.1-2

95 III.11.5.

96 Thuc V.105.2

97 See above p.72.

98 It is interesting that Dionysius does not make the sack of Alba the excuse for a tragic set piece, since the sacking of cities had been exploited for this purpose for centuries. Servius tells us that Ennius' account of this event was a model for Virgil's account of the sack of Troy; see O.Skutsch, *The Annals of Q.Ennius* (Oxford,1985),p.179f.

are given grants of public land. The refugees are welcomed to Rome with all Tullus' characteristic φιλανθρωπία. In the case of Fidenae, which is more clearly a case of ἀπόστασις, it is only the leaders of the revolt who are killed. The rest of the inhabitants are allowed to enjoy the fruits of their city as before.

The humane treatment of the vanquished is the key-stone to the superiority of Rome's expansion, as portrayed by Dionysius, over Thucydides' picture of the Athenian empire. With this in mind, the resemblance of the events and the character of the warfare to Thucydides is certainly strong enough to keep classical Greece before the reader as a foil to the much more impartial account of the much more philanthropic growth of Rome.

My aim in presenting the narrative in such a way as to bring out the reminiscences of Thucydides has been two-fold. First of all to attempt to define how it is that the character of regal Rome is made to resemble that of fifth century Greece, and then to observe how loose or how precise is the use of Thucydides as a model, in how specific a way particular echoes bring with them connotations from their original contexts. The presentation of the text has been determined by the need to find answers to these methodological problems, and although distorting, this is, I hope, vindicated by the conclusions. The recollection of classical Greece in Dionysius' narrative of the regal period is not simply a matter of language and style. Although the use of specific models does not necessarily bring the original context to bear upon the character of the individual or event in a more general way, specific reminiscences do reinforce the claims that Dionysius makes for the Romans, that they were not only Greeks, but also better than the Greeks themselves. The recollection of Thucydides is firm and constant enough for it to be apparent that the regal Romans behaved better than any one party in the Peloponnesian war.

The confusion remarked on before between authorial interpretation of events and the assessment of the protagonists is present again in the resemblance of Rome to Greece. Tullus' claim of Greek precedent displaces the narrative from any easy rational location in historical time. This particular moment, however, only draws our attention to the much more widespread confusion represented by the resemblance to Greece in the depiction of

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Perhaps Dionysius was deliberately restraining himself from what could have been perceived as too obvious a piece of gratuitous elaboration.

the processes of war. However, these confusions can not really be said to be accidental or even unwitting. Neither is it correct to say that they are determined by Dionysius' desire to implement a rhetorical plan. Rather, the imitation of Greece responds to Dionysius' conception of the character of the regal period, a belief that rests upon his research into the origins of Rome. Once he had decided that Rome was a Greek city, the options as to how to imagine and depict the events that occurred in that city were limited; the prefiguration of ancient Greece naturally leads to resemblance to the ancient Greek historians. Sometimes, the use of classical models draws attention to a specific event in Greek history, and is sufficient to demonstrate that in a comparison with Greece, Rome can be seen to be superior. This comparison is implemented not just on the level of analysis, but also within the words and actions of the historical characters themselves. At other times the resemblance is less specific; however, it is the overall effect of slight recollection of Greece, both in terms of language and of situation, which provides a background against which strong echoes show up.

The moral superiority of Rome to Greece is a central feature in defining the particular character of the Roman regal period. The fine classicizing words and deeds of the protagonists demonstrate this superiority to the reader; it is assumed without question that the effect of the text upon the reader will not in any way depend upon whether the evocation of Greece is chronologically credible, or, more important, whether there is anything to be considered other than the effect of the text itself. After all, Dionysius' decision to treat the Romans as Greeks stems from independently grounded analyses, and he does not rely for proof of this contention upon the success of the representation itself. His use of classical models is determined by the particular aim that he has for his history. In particular, when describing Rome's early expansion, the resemblance to Thucydides is important for advancement of the idea of Roman humanity and openness. The rather haphazard and imprecise result of trying to press individual echoes suggests that imitation of Thucydides serves the other, explicit, aims of the narrative, and does not really have an independent coherence distinct from these aims.

A Final Example: Regal Political Relationships.

This investigation into Dionysius' rhetorical writings, into his theories of historiography, into the technique of imitation of Thucydides, and into his depiction of the important currents within the regal period, have all described aspects the same process. It is the process of writing an historical account where the description of events are determined by strongly held beliefs, that extend from the consideration of the historical material only at the the very initial stages of composition.

A final, and important, example is Dionysius' depiction of political processes at Rome. Schulze points out that although Dionysius recognized different political groups that did exist in the republic, *plebs* and *populus*, *assidui* and *proletarii*, these disappear in the narration of events, to be replaced by an all-purpose distinction between δῆμος and ὀλίγοι.[99] Within the regal period, the matter is somewhat different, since it is during this time that Rome's political institutions are formed. Although the first inhabitants of Rome, an undifferentiated πλῆθος, approve the continuation of the constitution of the Albans, this only means that they agree to continue having a king.[100] Romulus straight away creates the distinction between plebs and patricians, the tribes, and the senate; for the first and last of which, he followed direct example from Greece.[101] Prior to this, there has been no kind of analysis of the nature of Alban society; the process by which Romulus had access to Greek precedent is left unclear; there is nothing to make us think that there was an unbroken tradition from the time that the Greeks who were the ancestors of the Romans came to Italy. And there is very little in the ensuing narrative concerning the roles of these institutions. The elections of the kings reinforce the picture of democracy, as senate and people play an important role, and occasionally a decision is referred to the senate.[102] When it comes to the differentiation of the interests of these different groups, Dionysius is vague. During the first interregnum, tension arises between different factions in the senate,

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99 Schultze, 'Dionysius of Halicarnassus and his audience', p.130f.

100II.4.

101II.8.1-2. II.12.3-4. cf. superiority to Greece in social openness, II.17, and religion II.19, and in the placing sons under the jurisdiction of fathers, II.26.

102The Sabine women ask their permission to act as ambassadors, II.45.3-4.

and when Numa comes to power, he relieves the poor and placates the patricians.[103] However, when Tullus and Ancus come to the throne, their first actions, the distribution of land, and the revival of Numa's religious institutions, are measures responding not to any social disturbances, but are more an indication of the kings' own interests and characters.[104] And so it is for almost the whole of the narrative of the regal period. The battles whereby the city expands are always described in terms of the king, and the enemy city. It is the king who hears foreign ambassadors and sends out his own.[105] If the constitution is mixed, the role of the senate is very understated.[106] In the reigns of the last two kings, the nature of the tradition was clearly different, and stories of personal intrigue dominating their reigns, but even for the earlier kings, the personal importance of the king in shaping events eclipses the political divisions which are said to exist. Suddenly, however, at the start of the reign of Servius Tullius, we hear of the indignation of the patricians at the diminution of senatorial power, their recognition of the disparity between their own and the people's interests, and the cunning of the king in harnessing popular support.[107] A political structure has emerged for which we are totally unprepared.

Gabba suggested that the political issues were those of the Gracchi: Dionysius began his account of Servius by following Fabius Pictor, but abandons him, to tap a later, post-Gracchan, source.[108] Gabba responds to the obtrusion of what appears as an anachronism in Dionysius' account. By focussing on sources, however, a more basic idea is obscured. The sudden appearance of a different political structure is typical of the account as a whole. Dionysius' dependence upon earlier authors as models for effective writing leaves no space for a well defined sense of the historical uniqueness of the period described. There is no reason why political events within the period should have a mutual

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[103]II.62.

[104]III.1.4ff. III.36.

[105]E.g. from the Etruscans to Tarquinius Priscus, III.50; Ancus to the Latins, III.37.3. Tullus postpones an audience with the Alban ambassadors, III.3,3.

[106]As Schultze points out, in the transition from monarchy to republic, Dionysius lays particular emphasis on the king/consul equivalence, and upon continuity with the regal constituion. op.cit.,p.131.

[107]IV.10.4ff.

[108]E.Gabba, 'Studi su Dionigi da Alicarnasso II, il regno di Servio Tullio', *Athenaeum* n.s.39(1961),98-121.

coherence. Some things, such as the grim fratricide of the last remaining Horatius,[109] or the character of warfare between Rome and the Latins,[110] can be explicitly old fashioned; other things, like these political processes, or Servius' response to them, can seem too modern. However, the function of the early Romans as moral models and exemplary Greeks, and the view of writing which leads Dionysius to represent them as he does, imparts no fixed temporal identity against which modernity, antiquity, or anachronism can be judged. Further, there is no need to imagine a distinction between those authors who helped Dionysius write a good history by example, such as Thucydides, and those upon whom he actually depended for information, the lost annalists. The process of reading earlier writers to be able to form a picture of what is likely to have happened is helped in the same way by both.

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[109]Dionysius draws particular emphasis to the savagery of early Rome, something that he depicts nowhere else:

> οὕτω δὲ ἄρα μισοπόνηρα καὶ αὐθάδη τὰ τῶν τότε Ῥωμαίων ἤθη καὶ φρονήματα ἦν καί, εἴ τις αὐτὰ βούλοιτο παρὰ τὰ νῦν ἔργα καὶ τοὺς ἐφ' ἡμῶν ἐξετάζειν βίους, ὠμὰ καὶ σκληρὰ καὶ τῆς θηριώδους οὐ πολὺ ἀπέχοντα φύσεως . . .
>
> A.R.III.21.7.

[110]See above, p.99.

Conclusions.

This account of Dionysius' representation of the regal period has isolated as the main feature of the narrative, a lack of interest in the creation of a consistent sense of the character for the period, at least in terms of its political or cultural development. At the same time, the narrative is shaped very strongly by the implementation of the predictions which Dionysius makes in the prologue, that Rome's virtue can be vindicated in the behaviour of her first inhabitants. The rather negative result of the enquiry into the localized significance of imitation in the narrative has helped to bring Dionysius' priorities into order; his political aims, and the belief that the Romans were Greeks, can be seen to be the main influences in the narrative. It is they that determine the particular workings of classical imitation, which cannot really be thought to be an independent part of the narrative.

From examining the rhetorical writings for Dionysius' ideas on how to write history, it can be seen that this failure to create a distinct character has its basis in the mimetic conception of literary composition, and in the emphasis that this theory lays upon the text and the historian. It is clear that Dionysius regards himself as fulfilling the duties of the historian; his depiction of a glorious subject in appropriate terms leads him to the production of a classicizing account, in which improving imitation of Thucydides can be seen to play a small part. However, it should not be thought that this account is based solely on idea derived from rhetorical theories.[111] Dionysius is not simply playing lip-service to the idea of truth in history. It is as the result of lengthy research that he concludes that Rome's founders were in origin Greek; the way in which he then depicts the Romans as Greeks responds to his ideas of how Greeks behaved, for which there was also ample literary testimony. The greatest logical shortcoming in Dionysius' account is the

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[111]H.Strasburger, *Die Wesensbestimmung der Geschichte durch die antike Geschichtschreibung*, Wiesbaden 1966, gives a sophisticated account of implicit theories of historiography in those ancient historians he thinks worthy of the name. He maintains a distinction between historians whose interests lie with their material, and those motivated by concerns which are *sachfremd*, such as emotional excitement, literary effect, or political aim. Thus, of course, Dionysius is not discussed. However, when he comes to discuss mimesis, meaning imitation of reality, he does allow it to emerge that a firm separation of the two types of history is not really tenable.

deduction that the earliest Romans can guarantee the virtues of the latest, but in this, he is in tune with an important tradition concerning the regal period, which, as we have seen, is also represented by Varro and Cicero.

Should Dionysius be dismissed from the ranks of historians? I have pointed to modern philosophy of history to make clear that there can be no historical understanding without the use of an *a priori* model. The objections of those critics with whom I began centre more upon the fact that Dionysius was a rhetorician. It is difficult to define the philosophical basis upon which he should then be disqualified from the company of historians, but this lack of definition is typical of a particular anti-rhetorical trend in modern historiography. I should not be thought qualified to link hermeneutics with those modern historical theorists who claim that historical understanding is impossible without rhetoric, but these theories need to be brought in at this point. What Gadamer shares with Hayden White is a belief that patterns of historical explanation derive from the historian in his linguistic and social context, rather than directly from his material; for White, the historian organizes his material around structures which replicate the rhetorical figures of our language.[112] Rhetoric is thus an inevitable part of all historical writing. White's work has contributed to the history of anti-rhetorical historiography, in which Dionysius' critics certainly belong. The idea of the distant academic historian who pictures himself as the passive conveyor of knowledge has been analysed as a way of avoiding the difficult questions of truth in history, and in consequence gaining a stronger social position, by concealing what was until the nineteenth century obvious, that the historian determined the nature of the historical account.[113] Dionysius' emphasis upon the effect of the historical work, and the contribution of the historian's political aims, can be thought of as awareness that history can never simply neutrally reflect "the facts," and in this, he resembles much

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[112]H.White, *Metahistory* (Baltimore,1973).

[113]A.Momigliano, 'Gibbon's contribution to historical method', in *Studies in Historiography* (London,1966),pp.40-55, on Gibbon's crucial role in blending poltically and philosophically motivated narrative history with antiquarian disciplines; he also notes that this blend did not in itself lessen Gibbon's partiality; H.White, 'The Politics of Historical Interpretation: Discipline and De-sublimation', in *The Content of The Form* (Baltimore,1987),pp.58-82. D.LaCapra, *History & Criticism* (Ithaca,1985),pp.35-44 and *passim.*

modern historical thinking. He counters the problem which is then raised, of the impossibility of objectivity, by advocating philosophic rhetoric as the historian's aim, with its moral and political commitment, and its desire for truth.

The analysis of Cicero and Varro has revealed that the regal period was thought of as historical, and that idealization was the normal way of explaining its character. This account of Dionysius has shown, I hope, that the difference between idealization and historical reconstruction is one of historical context rather than method. Such matters are of particular importance in discussing the regal period, and need explication, since without this, we will fail to understand how what appears to us as a bizarre rationalized idealization can at the time have appeared as a serious historical account, and continue to confuse our definition of myth with the ancient one.[114]

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[114]Recent examples of ignoring ancient boundaries between myth and history are J.N.Bremmer and N.M.Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography* BICS suppl.52(1987) and A.Momigliano, 'Marcell Mauss and the quest for the person in Greek biography and autobiography', in *The Category of the person*, ed.by M.Carrithers et.al.(Cambridge,1985),pp.83-92.

Livy's representation of the regal period.

Dionysius' preface makes his attitude to the role of the regal period particularly clear. Livy's preface, although no less revealing, expresses a much less positive evaluation of the role of the regal period in Rome's history. The very opening of the preface makes it clear that the early part of his history will be a testing point for the plan of his whole work. Livy declines to say whether he thinks it is worth the effort going through the story of the Roman people *a primordio*, but recognizes that it has been more usual for historians to be drawn to later events because of the greater certainty of the material, or because modern historiography gives greater opportunity to excel one's predecessors in the art of writing.[1] Even were this literary competition to consign Livy himself to oblivion, the greatness and nobility of his subject will be his consolation. Livy then expands upon this characterization of the early past to give a synoptic vision of Rome' history, which stretches from *exigua initia* to the present, where she labours under her own size. To counter this idea of demoralization and decline, Livy brings forward his belief that moral corruption set in later at Rome than in any other state, and that the desire for luxury really was a recent development.[2]

What is the relevance of these remarks in the preface to the narrative of the regal period? On the negative side, the idea that Rome's initial state of virtue was comparatively prolonged, and decline relatively late, constitutes the exact opposite of the desire to prove that the regal period itself was particularly fertile in examples of this historic virtue. Putting it another way, it is clear that manifestations of pristine moral strength are not to be the products of only the very earliest times, nor is it particularly essential to Livy's belief of the greatness of the early history of Rome that the regal period be shown to embody virtue any

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1 That accounts of ancient events implied crudity in the telling was commonplace in all kinds of proclamations of literary modernism. It lies at the root of Propertius' rejection of Ennius and historical poetry; See below, p.160 and also Horace, *Epistles* 2,1.

2 The classic account of the preface, stressing particularly the echoes of Sallust, is H.Oppermann, 'Die Einleitung zum Geschichtswerk des Livius', in *Wege der Forschung* 132, *Wege zu Livius*, ed.E.Burck, (Darmstadt,1967),pp.169-80.

more than any later period. It is a position fundamentally different from Dionysius', for whom, as we have seen, the virtues of all Romans are guaranteed by the characters of the early kings.

Notable then is Livy's unwillingness to regard the regal period as uniquely virtuous, or virtuous in a more important, aetiological way, with the virtues of the kings containing the origin for later virtue. This unwillingness corresponds to the lack of interest in the period that is expressed by his decision to treat it in such a short space. Livy also, which was unusual in the tradition, ends a book with the end of the monarchy.[3] We can explain this demarcation both in terms of Livy's view of the period within the whole of Rome's development, and in terms of his view of development within the period itself. As well as the point already established, that the virtues of the kings are only part of the general virtue of Rome's early history, Livy himself makes explicit reference the role of the kings in Rome's development at the opening of his account of the earliest years of the republic.[4] It was necessary first of all that the throng of shepherds and *convenae* who made up the first inhabitants of Rome be brought to a state where they could take the responsibilities imposed by liberty; Brutus would have done a great disservice to the state had he expelled any of the former kings, imposing premature liberty on an unripe state, one that was still deeply attached to its monarchs. The kings, as well as being responsible for the establishment of the city, were a necessary stage in the political development of the Roman people; they brought them to a stage were they could govern themselves.

So, it seems, Livy thinks of the regal period as a necessary preliminary to the later history of the free republic. We need now to find out how completely this explicit conception of the period comes out in the narrative of book 1, and by analysing that narrative, ascertain to what aim Livy characterizes the period, and how that characterization is executed. If it was in the regal period that the Roman people were brought to political maturity, what were they like at the start, and upon what, or whom, does the progress

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3 Fabius Pictor, Cato and Cicero all represent the tradition whereby the period of origins ended with the decemvirate. See D.Timpe, 'Fabius Pictor und die Anfänge Römischen Historiographie', *ANRW* 1.2(1972),928-69.

4 Livy, 2.1.1-7.

towards liberty depend? Following this line of reasoning, I shall first examine the implied conception of the nature of Roman culture at the start of the book, up to the reign of Numa, looking at how Livy tackles the problem of historical reliability. Thereafter, I shall turn to the start of II, and then look back more closely at the way in which Livy makes his narrative support this view of the development within the period. It is important to leave the analysis of II for a while, since Livy's decision to postpone his clearest statement of the function of the period is in itself a characteristic of his attitude to it.

Two kinds of prehistory: The pre-foundation narrative and the meeting of Hercules and Evander.

As Burck points out, Livy's failure to narrate events before the foundation corresponds to the desire to stress the unreliability of the traditions, and to bring out uncertainty in the characterization of the period. By expressions of doubt, the use of archaic language, and by frequent comparisons of the past and the present, "Livius will...im Leser die Vorstellung einer längst vergangenen, rational nicht durchdringbaren Zeit wecken."[5] However, even in the pre-regal period Livy gives hints that he holds a certain conception of the culture of the period. When, after Turnus and the Rutulians are defeated by the united forces of the Trojans and Aborigines, Turnus turns for help to the Etruscan king Mezentius, Livy points out that Mezentius' city of Caere was "opulento tum oppido".[6] The extent of Etruscan power is soon made clear:

> tanta opibus Etruria erat ut iam non terras solum sed mare etiam per totam Italiae longitudinem ab Alpibus ad fretum Siculum fama nominis sui implesset...
>
> Livy, 1.2.5.

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5 E.Burck, *Die Erzählungskunst des T.Livius* (Berlin, 1934) pp.136-7. Hereafter 'Burck'.

6 Livy, 1.2.3.

Then, after victory over the Etruscans, the fortunes of Aeneas' successor, Ascanius, are seen likewise to grow. At this point Livy casts gentle irony upon this picture of the period, exploiting the unreliability of the tradition, to suggest that we should doubt even his most cautious description of cause and effect; it is not just a question of creating a sense of the distance of the past.

Livy interrupts what has been up to now a continuous narrative of events, with very little elaboration, for a digression upon the identity of Ascanius.[7] He takes the reader into his confidence, adopting a rather chatty, familiar tone:

> Haud ambigam — quis enim rem tam ueterem pro certo adfirmet? — hicine fuerit Ascanius an maior quam hic, Creusa matre Ilio incolumi natus comesque inde paternae fugae, quem Iulum eundem Iulia gens auctorem nominis sui nuncupat. Is Ascanius, ubicumque et quacumque matre genitus — certe natum Aenea constat — abundante Lauinii multitudine florentem iam ut tum res erant atque opulentam urbem matri seu nouercae reliquit, nouam ipse aliam sub Albano monte condidit quae ab situ porrectae in dorso urbis Longa Alba appellata. Inter Lauinium et Albam Longam coloniam deductam triginta ferme interfuere anni. tantum tamen opes creuerant, maxime fusis Etruscis, ut ne morte quidem Aeneae nec deinde inter muliebrem tutelam rudimentumque primum puerilis regni mouere arma aut Mezentius Etruscique aut ulli alii accolae ausi sint.
>
> Livy, 1,3,1-4.

Livy here, most particularly in the sentence "ubicumque etc.", and in the reiteration "matri seu nouercae", is making the most of the problematic nature of his material. In this one section, Livy is so alert to the variations of tradition and historical uncertainty that the simple event of the founding of Alba Longa becomes greatly obscured. The cause for the foundation is the growth of Lavinium. However, instead of using this to emphasize the destiny of Rome, as, we shall observe, he does with the growth of Rome under the kings, he qualifies the idea of the flourishing city, by suggesting that any idea of growth is relative. "florentem iam ut tum res erant" implies flourishing only in its own terms. It is true that this constitutes a comparison between values of the present and the past, of the kind that would normally imply simplicity for the past, sophistication for the present. However, in this context, by making wealth relative, Livy undermines the only conception of culture that has been brought forward. When then, to continue, Livy returns to the

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7 Livy, 1,3,1ff.

question of Lavinium's wealth, naming it as the source of her defence against her neighbours, his words contain a hint of ironic hyperbole, which effectively suggests that we should not take the depiction of the period at all seriously. Indeed, he seems to be deliberately refusing to indulge in comparisons of a primitive past with a sophisticated present, first of all stressing the wealth of the time, but then ironizing by overstatement.

Such a technique gains in importance, of course, because this is the only point where Livy gives the details of the flight from Troy; the displacement of such an important episode is strong confirmation that this material is in essence not proper to his history. Concerning the problems of history before the foundation he writes in the preface:

> Sed haec et his similia utcumque animaduersa aut existimata erunt haud in magno equidem ponam discrimine:
>
> Livy, Praef.8-9.

In accordance with this remark, Livy makes clear in his narrative of the pre-foundation that if tradition does not even allow us to know who is whom, then nothing can be deduced. He displays what is essentially disinterest in a problem of identification that certainly would have been crucial when Caesar was first claiming descent from Aeneas, via Ascanius/Iulus.[8] The coherence of Livy's attitude to such material is a useful insight to the mutual independence of history from mythical genealogy, and, with the *Aeneid*, epic. Even though he accepts that the events have to be narrated in some way, it is clear from the start that Livy will not be encroaching on Virgil's ground.

So, the hazy picture of the society of the pre-regal period is made to co-exist with explicit statements of uncertainty. It is true that the dubiety of the traditions is exploited to keep alive a sense of our ignorance, but such a sense is not accompanied by nostalgic associations, so much as by a rather high-handed attitude from the narrator. Livy's wish to steer clear of making decisions about the reliability of traditions combines with an extreme brevity of treatment, and the resulting narrative makes it apparent that in dismissing the period, Livy is not simply abnegating the responsibilities of the historian; he actively

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8 J.Burian, 'Die Vergangenheit Roms im Rahmen der Augusteischen Gegenwartspolitik', *Klio* 67(1985),29-34. points out that even if Livy expresses scepticism, he does give Caesar's genealogy credence as a possible version.

demonstrates how intractable the material is, and declines to exploit it.

However, there is one event from the pre-regal period that Livy does narrate fully; the story of Hercules' encounter with Cacus, and the establishment of the Ara Maxima.[9] The account of the events leading up to the foundation of the city bristles with expressions of doubt, the citation of variant accounts, ascriptions to *fama*, and the use of the accusative and infinitive, often after *fertur* or *ferunt*.[10] In the story of Hercules and Evander, slotted in just as Romulus prepares to build on the Palatine, these are noticeably absent.

The story of Hercules lends a sense of history to Romulus' sanctification of the site of Rome. Romulus used two rites to consecrate the spot; one was Alban, the other Greek, established by Hercules.[11] The events that led up to the establishment of the rite are introduced with the verb "memorant". It suggests a greater degree of certainty, or that Livy has greater faith in, or at least respect for, the traditions, than *ferunt* or *fertur*. The question of whether Livy knew Virgil's account is thorny;[12] ignorance makes it impossible to say whether Livy deliberately eliminated the monstrous from his account, or whether Virgil was the innovator in creating a monster out of Cacus. Less conclusively, one can observe that in his account, Diodorus, as one might expect, totally eliminates the fabulous; more specifically, he gives no mention of a battle between Heracles and Cacius (as he calls him), but instead, has Cacius, along with the Pinarii, welcoming Heracles to the Palatine.[13] About two decades after Livy, Dionysius points out that the Romans make up stories about Cacus.[14] If he is referring to Virgil, or to a lost tradition upon which Virgil drew, then it is

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9 See A.H.McDonald, 'The Style of Livy', *JRS* 47(1957),155-72.

10 For the account of the birth and exposition of the twins there are very many: 1,4,2: seu...seu; 1,4,5: ferunt; 1,4,6: tenet fama; 1,4,7: ferunt; ibid.: sunt...qui putent. For the story of the overthrow of Amulius, there are considerably fewer: 1,5,1: ferunt; 1,5,5:aut...aut. They are less sparse again at the foundation: 1,7,1: fertur; 1,7,2: volgatior fama.

11 Livy, I,7,3.

12 See E.Paratore, 'Hercules et Cacus chez Vergile et Tite-Live', in *Vergiliana, Récherches sur Virgile*.ed.H.Bardon and R.Verdière, *Roma Aeterna* 3, (Leiden,1971),pp.260-282. He concludes that Livy could well have heard an early reading of book VIII, one of the first books to be completed. cf.T.J.Luce, 'The Dating of Livy's First Decade', *TAPA* 96(1965),209-240.

13 Diodorus, IV.21.1ff.

14 "εν δὴ τούτοις τοῖς μάχῃ κρατηθεῖσι καὶ τὸν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων

a tradition from which Livy distances himself. In any event, Livy makes Cacus a shepherd, *ferox viribus*, but then focuses more upon Hercules, falling asleep after a meal, waking at dawn, looking around for the cows, than he does upon his adversary. Cacus' death is narrated in one undescriptive sentence.[15]

Elaborations to the story only really begin when Evander is introduced. He calls a congress of shepherds to try Hercules for murder; Livy speaks in detail of his position among his people, of the belief in the divinity of his prophetic mother, of the calculation he makes on seeing Hercules, and quotes his words, crucial as the dramatic high-point of the episode, and as an archaically succinct allusion to the future destiny of Rome:

> 'Ioue nate, Hercules, salue,' inquit; 'te mihi mater, ueridica interpres deum, aucturum caelestium numerum cecinit, tibique aram hic dicatum iri quam opulentissima olim in terris gens maximam uocet tuoque ritu colat.'
>
> Livy, 1,7,10-11.

The description of Rome as *opulentissima* picks up upon the use of the same adjective to describe Alba Longa, at the time when she was sufficiently populous to send out a colony, and the characterization of all the flourishing states so far mentioned in terms of their *opes*.[16] It is important that Livy does not create a picture of unequivocal simplicity against which this idea of later wealth is thrown into relief, but the only signs are very significant ones. We have the picture of Evander's remarkable learning, in comparison to his uncultured people, and the congruent statement that he ruled *auctoritate magis quam imperio*.[17] We can read in contrast to this, Livy's description of the popular feeling which led to the reinstatement of Numitor as king, a reinstatement that consisted of a grant of *imperium*.[18] Evander is genuinely king of the shepherds; the shepherds that follow Romulus to Rome are only part of the population, along with the excess from Alba, city

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μυθολογούμενον Κάκον, δυνάστην τινὰ κομιδῇ βάρβαρον καὶ ἀνθρωπων ἀνημέρων ἄρχοντα..." Dionysius, *Antiquitates Romanae*, I.42.2.

15 Livy, 1,7,7. A recent discussion of the episode rightly singles out the emphasis upon Rome's destiny, and Livy's lack of interest in the battle of Hercules and Cacus, which is supplanted in the aetiology of the Ara Maxima by the prophecy of Carmenta. J.Nagore & E.Pérez, 'El Episodio de Hércules y Caco in Cuatro Auctores Latinos', *Argos* 5(1981),35-51.

16 Livy,1,2,3; 1,2,5; 1,3,4.

17 Livy,1,7,8.

18 Livy,1,6,2.

dwellers.[19]

Is there thus a difference in the depiction of the culture of the Hercules episode and that of the surrounding narrative? The dislocation of the encounter with Evander from its natural chronological position in the narrative, perhaps at some point in the Aeneas sequence,[20] suggests that we should give significance to its unique position. Evander is briefly mentioned on one previous occasion, in an allusive explanation of the Lupercalia, during which Remus is seized and taken to Amulius. The section is much thicker with expressions of the distance of the period than the Hercules episode:

> Iam tum in Palatio monte Lupercal hoc fuisse ludicrum ferunt, et a Pallanteo, urbe Arcadica, Pallantium, dein Palatium montem appellatum; ibi Euandrum, qui ex eo genere Arcadum multis ante tempestatibus tenuerit loca, sollemne allatum ex Arcadia instituisse ut nudi iuuenes Lycaeum Pana uenerantes per lusum atque lasciuiam currerent, quem Romani deinde uocarunt Inuum.
>
> Livy, 1,5,1-3

Topographical etymological aetiology, referred to a nameless authority, and described in the accusative and infinitive, with expressions of time that make it very remote, from Livy's time, but also from that of Romulus, take Evander far away from the grasp of certainty. However, in this, Livy acknowledges the historical reality that these things are obscure, but uses their obscurity to create historical depth for the Romulean narrative, and not, as we have seen in the Aboriginal story, to give a sense of irony to the attempt.

The true past of the regal period is Evander's culture; the reference to the Lupercalia blends several *aetia* together, and one of these is of the name Palatine. In both his appearances, Evander acts as the first known inhabitant of the site of Rome.[21] It is through their common location that Evander and Romulus are linked, and the former acts as a spiritual precursor to the latter. It is for this that Livy creates a more distinct sense of the period, and makes it more atmospheric than the main thread of his Aeneas narrative. He

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19 Livy,1,5,3.

20 Ogilvie assumes that Evander and Aeneas were contemporaries in Ennius, but Virgil is the earliest occurrence of this, and it is quite possible he was resposible for it.

21 That Livy credits him with the introduction of writing (cf.Dionysius I.31.1 with I.33.4.) is an implicit justification for his faith in Evander's existence, since it allows for the possibility that he had entered the written tradition of history, although Livy does not go so far as to state this openly. cf.Cicero *De Repub*. II.x.18-19 on the development of learning by the age of Romulus.

introduces it only twice, but both times in significant aetiological contexts, the Ara Maxima and the Lupercalia, to create a sense of historical depth, from which he evidently shies away in the main pre-foundation account.

There is one other point where this idea of the past to the main narrative emerges, at the end of the Alban king-list. When Proca begat Numitor and Amulius, he bestowed the ancient rule of Silvius upon Numitor; "Numitori...regnum uetustum Siluiae gentis legat." [22] At the point where Livy begins to give narrative expansion to events, he draws the reader swiftly through a great span of generations, elaborating only with a few well-known topographical aetiologies, and, exploiting its potential to create a sense of temporal distance, rather than entering into the scholarly problems of the list.[23] Here, then, Livy culminates by making overt this idea of antiquity for the period when Rome was founded, itself remote and shadowy.

The creation of a sense of history for the culture of the period, although not complete or consistent, at least enables Livy to give his characters motivation of a certain kind. Romulus' decision to revive the rite of Hercules contains more than a hint that he himself was conscious of Hercules as a precedent; at the very least his conduct was the will of fate. Romulus certainly shows a level of awareness of the nature of his position, when he takes up the insignia of *imperium*, that make it clear that he is not stumbling haphazardly upon the rudiments of political philosophy.

> Rebus diuinis rite perpetratis uocataque ad concilium multitudine quae coalescere in populi unius corpus nulla re praeterquam legibus poterat, iura dedit; quae ita sancta generi hominum agresti fore ratus, si se ipse uenerabilem insignibus imperii fecisset, cum cetero habitu se augustiorem, tum maxime lictoribus duodecim sumptis fecit.
>
> Livy, 1,8,1-2.

The explanation of the number of lictors is as important:

> Alii ab numero auium quae augurio regnum portenderant eum secutum numerum putant: me haud paenitet eorum sententiae esse quibus et apparitores et hoc genus ab Etruscis finitimis, unde sella curulis, unde toga praetexta sumpta est,...
>
> Livy, 1,8,3.

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22 Livy,1,3,10.

23 See Burck, p.138.

Just as he borrows the *sella curulis*, *toga praetexta* and the lictors from the Etruscans, Romulus' political know-how is part of the generally developed culture in which he lives. He is contrasted with the simplicity of the shepherds; this does not indicate that, like Evander, he stood alone within his time; it just happened, because of the following he had built up in his youth, that many of the earliest Romans were shepherds.

Part of the point of the creation of a sense of temporal distance, in the elaboration of Evander, is that Romulus is seen to be acting in a recognizable historical context; instead of using rationalization to carry this point, Livy depicts just enough of the culture to make Romulus' sophistication believable. He does not say more than he knows, and he keeps alive the difficulties of knowledge. Nonetheless, like all the other historians, he has to show Romulus as historical. This consists, in Livy's account, of situating him as king of the shepherds in a culture that had long since known wealth; but Romulus himself, by virtue of his unusual background, takes the rustic virtues and lack of sophistication from his youth, into his reign. Very clearly in Livy, the history that Romulus looks back on is that of Evander; in the foundation of Rome, it is this that gives pre-historical precedent. An Alban rite is mentioned, but just as the tradition leading back to Troy is not given the emphasis of portentous atmospheric narrations, so here it is not brought out in any significant way.

By separating Romulus from the shepherds that made up his people, by showing Romulus himself looking back to Evander, by characterizing the Alban period as one where wealth existed, Livy in effect creates a clear historical context for the foundation of Rome, but, unlike Cicero, he does this without obvious rationalization, without having to argue that mythical traditions are in fact historical ones. He does not allow his conviction that the earlier periods are beyond historical retelling detract from the use that can be made of them to show that Romulus did not just create Roman civilization out of nothing. He rules with *imperium*, at the end of a monarchical tradition, and the enlightenment he showed amongst the mob that made up the first inhabitants of Rome was relative. The foundation was not the first event of its kind in the world; it took place in a time when other civilizations

already existed.[24] The idea of different stages of sophistication existing side-by-side must have appeared an obvious one to the ancients;[25] the level of sophistication of the inhabitants of Rome at its foundation did not, for Livy, imply a general assessment of the level of sophistication of all contemporary cultures.

The rape of the Sabine Women, and Livy's picture of regal society.

The relationship of Rome to what existed before it is made extremely clear in the narration of the rape of the Sabines; Livy raises the question of sophistication and primitiveness,[26] of the comparison between the culture of Rome and that of Italy, and uses it as the focal point for a depiction of the remarkable growth of Rome, a growth which anticipates the whole of the later empire. We can see in action at the very beginning the process by which Livy distinguishes the whole history of Rome in the preface, the process of growth.

Livy begins the account of the events of Romulus' reign, after he has described the insignia with which he sanctified his rule, with Romulus' measures for enlarging the city:

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24 Compare the views of R.G.Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (Oxford,1946),pp.36-8;42-5. taken up by T.J.Luce, *Livy: The Composition of his History* (Princeton,1977) ,pp.232ff. Luce tries to refute Collingwood's objection that Livy presents Rome from the first as 'ready-made and complete.' However, Luce misses the point, when he counters with Livy's idea of the development of the Roman character, and by saying that it is unreasonable to expect Livy to account for the evolution of such institutions as augury. I would argue that Livy assumes that the culture in which Rome is founded has developed over a long period, and that he exploits the pre-foundation events to create historical depth at the foundation. Neither Collingwood or Luce appreciates the elliptical way in which Livy does provide Rome with a kind of pre-history.

25 See F.Della Corte, 'L'idea della preistoria in Varrone', in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi Varroniani* (Rieti 1976),pp.111-136.,esp.126.

26 In Cicero's account this episode is a particular focus for this tension. See above, p.15f.

> Crescebat interim urbs munitionibus alia atque alia appetendo loca, cum in spem magis futurae multitudinis quam ad id quod tum hominum erat munirent. Deinde ne uana urbis magnitudo esset, adiciendae multitudinis causa vetere consilio condentium urbes, qui obscuram atque humilem conciendo ad se multitudinem natam e terra sibi prolem ementiebantur, locum qui nunc saeptus descendentibus inter duos lucos ‹ ad laeuam › est asylum aperit.
>
> Livy, 1,8,4-6.

Romulus again followed the precedent of the city-founders of long ago. Livy leaves the same gap here, concerning the question of whether the Romans themselves knew of their fate, as he does with the Evander story; there, it is not clear whether Romulus is acting with conscious knowledge of the prophecy, when he adopts a rite instituted in accordance with that same prophecy; likewise here, the hope of greater growth includes the possibility of premonition.

Romulus' embassy to the Latins makes concrete Rome's newness in comparison to the surrounding states.

> tum ex consilio patrum Romulus legatos circa uicinas gentes misit qui societatem conubiumque nouo populo peterent:
>
> 1,9,2.

By making Romulus follow the advice of the senate, which he had created but a few sentences earlier, an unauthoritarian Romulus is evoked, without explicit comment on the nature of political relations being necessary. The words of the embassy make it clear that all at Rome were indeed self-conscious of their destiny; they boasted of divine aid for their foundation, and pointed out that their city, just like all others, started off *ex infimo*. Again, Livy brings out the fact that Rome was just another new city, in no way the first, but simply more favoured by fate. The lack of positive response to the delegation was motivated by fear of this huge thing growing in their midst:

> Nusquam benigne legatio audita est: adeo simul spernebant, simul tantam in medio crescentem molem sibi ac posteris suis metuebant.
>
> Livy, 1,9,5.

Livy implies a much greater sense of inexorable growth by making the neighbours truly fearful, even for their descendants, lending a further sense of the future of Rome, rather than just dismissive; they take the idea of the divine destiny very seriously. It is their anxious curiosity which leads them in such numbers to the Consualia, and which is there

satisfied: "mirantur tam breui rem Romanam creuisse."[27]

Counterpart to this fear of Rome's growth is the prejudice with which they express their fear, the prejudice against the direputability of those who were welcomed in the asylum.[28] Livy nowhere suggests that the process of the asylum did lead to a low moral tone at Rome; instead, at this point, he seems both to find the origin of such a preconception in the historical tradition, and uses it to make a point about the reality behind the tradition. It was an accusation motivated by fear.

> Ac plerisque rogitantibus dimissi ecquod feminis quoque asylum aperuissent; id enim demum compar conubium fore. Aegre id Romana pubes passa et haud dubie ad uim spectare res coepit. Cui tempus locumque aptum ut daret Romulus aegritudinem animi dissimulans ludos ...parat.
>
> Livy, 1,9,5-7.

Livy does not shy away from the idea that they could deliberately have set out with violence in mind,[29] and that Romulus conspired on their behalf. Of course, it is in the narrative of the rape itself that we will see if the violence used was indicative of anything worse than anger at false accusations, and indeed, if the rape could be taken to confirm the prejudices of the Italians. Sure enough Livy presents the rape as a wholly unthreatening use of violence, with an almost comic ending, the Romans winning over the Sabine women with words of love. When Livy says "haud dubie" he himself endorses the outrage of the *Romana pubes*; in Romulus' speech to the women, the frustration of the Romans at the disdain of the Sabines is rationally put forward. Romulus contrasts the kind treatment the Sabine women will have at Rome with the *superbia* that greeted the Roman embassies.[30] What is more, negative associations of savagery or primitive sexual motivation are noticeably absent. Indeed, the only element which could be called at all sexual is the choice of the most beautiful Sabine women for the senators.[31] In turn, by joining to this the aetiology of the marriage cry T(h)alassio, Livy ensures that the intention is seen as

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27 Livy, 1,9,10. Curiosity as the motivation; 1,9,8.

28 Livy, 1,9,5.

29 Indeed, he introduces the section "Iam res Romana adeo erat ualida ut cuilibet finitmarum ciuitatium bello par esset." 1,9,1. But they did not go to war.

30 Livy, 1,9,14.

31 Livy, 1,9,11.

matrimonial, rather than erotic. Certainly, that the women are said to be uncertain of their future and indignant, rather than anything worse; the patriarchal role played by Romulus; the way in which the women themselves are won over by declarations of love, all make it clear that sexual gratification was at no point in question, at least, not as the prime motivation.[32]

Livy uses words suggestive of great size with remarkable frequency in this section: multitudo,[33] magnitudo,[34] magnus,[35] multi mortales.[36] This gives the impression of size in general, without an overt statement (not all these words are connected with Rome). Indeed, the section as a whole is a remarkable example of synecdoche, of an attribute acting for something far more significant. By this trope, Livy manages to keep the idea of the whole development of the empire vaguely before our eyes, while ostensibly giving an unelaborated and restrained bare narration of events. As well as just creating dramatic emphasis in order to bring out the reason for the rape, the perpetuation of the population, in effect, Livy shows us even here the process which, he says in the preface, led eventually to Rome's decline;

> ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creuerit ut iam magnitudine laboret sua.
> Livy, Praef.4.

This emphasis on growth under the kings fades in importance after the narrative of the rape. Development within the period begins to follow a different course, although the addition of new space to the city is recorded under the reigns of each king as it occurred.

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32 For an elegant analysis of the tone of the section, see O.Seel, 'Der Raub der Sabinnerinnen: Eine Livius-Interpretation', *Antike und Abenland* 9(1960),7-17. He also shows that Livy is a great deal less squeamish about the rape than Cicero.

33 Livy, 1,8,4; 8,5 twice; 9,9.

34 Livy, 1,8,7. 9,1.

35 Livy, 1,9,3 twice.

36 Livy 1,9,8.

Historicity without idealization: Romulus' reign.

In the account of Romulus' reign, another theme that is important at the start, but which becomes less prominent, is that of Romulus' superiority to his citizens. Indeed, after the start of the main narrative of events of the reign, this idea nowhere reappears. When Livy sums up Romulus, he draws together several other points in the narrative, in a way that, somewhat paradoxically, makes Romulus' ordinary humanity clear:

> Haec ferme Romulo regnante domi militaeque gesta, quorum nihil absonum fidei diuinae originis diuinitatisque post mortem creditae fuit, non animus in regno auito reciperando, non condendae urbis consilium, non bello ac pace firmandae.
>
> Livy, 1,15,6.

The deeds which prove his divinity can all be seen, in the light of the way they are told, to have a noticeable mundane side, either through direct suggestion, or through failure to attribute anything remarkable to Romulus' behaviour. In the account of the regaining of Numitor's kingdom Romulus is barely active. His idea for the foundation is first described as *cupido*, and from there,

> auitum malum, regni cupido, atque inde foedum certamen coortum a satis miti principio.
>
> Livy, 1,6,4.

The peace that comes as a result of the reconciliation of the Romans and the Sabines is first of all the response to the pleas of the Sabine women, and Romulus is not named in the subsequent negotiations.[37] For no particularly distinct reason, Livy says that peace made everyone more fond of Romulus.[38] Peace next occurs unexpectedly, when Romulus failed to respond to the murder of Tatius, perhaps because he distrusted his colleague.[39] I am not suggesting that Livy in reality creates a subversive picture of Romulus, only that he does not strive relentlessly to uphold the idea of his divine difference throughout the narrative. In this light, it comes as not surprise when Livy describes Romulus' popularity

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37 Livy, 1,13,4.
38 Livy, 1,13,6.
39 Livy, 1,14,3.

with the masses, particularly soldiers, especially in comparison with the senate.[40] He is not a distant figure to his people.

In this way, Romulus is not idealized; when Livy states his belief that some, even at the time of Romulus' death, thought that senators were responsible, he in effect closely binds his picture of Romulus to that of Romulus' contemporaries. His aim has been to show the king as his people saw him, and this involves creating as three-dimensional an impression of the king as possible. The same aim, of verisimilitude, can be discerned in the way in which, to emphasize the growth of Rome, Livy focuses upon the reactions of the visiting foreigners at the Consualia, and dismisses the idea of the asylum as leading to a boorish population, but making it their accusation. To make his picture of regal Rome seem convincingly historical, Livy describes it as he perceives its contemporaries saw it.

Livy's description of the tense relationship between senate and king is a good example of how a particular conception of political activity can be used to create historicity; it has led many to propose Licinius Macer, supposedly anti-Romulean, or at least anti-senatorial, as a source.[41] To look at it from another angle, one could say that Livy's assumptions concerning what constitutes a three-dimensional historical picture were inevitably shaped by his reading of earlier historical accounts. This in turn would only be part of the much more general way in which any historian's conceptions of the processes that occur in history are formed, conceptions of the kinds of processes that he imagines would have had to have been active in any historical society. However, one can go further, and be more specific. Livy's defence of early history in the preface can be interpreted as a counterpart to a desire to show the same political processes that led people to prefer later history at work in early history. It would be a succinct way of explaining why he uses an idea such as strife between *plebs* and *patres* to create a historically convincing social picture, or why such ideas as the growth of ambition, of *regni cupido*, or of constitutional decline, appear in the regal period. By showing these late republican themes at work in a regal context, he gives the regal period a particular role within his history, as a microcosmic prelude, where

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40 Livy, 1,15,8.

41 See Ogilvie,pp.7-12.

these unpleasant aspects of Rome's development can be introduced, but where they are treated allusively, creating a sense of historical depth, while at the same time not being explored in sufficient detail to enable an anachronistic picture to be created.[42]

Indeed, even where apparently anachronistic ideas are found, they are always absorbed into their particular context. The death of the first king is one of the few places where Livy elaborates on the character of the people; the simple faith of the *pubes Romana* in Romulus' divinity is pathetically contrasted with the cynicism of that silent minority (aliquos) who thought Romulus had been murdered by the senate.

> Fuisse credo tum quoque aliquos qui discerptum regem patrum manibus taciti arguerent; manauit enim haec quoque sed perobscura fama; illam alteram admiratio uiri et pauor praesens nobilitauit.
>
> Livy 1,16,4.

This is *not* a comment on the likely cause of Romulus' death, but an explanation of the explanations current at the time (tum). Here again Livy looks to the perceptions of the contemporaries; comments upon the merits of the contemporary analysis are made through ironic implication: that the cynics' version takes second place must be due to the fact that their accusations were only silent. Of the success of Proculus Iulius' story, he remarks: "mirum quantum illi uiro nuntianti haec fides fuerit"[43]. He strengthens the irony by making the mutual hatred of the *plebs* and *patres* strikingly clear in this section, and even more in description of the interregnum which follows.

It seems clear that Livy wished this picture of strife to act as a demonstration of political naïvety, to point out how necessary the monarchy was. First of all he describes the open desire of the whole population for a king:

> In uariis uoluntatibus regnari tamen omnes uolebant, libertatis dulcedine nondum experta.
>
> Livy, 1,17,4.

Further, he describes the interregnum itself as a period of total chaos, the plebs getting more and more angry, the senate paralysed by fear of a break-down of Rome's international strength. In the end, the senate got the better of the plebs, who were taken in

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42 Ideas from later history will be explored in greater detail later in this chapter, when I come to discuss Livy's idea of development within the regal period.

43 Livy, 1,16,8.

by their specious offer of electoral power to such an extent that they handed it straight back to the senate. What in essence can be thought of as the importation of a much later model of social conflict is made to function carefully within the specific context in which it is introduced. When Livy points out:

> Patrum interim animos certamen regni ac cupido uersabat, necdum ad singulos, quia nemo magno opere eminebat in nouo populo, peruenerat: factionibus inter ordines certabatur.
>
> Livy, 1,17,1.

he is clearly presenting us with an early form of something that he knows his readers will recognize from their more recent history.

Imitation of predecessors and other ways of ensuring historicity.

One recurrent idea, that can be thought of as a small aspect of Livy's method of creating a vivid historical picture of the period, is that of the influence of historical precedent shown at work on Livy's characters. The importance of following precedent was such a hall-mark of Roman culture that when historical figures display awareness of precedent, they can be thought to be manifesting one of the traditional virtues of Roman history. For Livy's readers, acting on precedent might even be said to be a signal that the narrative really is historical.[44] Imitation of the *maiores* emerges in the narrative of the regal period itself, when we find the kings looking back to their predecessors for a precedent, or guidance. Thus, Tullus Hostilius, during the crisis of natural disasters with which his reign ended, was thought to have looked back to Numa,[45] and Ancus, seeking remedy for the state of things on his accession, redressed the balance, and was "et Numae et Romuli memor," thus acting as a the fourth side of the square, and making a break before the next three, rather different rulers.[46] Tarquinius Priscus, in his "election speech" openly used the precedent

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44 Oppermann, op.cit.(note 2) gives a useful summary of the importance of historical *exempla* within Roman historical sensibility. pp.172-5.

45 Livy, 1,31,7.

46 Livy, 1,32,4.

of Tatius and Numa to thwart objections to a foreign king.[47] Servius too looks to Numa for the social order developed in the constitution.[48] Of course, as we have seen, Romulus looks back to Hercules.

What is particularly revealing about these examples is that it is Numa who is the model, as much as Romulus. Livy's picture of Numa is a great deal more monolithic than that of Romulus; as a result, as an antecedent, he is a much more credible, on account of the steadfastness of his virtue. He shares with Romulus the superiority among his people, but his is much greater. Not only did he have the sophisticated and novel political idea that religion could supplant war in keeping his people hard; he also realized the level on which he had to pitch his innovation:

> ...positis externorum periculorum curis, ne luxuriarent otio animi quos metus hostium disciplinaque militaris continuerat, omnium primum, rem ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem efficacissimam, deorum metum iniciendum ratus est. Qui cum descendere ad animos sine aliquo commento miraculi non posset, simulat sibi cum dea Egeria congressus nocturnos esse;
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> Livy, 1,19,4-5.

The broad generalization in "ad multitudinem imperitam et illis saeculis rudem" serves principally to throw Numa's sophistication into relief. In fact, although Livy does not stress the primitiveness of Romulus' people, Numa's assessment of the simplicity of their religious feeling accords with the account of Romulus' apotheosis.

Numa's condescension contrasts with the more simple superiority of Romulus, when he decided to make himself more *venerabilem* in the eyes of the *agrestes*.[49] Romulus' aim was to keep his rule secure; Numa's, more complex and enlightened, was to help his people remain strong through their communal faith. Livy ensures that this picture of the king as superior fits itself into the perceptions of the early Romans. They believed his inventions about his divine wife, and behaved as though he were far above them:

> ...ea pietate omnium pectora imbuerat ut fides ac ius iurandum pro legum ac poenarum metu ciuitatem regerent. Et cum ipsi se homines in regis uelut unici exempli mores formarent, tum finitimi etiam populi, qui antea castra

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47 Livy, 1,35,3.
48 Livy, 1,42,4.
49 Livy, 1,8,2, quoted above, p.117.

> non urbem positam in medio ad sollicitandam omnium pacem crediderant, in eam uerecundiam adducti sunt, ut ciuitatem totam in cultum uersam deorum uiolari ducerent nefas.
>
> Livy, 1,21,1-3.

This tendency even at the time to model oneself upon Numa explains how so many of the succeeding monarchs looked back to him. As an idea of how early history functioned, it is made to emerge from the figures who inhabit the history, not as an analysis presented by the historian in his own person.

Livy then, provides in the early years of Rome's history, a picture of a society that on one hand contains features recognizable from later history; imitation of ancestors, conflict between plebs and senate. On the other hand, Livy carefully places this society within an historical context, which even though not described in detail, is sufficiently apprehensible for these social structures to appear as an organic part of a wider picture of human development. The rural kingdom of Evander acts as the most primitive origin, placed at an unnamed point in the distant past. Further, Livy tends to locate judgement concerning the sophistication or simplicity of the people firmly within the events he describes, so that either they emerge as an analysis contemporary to those events, or else they are shown to be caused by them.

The nature of development and political activity.

We have seen how Livy takes pains to create a realistic picture of a historical culture in the regal period, and we can now turn to the explicit statement of the function of the regal period within Rome's history given at the start of II. As an aid to examining the narrative of book I, however, this statement is somewhat allusive, and its implications need to be drawn out. It can be stressed that without the clarification in II, the political processes of I would be a great deal less distinct.

To open II, Livy announces a change in the political nature of events:

> Liberi iam hinc populi Romani res pace belloque gestas, annuos magistratus, imperiaque legum potentiora quam hominum peragam.
>
> Livy, II.1.1.

So with the expulsion of the kings, laws became more powerful than men; there was a

move towards impersonal constitutional *imperium*, away from the domination of personalities.[50] In the next sentence, Tarquinius Superbus is specifically credited with helping the success of liberty, through his *superbia*:

> Quae libertas ut laetior esset proximi regis superbia fecerat.
>
> Livy, II.1.2.

Livy then explains (nam priores reges...), that the earlier kings were worthy of the name of founder, and that had Brutus wrested premature liberty from any of these, chaos would have been the result.

> Quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum conuenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis, sub tutela inuiolati templi aut libertatem aut certe impunitatem adepta, soluta regio metu agitari coepta esset tribuniciis procellis, et in aliena urbe cum patribus serere certamina, priusquam pignera coniugum ac liberorum caritasque ipsius soli, cui longo tempore adsuescitur, animos eorum consociasset? dissipatae res nondum adultae discordia forent, quas fouit tranquilla moderatio imperii eoque nutriendo perduxit ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis iam uiribus ferre posset.
>
> Livy, II.1.4-6.

The rule of the kings is here characterized as *tranquilla moderatio*, and it was an essential part of bringing the people to maturity. This maturity is envisaged as a sense of community, that in the event prevented discord arising. This sense is the product of a process that is described as impersonal, a process of growing love of country, of the bonds of family, that was not the result of a conscious change in attitudes of Rome's inhabitants. It was, however, fostered by the moderation of the kings. Premature liberty would have removed the crucial binding force from the people, that fear of the kings provided, before they had been able to form bonds that could unite them alone.

It is interesting that Livy seems to allude here to an established topos of anti-Roman propaganda, by describing the people as *illa pastorum conuenarumque plebs*.[51] Of course,

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50 A fairly common distinction between the power of men and laws, acting as a watershed in mankind's development; cf Cicero, *De Officiis* II.41-2, and I.G.Kidd on Posidonius Fg.284 (=Seneca *Ep*.90), *Posidonius II. The commentary (ii)* (Cambridge,1988),pp.962-3. Livy seems to be the only one who explicitly draws this distinction at the start of the republic (although it is perhaps implicit in Lucretius' version, in the words *sceptra superba*, V.1137.). That Livy does not explore the distinction in his narrative may be proof of its commonplace quality.

51 *convena* is an unusual word. Starting with Cato (Origines Fr.20P) most of the examples listed in *TLL* from writers up to this period refer to the people of regal Rome. It is in used anti-Roman polemic by Sallust and Trogus. Cicero *De Oratore* 1,9,37 is

such propaganda is only known from Roman historians, and the most coherent statements come from the mouths of eastern kings, attempting to rally support against Rome.[52] One of their central ways of attacking Rome is to point out that she is determined at all costs to depose kings, so great is her hatred of them. What links these two accusations is a general sense of shame at the earliest part of Rome's history; Rome's hatred of kings rests upon her own bad experience of them; the debased example of monarchy was a product of the cultural impurity of those first citizens. As Volkmann has shown, such accusations do not reflect the actual relationships between these eastern kings and Rome.[53] It is also crucial that at no point does the idea of Roman hatred of kings cause Rome's attackers to make direct reference by name to the Roman kings.[54] This would, presumably be too sensitive; too difficult to convert to an object of pride, in the way that the accusation of hatred of monarchy can be, particularly when given a counterpart in accounts of Rome's friendly relations with allied kings.

Livy, then, takes up these topoi of *Romkritik*, and in an allusive defence against them, vindicates the earliest period of Rome's history, by attributing to the regal period the process that converted the masses into responsible citizens.[55] However, apart from the negative effect of Superbus, Livy does not say *how* the people reached maturity. It is

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the most interesting; *pastores et convenas* demonstrates that the people of Rome were too primitive for Romulus to have recourse to *eloquentia* to carry out his wise ideas of the rape of the Sabines and the asylum.

52 E.Burck, Die römische Expansion im Urteil des Livius', *ANRW* 30.2(1982),1148-89. discusses the relevant passages of Sallust, Polybius, Trogus and Livy, pp.1158ff. T.J.Cornell, 'Aeneas and the gwins: the development of the Roman foundation legend', *PCPS* n.s.21(1975),1-32. discusses the notion (Strasburger's) that whole foundation legend was itself a product of Greek anti-Roman historiography.

53 H.Volkmann, 'Antike Romkritik, Topik und historische Wirklichkeit', *Gymnasium Beihefte*, 4(1964),9-20. See also E.Rawson, 'Caesar's Heritage: Hellenistic kings and their Roman equals', *JRS* 65(1975),148-59. Sadly Volkmann does not go far in explaining the Roman historians' delight in *Romkritik*.

54 As Classen points out, even accusations of tendency to *regnum* at Rome tended to steer clear of direct comparisons with individual kings, Superbus excepted, even though there was no shortage of bad associations in historical accounts. C.J.Classen, 'Die Königszeit im Spiegel der Literatur der römischen Republik', *Historia* 14(1965),385-403. Romulus is different, in that he had the remarkable ability to act both as the embodiment of tyranny, and as the divine founder. Classen, 'Romulus in der römischen Republik', *Philologus* 106(1962),174-204.

55 Just as Dionysius took up similar criticism.

clear that there is a development before Superbus; the zealous accusations against Tarquinius Collatinus sum it up with the direct link between the two Tarquins, Priscus and Superbus.[56] However, it is the workings of this progress that will define the character of the regal period in book I.

It is apparent from Livy's words at the start of book II, that any development can exist on two planes; one is represented by the decline in the behaviour of the king. The other is that of the growth of the people to maturity. I intend now to examine the build up to Superbus in book I, to try and observe the places where Livy does make manifest the development of the plebs, and what kind of agents or causes he shows acting upon them. As a starting point I will briefly recall two opinions of this process, those of Ruch and Walsh.

In a series of articles, M.Ruch has examined the themes of growth in Livy I.[57] He finds the mechanism of Rome's development in the nature of the characters in the narrative, and takes as a presupposition, the idea that the characters of the leading men in states are what gives the state its character. The growth of Rome is thus motivated by internal forces; Rome grows in an analogy of organic growth, from the inside. He compares this view to Polybius', for whom the course of history involves the working out of the plan of τύχη. Walsh, on the other hand, attributes to the popularized Stoicism traditional in Roman historiography, the harmony between fate and human ethics, whereby the good are successful because goodness is providential, and the bad eventually fail.[58] The merit of Ruch's approach is that it is derived directly from Livy's expressed interest in the men of Rome as the decisive factor in history. Ruch synthesizes the idea of historical change with this focus on people's character, without introducing an external power at work; on the other hand, he does rather underrate the role of fate.

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56 "initium a Prisco factum." Livy, II.2.3..

57 M.Ruch, 'Le Thème de la Croissance Organique dans le Livre 1 de Tite-Live', *Studii Clasice* 10(1968),123-131.; 'L'Art de la Narration au Service des Idées chez Tite-Live, de la Monarchie à la Tyrannie. I.46-52.' *Caesarodunum* 3-4(1969),107-112 and 191-195.

58 P.G.Walsh, *Livy: His Historical Aims and Methods* (Cambridge,1961),pp.49ff.

The problem for us, however, is more specific. We must observe whether the idea of development that is brought out at the start of book II corresponds to a consistent depiction of progress in book I, and then to see in what ways other ideas of progress that are found in the narrative relate to the idea of the development of the Roman people. There is undoubtedly a change in the basis of the power of the last three kings, but is this given a counterpart in the development of Rome? There is also a clear progression in the characters of the three central women, Tanaquil, Tullia and Lucretia. The central question is thus whether there is a causal relationship between the kinds of developments that Livy demonstrates in the kings, and the natural and impersonal development of the people, which he regards as the historical function of the regal period.

Political Development under the kings: Priscus to Superbus.

The point that Livy makes concerning the role of Tarquinius Superbus in the development of the Roman people does not come suddenly. The last three kings all depart from the traditions of election that were established after the death of Romulus, but the different ways in which they did so have a progressive quality, when examined in sequence. Tarquinius Priscus was the first to aim ambitiously at kingship:

> Isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam.
>
> Livy, I.35.2.

Servius Tullius was the first to rule without public election, although he did have the support of the senate:

> Seruius praesidio firmo munitus, primus iniussu populi, uoluntate patrum regnauit.
>
> Livy, I.41.6-7.

Superbus had the support of neither senate nor people, and depended wholly on *vis* and fear for the maintenance of his power:

> neque enim ad ius regni quicquam praeter uim habebat ut qui neque populi iussu neque auctoribus patribus regnaret. Eo accedebat ut in caritate ciuium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset.
>
> Livy, I.49.3-4.

One can thus trace a development in the monarchy dependent upon the degree of personal ambition, upon the respect for the wishes of the people and senate, and upon the constitutional ways of expressing these.

Servius Tullius is the most interesting point in the decline. Livy gives a careful analysis of the basis of his power. First of all he provides himself with a guard; then he banishes the sons of Ancus, the murderers of Priscus. Next he attempts to avert danger from Priscus' sons by marrying them to his own daughters. However, it is after his first successful campaign, against Veii and her allies, that he becomes secure in his rule:

> Peropportune ad praesentis quietem status bellum cum Veientibus ...sumptum. In eo bello et uirtus et fortuna enituit Tulli; fusoque ingenti hostium exercitu haud dubius rex, seu patrum seu plebis animos periclitaretur, Romam rediit.
>
> Livy, I.42.2-3.

So he was lucky; he had the opportunity to establish his rule by his virtue and fortune in war, which made up for his neglect of constitutional regularity. Servius came to fulfil the requirements of kingship solely in his action, and Livy gives no explanation of the constitutional basis of his power; it was simply a question of the inclination of the people.

However, when Servius feels that Tarquin is becoming a threat, to counter accusations that he is ruling *iniussu populi*, he does go to the people for a vote. Not, though, before he has made sure of the good-will of the plebs by distributing some captured land:[59]

> Seruius quamquam iam usu haud dubie regnum posssederat, tamen quia interdum iactari uoces a iuuene Tarquinio audiebat se iniussu populi regnare, conciliata prius uoluntate plebis agro capto ex hostibus uiritim diuiso, ausus est ferre ad populum uellent iuberentne se regnare; tantoque consensu quanto haud quisquam alius ante rex est declaratus.
>
> Livy, I.46.1.

Livy does not state outright that Servius depended entirely upon the division of land to secure a favourable vote; he does imply that this was what caused his popularity to be so great. The event is a second manifestation of the idea of ambition in seeking constitutional power that was introduced with Priscus; looking again at how Livy characterizes Priscus' innovation, we can change the emphasis; it is not simply that Priscus was the first to be ambitious, but that his ambition leads him to attempt to win over the people in a specially calculated speech. With Servius, this manipulation of the people goes further, to involve specific practical measures at conciliation.

In this way the simple picture of three stages of increased usurpation by the last three kings, must be replaced by something more complex. In every case, the usurpation is shown in relation to the people. When Priscus first canvasses for the kinship, he appeals to the political power of the people directly in a way which none of the earlier rulers had done. When Servius finally decides he needs constitutional confirmation of his rule, again,

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59 Dionysius makes land distribution a philanthropic virtue, and has it from Romulus on II.53.4 (with conquered territory). Tullus Hostilius does it with royal land, in order to endear himself to the people III.1.4.

he confronts the people directly, both acknowledging a greater political role for them, and also exploiting his own personal power. If we look now at the situation in the new republic, when the senate is attempting to muster Rome to withstand Porsenna, we find a picture of the relationship of senate and people which is surprisingly similar to that of people and king under Servius:

> Nec hostes modo timebant sed suosmet ipsi ciues, ne Romana plebs, metu perculsa, receptis in urbem regibus uel cum seruitute pacem acciperet. Multa igitur blandimenta plebi per id tempus ab senatu data.
>
> Livy, II.9.5-6.

The *blandimenta* were the lifting of restrictions on the supply of corn and salt. Livy then goes further, to point out how crucial these measures were in creating the idea of Roman hatred for kings.

> Itaque haec indulgentia patrum asperis postmodum rebus in obsidione ac fame adeo concordem ciuitatem tenuit, ut regium nomen non summi magis quam infimi horrerent, nec quisquam unus malis artibus postea tam popularis esset quam tum bene imperando uniuersus senatus fuit.
>
> Livy II.9.7-8.

It may seem to us an odd definition of good government, particularly just after the departure of the kings, in that the people are acting in response to a bribe, rather than voluntarily uniting themselves against the kings; however, if we take as its essence the idea of firm control of the people, then the senate's actions can be seen to fit in with the good government exercised by all the kings before Superbus. Again, if we compare this constitutional crisis with the one that followed the death of Romulus then matters become clearer. In the picture of the relationship of the senate and people at the start of book II, we find confirmation that Livy is pointing to a particular idea of development. The similarity between the political relationships of Servius to those after the expulsion of the kings does indicate a positive development of the people under the kings, as a response to their treatment by them.[60]

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60 Livy also uses the Servian constitution as a marker of greater political sophistication, comparing it to the egalitarian constitution of Romulus at I.43.10. He later thanks fortune for allowing Servius to continue long enough in his reign that *constitui ciuitatis mores possent*. I.46.6. He is not referring explicitly to the new *ordines* here, although they may be implied, as the most obvious measure Servius took with regard to his people. Either way, his analysis restates the idea of the necessity of the kings, and of the development of the people under them.

The narrative of the interregnum evokes an idea of chaos and of fragmentation. What everyone wanted was a king, and the interim measure, the interregnum, is represented as something of a disaster, the people of Rome being not yet ready for liberty.[61] There are clear parallels between what Livy says would have happened with premature liberty at II.1, and the picture of the interregnum, but by the time of the expulsion of the kings, these same relationships have taken on a more developed appearance, indications of political growth. During the interregnum, the senate fear that the internal strife would enable a foreign power to rise up.[62] By II.1, this has been replaced by the possibility that the people could have used a foreign power to help them in a struggle with the senate; they fear their own citizens.[63] Likewise, all the senate can do during the interregnum is vainly ape the monarchy, replacing one king with one hundred; by the start of the republic, they act together as one. At the same time, their treatment of the people is decisive and effective, and they are shown to be capable of acting as a convincing replacement for the kings. Conversely, the people no longer simply wish to be ruled; they are shown to have the potential to oppose the senate, and to exploit their own power against that of the senate, either in *tribuniciis procellis*, or by using foreign enmity.

At II.1, Livy gives the picture of what would have happened had premature liberty been won; it is clear, however, that the level of political behaviour envisaged is more advanced than what actually happened after Romulus' death. To clarify, one could artificially break it down to three stages of development; the interregnum, the more developed, but unrealized stage of premature liberty described at II,1, and the actual events after Superbus' expulsion. In the increased importance of the people under Priscus and Servius, we can discern the shift from a people eager only to be ruled, and one capable of wielding their own power. In this scheme, the crucial role played by Superbus can be better understood, in that through his oppression he prevented the picture of discord at II.1 from being realized, while at the same time helping to bind the people together. By the end of the rule

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61 Livy, I.17.
62 Livy, I.17.4.
63 Livy, II.1.5.

of Servius the people had developed to the level of political consciousness that is described in II.1; that is, to a state where they still lacked a certain unity. It was thus important that the senate take firm control, and cultivate the people with a bribe, in order to rule with the popular support that had become necessary, and to cement the bond between senate and people, which the tyranny of Superbus had only begun. Seen in the light of this coherent thread of development within book I, the idea of the senate indulging the people is explained as the politically sophisticated appreciation of the people, that could lead Livy to describe it as good government. The moral dubiety of the action is offset by the idea of the particular level of political development that the scheme annunciated in II.1 implies, and that is found to have developed in the narrative of book I.

There are two points of comparison with the behaviour of the senate here. One is Superbus, and his degrading treatment of the people; the other is the relationship between the kings and their people that is found in Livy's account of Romulus, Numa and Ancus.[64] As we saw earlier, Romulus and Numa are both depicted as enlightened monarchs, standing far above their people. Likewise, Livy makes Ancus into a very far-sighted ruler.[65] As soon as he began to rule, he thought back to his predecessors. He perceived that Tullus, excellent in other respects, had neglected religion, and so he revived the practices introduced by Numa. Rome's enemies were delighted, thinking that they would catch the new king out while at prayer. But Ancus was mindful of both Numa and Romulus, and although he could see that peace had been the right answer for a young people in Numa's time, he realized that times had changed, and were better suited to another Tullus. So he invented *bellicae caerimoniae*, the fetial formula.

Livy shows Ancus to be highly sagacious; he makes all his decisions on the basis of strict deductions, and on perceptive reaction to circumstance. We have also seen his prudent desire to learn from the experience of his predecessors; when he is successful in

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64 When Servius is compared to Numa at I.42.4., his social reforms parallel to Numa's religious ones, it is crucial that although his work is "rem saluberrimam tanto futuro imperio", he is not credited explicitly with remarkable foresight, or shown to be superior to his people.

65 What follows is a summary of I.32.2ff.

war, like Tullus, he incorporates the captured people into new parts of the city.[66] The expansion then motivates an increase in the size of the city, and Livy then lists the important foundations of Ancus' reign, including the pons sublicius. The increase in population, however, led in turn to a degeneration in morals, and Ancus responded by building the first prison, as a deterrent.[67] Rome was now so great that he could extend it out to found Ostia.

Livy hardly mentions the people during Ancus' reign, but it is clear that he stands apart from them, assesses the tone of the age, changes the population, and then responds to its moral state. Everything he does indicates a control of the people, and of events generally. In this, Ancus stands in a direct line to Romulus and Numa. The change that has occurred between Numa and Ancus is a change in the times, for which Livy does not attribute a cause.[68] Livy does, on the other hand, make the moral degeneration of the people a specific reaction to the growth of the population of the city.[69] To sum up, Livy narrates the rule of Ancus in terms of the government of the king, does not suggest that he is in any way dependent upon the people, but rather that he assesses them in the same way that he assesses the impersonal changes in the times. There is a clear difference between this, the reigns of the next three kings, and the behaviour of the senate at the start of the republic.

The people are hardly mentioned in the reign of Superbus either. At the start of his reign, Livy points out that since he lacked the support of the people Superbus can rely on nothing but fear to maintain his rule.[70] Indeed, Superbus exploits Servius' populist leanings by recruiting support for his usurpation among disgruntled senators, mostly of the

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66 Livy, I.33.1 :"secutusque morem regum priorum, qui rem Romanam auxerant hostibus in ciuitatem accipiendis, multitudinem omnem Romam traduxit."

67 Livy, I.33.8.

68 Simply saying that Ancus realized, "temporaque esse Tullo regi aptiora quam Numae." I.32.4;

69 "Ingenti incremento rebus auctis, cum in tanta multitudine hominum, discrimine recte an perperam facti confuso, facinora clandestina fierent, carcer ad terorem increscentis audaciae media urbe imminens foro aedificatur."

Livy, I.33.5-6.

70 Livy, I.49.4. quoted above, p.133.

gentes minores.[71] Being so uninterested in the people naturally leads to oppression, and although this is shown more in the tyrannical behaviour of individuals, the people do feature in what amounts to an allegory of tyranny, exploited by Superbus in his building works, the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, and, worse, the Cloaca Maxima.[72] Livy imputes to Superbus a scheme behind these measures, a concern that an idle plebs should not become a burden to the state.[73] Such a concern is the perverse counterpart of the benign measures to ensure the public good taken by Numa or Ancus.[74] Again, disdain for the people is emphasized.

These abuses are brought up again in the other place where the people are important, Brutus' speech to the Romans, urging the banishment of the kings.[75] In this second appearance, Livy creates the picture of a consistent growth of support, beginning with Lucretia's family, then attracting followers at Collatia, then moving to Rome, where Brutus addresses the whole people. He speaks of the rape of Lucretia, then of Superbus' arrogance to the people in using them as builders instead of warriors. He then mentions the murder of Servius by his wretched daughter, whom the people then chase home with curses. The tyranny of Superbus, then, is summed up in his demeaning behaviour to his people, and this is epitomized further by the violent behaviour of his son and his wife.

However, in spite of the abuse suffered at the tyrant's hand, when faced with danger from Porsenna, the Roman people unexpectedly waver. It is a surprise particularly after they had been so vehement in their hatred of the name of the tyrant that they had had to banish Tarquinius Collatinus.[76] By such a remarkable contrast, Livy emphasizes the lapse of the plebs' sense of moral purpose when faced with Porsenna, and makes it clear that the

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71 Livy, I.46.2 with 47.7.

72 Livy, I.56.

73 Livy, I.56.3.

74 Livy, I.19.4 ;I.32.2. One can compare Superbus' perverse use another of the earlier kings' virtues, appeal to precedent. He cites Romulus as an example for not burying Servius; I.49.2.

75 Livy, I.59.3-60.

76 In that case, their zeal was excessive. "Ac nescio an nimis undique eam minimisque rebus muniendo modum excesserint." Livy, II.2.2. Ogilvie translates (ad.loc.): "I can not help wondering whether they did not go too far in their excessive protection of liberty in every quarter and in the smallest matters."

work of the kings was not enough to bring the people to act spontaneously in their own best interests, to safeguard liberty. By comparing the reaction of the senate to the people with the detached rule of the first four kings, it is clear that the senate's way of dealing with the crisis responds to the greater political sophistication that developed under Priscus and Servius, where government consists of responding to the needs of the people, rather than distantly adopting measures for their improvement. It is this assessment of the level of political development of the people which explains how Livy can describe *blandimenta* and *indulgentia* as good government. The process of growth which Livy ascribes to the regal period is shown not to be completed until the senate has replaced fear of monarchy with hatred of it. The hatred of the Tarquins is put to the test when the fear of the kings recurs, with the real danger that the support of Porsenna will enable Tarquinius to return. In this crisis, the senate has to ensure the people's allegiance to liberty and to counter their fear. It can only do this by acting in a way that corresponds to the treatment the people would expect, by providing the same kind of encouragement as Servius at his election, by taking the particular level of the people's political development into account.

In describing the senate's action as *blandimenta* and *indulgentia*, Livy makes it clear that the people had not grown so far as to be capable of making a decision based solely on moral virtue; further, by making this one gesture of pragmatic generosity from the senate into the key to Roman hatred of monarchy, Livy suggests that what kept the new republic from foundering and returning to monarchy was something very small; indeed, one rather calculating practical measure, rather than a great wealth of moral resolve. Walsh points out that Livy is here endorsing the senate's behaviour as part of the successful encouragement of *concordia* which forms one of the recurrent themes of the second book.[77] Tränkle stresses how the idea of the trial of the new state shapes the narrative of book II, pointing out that Livy deliberately chooses particular strands of the historical tradition in order to bring out, in the episodes of Brutus and Publicola, the crucial role of altruistic moral

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77 Walsh, p.69.and note 2.

resolve in the protection of the state at this vulnerable point.[78] The good government of the senate in winning over the people is the background to this; it is a conclusive action, ending monarchy at Rome once and for all, and instilling hatred of the kings. At the same time, it produces a picture of a state that is far from perfect, and which requires further action, symbolized by Brutus' extreme dedication to the state, to give it the necessary internal unity. Augustine tells us that Sallust attributed the successful cohesion of the state after the expulsion of Superbus not to the pursuit of justice, but *metus hostilis*.[79] Perhaps Livy is taking up Sallust here, countering his negative view of the start of the republic with an alternative anlysis: one which stresses idea of firm government and of specific internal dedication to unity, with the senate, and then great individuals, acting to unify the people and to replace fear of the kings.

So the development that Livy envisages under the kings does not leave the people unified at the start of the republic, but still requires strong action by the senate, and then later by individuals, both to unify, and to create a singularity of moral purpose. At the same time, the depiction of the relationships of the kings to the people in the regal period demonstrates an intimate connection between a growth in the political significance of the people and the specific styles of government of the kings. This development is only hinted at in the narratives of the reigns, and is only stated explicitly at the start of II. However, it is only by drawing out the implicit picture of the development of the people under the kings that the explicit statements concerning the function of the period can be understood.

As an expression of the significance of liberty, and of the contrast between liberty and *regnum*, Livy's picture of the start of the republic can hardly be called idealistic. Rather, Livy uses the opening of II to establish a pattern for what is to be one of the enduring political structures of his later history, how the senate deals effectively with the people. At the same time, he is making a point about how much more the senate has to gain, both from *libertas* and from hatred of *regnum*, than the people themselves.[80] Curiously, then, the

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78 H.Tränkle, 'Der Anfang des römischen Freistaats in der Darstellung des Livius', *Hermes* 93(1965),311-337.

79 Augustine CD II.18 & III.16 = Hist. Fr.1,11.

80 See L.Bruno, '*Libertas plebis* in Tito Livio', *GIF* 19(1966),108-130.

opening of II suggests a degree of similarity and continuity between the rule of the kings, and the rule of the senate.

Symbolic reflections of Political Development after Tarquinius Priscus.

The change in the role of the king, the different type of domination, is not the only progression that can be observed. Livy also points out a growth in what might be called cultural sophistication, which can really be said to act as an allegory of the political change.[81] A really significant break occurs with the arrival of Tarquinius Priscus at Rome; the influence of the Etruscan civilization at Rome is shown to be one of sophistication.[82] It is clear in the pre-foundation narrative that the Etruscan culture was already old, and although, as we have seen, Livy does not make a great deal out of the primitive character of early Roman society, his depiction of the first four kings rests upon the idea that the people were just shepherds. The interest in Priscus' Greek ancestors again places him in a foreign, more sophisticated context. The break in the narrative style that occurs when Priscus is first introduced emphasizes the difference he will make to the character of Rome; it is in a lengthy interruption to the account of the reign of Ancus that we encounter for the first time a character who is given a more than cursory personality, a complex set of motives, and has a wife who is also characterized.[83] When he takes his place as the successor of Ancus, Livy makes it clear that a new development is occurring:

> Isque primus et petisse ambitiose regnum et orationem dicitur habuisse ad conciliandos plebis animos compositam.
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> Livy, 1,35,2.

This acts as the culmination of the description of Priscus' motivation in coming to Rome in the first place. After he has successfully gained the throne, Livy makes it clear that the political ambition he displayed during his election can also be seen to be the motivation

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81 As I hope to make clear, the cutural change is always subservient to the political one.

82 It had already been characterized as more developed in the pre-foundation and Romulean narrative, see above, p.111 and 117f.

83 Livy, 1.34.

behind an institutional innovation:

> Ergo uirum cetera egregium secuta, quam in petendo habuerat, etiam regnantem ambitio est; nec minus regni sui firmandi quam augendae rei publicae memor centum in patres legit qui deinde minorum gentium sunt appellati, factio haud dubia regis cuius benificio in curiam uenerant.
>
> Livy, 1,35,6.

It is the first time that an aetiological point, the explanation of the origin of the *gentes minores*, has become the focus of a piece of political analysis; indeed, the new tone of political activity is made to leave its mark upon a lasting institutional innovation.[84]

In harmony with the new political sophistication, Roman culture is shown to have changed in several ways:

> Bellum primum cum Latinis gessit et oppidum ibi Apiolas ui cepit; praedaque inde maiore quam quanta belli fama fuerat reuecta ludos opulentius instructiusque quam priores reges fecit.... Ludicrum fuit equi pugilesque ex Etruria maxime acciti.... Ab eodem rege et circa forum priuatis aedificanda diuisa sunt loca; porticus tabernaeque factae. Muro quoque lapideo circumdare urbem parabat...
>
> Livy, 1,35,7-36,1.

The influence of booty was great; the opening up of shops in the forum implies a new kind of material prosperity, as do the stone wall and the annual games. That the competitors are summoned from Etruria further symbolizes that such ideas were imported, not indigenously Roman. The opposition of the augur Attus Navius to Priscus' plan to add to the three Romulean *centuriae* in the Sabine wars that follow, continues the idea of a change in Roman culture, and juxtaposes expedient innovation to ancestral tradition.[85]

For Bloch the episode of Attus Navius also expresses an antithesis between Rome and Etruria.[86] However, the way the episode is narrated makes no reference to any such conflict; rather, when Priscus makes fun of Navius' skill, *eludens artem* (I.36.4.), it contradicts the importance that augury played in his arrival at Rome, where Tanaquil, as an Etruscan women, is shown to be an expert.[87] This is an inconsistency which ought to

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84 Only Livy, in the extant accounts, ascribes this motivation for this institution. cf.Dionysius, III.41; Cicero, *De Republica*, 2.36.

85 Livy, I.36.

86 R.Bloch, *Tite-Live et les Premiers Siècles de Rome* (Paris,1965),46ff.

87 "Accepisse id augurium laeta dicitur Tanaquil, perita ut uolgo Etrusci caelestium prodigiorum mulier." Ogilvie points out the emphatic position of *mulier*; women

prevent one regarding as a consistent thread in Livy's account a well delineated conflict between Etruscan and Roman ways; augury, for example, is shown both to be an Etruscan speciality, but also to have existed from the first at Rome.[88] Indeed, the motives that Livy gives Priscus for moving to Rome are a clear indication that the issue at stake is not that of the difference between Etruria and Rome, so much as the contrast between the values from a long-established culture, bound by its social inflexibility, and the new city, where anything is possible.[89] Priscus' conflict with the augur demonstrates the necessity to slow down change out of respect for traditional institutions; Livy makes so much of the recourse to precedent by the previous kings, that it is hard not to understand the lesson of Navius to be one that Priscus needed to learn the respect for tradition that was natural to his predecessors.

Priscus was of Greek descent; he may have inherited all his father's wealth, and felt himself to have really succeeded when he married Tanaquil, *summo loco nata*; but still, her expectations and background were different from his, and she found herself scorned because of her marriage to a newcomer. She could sacrifice her love of her homeland as long as she could see her husband advanced, and conceived the idea of moving to Rome.[90]

> Roma est ad id aptissima uisa: in nouo populo, ubi omnis repentina atque ex uirtute nobilitas sit, futurum locum forti ac strenuo uiro.
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> Livy, I.34.6.

So it was because he was an outsider at Tarquinii that he had to move to Rome; Livy states that he was easy to persuade, since only his mother had come from Tarquinii.[91] He

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soothsayers were unusual; *dicitur* : sufficiently unusual to require an expression of disbelief. It helps to create the picture of a remarkable woman.

88 Of course, the question is of great interest to Etruscologists, but I do not intend to enter that field. It is clear that by Livy's time the traditions had stabilized, and become very Romano-centric. For Livy, a personal pro- or anti- Etruscan, or Sabine, standpoint only functions within the wider tendency of his account; it is what he can make of Etruria in contrast to Rome that matters, not the maltreatment that the non-Romans received in the tradition. A sophisticated attempt to describe those traditions is given by D.Musti, 'Tendenze nella storiografia romana e greca su Roma arcaica', *Quaderni Urbinati*, 10(1970).

89 It is the same kind of contrast as is shown in the reactions of the neighbouring peoples when they are driven by curiosity to Consualia (I.9.8-10) It is a recurrent idea that Rome's uniqueness in thrown into relief by pre-existing civilizations.

90 Livy, I.34,4-5.

91 Livy, I.34.7.

cannot really be thought of as an embodiment of Etruscan values; indeed, it is to escape the prejudice of that old, restricting civilization, that he migrates. It is the potential to succeed in a new city that leads him to Rome. The Etruscan and Greek elements in his background are used to highlight the new modernism of his rule; they are not a self-sufficient comment upon the nature of Etruscan culture, in which Livy displays no interest.

It is the first step on the road to Superbus that Rome's character becomes the ground for Priscus to exercise his *ambitio*. It is important that Priscus' ambition is not made to be the simple result of foreign influence. It may be true that Priscus conceives his ambition in Etruria, and it is therefore significant that the first occurrence of political ambition at Rome is shown not to be spontaneous and home-grown. Nonetheless, just as Livy does not condemn Priscus for his ambition, so he shows the dependence of that ambition upon that particular relationship of Rome to her neighbours: it is part of Rome's development that she should begin, at this point, to appeal to the opportunism of a sophisticated foreigner.

An important methodological question arises when looking at the relationship between Rome and Etruria in the account of Livy. It is the aim of Bloch, who sees the conflict of Rome and Etruria in the episode of Attus Navius, to uncover in Livy's narration, the traces of the real relationship of Rome to Etruria. There is no doubt that Etruria embodied certain values for Livy, and that simply the mention of the word Etruria, for example, when Superbus imports Etruscan engineers, evokes the idea of modernity and sophistication.[92] It is, however, a set of associations that develops out of Livy's narrative itself; even in the pre-foundation narrative, he is keen to emphasize the wealth of Etruria in contrast to the simplicity of Latium. When examining Livy's account of the regal period, it is important to extrapolate the particular relationship between Rome and Etruria as far as it does pervade the narrative of the period; stated most loosely, it acts as a way of making the last three kings different. This is a totally different kind of enquiry from the one that looks at Livy's account with a view to uncovering the historical reality that is thought to lie behind it.

It is useful at this point to remember that Livy, Cicero and Varro all characterize the

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92 Livy, I.56.1.

cultural change that Priscus introduced in different ways. Augustine tells us that Varro says that the gods were worshiped at Rome without images for 170 years.[93] He regarded the innovation as one which did great damage to the purity of Rome's piety. It would have occurred in 584, thus during Priscus' reign.[94] Cicero attributes the beginnings of the arrival of Greek learning at Rome to Priscus; it was, he tells us, the start of a great flood.[95] What is important to all these is not so much an assessment of Etruscan culture, as the idea that with Priscus, Rome begins to lose her original cultural simplicity. In Livy's account, the idea of this change is announced on a political level, which reflects upon the developing nature of the Roman people, and upon the level of material progress, in the new games, and new buildings. The temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is another crucial symbol; Livy makes it begin under Priscus, to be completed under Superbus, as a sign that in the former the germ for the latter is to be found.[96]

It is in the progression discernible in the three central women under Etruscan kings, Tanaquil, Tullia and Lucretia, that Livy provides a dramatic parallel to the fall of the monarchy and the political changes. Again, the question of the contrast between Rome and Etruria has been found to lie behind this progression. Heurgon points out that in the contrast between the Etruscan women and Lucretia, there is the faint, badly-understood echo of a real difference between the position of women in Etruscan and Roman society.[97] I would suggest rather that Livy retains this distinction, but does not overstate it; one reason would be that there would be no need, for example, to emphasize the fact that Lucretia was a Roman, as there would be for Dionysius.[98] At the same time, Livy's account is motivated by ideas far more specific than the racial contrast. The progression from Tanaquil to Tullia is made to represent that increase in personal domination which led

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93 Augustine, CD IV.31.

94 See Rawson, *Intellectual Life*, p.199.on the introduction of sculpture, and pp.244-5 on the dating of the foundation to 754.

95 Cicero *De Rep*. II.xix.34.

96 Livy, I.38.7 & 55, where the connection is expressly stated. The temple is reappropriated for a free state by the dedication by one of the first consuls, II.8.6.

97 J.Heurgon, 'L'Expression muliebris audacia chez Tite-Live I,46,6.', Resumé, *REL*. 38(1960),38-41.

98 As Heurgon points out. cf *Antiquitates Romanae* IV.64.4.

to Superbus. Tanaquil herself grows more vivid and powerful as matters progress; she receives two direct speeches, one when Servius is discovered, head aflame, and the other cajoling Servius to take power.[99] Her language and domination of events is noticeably more vehement in the second.[100] Lucretia's modesty and silence signify her innocence; she only speaks just before her death.[101]

Tullia plays a particularly interesting part in this process, as Livy extends his characterization of Tanaquil; while Tanaquil's interventions are always on the side of good, as is Priscus' own *ambitio*, with Tullia we find a more complex relationship between evil ambition, political change towards tyranny, but also a sense of the power of *fortuna* to turn a calamity into an essential contribution for later success. Livy introduces the episode by stating that crime was the precondition for the mature liberty that came with disgust at the kings:

> Tulit enim et Romana regia sceleris tragici exemplum, ut taedio regum maturior ueniret libertas ultimumque regnum esset quod scelere partum foret.
>
> I.46.3-4.

It was the *fortuna populi Romani* that postponed the union of Tullia with Superbus by their initial marriages, thereby allowing the people's *mores* to become strengthened, "quo diuturnius Serui regnum esset constituique ciuitatis mores possent."[102]. This brings into relief the total difference between Servius and Superbus.[103] Livy suggests that had Servius' reign been only a little shorter, the happy outcome of the expulsion of the kings would have failed. The iniquity of Tullia's contribution to Rome's history is thus only very slightly mitigated by the idea that without it, Rome would have continued a monarchy. She is *ferox*, and admires *cupido* and *audacia*. She is driven by envy of Tanaquil's power, while scorning the fact that she was a foreigner:

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[99] Livy, I.39.3 and 41.3.

[100] See Ogilvie on 41,1-5.

[101] Livy, I.58.7-11. More detailed analysis of Lucretia will be given as a comparison to Ovid's account.

[102] I.46.5-6.

[103] Openly emphasized at the junction the accounts of Servius' death and Tarquinius' first actions as king. I.48.8-49.1.

> ... nec conquiescere ipsa potest si, cum Tanaquil, peregrina mulier, tantum moliri potuisset animo ut duo continua regna uiro ac deinceps genero dedisset, ipsa regio semine orta nullum momentum in dando adimendoque regno faceret. His muliebribus instinctus furiis Tarquinius circumire et prensare minorum maxime gentium patres;...
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> I.47.6-7.

We can interpret this comparison of Tanaquil and Tullia in terms of the degenerating character of monarchy; the contrast is between Priscus' appreciation of the openness of Roman society, and the ambitions of Tullia for an hereditary system in which real power lies with her. The words chosen to describe Tullia's influence on Superbus emphasize that he really is her creature; Tanaquil had simply pushed her men in the right direction. Livy makes the political effect of her machinations very immediate, returning to a point made a short while previously, that Servius' distribution of land had been unpopular with the senate.[104]

Livy also emphasizes Tullia's intrusion into the public world of men; Tanaquil had only stood behind the scenes. The account of Servius' death and Tullia's defilement of his corpse is a potent symbol of her improper power. She was believed to have ordered her father's killing:

> Creditur, quia non ahborret a cetero scelere, admonitu Tulliae id factum. Carpento certe, id quod satis constat, in forum inuecta nec reuerita coetum uirorum euocauit uirum e curia regemque prima appellauit.
>
> I.48.5-6.

Superbus then orders her home, because of the crowd, and it is while fulfilling her husband's orders that she comes upon Servius' body and runs it over. This act leads first to the aetiology of the *vicus sceleratus*, and is then endowed with its political significance:

> ...Tullia per patris corpus carpentum egisse fertur, partemque sanguinis ac caedis paternae cruento uehiculo, contaminata ipsa respersaque, tulisse ad penates suos uirique sui, quibus iratis malo regni principio similes propediem exitus sequerentur.
>
> I.48.7.

So it was while returning to her house that she did the deed, and she took the traces of it back there with her; her own fate, and that of the monarchy, were in part precipitated by the wrath of her household gods. Livy emphasizes the idea of the overflowing of private concerns into the public domain, points out, by referring to the Penates, that the realization

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[104]I.46.2. See above, p.138f.

of Rome's destiny can also be a private matter. This interplay of private and state is continued in the political ramifications of the rape of Lucretia, and just as Tullia's character symbolizes the decline of monarchy, so Lucretia's chaste, homeloving silence is its antithesis. The collision of these two sets of values is made into the driving force of history. Livy makes personalities symbolize events.

Livy reintroduces the people into the narrative when Lucretia's body is laid out in the forum of Collatia, where it becomes the focus for calls for revenge.[105] However, during the narrative of the rape he ensures that the matter remains the concern only of individuals; it is the words of Brutus, drawing the dagger from the body, that make the explicit connection between the fate of this one individual, and that of the whole Roman people:

> "Per hunc' inquit 'castissimum ante regiam iniuriam sanguinem iuro,
> uosque, di, testes facio me L.Tarquinium Superbum cum scelerata coniuge
> et omni liberorum stirpe ferro igni quacumque dehinc ui possim
> exsecuturum, nec illos nec alium quemquam regnare Romae passurum.'
>
> Livy, I.59.1.[106]

And from here events move almost absurdly swiftly in the fulfilment of the oath. In fact, the whole narrative of the reign of Tarquinius has followed the actions of individuals; the relationship of Rome to her allies is depicted in terms of Superbus' actions against Turnus Herdonius; when Livy signals that he is about to give an account of Superbus' successes in war, this soon becomes subordinated to an account of the trickery involving Sextus at Gabii, just as the account of the war against Ardea gives rise to the story of Lucretia. "minime arte Romana, fraude ac dolo" are the words Livy uses to describe Tarquin's ploy for the capture of Gabii.[107] Again, trickery is at play in the way he deals with Turnus.[108] Ogilvie points out that Superbus is formed like a Greek tyrant, and traces the echoes of Herodotus and of Greek tragic models.[109] There is no doubt that the hellenized style of the narrative reflects the character of the tyrant's reign, and the preponderance of stories

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[105]Livy, I.59.3.ff.

[106]See Ogilvie ad.loc. on the wording of the oath, which makes play with official language.

[107]Livy, I.53.4.

[108]Livy, I.50-52. Ruch gives a good analysis of how the Turnus episode displays Superbus' tyrannical character. *Caesarodunum* (1969)3,pp.108-110.

[109]Ogilvie, 194ff.

involving individuals highlights the greater importance in tyrrany of the personal life of the ruler. The figures of Tanaquil and Tullia introduce this change in character portrayal; they signal the encroachment of the private over the public that is completed in Superbus' personal domination of everything.

The accusers of Collatinus point out that "nescire Tarquinios priuatos uiuere."[110] It is Tanaquil who begins the process by nurturing Servius for rule as a *privatus*. Tanaquil says to Priscus:

> Scire licet hunc lumen quondam rebus nostris dubiis futurum praesidiumque regiae adflictae; proinde materiam ingentis publice priuatimque decoris omni indulgentia nostra nutriamus.
>
> Livy, I.39.3-4.

The sons of Ancus plot Priscus' death:

> sed et iniuriae dolor in Tarquinium ipsum magis quam in Seruium eos stimulabat, et quia grauior ultor caedis, si superesset, rex futurus erat quam priuatus.
>
> Livy, I.40.4.

This is ironic; as such a thing had not happened before, they could not be aware of the possibility that Servius would become king, even though a *privatus*. And this particular conflict, of Servius with Ancus' sons, surfaces again:

> Nec iam publicis magis consiliis Seruius quam priuatis munire opes, et ne, qualis Anci liberum animus aduersus Tarquinium fuerat, talis aduersus se Tarquini liberum esset, duas filias iuuenibus regiis ... iungit; nec rupit tamen fati necessitatem humanis consiliis quin inuidia regni etiam inter domesticos infida omnia atque infesta faceret.
>
> Livy, I.42.1-2.

Livy thus hints at the role that Servius' domestic arrangements were to have upon the future, not only of the monarchy, but also of Rome's history.

So the domination of individuals in the narrative works together with the role that such domination played in the development of events at Rome, and began under Priscus. This was not just a matter of personal ambition in seeking power, but also of the more protracted move towards private domination of the state. In the rape of Lucretia, this domination is given a personal incarnation of such violence, that it turns the action back to the public sphere. Livy then narrates the king's departure with remarkable speed, as if to bring out

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[110]Livy, II.2.3.

his desire to end the book quickly, and to separate the narratives of the kings and of the republic, and to mark in the narrative style the change that he then announces at the start of the next book, from the rule of individuals, to that of law.

Development in book I thus takes place on several levels. There is a decline in respect for the constitution, and a concurrent encroachment of the private on the public, which at the same time has an effect upon the political role of the people. There is the arrival at Rome of *ambitio*, complemented by public expenditure of booty; with Servius this leads to the beginnings of neglect for the constitution, and again, the first public distribution of land to win popularity. The political change coincides with with the coming of the Tarquins, and Etruscan influence to Rome, and a change in the style of the narrative, stressing individuals, and the Greek background, to complement this. Livy lets the exploits of individuals dominate the narrative to carry the idea of the particular political change that he envisages taking place in the regal period; it is a change from a people dominated unquestioningly by a king to a people who are made aware of their political power when it begins to be exploited, and who are spurred to reject that exploitation by an event which is of a purely private nature, but so outrageous as to have great ramifications on the public. Things begin to change with Tarquinius Priscus on all these levels. The kind of political behaviour that the ambitious pursuit of power by Priscus and Servius encourages, sets the standard for the relationship of the senate and the people at the start of the republic, whose recourse to material gratification of the people builds upon what Priscus and Servius had discovered. Although it is done allusively, Livy is careful to show a particular kind of political activity developing under the kings. To return to the hypotheses of Ruch and Walsh, it would now seem that Livy has a more specific idea of the growth of the people than one dependent only upon impersonal forces. Livy charts the growth of the people on a political level, at every point envisaging a particular kind of political relationship. He ties the people's development to their function in the style of the government of individual kings. At the same time, he makes the narrative of events involving individuals mark out important aspects of the political progression: Turnus Herdonius and Lucretia reflecting Superbus' oppression, Tanaquil and the general Etruscan presence both highlighting new

modernization, sophistication, and the dominance of the personal in political life.

It is not difficult to see that in many ways this chain of development foreshadows, on a minute scale, a particular view of the development of Rome's history, a view that was held by Sallust, and which Livy seems to have accepted, although articulated in different proportions.[111] Decline began, for Sallust, with the arrival at Rome of *ambitio*, with the fall of Carthage; this was in itself fairly harmless, but turned out to be the beginning of the end.[112] To overstate it is to misrepresent the subtle tone of Livy's account, but the increasing encroachment of individuals, combined with the growing exploitation of the people, is recognizable as a parallel to the later history of Rome. Livy's interest in growth at the start of the book presages this; and the isolated and sporadic appearances of quickly recognizable motifs, *regni cupido*, *ambitio*, land distribution, using booty to refurbish the city, all suggest that as well as acting as a preface to the republic in a political sense, the regal period in Livy prefigures many of those reactions to circumstance, those ways ruling men behave, which gave republican history its character.[113]

In some ways too, therefore, given the great importance that accusations of *regnum* play in later books of Livy, this prefiguration acts as a particularly subtle explanation of the origin of the hatred of the idea of *regnum.*[114] The account of the senate's method for instilling this hatred makes it apparent that Livy is alive to the full ambivalence that hatred of kings has in later politics, as well as to the great role played by circumstance in expressions of that hatred. With this in mind, the facts that Livy is careful to provide a build-up to Superbus, and at no point actively idealizes any of the kings to excess, enable the account of the reigns of the kings to be seen as a very careful attempt to provide an aetiology that corresponds in detail to those ideas of which it propounds the first examples. The bad side of monarchy is shown to be something that stems from a complex and real

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[111]See Opperman,op.cit.

[112]Sallust, *Cat.*10-12.

[113]Just as, of course, *auctoritate magis quam imperio*, coming before the regal period, foreshadows what came after the republic.

[114]L.Bruno, '*Crimen regni* e *superbia* in Tito Livio', *GIF* 19(1966),236-259. explores these themes and on p.237,note 12, gives a list of accusations of them in Livy.

political situation; the ambitions of Priscus and Servius are not themselves reprehensible, but they do lead on to Superbus. At no point is it so simple that one isolated example of tyrannical behaviour engenders hatred forever. Just as later at Rome the figures most notorious for *cupido regni* were in fact populists, and accusations of *superbia* could be directed against the staunchest defenders of senatorial privilege, so monarchy itself is shown to cover an exhaustive range of possibilities, and at its most iniquitous, is not simply the reverse of good kingship, but in fact shown to be directly related to it.[115] Livy thus departs from the Polybian and Ciceronian idea of constitutional decline being characterized by polar opposites. Livy's picture of constitutional decline in the regal period is much more fluid, and with the recollection of later Rome, much more relevant to a view of history that embraced the overwhelming importance dominating individuals had at Rome, and the great variety of possibilities that the same constitution provided for them.

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[115]Sp.Cassius, Sp.Maelius, M.Manlius, and many members of the gens Appia. See Bruno, op.cit. T.Cornell, *Atlas of the Roman World* (Oxford,1982),pp.22-3. describes how "subconscious" aristocratic fears of the lower classes lay behind accusations of *regnum*.

Before turning to examine two poetic renditions of the regal period, it is right to draw attention to certain general features of the prose versions, partly by way of summing up, partly in order to signal the obvious difference between prose and poetry. So far we have seen how the regal period plays a particular part in the analysis of the whole of Rome's history. In spite of the variety in the depiction of Rome's development and the role of the kings within this, in every case the explanation of the kings' role was central in providing an adequate description of Rome's origin. The idea of Rome's later history always seems to shape the conception of the regal period. In Dionysius, the unvarying excellence of Rome's history clearly began at the beginning. In Livy, the problems of controlling the people, and of individuals becoming too powerful are shown developing in the regal period, but alongside displays of characteristically Roman virtue. In Cicero, the kings are models of statesmenship, idealized in order to express the need for such men, but divorcing it from the concurrent dangers of personal domination.

These political analyses are all shaped by the dialectic between origin and later development, between present and distant past. They all deal in different ways with ideas of similarity and difference, between what is immediately recognizable, and what needs explaining or what is particularly evocative of antiquity. Such a dialectic is the main point of contact between prose and verse accounts. The importance of the regal period as the period of origins was not only felt by those analysing Rome's development; as Varro's work shows, it was an important part of the whole conception of Roman identity and culture. We shall see that in the elegists the regal period becomes a way of alluding to Rome's history as a whole, and that this history has particular connotations.

The poetic analysis of the past is, however, of a different kind from the historians'. In elegiac poetry particularly, poetry is perceived to be a matter of personal concern. Cicero's actual political importance gives his analysis a relevance to the course of Roman history which is unparralled, and Varro's work too was of direct concern to Julius Caesar. Livy's relationship to Augustus is well known, while Dionysius clearly perceives his mission to Greece as one intimately related to Rome's destiny. Thus our prose accounts all contain a sense of relevance to the powerful at Rome themselves. Elegy in particular continually

signalled its difference from such kinds of writing. In the next two chapters I shall be exploring the interplay between private and public as reflected by the appearance of the regal period in elegiac poetry. In the prose accounts already, the different forms of identification with the distance past were a central feature of historical analysis. In the elegiac versions, these ways of expressing similarity and difference, of commenting upon the relevance of the past to the present, are taken into a different world, that of the individual. However, their very presence in that world signals a change, and it is in Propertius that the nature of this change is worked out. By the end of the analysis of Ovid, it may well be felt that this change reflected an actual historical shift in the degree to which history and the personal were thought to relate. Such a shift could reflect the *princeps'* own position within Rome's historical development, intruding as the leader of the state into the lives of individuals, as an individual into the idea of Rome and its empire.

The regal period in Propertius IV.

In Propertius' last book, his poetry takes subjects incongruous to the love-elegy of his earlier work. This new variety can be thought of as the major concern of the book. The bond between the elegiac metre and the figure of the love-poet marginal in society, preferring love to war in poetry as in life, dominated the earlier books. In IV this bond is dissolved as the poet broadens his scope to include Rome's history. That history is the history of early Rome, and we shall see that the regal period has a particular place in the elegist's conception of Rome's past. Propertius explores in IV the dilemma of how the elegist can treat subjects which he had previous shown required a bombast and grandeur to which he was unsuited. This dilemma is recalled in Ovid's *Fasti*, which is the subject of my next chapter. Ovid builds on Propertius IV, and there again, the regal period becomes the medium in which the elegist can celebrate Rome's history.

Recent work on Propertius is dominated by the attempt to provide a correct formulation of the idea of political protest or dissent. The source for such ideas is first the picture of the poet standing on the edges of society; this in itself gives Propertius' work the character of protest. But second and more important is the change in the last book, and perhaps particularly the last poem of the last book, which adds a different sense of progression to what are, after all, the rather isolated expressions of the poet's marginality to be found in the rest of the work. Propertius' last poems are so completely out of character with the expressed poetic tenets of the earlier books. This has lead readers to survey the whole of Propertius' work and to see his decision to write the kind of poetry he has said he would not write, as a response to some kind of pressure, a pressure first adamantly resisted, and then finally succumbed to. For many people, in the generations raised on *The Roman Revolution*, this pressure is an external one; IV is seen as a way of giving a context to the epitaph of Cornelia or the Actium poem, commissioned by Augustus, or else it was the reluctant but voluntary submission in the face of the inevitable power of the encroaching

totalitarian regime.[1] As in the rest of this thesis, I shall undertake detailed examination of the poems in the belief that this is more productive that remaining with unverifiable externals. I shall look at IV in terms of its use of history, which is mostly regal history, to attempt a more precise definition of the character and purpose of the book, and to point out what the regal period undergoes by its inclusion in elegy.

The literature on Propertius is vast; it would be easily possible for each simple statement to refer to the work of countless scholars. Furthermore, Propertius attracts great diversity of approach, and as Wyke has recently pointed out, each reading contains its own theory of reading, either implicit, or openly discussed.[2] To give a balanced account of this number of different readings is a task inappropriate to this thesis, not least because of limitation of space. Three books have recently appeared which provide discussion of much of what has gone before, and which together offer sophisticated interpretations of the poet, and aspects of the latest research into his historical context.[3] Furthermore, two recent review articles contain summaries of the most important trends in current research, one containing a substantial bibliography.[4] It is my aim to be brief; to provide a succinct reading of IV, so that the references to the regal period can be understood, and so that the relationship of history to elegiac poetry can be elucidated. This in itself involves a large amount of detailed textual discussion, and because my use of Propertius is so sharply defined I shall be more selective than elsewhere in my references to the views of others. Likewise I shall be restricting myself to poems which are relevant to my theme, either poems where the regal period is directly depicted, or poems where light is cast upon the

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1 W.Eder, 'The Augustan Principate as Binding Link', in K.A.Raaflaub & M.Toher (eds.) *Between Republic and Empire* (Oxford, 1990),pp.71-122 assesses the historical conditions behind Syme's account and its influence. Gradual defeat is the thesis of H-P Stahl, *Propertius: Love and War. Individual and State under Augustus* (Berkeley, 1985), the most carefully and lengthily argued version.

2 M.Wyke, 'In pursuit of love: the poetic sense of self and a process of reading: Augustan elegy in the 1980s', *JRS* 79(1989),165-75.

3 Stahl, op.cit., whose notes rigorously come to grips with a remarkable range of the literature; G.Catanzaro & F.Santucci (eds.) *Bimillenario della Morte di Properzio, Atti del convegno internazionale di studi properziani*, (Assisi, 1986); T.D.Papanghelis, *Propertius: a hellenistic poet on love and death* (Cambridge, 1987).

4 W.R.Nethercut, 'Recent Scholarship on Propertius', *ANRW* 30.3(1983),1813-57. M.Wyke,op.cit.(note 2).

processes of such a depiction, that is, poems where the relationship between elegy and history is explored. This will not misrepresent Propertius; it will be seen that all his history is history of early Rome, and that the regal period provided Propertius with a particular kind of history which enabled open identification of the elegist with Rome.

IV.i

In IV.i, Propertius describes early Rome, approaching the past in what is essentially an aetiological manner, comparing Rome at the time of its origins with Rome now, and in the process mentioning various moments in Rome's early history. In the structure of its thought, it resembles the discussion of the topography of the city of Varro's DLL V.[5] After sketching Romulean and Evandrian Rome, dwelling upon the simple unsophistication of material and spiritual existence, we come to the foundation of Rome from Troy, and a brief glimpse into the future of Rome's history, which bears a striking resemblance to the end of *Aeneid* VI. The poet then interrupts himself, expressing doubt at his own capacity to deal with such a weighty topic. He huffs and puffs, and finally produces a poetic programme; he will be the Roman Callimachus, devoted to his fatherland and to Rome. However, this is soon countered by an intervention from Horos, who claims astrological authority for stating that this is the wrong path for Propertius, one not favoured by Apollo. Horos then lists a number of historical-sounding events which he claims to have successfully foretold, passing on to the role of astrology in the Trojan war, and from there to Propertius himself, giving a short biography, and ending with a declaration of the inescapability of his involvement with love and elegy.

Propertius' earlier use of the *recusatio*, as well as the model of Callimachus, leads to the expectation that the words of Horos will reaffirm love elegy against the pretensions of the *Roman Aetiology* [6] of the first half of the poem, and that this reaffirmation should

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5 Of course, it also resembles Tibullus II.v and some of *Aeneid* VIII.

6 I shall, for convenience, use this phrase to denote the first half of IV.i, up to the appearance of Horos.

result in a return to love elegy. In III.3, for instance, Apollo appears to the poet, when he is on the point of retelling the stories from Roman history, and drinking from the same stream as Ennius. Apollo prevents him, and shows the sacred grove of the Muses, where Calliope proclaims Propertius' destiny. She precludes the loud, martial poetry of battles and history, supplanting it with love elegy:

> quippe coronatos alienum ad limen amantis
> nocturnaeque canes eabria signa fugae,
> ut per te clausas sciat excantare puellas,
> qui uolet austeros arte ferire uiros.
>
> III.1.47-50.

Broadly speaking, this programme is fulfilled in III. The *recusatio* of IV.i, however, has a very different result; of the remaining ten poems in the book, all but three can be characterized by their relationship either to history or to some kind of aetiology.[7] The programmatic message of IV.i, then, is far from clear, at least when examined in this summary way. There remain two central questions which arise from the defeating of expectation of a poem written in this form. First, is the *Roman Aetiology* exemplary of a kind of poetry which is wrong for Propertius, in the same way as history and *arma* are rejected in III.3? Second, in what way does Horos convey this, and if his reaffirmation of love elegy is not to be taken seriously, what is Horos' function? The first question relates directly to the main theme of this thesis, as it is essentially the same as asking how Propertius can incorporate early Roman history into his poetry. As regards Horos, if the poem can be seen as a programme for the rest of the book, then Horos' role should reveal something about the alteration of Propertius' poetics, and about the relationship between the *Roman aetiology*, and the other, very diverse, aetiological and amatory poems that follow.

In the conclusion of the *Roman Aetiology* there is a poetic proclamation, in which the poet expresses doubt as to his capacity to deal with such great themes. Correctly interpreting this moment of doubt is the precondition for understanding the change that has occurred in Propertius' poetic theories, so big a change that he can now produce a poem

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7 The exceptions are IV.iii, IV.v, IV.vii.

that so contravenes the rejection of Roman history found in the programmatic statements of the previous book. As in III.iii, the *recusatio* structure of the prologue to Callimachus' *Aetia* is recalled. The poet begins to think of epic, but then declares himself unequal to his task. We must ask whether, as in earlier *recusationes*, the poet's attempt at something greater, the *Roman Aetiology*, is to be discarded as a failure.

optima nutricum nostris lupa Martia rebus,
    qualia creuerunt moenia lacte tuo!
moenia namque pio coner disponere uersu:
    ei mihi, quod nostro est paruus in ore sonus!
sed tamen exiguo quodcumque e pectore riui
    fluxerit, hoc patriae seruiet omne meae.
Ennius hirsuta cingat sua dicta corona:
    mi folia ex hedera porrige, Bacche, tua,
ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Vmbria libris,
    Vmbria Romani patria Callimachi!
scandentis quisquis cernit de uallibus arces,
    ingenio muros aestimet ille meo!
Roma, faue, tibi surgit opus: date candida, ciues,
    omina et inceptis dextera cantet auis!
sacra diesque canam et cognomina prisca locorum:
    has meus ad metas sudet oportet equus.

Prop.IV.i.55-70.

At the opening of III, Propertius had declared his desire to follow Callimachus. He was prevented from writing epic accounts of Rome's history by Apollo, who reinforced this desire by upholding the exquisite and exclusive fineness of elegy over the commonplace verbosities of epic. Here Propertius goes further, hoping to *be* the Roman Callimachus (l.64); the phrase "cognomina prisca locorum", remind us that aetiology, not love, was Callimachus' subject; in spite of its resemblance to the *Aeneid*, this aetiology of Rome is clearly an attempt to live up to his Callimachean ambitions. The image of the walls of the city growing from the milk of the wolf of Mars is another aetiology, of which Propertius hopes to be worthy in his verse. The poet then admits he is not up to the task, but will, nevertheless, dedicate whatever power he has to his fatherland. The three figures that follow can be interpreted as representatives of different styles of poetry; Ennius is gently dismissed, together, by the transferral of an epithet, with his particular way of depicting the hairy men of early Rome; on the other side, Callimachus is the poet with whom Propertius can identify. It is from Bacchus, however, that Propertius will take his lead when proudly celebrating Umbria, his homeland.

The significance of Bacchus is these days problematic, but it seems that Bacchus had a fairly standard significance as the representative of a type of poetry that lay between the fineness of elegy and the bombast of epic, poetry in which more serious subjects could be treated in the slender poetics of love-elegy.[8] In III.17, to give one example, Bacchus became the antidote to love, the last lines of the poem being a plea to rid himself of the harrowing *servitium superbum* of love in return for celebrating Bacchus in a Pindaric manner. Such a departure from love poetry would fit the present context as well: Propertius is aiming for something between elegy and epic. In such a style he will celebrate his country, jointly Umbria and Rome. The pride in his poetic skill is to be measured against the walls of the city; it is left deliberately unclear which city; we are to imagine an Umbrian Rome. In this way, the celebration of his own poetic glory at home shall act as a celebration of Rome.

Macleod describes how the overblown style of this passage represents an unworkable clash between the Callimachean and un-Callimachean, between the poetics of fineness and those of grandiosity.[9] Even in attempting to describe a possible compromise between epic subject matter and elegiac technique, he seems to hint that such compromise is impossible. "Ut nostris tumefacta superbiat Umbria libris" is such a grotesque image of the result of the elegiac poet's attempt to combine his previous slender poetic art to a grander subject, that even in the utterance of the wish its disappointment is expressed. The union between the personal and the epic is extended so far, and, in the application of *tumor* to Umbria, depicted in such overloaded language, that the failure of the attempt is made apparent as soon as it is stated. Any attempt at simply changing the subject matter to elevate the genre will result in bombast.

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8 It is a controversial point, but not fitted for detailed discussion here. Relevant are Callimachus *Epigram* 7, Propertius II.30, Horace *Odes* III.25, Lucretius, I.921ff. and the discussion of V.Pöschl,'Dichtung und Dionysische Verzauberung in der Horazode 3,25', in *Miscellanea di studi Alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni* (Turin, 1963),pp.615-625, and J.Griffin, *Latin poets and Roman Life* (London, 1985),p.73. Macleod believed, however, that Bacchus represented a clash between Callimachean and un-Callimachean that undermined the attempt at grand poetry which the Roman Aetiology represent. C.Macleod, *Collected Essays* (Oxford, 1983),p.212.

9 C.Macleod, op.cit.

On the other hand, delight in language that recalls epic, and in overblown images, is undeniably a part of the refusal to produce epic. The grandiose style of III.i, which purports to be the manifesto of a disciple of Callimachus, is the most obvious example.[10] Already in II rejection of epic consistently leads to the introduction of epic material to an erotic context, involving comparison of epic characters with modern lovers. The weight in such comparisons often falls rather upon the depiction of the epic world, even extending to direct evocation of Homeric battles, than upon the present day, and extension of the relevance of the past into the present.[11] The rejection of epic thus brings with an obvious desire for the attractions of epic, which often leads to what might be called a clash. Thus in IV.i, the exaggerated method of expression with which the poet imagines the glorification his depiction of Rome will produce, is part of a well established ambivalence towards the attraction of grandeur. Its recurrence in IV.i need not suggest that grandeur undermines the attempt to reach a compromise.

The question of the success of the *Roman aetiology* is still open. It is possible to read the present subjunctive *coner* (l.69) as referring as much to what has already happened as to any new poetic project. The description of Rome in pious verse has already occurred, and its interruption can be considered a commentary on the poetic process behind the opening section of the poem, as well as the expression of a new direction. The poetic compromise symbolized in the choice of Bacchus could refer to the style in which the *Roman aetiology* is composed. On the other hand, that style could equally well be meant to recall Ennius, whose shaggy wreath, evoking a particular kind of reverence for the archaic, is refused (l.61). If it is thought that the overburdened style undermines the expression of a hope for poetic compromise, does this failure extend backwards to include the *Roman Aetiology*? If l.63 suggests that the outcome even of compromise is *tumor*, then it becomes irrelevant whether the *Roman Aetiology* represents Ennian or Bacchic poetry; either way, it is being implicitly dismissed. Clearly, however, such a method of interpretation loses touch with the kind of statement of poetics being made in IV.i. While

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10 F.Quadlbauer, 'Properz 3,1.', *Philologus* 112(1968),83-112.esp.p.97.

11 See II.3;6 and especially 8;9.

the words of Horos to some extent clarify an opposition between different ways of representing Rome's history, the ambiguity of 55ff. and their relationship to the *Roman Aetiology* suggest that an unequivocal statement of how the past can be represented in elegy cannot be found in the poetic proclamation of IV.i; as a poetic proclamation, its obscurity is almost more important than the isolated threads of clarity.

Horos' reassertion of the primacy of love elegy does contain hints of the way forward, for as well as making it clear that Propertius can never abandon the tenets of love-elegy, he confounds the question of poetic authority. Up to this point, it was always clear that the poet followed his own, self-inflicted, poetic destiny, occasionally formulating it as words from an inspiratory figure. In Propertius, the poetic path was synonymous with the life-style of the elegiac poet, always characterized as marginal in society. With Horos, all this is overturned; he claims the authority of a prophet, *vates*:

> certa feram certis auctoribus, aut ego uates
> nescius aerata signa mouere pila.
>
> IV.i.75f.

The very literal sense of Horos' prophetic talent can be thought of as a rebuff to the pretensions of the *Roman Aetiology* and the idea of the poet/prophet. Although not used until this point in the poem, the word *vates* had become a symbol for the kind of poetry which put Alexandrian pride in technique to work on themes of political or historical significance.[12] It represents the poetic role which Propertius had, until IV.i, resisted, but which, it is now paradoxically clear, he was there attempting to assume. The paradox comes by putting the word into the mouth of Horos, and supplanting the pregnant metaphorical meaning with a literal one. We are invited to compare his kind of prophecy with the poetic prophecy of Rome's destiny in the *Roman Aetiology*. Further, Horos' Alexandrian ancestry is a clear indication to think of Callimachus, and to compare the intervening Apollo of the *Aetia* prologue with this deceptive and rather Philistine figure.[13]

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12 See J.K.Newman, *The Concept of Vates in Augustan Poetry*, *Collection Latomus* 89(1967).

13 His *proavus*, Conon, IV.i.88, shares his name with the court astrologer of Ptolemy III, who discovered the lock of Berenice.

From his opening words, it is clear that Horos is giving the idea of the *vates* a reductive reinterpretation.

A similar deflating process occurs with the idea of history in Horos' mouth. The first half of Horos' speech is occupied with boasts of his powers of foresight and the accuracy of astrology compared to other forms of prophecy; this is summed up as *historia*, before he turns to discuss Propertius himself:

> hactenus historiae! nunc ad tua deuehar astra
> IV.i.119.

This *historia* largely consisted of material from the first half of the poem reworked, albeit in a rather surprising way. Where we find Romulus and Remus in the first half, we find Arria and her twin sons in the second.[14] One of these is called Lupercus, recalling Fabius Lupercus from 1.26. They seem to be personal clients of the astrologer, although the phraseology used to recount the anecdote seems deliberately overblown:

> quippe Lupercus, equi dum saucia protegit ora,
> heu sibi prolapso non bene cauit equo;
> Gallus at, in castris dum credita signa tuetur,
> concidit ante aquilae rostra cruenta suae:
> fatales pueri, duo funera matris auarae!
> IV.i.93-97.

It is a bizarre application of epic-sounding treatment of a military subject to an event of which the reader knows nothing, but which is made to bring to mind the real history of Rome. At the same time, this episode, of a mother who sent her sons to war hoping for material gain, has a certain emblematic significance as part of Horos' reassertion of the tenets of the elegiac life. As he introduces the anecdote, he points to what is an essential contrast with Romulus and Remus, opposition of a god to *arma*.

> dixit ego, cum geminos produceret Arria natos
> (illa dabat natis arma uetante deo)
> non posse ad patrios sua pila referre Penates:
> IV.i.90.

Horos' advice was correct, but ignored by a woman who was tempted by the thought of booty to force foreign military adventures on her children. The lure of foreign campaigns

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14 W.G.Shepherd, in the glossary to his translation, assumes that Arria is another name for the mother of Romulus and Remus. *Propertius: The Poems* (Harmondsworth, 1985),p.196. The evidence for this is unknown to me.

is a feature of the mainstream world of which the poet-lover can not be part.[15] Horos plays with this idea, trivializing by making it part of his boasting, and again, transforming a resonant and suggestive theme into something literal and flat.

Horos' compressed references to the Trojan war are shaped by his desire to show that astrology was superior to all other kinds of divination. This comes in direct contradiction to the depiction of the Trojan war in the *Roman Aetiology*, which stresses the element of prophecy and Rome's destiny perceived. A comparison of the two versions is revealing. First, "Propertius'" version. After the lengthy description of the ways of old Rome with which the poem opens, there is an elegant shift backwards in time to the Trojan war:

> nil patrium nisi nomen habet Romanus alumnus:
> sanguinis altricem non pudet esse lupam.
> huc melius profugos misisti, Troia, Penatis;
> heu quali uecta est Dardana puppis aue!
> iam bene spondebant tunc omina, quod nihil illam
> laeserat abiegni uenter apertus equi,...
>
> IV.i.37-42

With *huc* Propertius keeps Rome as the pivot for a change of subject matter, while quickly reminding us that his original interest is Rome, the place. He converts the seeming tragedy of the fall of Troy into a glorious new beginning for Rome by referring to the omens that refer to that process; prophecies by the Sibyl and Cassandra.

> felix terra tuos cepit, Iule, deos,
> si modo Auernalis tremulae cortina Sibyllae
> dixit Auentino rura pianda Remo,
> aut si Pergameae sero rata carmina uatis
> longaeuum ad Priami uera fuere caput:
> 'vertite equum, Danai! male uincitis! Ilia tellus
> uiuet et huic cineri Iuppiter arma dabit.'
>
> IV.i.50-54.

The "walls of Rome" passage, which is quoted above, follows. The mention of Remus' death, coming after the references to Decius and Brutus a few lines before, can be thought to be a subtle way of undermining this new poetic venture. It implies that Rome cannot be glorified without the tensions surrounding certain early events in her history emerging to

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[15] Cf I.6, or most subtly the pair of poems III.iv and v. cf.II.16 or III.20, in both of which Cynthia is involved with men who are, or hope to be, rich from foreign adventure.

qualify the picture.[16] We should bear in mind, however, that if we look at the other side of the idea of bad moments in Rome's history failing to be concealed, we discover the dominant thought of the whole section. The central idea is of an apparent disaster leading to something good, and of Rome's greatness being part of a divine order, that was perceptible to the gifted even at dark moments when it appeared most unlikely. The fall of Troy is the most clear case, and Propertius' vocabulary greatly emphasizes the idea of rebirth and growth with the foundation of Rome. In the background, of course, is the *Aeneid*, and Horace, in Odes III.3, gives a treatment of the same theme with open expression of this difficulty. More specifically, the panorama of Rome's history at the end of *Aeneid* VI refers to Brutus' tragedy, as well as to Decius, in terms that are far more explicit about the ambivalent character of their victories than Propertius.[17]

Let us compare this to the treatment the same themes receive in the second half of the poem. Horos moves from his opening discussion of the astrological signs, to begin his account of his own successful prophecies:

> 'Troia cades, et Troica Roma resurges'
> et maris et terrae longa † sepulcra † canam.
> IV.i.87-88.

It is the first moment of obvious parody in the poem, particularly as Horos moves straight away to the story of Arria. He returns later, though, to Troy, discrediting other forms of prophecy. He chooses Calchas as a *grave exemplum* of error.[18] The Trojan war, he claims, ended with ultimate disaster for the Greeks, when they were wrecked on the journey home. Instead of the prediction of Rome's foundation in the mouth of Cassandra which we find in the first half of the poem, Horos goes so far as to exhort the lesser Ajax to rape her. This reinforces his contempt for Calchas' prophecy of Greek success, for it was this rape that brought divine retribution upon the Greeks. Essential is that Horos totally ignores the importance of Troy for Rome's destiny.

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16 This view has been put to me by C.B.R.Pelling.
17 *Aeneid* VI.817ff.
18 IV.i.109.

Horos' account of the Trojan war is a complete rejection of the Virgilian treatment of the theme, which is the one hinted at in the *Roman Aetiology*. As Macleod elegantly pointed out, "Propertius" has tried to participate as a prophetic poet in the literary recreation of the predestined and predicted foundation of Rome.[19] Horos' prophetic boasts effectively parody these ambitions. All that is offered as a replacement, however, is astrological prediction, the *vates* who is not a poet, and the fictitious histories of Horos' clients, which are likewise history parodied.

Horos' destructive reinterpretation of the *Roman aetiology* does not function as a simple rejection, however. Both the idea of the incorporation of epic material into elegy, and the conventional terms for the rejection of this incorporation are given a treatment in the second half of the poem which is so strange that it is not really surprising that the matter is never raised again. All the elements that normally give a *recusatio* credence are perverted: the central figure of the poet and his divine authority; the insistence on poetic skill; the terms of the rejection.

When, to end the poem, Horos exhorts Propertius to return to elegy, his words can not be taken as anything more than a deflation of the traditional reassertion of love-poetry, congruent to the deflations of the ideas of poetic insight and authority.

> at tu finge elegos, fallax opus (haec tua castra!),
> scribat ut exemplo cetera turba tuo.
>
> IV.i.135-6.

His description of elegy as *fallax opus* can best be interpreted as referring to the deceptive nature of the present poem, or simply to his own deceptive character; to the disruption of the hitherto straightforward relationship between the implied author and his poems. This is the first time in Propertius that the reader's sense of the dominating control of the author is confused, and this confusion is directly relevant to the character of IV as a whole. To describe all elegy as *fallax opus* points out, in the mouth of this false prophet, that the elegiac poet is only, after all, one possible speaker. Horos effectively denies himself credence, and we are left wondering whom to believe, what to take as poetry, and what as

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19 Macleod 1983,p.204-5.

parody. The *recusatio* itself is deflated by Horos. The problems of poetic authority, which had previously been so important in the *recusatio*, are subjected to a bewildering reinterpretation.

The conflict that emerges towards the end of the *Roman Aetiology* points to a central problem in Propertius' poetics: finely wrought poetry depends upon the consciousness of the poet of himself as an artist, and the dominance of the poet brings with it the choice of the poet as the only possible subject matter. For the poet to speak of Rome's history is a breach of the long-established divide between private and public which was fundamental to Propertius' earlier poetry. When he takes this step, in the *Roman Aetiology*, he begins by speaking impersonally, a little like the epic poet, and then later begins to attempt to establish a compromise dependent upon personal involvement and the continued veneration for poetic skill, now expressed as prophecy. The intervention of Horos takes the argument into totally new territory; it reveals that there is no longer a single poetic personality identifiable with the writer of the poem. Likewise it demonstrates that the central tenets of Propertius' poetics are notions that can be altered and parodied, exploited in different contexts. They are no longer the stable devices that anchor poems to a constant sense of the author's personality. The desire to speak of Rome, IV.i makes clear, requires the poet to be able to assume the appearance of other figures, to speak in other persons. He has to move away from the closed world of the autobiographical technique which has ruled until now, of the complete identification of the voice of the poet with the protagonist of the poems. Horos is a crucial bridge in Propertius' implementation of this change.[20] .

The description of Rome in the regal period, then, with which the poem begins can be thought of as one possible experiment. It describes Rome in terms that recall Varro's aetiology, as well as themes from Virgil, bringing out the difference of the simple pious poverty of the earliest days, which combines with the early prediction of her later greatness. The aetiological structure is employed in a very indistinct way, the connection

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20 For similar views of the function of IV.i see J.Warden, *Fallax Opus* Phoenix:Supplementary volume 14(1980),p.101ff. M.Wyke, 'The Elegiac Woman at Rome', *PCPS* n.s.33(1987),153-78.

between the character of the past and that of the present being left unstated, to create the impression of reverence for distant origins, and serious pride in their later development.[21] In spite of its success, though, the poem makes clear that such poetry can not satisfy the requirements of the genre and the poet; however, it ensures that new different compromises are made possible, based upon an alteration in poetics, in particular in the violation of the elegiac world.

IV.ii

The opening of IV.ii confirms the predominance of the question of authorial personality:

> quid mirare meas tot in uno corpore formas?
>
> IV.ii.1

It is not until the second line that it is clear who is speaking; we are expecting the return of Propertius after the flourishing departure of Horos. This opening pronouncement must, then, at first sight be thought to be a direct message from the poet, drawing attention to his versatility. As if to prove the point, the second line shows the readers that the poet has taken yet another guise, and that we were wrong to think he was again speaking in his own person:

> Quid mirare meas tot in uno corpore formas?
> accipe Vertumni signa paterna dei.
>
> IV.i.1-2.

He makes it clear from the start that his permanence, as a statue, endows him with the particular quality of uniting past and present, of having an overview of a long span of Roman history.

> Tuscus ego Tuscis orior, nec paenitet inter
> proelia Volsinios deseruisse focos.
> haec mea turba iuuat, nec templo laetor eburno:
> Romanum satis est posse uidere Forum.
> hac quondam Tiberinus iter faciebat, et aiunt

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21 For Stahl (p.258), whose tendency to treat nuance as hard fact probably rests upon his idea of the repression of Augustus, the unstated but understood connection is the Julian family.

remorum auditos per uada pulsa sonos:
at postquam ille suis tantum concessit alumnis,
Vertumnus uerso dicor ab amne deus.
IV.ii.3-10

Vertumnus' history cannot easily be fitted into the history books, but Propertius evokes the early expansion of Rome, from a time before the city was fully established. Later historical references locate him there during the regal period.[22] However, chronological fluidity is more important. Past and present are placed side by side, the origin of an object, a sculpture, allowing a much greater sense of the unity of distant past with present than was possible with the comparative aetiological method of the *Roman aetiology*. However similar or different Rome then and Rome now may be, they are, unlike Vertumnus, not the same.

Vertumnus' references to his location play upon themes recognizable from the *recusatio* imagery of the previous book. Vertumnus likes the crowd. In line with Callimachean claims to poetic exclusivity, Propertius eschews the crowd in poetic statements at the start of III, although he does takes pride in a crowd of girl-readers, and lets Horos provide him with a crowd of followers in IV.[23] Vertumnus' happiness without a lavish temple recalls the statement of the superiority of poetic remembrance over monumental, as well as the more general scorn for material wealth,[24] and a marginal position on the edge of the Forum may look back to the elegiac version of participation in a triumph, standing on the edge of the crowd with your girl-friend.[25] Vertumnus' assumption of the poet's role, with which the poem begins, is continued by these allusions. At the same time, the process we observed in Horos' speech, whereby *topoi* become separated from their previous resonances, is again at play here. The speaking Herm is a curious figure to recall the elegist.[26]

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22 See below, p.172.

23 III.i.12: " scriptorum meas turba secuta rotas". III.iii.24: "medio maxima turba mari est." "turba puellarum", III.ii.10 cf.IV.i.136

24 III.ii.

25 III.iv.

26 It is possible that the poem is modelled on a now fragmentary Iambic aetiological poem of Callimachus, where a phallic Hermes Perpheraios reveals his Tuscan origins, as well as the reason for his erection. See Fg.197 and 199 Pf. with commentary. Warden,

As the poem progresses, and it becomes clearer that Vertumnus' opening words refer to his ability to disguise himself as different characters, and we are taken through different kinds of aetiologies to account for his name, Vertumnus' double role as the centre for aetiology, and as an allegory for poetic versatility, also becomes clearer. As soon as he has given the explanation of his name drawn from the geography of early Rome, he offers another, this time pastoral, and we encounter a whole range of market gardening vocabulary that is unusual for elegy. Unusual too, at least in comparison with Callimachus' aetiological poems, is the uncertainty concerning the true origin of Vertumnus' name. The poet's scholarly expertise is often demonstrated in Callimachus with information from divine authority, and whatever its source, depends upon claims of authority.[27] Vertumnus, in contrast, seems to play upon this unreliability as a sign that the poet has a wider range, and is not limited by the demands of scholarship. After two versions of his name, he exclaims:

> mendax fama, noces: alius mihi nominis index:
> de se narranti tu modo crede deo.
> IV.ii.19-20.

These words confirm the legacy of Horos, in that they conceal any monolithic idea of poetic authority behind a complex of irony. All the definitions of his name have, of course, been given by himself.

Later on in the poem, Vertumnus points out that given the right accessories, he can impersonate either Bacchus or Apollo:

> cinge caput mitra, speciem furabor Iacchi;
> furabor Phoebi, si modo plectra dabis.
> IV.ii.31-2.

This would seem to reflect the broad range of subject matter that Vertumnus' self-analysis covers. As well as gardening, we have hunting, shepherding and charioteering, among

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Fallax Opus, p.103 and note 33, perceived a more general formal similarity to the *Priapeia*.

27 See for example *Aitia* Fg 43 Pf. or Fg 7,19-21 Pf. Both of these are based on a patttern of dialogue between poet and goddess, where the dominant tone is one of sanctity and learning. The framework is not one of inspiration. The poet is shown to have as much to contribute as the goddesses.

others, and, of course, history. Thus turns out to be regal period history, since naturally, Vertumnus dates his origin to the reign of Numa.

> sex superant uersus: te, qui ad uadimonia curris,
> non moror: haec spatiis ultima creta meis.
> stipes acernus eram, properanti falce dolatus,
> ante Numam grata pauper in urbe deus. 60
> at tibi, Mamurri, formae caelator aenae,
> tellus artifices ne terat Osca manus,
> qui me tam docilis potuisti fundere in usus.
> unum opus est, operi non datur unus honos.
> IV.ii.57-end.

To end the poem, Vertumnus first draws attention to his nature as a poetic creature, perhaps in the process making a joke by getting the number wrong, before giving his actual origin, as opposed to the origin of his name. Mamurrius was the creator of the shield of the Salii, the aetiological story arising as an explanation of the incomprehensible words of their hymn.[28] Whether Propertius invented the whole thing is unclear, since no mention of this statue is made in any other ancient source. In any case, Mamurrius certainly lends the trappings of a real historical existence. It is worth noting that Propertius shows no trace of knowledge of Varro's argument that graven images of the gods only came to Rome with Priscus.[29] Notwithstanding, l.60 seems to convey an image of an early religious simplicity that corresponds to the picture of Roman religion in IV.i.[30]

Just before this ending section, Vertumnus offers another historical aetiology, this time of the Vicus Tuscus.

> et tu, Roma, meis tribuisti praemia Tuscus
> (unde hodie Vicus nomina Tuscus habet),
> tempore quo sociis uenit Lycomedius armis
> atque Sabina feri contudit arma Tati.

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28 cf.Ovid Fasti, III.259ff, esp.383ff.

29 See chapter 2 p.48f. Any relationship with the temple of Vortumnus on the Aventine seems unlikely.

30 "fictilibus creuere deis haec aurea templa",
IV.i.5.

"nulli cura fuit externos qauerere diuos,
cum tremeret patrio pendula turba sacro...
IV.i.17f.

"Vesta coronatis pauper gaudebat asellis...
IV.i.21.

Vertumnus was Etruscan, but it hardly seems possible to press this to make him a *deus externus*.

uidi ego labentis acies et tela caduca,
atque hostis turpi terga dedisse fugae.
IV.ii.49-54.

Vertumnus was eye witness to this early battle; its unobtrusive inclusion depends on the brevity of the treatment, the fact that the battle was not a major event in Rome's history, that Tatius was not a hero of epic. Further, Vertumnus' personal involvement, and the fact that the aetiology is of a small item, the Vicus Tuscus, keep the battle very much within recognizably close limits. Even with the apostrophe to Rome, the whole passage never becomes grandiose. Although containing historical elements, then, the function of Vertumnus as an allegory of poetic versatility, and the broad range of subjects the poem covers, soften the obtrusiveness of the presence of regal history in the poem, an effect which is strengthened by the specific aetiological structure through which the past is approached. He can be taken as an emblem of the elegist's new role; his versatility, his changes of *persona*, his interest in aetiology, and his concurrent natural tendency to refer to early Roman history all demonstrate the ways in which the elegist's role can be extended to include Rome.

IV.iii & iv.

The exploitation in new contexts of ideas from the elegiac world continues in the next pair of poems in the book. They treat of unsatisfied desire, of love and war; at the same time, they reverse any preconception of the nature of the relationship of past to present. Such reversals are taken further in IV.vi and IV.viii, which are discussed next. If we compare the two poems, the opposition of love to war and its extended metaphor, the *militia amoris*, upon which much of Propertius' earlier poetry depended, can be seen to have undergone significant alteration. This is emphasized by a dramatic new use of the differences between past and present, historic fact and amatory fiction.

In IV.iii Arethusa laments her separation from her soldier-lover. As in the preceding poem, Propertius keeps the artificial nature of poetic construction before our eyes, this time by making the poem a letter, and making its writer refer to her writing:

Haec Arethusa suo mittit mandata Lycotae
cum toties absis, si potes esse meus.
si qua tamen tibi lecturo pars oblita derit,
haec erit e lacrimis facta litura meis:
aut si qua incerto fallet te littera tractu,
signa meae dextrae iam morientis erunt.
IV.iii.1-6.

The poem is built upon the opposition between Arethusa's location and that of her lover, of the woman at home and the man abroad, and upon ways in which, in Arethusa's desires, the two overlap. This opposition is an extension of that between love and war which dominates the earlier books, but there is one important difference; Arethusa's desire to be properly united to her lover includes the desire to participate in his life as a soldier. Instead of cursing his career for separating them, she idealizes it; instead of repudiating *arma*, she loves it (or them):

at mihi cum noctes induxit uesper amaras,
si qua relicta iacent, osculor arma tua.
IV.iii.30.

felix Hippolyte! nuda tulit arma papilla
et texit galea barbara molle caput.
Romanis utinam patuissent castra puellis!
essem militiae sarcina fida tuae,
nec me tarderent Scythiae iuga, cum Pater altas
acriter in glaciem frigore nectit aquas.
omnis amor magnus, sed aperto in coniuge maior:
hanc Venus, ut uiuat, uentilat ipsa facem.
IV.iii.43-50.

This ideal of *coniunx apertus* contrasts to the description of her actual improvised marriage to the soldier. Because soldiers were not allowed to marry, this was a morbidly gloomy affair; the marriage torch (fax) was taken from a funeral pyre, she was besprinkled with Stygian waters.[31] Joining the army in imagination, the change in atmosphere is remarkable; instead of death there is life; the ideals of togetherness, loyalty and respectability are bound with the image of the martial woman and a glory in physical endurance.

Arethusa at home in some ways resembles other women from earlier books, with her *nutrix* and female companions. Like the typical *docta puella*, love incites her to read; not

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[31] IV.iii.11-16. A fascinating, but here irrelevant, development of love and death images, runs through several poems in the book. Explored by Papanghelis, op.cit,(note 3).

love poetry, but geography, that she may better understand the soldier's life. She converts the *militia amoris* from an allegory of the life of love to show the desire of a lover for a conventional military life. She wants to reappropriate the army for lovers. She also embodies many archaic-sounding virtues. She weaves her husband's cloaks and performs ritual prayers, burning *herba Sabina* on old hearths. Her interest in the army does not extend to booty, above which she places the safety of her lover. Thereby, of course, she restates an idea common to the *militia amoris*, but the context makes the connotations quite different. She thus represents a blend of elegiac elements with images that belong more to the epic world of war. The elegiac scorn of wealth is linked to love of *arma*, as well as to traditional virtues such as fidelity and piety.

Tarpeia's love of *arma* imbues what is essentially the account of a battle with an erotic element. The episode is introduced by way of a clearly recognizable topographical aetiology:

> Tarpeium nemus et Tarpeiae turpe sepulcrum
> fabor et antiqui limina capta Iouis.
> lucus erat felix hederoso conditus antro,
> multaque natiuis obstrepit arbor aquis,
> Siluani ramosa domus, quo dulcis ab aestu
> fistula poturas ire iubebat ouis.
>
> IV.iv.1-6.

fabor again keeps the idea of poetic construction alive, particularly since not only the poem, but also the object around which it is based, Tarpeia's tomb, is a creation of the poet. At the same time, the present tense and the first person serve to reintroduce the poet, providing a link to the present which reinforces the aetiological structure for approaching the past, and acting as a stepping stone between the worlds of Arethusa and Tarpeia.

A more conventional depiction of regal Rome would be hard to visualize; the particular formula *lucus erat* is a favourite one in such contexts;[32] the picture of penumbral dankness and the trees, of Silvanus piping to his sheep, blend the mythical and historical in the pastoral in a very beloved Augustan manner.[33] After briefly setting the scene, with Tatius

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32 IV.vi.15; IV.viii.3.

33 cf. Tibullus II.v as well as the *Roman aetiology* of IV.i. The overflowing Tiber of early Rome is central to every account of the exposition of Romulus and Remus, and is frequently referred to by Varro.

encamped around the citadel, Propertius continues the opening mood with direct comparison of Rome past and present, which continues for some time.[34]

Into such a setting, Propertius brings Tarpeia; from the opening line it is clear that she is vile, and the next comment upon her is more condemning:

> et satis una malae potuit mors esse puellae,
> quae uoluit flammas fallere, Vesta, tuas?
>
> IV.iv.17-18.

Tarpeia's deception of Vesta's flame mirrors the flame of Arethusa's love, fanned by Venus.[35] Virtue and the two goddesses find their usual relations rearranged. Tarpeia sees Tatius exercising below, and is overwhelmed by the sight of his face and his *regalia arma.*[36] Recalling Arethusa, she asks to be united with her lover, but under different circumstances:

> Ignes castrorum et Tatiae praetoria turmae
> et formosa oculis arma Sabina meis,
> o utinam ad uestros sedeam captiua Penatis,
> dum captiua mei conspicer esse Tati.
> Romani montes, et montibus addita Roma,
> et ualeat probro Vesta pudenda meo:
> ille equus, ille meos in castra reponet amores,
> cui Tatius dextra collocat ipse iubas.
>
> IV.iv.31-38.

The *militia amoris*, already given a new literal interpretation by Arethusa, is here extended further. l.37 in particular uses military language of love in a way that totally negates the metaphorical way of describing love in the language of soldiery that was created in the earlier books. Whereas Arethusa may have wished her husband were not a soldier, her own desire to join the army being a strategy to deal with her separation, Tarpeia's love of Tatius is totally defined by his military attraction. Her wish to be captured is entirely literal, although the motivation is erotic.

Tarpeia's desire to be united with Tatius leads her to plan the betrayal of Rome; her contemplation of the result is described with a particularly suggestive concatenation of images of marriage and fighting, which builds upon the previous poem.

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34 Until l.15.

35 Quoted above, p. 174 cf.IV.iv.69-70, discussed below, p.177.

36 IV.iv.19-21.

dos tibi non humilis prodita Roma uenit.
si minus, at raptae ne sint impune Sabinae,
me rape et alterna lege repende uices.
commissas acies ego possum soluere nupta:
uos medium palla foedus inite mea!
adde, Hymenaee, modos! tubicen, fera murmura conde!
credite, uestra meus molliet arma torus.
IV.iv.56-62.[37]

The betrayal of Rome will be her *dos*. Arethusa, on the other hand, sees her ideal union as just reward for her *fides*. Continuing the images of torches from the previous poem, Tarpeia's desire is fed in her sleep by the *faces* of Vesta, which simultaneously ignite her desire and her guilt.

nam Vesta, Iliacae felix tutela fauillae,
culpam alit et plures condit in ossa faces.
IV.iv.69-70.

It is a rather unusual role for Vesta to play, and stranger still that Propertius should choose to recall here the relationship of Vesta's flame to Troy. As a vestal virgin, and responsible for guarding the flame, the image can easily be read as a compression of the idea that Tarpeia's betrayal of her job made her feel guilty; the association of marriage torches with death made by Arethusa can still be felt here, the burning of Tarpeia's desire foreshadowing her doom. Marriage and death are joined at the end of the poem, when Tarpeia welcomes Tatius to the citadel:

at Tatius (neque enim sceleri dedit hostis honorem)
'Nube' ait 'et regni scande cubile mei!'
IV.iv.89-90.

After she has been crushed by the Sabine shields, the poet remarks:

haec, uirgo, officiis dos erat apta tuis.
IV.iv.92.

Retribution against Tarpeia is described in the same images as her desires, but they are taken to their logical conclusion; a marriage based on treachery is equated with death. The attraction felt for *arma* results in their being used to destroy the desirer. The reader is left in no doubt as to the justice of the outcome; the irony of Tatius' words reinforces the idea that Tarpeia's own combination of images will bring her no good.

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37 I read *nupta* rather than *nuptae*; see H.E.Butler & E.A.Barber, *The Elegies of Propertius* (Oxford, 1933),p.348 and P.Fedeli, *Properzio Elegie Libro IV* (Bari, 1964),p.148.

The poem is not simply concerned with the suggestive recombination of images of love, war and death. Propertius is emphatic about maintaining a conventional picture of the regal period throughout the poem; between Tarpeia's speech and the opening of the citadel, there comes an ample description of the Parilia, with Romulus himself making an appearance.

> urbi festus erat (dixere Parilia patres)
> hic primus coepit moenibus esse dies,
> annua pastorum conuiuia, lusus in urbe,
> cum pagana madent fercula diuitiis,
> cumque super raros faeni flammantis aceruos
> traicit immundos ebria turba pedes.
> Romulus excubias decreuit in otia solui
> atque intermissa castra silere tuba.
>
> IV.iv.73-80.

Only Propertius dates the event to the Parilia; it is an admirably compressed way of using an aetiology to bring the foundation of the city to the reader's mind, while at the same time avoiding the kind of poetry found in the *Roman aetiology*. The recollection of the origin of Vesta's flame is very similar. Both allude to a much grander vision of Rome's origins without disrupting this individual episode enclosed within its narrative structure. The appearance of Romulus reinforces the impression of historical accuracy; at the same time, it works to anchor the episode firmly in one point in the past, preventing the kind of constant comparison of past and present which characterizes the aetiological technique in IV.i., or the lack of strong chronological focus of IV.ii. Further, Propertius seems to want to emphasize the presence of royalty at Rome at the time. For Tarpeia, part of Tatius' attraction seems to lie in his royalty:

> obstipuit regis facie et regalibus armis,
>
> IV.iv.21

and in her view of herself as queen:

> † sic hospes pariamne tua regina sub aula †
>
> IV.iv.55.

while his last words to her reinforce this idea, mocking her desire to be a royal bride.

> 'Nube' ait 'et regni scande cubile mei!'
>
> IV.iv.90

Within this distinctly regal setting the poem produces a sophisticated comment upon the connection between history and the morality of different kinds of love. When the elegist examines the past, looking for the origin of a particular monument and the earliest association of a particular place, what he finds is a love story that is easily recognizable from his own world. However, distance in time makes Tarpeia's love different; instead of rejecting war for love, and bestowing *fides* upon her beloved, war is the condition for her love, *arma*, its object, and she tries to win her man by betrayal. She is, in fact, the complete obverse of the narrator of the earlier books, and as she speaks of her unrequited passion, we clearly perceive what makes her distinct from him, as well as what they share. As part of his new experiment in dissolving the traditional oppositions of elegiac poetry, Propertius suggests that historical aetiology can be the negation of love elegy. While showing how love and war can merge, Propertius presents in Tarpeia a nasty, reductive re-reading of values from the elegiac world.

IV.vi & viii.

In the contrast between IV.vi and IV.viii, a reversal of expectation is experienced which closely resembles that created in IV.iii and iv. The battle of Actium is introduced as a topographical aetiology, but the poem shies away from actual battle narrative, and is concerned almost entirely to blend the event with myth. IV.viii can be read as an erotic Actium, joining historical event and the idea of the numinous closeness experienced in aetiology in an erotic elegiac context.

It is a commonplace of the critical literature that IV.vi is not what it should be. The poem's failure to discuss the battle itself, or, more strikingly, its treatment of Cleopatra, can be looked upon as points of tension, where Propertius can be felt to be coming up against Augustan propaganda. Certainly, when Propertius discussed Cleopatra earlier, in III.11, it was in terms of a tirade. That poem began

> quid mirare, meam si uersat femina uitam,
>
> III.xi.1.

and the loathing expressed for Cleopatra sits uneasily with the pride in subjugation to a woman that defines the elegiac poet's world. Cleopatra was a woman who took up arms, in the processes threatening to disrupt the whole victorious course of republican history, beginning with the fall of the Tarquins:

> quid nunc Tarquinii fractas iuuat esse securis,
> nomine quem simili uita superba notat,
> si mulier patienda fuit? cape, Roma, triumphum
> et longum Augusto salua precare diem.
>
> III.xi.47-50.

As we have seen, the idea of a closer relationship between women and *arma* has already been explored in IV, and certainly Propertius was conscious of Cleopatra's unique place in history as Rome's only woman enemy. The point in IV.vi where he comes closest to recalling his earlier poem contains a very similar difficulty, the difficulty of reconciling personal subjugation to a woman with the horror of public subjugation:

> di melius! quantus mulier foret una triumphus,
> ductus erat per quas ante Iugurtha uias.
>
> IV.vi.65-6.

It is totally unclear with how much irony one can read *quantus*. Admiration at the thought of Cleopatra enslaved and disappointment that she was never brought to Rome clash with an uneasy dismissal of her historic significance.

Indeed, Cleopatra is not given much space in IV.vi. The poem's main concern is to give an account of Actium, introduced as an aetiology of the temple of Palatine Apollo, which emphasizes its place in the divine destiny of Rome and Augustus, and which describes the role of Apollo, and the reasons for his involvement, as well as the contribution of other gods, who spectate from all sides. This is not the place for a full discussion of the poem; suffice it to say that the opening devotes much time to the prophetic involvement of the poet; that the atmosphere is one of serenity and lightness, but also of reverence towards religious and historical traditions. When, towards the end of the poem, we read:

> bella satis cecini: citharam iam poscit Apollo
> uictor et ad placidos exuit arma choros.
>
> IV.vi.69-70.

we are made aware how little has been said about *arma*, how minute the role of war has been in the poem.[38]

IV.viii begins very clearly in the present:

> Disce quid Esquilias hac nocte fugarit aquosas,
> cum uicina nouis turba cucurrit agris.
> Lanuuium annosi uetus est tutela draconis,
> hic ubi tam rarae non perit hora morae, ...
> IV.viii.1-4.

The opening imperative brings the reader into conversation with the poet. Very quickly the contemporary world is suggested, with everyday locations and a group of neighbours. Then, at l.3 there is the formula of the aetiology, using *est* in a rather specialized way, characteristic of the introduction of topographical aetiology.[39] The rite of the serpent at the shrine of Juno is described at surprising length. Age is emphasized, as is the possibility for sight-seeing, reminiscent of the guided tour of Rome that provides the framework for the aetiology in IV.i. However, the discussion of the serpent cannot really be described as aetiological. The practice of the fertility ceremony at the precinct of Juno at Lanuvium continued well past the Augustan period, and Propertius does not venture to discuss its origin.[40] The purpose of the quasi-aetiological introduction, then, is not entirely clear, except that it is Cynthia's destination in l.15ff:

> huc mea detonsis auecta est Cynthia mannis:
> causa fuit Iuno, sed mage causa Venus.
> IV.viii.15-16

Her journey there is itself another kind of blend, this time of the grandiose and the decadent. Specifically described as a *triumphus*, it takes her though *impuri loci*.[41] Her companion evokes opulent effeminacy and simultaneously cheapness.

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38 T.Hölscher, in Antikenmuseum Berlin, *Kaisar Augustus und die verlorene Republik: eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin* (Mainz, 1988),p.360, points out that in the same way, monuments of Actium never focus on the battle itself.

39 IV.iv.3: Lucus erat; IV.vi.15: est Phoebi portus.

40 See E.M. Douglas, 'Iuno Sospita of Lanuvium', *JRS* 3(1913),61-72.

41 IV.viii.17;22.

However, it is the elaboration of the theme of *militia* that most clearly characterizes the poem.[42] Although III.viii uses the idea of the lovers' battle extensively, it remains a metaphor for actual love-making. In IV.viii it is used more literally to flavour a scene that is given the character of a pitched battle, and which only returns to the more usual use of *militia* imagery at the very end.[43] The use of *movere castra* to introduce the orgy is a rather stark extension of the metaphor.[44]

In a similar way, the low-life figures who populate the poem so densely, make it almost appear as a microcosmic exaggeration of the elegiac world. The dwarf playing the flute may well be a joke about aspirations to refinement in artistic creation based on a literal use of Callimachean metaphors of smallness.[45] Further on, the scene is described as a sacked city; Cynthia has the quality of thunderbolts.[46] At l..63:

Cynthia gaudet in exuuiis uictrixque recurrit...

Propertius is *captus*, a suppliant, and Cynthia's demands are *leges*.[47] The conclusion of the treaty results in *imperium* for Cynthia.[48] The abandonment of the metaphorical meaning results in an overstretching of the images that continues the work done in IV.iii and iv.

The victory of Cynthia in IV.viii even contains hints that it is to be seen as a domestic conquest of Egypt. The apostrophe to the Nile in l.39 is the most explicit suggestion, giving an Egyptian origin to Propertius' musical companions. However, the uncertainty as to the spiritual superiority of the victor continues from IV.vi. Cynthia has all the strength of a righteous conqueror, and imposes Roman institutions in her victory, the *leges* and *imperium*. Her companion is certainly decadent, but her procession has begun before we

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42 For some, the epic overtones are Odyssean. See M.Hubbard, *Propertius* (London, 1974),pp.152-6.

43 "toto soluimus arma toro." In fact this could be taken as further stressing the difference of this poem. The *arma* are removed just at the point where the normal use of *militia* imagery might be expected to begin.

44 IV.viii.28.

45 IV.viii.41.

46 IV.viii.55-56.

47 Ibid.70;71;81.

48 Ibid.82.

meet him, and our first impression is of her triumph. Propertius' women have Greek names; the wine is Greek, and the music foreign.[49] However, it is Propertius who is more intimately associated with the antique Roman. His essential chastity is symbolized by the imaginary flight to Lanuvium at l.45ff:

> me quoque per talos Venerem quaerente secundos
> semper damnosi subsiluere canes.
> cantabant surdo, nudabant pectora caeco:
> Lanuuii ad portas, ei mihi, solus eram.[50]
>
> IV.viii.45-48.

The point of the ritual of the snake is its proving of chastity. Cynthia debased that tradition by using a visit as an excuse for *Venus*. Propertius is searching for consolatory *Venus* at home, but is spiritually more suited to Lanuvium. If the quasi-aetiology of the opening suggests a link between antique ritual and Cynthia's triumph, this is later reversed, and her victory is deprived of the association of contemporary success with old traditions. Propertius' true spiritual connection to ancient ritual is a remarkable way of connecting the personal and the traditional, and one that finds a fuller conclusion in the Cornelia poem, with which the book ends.

The poem thus blurs several conventionally firmly-drawn distinctions. The potentiality of triumph by a woman is explored, with Cynthia playing a role more suggestive of Augustus than Cleopatra. At the same time, her triumph is dissociated from a sense of the antique that lies behind contemporary Roman institutions; her contact with old Roman-ness is a deceit, but it is she for whom metaphors are derived from government. Propertius depicts himself indulging in a decadent environment, while being at the same time capable of close imaginative contact to ancient traditions. Griffin's arguments on the model provided by Antony for the elegiac life-style could be extended here.[51] There are ways in

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49 Phyllis, IV.viii.29, whose name suggests Hellenistic pastoral. Teia, ibid, 31. There may be a pun, executed by *inter* between Tarpeia and Teia, the latter being contained in the former:"Tarpeios est inter Teia (lucos)."

50 I read, with the manuscripts, *solus* in l.48, which some have emended to *totus*.

51 J.Griffin, 'Propertius and Antony,' in *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London,1985),pp.32-47.

which Propertius in this poem comes across as similar to Antony, in the Greek associations,and the simultaneous closeness to Roman traditions.

IV.viii, then, reshapes Actium, concentrating on elements missing from the treatment in IV.vi. This is partly explicable simply in terms of gratuitous paradox; viii is a much more violent poem than vi, the *militia amoris* coming nearer to battle narration than ever before. Likewise, the long introduction assimilates antiquarian atmosphere to a personal theme in an unparalleled form. Conversely, the emphasis on poetic sanctity and inspiration at the opening of IV.vi lays the ground for the interventions of deities and general mythification that indicate the appropriate poetic mode for a historical event of timeless significance. IV.viii is emphatically contemporary; even the ritual of the snake is not treated with the backward/forwards of aetiology; nevertheless, the poem reclaims on the religious, as well as political and military levels, a gravity that personal elegy hitherto disdained, and in the process makes it comic. As in the pair IV.iii and iv, love and history are shown to combine in a new and startling way.

IV.ix.& x.

From the rearrangement of the relationship of the present with the past, Propertius returns in this pair of poems to the past itself. Both poems are aetiologies, and are very different in tone, but their subjects have the important common feature that they were both close to Augustus' heart. The date of Augustus' victory over Antonius was the same as that posited for the defeat of Cacus by Hercules. Similarly the altar to the Bona Dea, where Propertius says Hercules stole a drink before vowing the Ara Maxima, had been restored by Livia.[52] Augustus had done the same with the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.[53] Thus there is the inherent suggestion that these themes are suitable for epic, as aetiologies of central importance at Rome. Galinsky, in his book on the tradition of Heracles in European

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52 Ovid, *Fasti* V.157-158. N.Purcell, 'Livia and the Womanhood of Rome', *PCPS* n.s.32(1986),78-105.

53 *Res Gestae* 19,2. P.Grimal, 'Les intentions de Properce et la compositiion de livre IV des *elegies*', *Latomus* 11(1952),183-197;315-326;437-450.

thought,[54] examines the importance of the hero in Augustan Rome. The Roman tradition of Hercules was from the start very different from the Greek. Hercules does not appear in Roman comedy as he does in Greek, and the general tone was one of *gravitas*, based, according to Galinsky, on the influence of euhemeristic ideas, and the idea of Hercules as philanthropic reformer.[55] Galinsky regards Virgil as the main source for the profound involvement of Augustan ideals with Hercules at Rome. He envisages the poet responding to the natural factual similarity of the hero and the emperor, and attempts to minimize the role played by the *princeps* personally in the creation of links between himself and Hercules.[56] However, he does record the earlier deliberate association of Antonius, who claimed Hercules as an ancestor.[57] The use of the date of one of Hercules' main feasts as the day for the triple triumph after Actium in 29 B.C. can be seen as the final and most durable move in the concerted propaganda campaign against Antonius. It left very significant marks in the *Aeneid.* Virgil builds on the fairly simple correspondence suggested by the propaganda to suggest an extensive series of similarities, depending not only on the specific link of the return from Spain,[58] but also on the importance of *labor* and the more conventional Heracles myth of the labours, to connect Aeneas, Hercules and Augustus.[59] Of crucial, if problematic importance in the *Aeneid* is the model of righteous *furor* that the episode of Hercules and Cacus provides for Aeneas in his destruction of Turnus.

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54 C.K. Galinsky, *The Heracles Theme* (Oxford,1972)

55 ibid.p.127ff.

56 His motive seems to be to dissociate the Augustan poets from "the tawdry servility which romantic prejudice often leads us to associate with court poetry." Galinsky, 1972.p.140.

57 ibid.p.141.

58 Employed by Horace in *Odes* III.14.

59 Galinsky,1972. p.132ff.

In spite of this tradition, the tone of IV.ix is comic. In the first of the two episodes which the poem narrates, comedy is achieved through abbreviation of Virgil's account.[60] The first word announces the epic tone.[61]

Amphitryoniades qua tempestate iuuencos
    egerat a stabulis, o Erythea, tuis,
uenit ad inuictos pecorosa Palatia montis,
    et statuit fessos, fessus et ipse, boues,
qua Velabra suo stagnabant flumine quaque
    nauta per urbanas uelificabat aquas.
sed non infido manserunt hospite Caco
    incolumis: furto polluit ille Iouem.
incola Cacus erat, metuendo raptor ab antro,
    per tria partitos qui dabat ora sonos.
hic, ne certa forent manifestae signa rapinae,
    auersos cauda traxit in antra boues;
nec sine teste deo: furem sonuere iuuenci,
    furis et implacidas diruit ira fores.
Maenalio iacuit pulsus tria tempora ramo
    Cacus, et Alcides sic ait: 'Ite boues,
Herculis ite boues, nostrae labor ultime clauae,
    bis mihi quaesitae, bis mea praeda, boues,
aruaque mugitu sancite Bouaria longo:
    nobile erit Romae pascua uestra Forum.'

IV.ix.1-20.

The account is so brief, that it is only really comprehensible because of the existence of Virgil. It is noteworthy that the only atmospheric elaboration granted space emphasizes the familiar dankness of pre-historic Rome, in this case built upon an etymology (Velabrum - velificabat, ll.5-6).[62] The inclusion of the minor detail of the method of covering the tracks of the stolen oxen in such a brief treatment of the episode is the most obvious place where Virgil is echoed; the disparity caused by the fact that the death of Cacus itself only takes up the same space creates humour.[63] The process to be found here provides a paradigm for something Ovid does on a much larger scale, reproducing sections of the

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60 *Aeneid* VIII.190ff. Of course, this passage is itself an interesting use of aetiology in epic:cf E.V.George, *Aeneid VIII and the Aitia of Callimachus*, *Mnemosyne Supp*.27(1974).

61 See H.Tränkle, *Die Sprachkunst des Properz und die Tradition der lateinischen Dichtersprache*, *Hermes Einzelschriften* 15(1960),pp.37-8.

62 This etymology is given by Plutarch, *Romulus* 5.5 and a scholiast on Horace *Ars Poetica* 67. Varro *DLL* 5,44 derives Velabrum from *vehere*.

63 IV.ix.11-12. The theft is a *rapina*. cf. *Aeneid* VIII.209-211. Virgil uses *rapina* retrospectively at l.263, when the oxen are recovered.

Aeneid, but in a compressed, almost parodic version.[64] Humour is not the only element, however. Detailed narrative of Cacus' death is avoided. Given the implicit allusion to Actium, this is itself significant, but is, after all, only a restatement of the attitude of IV.vi. This treatment of a Virgilian theme in elegy, then, implies an acceptance of epic material, while indicating that the present poet is unsuited to it, and makes that unsuitability a source of literary wit. The compression of Virgil extends to the point where attributes are borrowed, but end up applied to quite different things. For Propertius, Cacus is three-headed, presumably thus a way of including a suggestion of Geryon.[65] The description of the killing in l.15 builds on this, the accusatives in *tria tempora* bizarrely but succinctly evoking a picture of Hercules striking each head in turn, in the kind of mechanistic exploitation of the monstrous that delighted Hellenistic poets. The speed of the movement from the alerting of Hercules in l.13 to the death, and then to the trite speech of Hercules, which adds nothing to the narrative, with the swift change of subject in l.15, all point to a lack of seriousness.

The way in which this whole episode is then suddenly subordinated to a further aetiology, that of the Ara Maxima, casts further doubt on what the purpose of the story of Cacus has been. The continuation of the poem after it has been made explicit that this is the foundation story for the Forum Boarium seems strange, particularly as the narrative technique for the portion that follows is considerably more expansive. This is again a paradigm for a new type of aetiology. What is well established is wittily altered, and something entirely new is then added. This is achieved largely by the dependence on Virgil. It is the separation of the foundation of the Forum and the Ara Maxima that marks the most significant departure from Virgil's version.[66] The former is treated in a significantly perfunctory manner, while it is in the new addition that Propertius creates the

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64 The *Fasti* as a whole, had it been completed, would have been formally similar to the *Aeneid*, and the nature of much of its material is so closely modelled on the *Aeneid* that it presents itself almost as an elegiac rewriting of it.

65 IV.ix.10.

66 In fact, Virgil does not mention the Forum, dwelling solely on the foundation of the altar.

sense of antique atmosphere, picking up the suggestion in l. 6 that abundant water was characteristic of early Rome:

> nauta per urbanas uelificabat aquas.
> IV.ix.6

l.22 makes a kind of ring:

> terraque non nullas feta ministrat aquas.
> IV.ix.22

To this is linked the secluded grove of the Bona Dea.

> lucus ubi umbroso fecerat orbe nemus,
> IV.ix.24

nemus and *lucus* both in the same line is too much of a good thing for it not to contain a joke about the conventions of depicting the ancient rustic, and the same might be said for the repetition of *umbroso /umbra* in l.24 and l.30. The incongruity of this holy simplicity with the boastful and grotesque picture of Hercules, culminates in the image of him wearing a bra. We are delicately prepared for this in the words that immediately precede his speech:

> et iacit ante fores uerba minora deo:
> IV.ix.32.

Peculiarly, these closely recall the *fores* and *iacuit* in the lines describing the destruction of Cacus.[67] While no concrete correspondence may be suggested, the recollection can be seen as a way of recalling the first half of the poem, making the grove take the place of Cacus' cave, suggesting a combination of the grotesque and sacred which is overtly produced later on. The resemblance of the second episode of the poem to a παρακλαυσίθυρον compounds the irony of the boorish Hercules founding a shrine.[68] The laughing *puellae* are themselves out of accord with the gravity usually attendant on the depictions of the inhabitants of ancient sacred groves.[69]

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67 IV.ix.14-15.

68 Warden, *Fallax Opus*, 106-7 gives an elegant account of the erotic overtones of the second aetiology. See also W.S.Anderson, 'Hercules Exclusus: Propertius IV.9', *AJP* 85(1964),1-12.

69 IV.ix.23ff.

A comparison with IV.ii is helpful in defining the tone of the poem. Clichés of rustic or pastoral simplicity combine in both poems with characters of apparent sanctity, who nevertheless display features that may be incongruous to their settings, if not overtly grotesque. Like Vertumnus, Hercules overturns the expectations of aetiology. This poem goes further, though, in the application of this humour to such an epic moment in Rome's history. It is possible to describe this as outright anti-Augustanism.[70] Such a description would depend on the assumption that an aetiological poem should be grounded on the criteria of epic. IV.i makes it clear that such an assumption is not to be regarded as constant, or incapable of experiment. The poems already discussed have made clear that new connections between opposing ideas are possible, and the rejection of epic in IV.ix can no longer be seen simply as an isolated expression of dissent. Lightness of touch prevents the rejection from becoming an attack on Augustan ideals, but at the same time is essential if elegy is to include subjects, like Hercules, which were previously out of its scope.

The closing lines of the poem add a strange turn.

> hunc, quoniam manibus purgatum sanxerat orbem, 73
> sic Sanc[t]um Tatiae composuere Cures. 74
> sancte pater salue, cui iam fauet aspera Iuno: 71
> Sanc[t]e, uelis libro dexter inesse meo. 72
>
> IV.ix.71-74.

This mention of the origin of the god Sancus, dated, as was frequent for the introduction of gods, to the regal period, brings the Hercules story into line with that later historical period. As we saw with Livy, the temptation to link Hercules with the Romulean period was great. By launching straight into narrative at the start of the poem, and leaving the appearance of the poet until after its completion, Propertius postpones discussing the question of the suitability of this material to the very end. Then, when the question of suitability is raised, it comes together with a further aetiology, one which places a central Roman legend within a more local Italian context, perhaps fulfilling the wish of IV.i to combine Umbria with

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70 So Galinsky, 1972,p.127-8, on divergence from the grave character that defined the Augustan Hercules: "There is the occasional humorous note [in treatments of Herakles] such as in Propertius,.but the reasons are anti-Augustanism and literary parody rather than a mockery of the hero himself." There must be a false distinction here. Anti-Augustanism could be better served if the hero himself were under attack, and how could this be achieved more directly than by literary parody?

Rome.[71] These last lines seem to say that the poet feels able to appear and approve a subject which he has narrated without comment, once he has linked that subject to a more small-scale kind of aetiology, and brought it forward from the distant past to a nearer, more approachable one. It is a kind of seal for the poem, with its crowd of etymological puns, and one which brings the Hercules story into the regal period, a time in history particularly suited to the elegist because of the abundance of novel aetiological possibilities it offered. The regal period appears to be the era in Rome's past where the poet's own involvement in aetiology can be openly expressed.

IV.x begins with a poetic proclamation:

> Nunc Iouis incipiam causas aperire Feretri
> armaque de ducibus trina recepta tribus.
> magnum iter ascendo, sed dat mihi gloria uires:
> non iuuat e facili lecta corona iugo.
>
> IV.x.1-4

There are the vestiges here of the usual rejection of *arma*. The idea that extra strength is needed for the poet to sing of *arma* recalls the way in which the elegiac poet frequently fails to respond to the challenge of grand subject-matter.[72] It is also possible to see a modification of *arma* in the poem, which makes the apparent contravention of elegiac precedent easier to explain. The *arma* of l.2 have a literal meaning within the aetiology. They refer to particular specimens dedicated in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. They are not predominantly a poetic metaphor. This is perhaps crucial for the extent to which this poem appears incongruous. The aetiological form is one that can demonstrably allow a combination of glorification of Rome with poetics based on a rejection of epic. None the less, this poem would seem to go beyond this possibility by discussing *arma* themselves. How can rejection of epic accommodate narrative accounts of battles? It is by virtue of the fact that *arma* here has this literal meaning and forms the focus for the aetiology that this poem does not put itself forward as simply a miniature epic. It takes Callimachean aetiology to its extreme, by ostensibly discussing war, but is saved from transcending the

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71 This is another possible parallel with Vertumnus.

72 E.g. at II.x.11ff; III.ix.3ff. IV.i 59ff depends on such precedents.

boundaries entirely by taking a concrete interpretation of what constitutes *arma*; in this case the actual armour of the vanquished.

As with the Cacus narrative in IV.ix the movement from one event to another is swift and compressed. The emphasis on *tria* in l.2 seems to look forward to a tight structural articulation in the poem, and the triple *spolia* are again emphasized in the etymological section that rounds off the poem. Perhaps this emphasizes the not unimportant point that there were only three, not four sets of armour.[73]

In Romulus' victory over Acron, king of Caenina, we can see unelaborated military narrative enter Propertian elegy for the first time. Hercules may have come from the *Aeneid*, but the nature of the story, as well as the dominance of atmospheric aetiology in book VIII, mean that his character is exempt from the military exploits which dominate much of that work, even before his original character is transformed by Propertius. In IV.x, Propertius does nothing to mitigate the harshness of tone. Even those places where he dwells on the antique simplicity of those early days are the object of antipathy rather than awe.

hunc uidet ante cauas librantem spicula turris
    Romulus et uotis occupat ante ratis:
'Iuppiter, haec hodie tibi uictima corruit Acron.'
    uouerat, et spolium corruit ille Ioui.
Vrbis uirtutisque parens sic uincere sueuit,
    qui tulit a parco frigida castra lare.
idem eques et frenis, idem fuit aptus aratris,
    et galea hirsuta compta lupina iuba.
picta neque inducto fulgebat parma pyropo:
    praebebant caesi baltea lenta boues.
Cossus at insequitur Veientis caede Tolumni,
    uincere cum Veios posse laboris erat,
necdum ultra Tiberim belli sonus, ultima praeda
    Nomentum et captae iugera terna Corae.
heu Vei ueteres. et vos tum regna fuistis
    et uestro posita est aurea sella foro:
nunc intra muros pastoris bucina lenti
    cantat, et in uestris ossibus arua metunt.

IV.x.13-30.

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73 See Hubbard, *Propertius* p.131.

Romulus' military skill is part of his underdeveloped world, recalling the ancient lack of sophistication that is easily recognizable from Livy or Cicero.[74] The focus falls, as in IV.i, upon the crudity of objects, the unpainted shield and hairy helmet.[75] Here, however, the ideas of material simplicity, and rural tranquillity, those regal period clichés, are made, by dense juxtaposition, to seem harsh. Instead of a transition between Romulus and Cossus, Propertius uses the repetition *caesi - caede* (ll.22-23). Slaughter was obviously commonplace in those days, but here the slaughter of oxen provides leather as a link to introduce the glorious victory of Cossus over Tolumnus; that places overwhelming weight upon the brutality of the conquest. This introduction is given a fitting conclusion in the horribly glib account of Tolumnus' end.[76]

Cows in the forum normally suggest pre-historic tranquillity.[77] Here, however, the destruction of Veii is lamented, and the return to agriculture means destruction.[78] The veneration for the time when Veii was a wealthy kingdom totally reverses the attitude to Rome in IV.i, that at the root of the great city there is the simple kingdom. To stretch the implications, early Rome, paragon of simplicity, is the bloodthirsty destroyer of a rich civilization.

The accounts of the deaths themselves all emphasize the brutality of killing, because Propertius refuses to separate the *spolia* from their wearer. He describes Acron:

> hic spolia ex umeris ausus sperare Quirini
> ipse dedit, sed non sanguine sicca suo.
>
> IV.x.11-12

The description of Cossus' end is more graphically expressed, but is based upon the same idea:

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74 The extent of this underdevelopment, and how far it relates specifically to the regal period, depends on the position of 25-26, which some wish to transpose to come before the Cossus section begins. See A.La Penna, review of E.A.Barber's OCT of 1953, *Athenaeum* 35(1957),142-47,(p.146).

75 cf. the naked soldiers, IV.i.27f.

76 Quoted below.

77 cf.IV.i.3-4.

78 cf *Georgics* I.493.ff, the ploughing up of bones and armour symbolizing a return to agriculture after the end of an era of wars.

Cossus ait: 'Forti melius concurrere campo.'
nec mora fuit, plano sistit uterque gradum.
di Latias iuuere manus, desecta Tolumni
cervix Romanos sanguine lauit equos.
IV.x.35-38

And Virdomarus:

illi uirgatis iaculanti ante agmina bracis
torquis ab incisa decidit unca gula.
IV.x.43-44.

The last two words make the reader feel in his own throat something that certainly brings Virdomarus' experience to mind. The discussion of etymological variants to explain Feretrius, which follows immediately to end the poem, is incongruous to such gore:

nunc spolia in templo tria condita: causa Feretri,
omine quod certo dux ferit ense ducem;
seu quia uicta suis umeris haec arma ferebant,
hinc Feretri dicta est ara superba Iouis.
IV.x.45-48.

This recalls nothing so much as Vertumnus' punning, and coming directly after the death of Virdomarus, is the final example of the jarring style with which the poem moves from one event to another, from matter-of-fact direct speech, to killing. This compression, which was humorous in IV.ix, is to be seen as the application of Callimachean fineness. The elegist has renounced none of his stylistic qualities. The *magnum iter* which the poet predicts in the introduction, then, is restricted wholly to the new subject matter. The fulfilment of this prediction demonstrates that the elegist has lost none of his scorn of verbosity.

The poem is the most extreme treatment of an epic theme, but the suggestions it makes about the results of history in elegy are only extensions of what we find in the other poems discussed. The relationship of past to present that has emerged by IV.x is much more complex that the simple one of the *Roman Aetiology*. IV.x recalls that relationship most obviously, by openly discussing a series of ancient victories, and the poem's failure to glorify only highlights its difference from the earlier poem. IV.x is the only poem in the book where the military theme is undiluted, and it is also the only poem where the question of poetic level is again raised.

magnum iter ascendo, sed dat mihi gloria uires:
non iuuat e facili lecta corona iugo.
IV.x.3-4

l.3 implies that the poet needs some extra source of strength, because of the same kind of incapacity for grand themes expressed that is by now familiar from his earlier poetry. However, l.4 seems to be expressing a pride in the difficulty of treating such grand subject-matter. This is a significant extension, almost a reversal, of the rejection of epic themes and the military life. Here what is specifically scorned is what is easy. In the depiction of *militia amoris* in the earlier books there is no consistent attempt to make love seem as arduous as war.[79] At II.x, for example, there is a clear distinction between lowly love poetry and elevated discussion of war. That poem is a *recusatio* which elaborately celebrates war only to re-emphasize the poet's concern with love. We find a similar exhortation to the poet's spirits to elevate themselves, and a similar plea for extra strength.[80] Such elevation is here deferred until later in life. "bella canam, quando scripta puella mea est."[81] The alternative life-style is essentially a rejection of the arduous. As a love-poet, Propertius' natural level is low. However, it is an integral part of Callimachean poetics that the poet has a pride that derives from his skill, the *recusatio* allowing a kind of smug expression of superiority in inferiority.

In IV.x, then, the poet finally goes further than ever before; he no longer qualifies his attempt at a great task, something that he was still doing in IV.i. The result is an account of three killings which is made more revolting, rather than less, by the application of the poetics of the plain. It is clearly a relief to return to something that is a little closer to personal elegy in IV.xi. After the manifold experiments of the book, the combination of personal, political and historical which Cornelia's memorial presents, has the air of the final, stable compromise, towards which all the more disturbing recombinations of the earlier poems are tending.

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79 Although I,6 and 7 do suggest this.
80 II.x.11: Surge anime ex humili. Iam carmina sumite uires.
81 II.x.7.

Conclusion

The treatment of historical subjects in IV corresponds to the alteration in poetics that IV.i suggests. With the abandonment of the figure of the elegist as the poetic "I", Propertius can treat historical material in its own right, and his desire to follow Callimachus can be served by use of the aetiological framework. The various experiments in combining remnants of the elegiac world of the earlier books with this new range of subjects produces versions of old ideas that are startling in their novelty. The usual association of virtue and simplicity with the earliest days at Rome is questioned; the very recent past is shown to be the solemn domain of gods, and the kind of atmosphere usually associated with aetiology can spontaneously obtrude in an erotic debauch. Hercules and Vertumnus show that gods from the distant past make good material for self-conscious literary jokes; in the present, the *militia amoris* becomes extended to demonstrate faithful love for soldiers, while the same love in the past seems to be taimted by the cruelty which *arma* represented when very old.

To look for a political motivation for such remarkable recombinations is unnecessary. To imagine that in treating epic subjects, Propertius was forced into a position which compromised his poetic or personal integrity is to fail to recognize the central role that the temptation of *arma* plays in the *militia amoris* (quite apart from the failure to recognize the importance of poetic artifice.) To say you can not write epic, and then to produce small-scale erotic interpretations of themes from the *Iliad*, as Propertius does in II, hardly constitutes real antipathy to epic. To treat a subject such as Rome's history, which had been so copiously rejected, can also be interpreted as succumbing to temptation. Further, in the closing poems of III it becomes apparent that the poet is moving towards different kinds of poetry. IV.i makes it clear that this can only make sense if the dominating personality of the protesting poet of the earlier books is abandoned, perhaps extending the allegory of the lost writing tablets of III.23, and this is duly done. There follows the exploration of ideas that had become stable in the elegiac world, but which are capable of new interpretation once the central character of the earlier books has been displaced. The

alterations that these ideas undergo are a result of the new freedom which abandonment of the love-elegist personality brings with it. It is a freedom to indulge that desire for the attributes of epic which the earlier *recusationes* had brought with them. The rejection never totally disappears, but the result is a series of different ways of incorporating epic material into the fine style of elegy, both in terms of subject matter drawn from the past and in terms of admiration of military exploits, the two subjects to which many previous *recusationes* referred.

The regal period provides the material from which the poetic experiments of IV are fashioned. The strong aetiological tradition makes it a period inherently suitable to treatment in a genre that paid homage to Callimachus. By the time of IV, the presence of the *Aeneid* would overshadow any reference to early Rome, and Propertius' choice of material in the regal period shows him setting himself apart from the writer of epic.[82] One can read the panorama of Roman history in IV.i, and IV.ix as emblems of Propertius' attitude to subjects from the *Aeneid.* Propertius does not shrink from adapting Virgilian material; specific resemblances are already discernible in III.[83] and the choice of the regal period as the centre for historical references depends upon finding ground Virgil had not touched. At the same time, Propertius' interest is Rome, and it may be argued that it was Julian mythology, rather than an emphasis on Rome's origins, that led Virgil to Aeneas. The prose sources indicate that it was more natural to think of the regal period when looking to Rome's origins. For Propertius, the regal period is the ground upon which to confront his country, thereby extending the range of his poetry; at the same time, historical subjects are made to demonstrate their resemblance to his earlier poetry. If IV.xi is thought of as the culmination of the book, then a sense of purpose and progression can be felt in the different combinations of the personal, political, historical and monumental that the preceding poems represent. By centring historical reference in the regal period, a threshold is created between the personal and the historical.

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8 2 C.Becker, 'Die Späten Elegien des Properz', *Hermes* 99(1971),449-80 describes the manifold difference the publication of the *Aeneid* made to Propertius.

8 3 Becker, p.478,note 4.

The Regal Period in Ovid's *Fasti*.

Introduction: History and elegy in Ovid.

For Propertius, the inclusion of historical material in elegy can be seen to be something of a struggle. Ovid's work, on the other hand, never presents the same difficulty of reconciling the elegist's character with historical material alien to the genre. Near the start of the *Ars Amatoria*, Ovid declares his own poetic independence; unlike Propertius, he does not need to conceal his skill behind the pretence of divine inspiration:

> non ego, Phoebe, datas a te mihi mentiar artes,
> nec nos aeriae uoce monemur auis,
> nec mihi sunt uisae Clio Cliusque sorores
> seruanti pecudes uallibus, Ascra, tuis.[1]
>
> *A.A.*I.25-28.

This is a long way from Propertius, whose need to confound the idea of a single dominant poet is in part made greater by his desire to equate inspiration with divine compulsion. Ovid's attitude to the generic boundaries of elegy is correspondingly much freer; although he frequently recalls the opposition between slender elegiacs and overburdening historical or military subject-matter, the recollection does not present any real difficult in the inclusion of that subject-matter. Rather, Ovid takes pride in his own dominance over the genre of elegy and over the historical subjects he treats.

The narration of the rape of the Sabine women in the *Ars Amatoria* can be a useful introductory example.[2] Ovid is giving advice on where best to find someone to love. The obvious places are the theatre or the games, where women go to see and be seen. Romulus is then introduced as being the first to lend the games this sexual element.

> primos sollicitos fecisti, Romule, ludos.
>
> A.A.I.101.

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1 In the next line the words "uati parete perito" effectively parody the pretensions of the idea of poet as true prophet.

2 *Ars Amatoria* I.101ff.

The scene in the theatre and the abduction of the Sabine women is then described. Ovid observes the conventions of what is, after all, an aetiological description, and compares the opulence of the theatre of his own day with the simplicity of its Romulean counterpart. The episode ends with a further aetiology, as Romulus comforts the women:

> ... "quid teneros lacrimis corrumpis ocellos?
> Quod matri pater est, hoc tibi" dixit "ero."
> Romule, militibus scisti dare commoda solus.
> Haec mihi si dederis commoda, miles ero.
> Scilicet ex illo sollemnia more theatra
> nunc quoque formosis insidiosa manent.
>
> A.A.I.129-34.

Ovid here gives an erotic twist to the idea of Romulus as *pater patriae*, and also makes a joke about the *militia amoris*, the elegist's usual way of rejecting war for love. Most important is that here Romulus is shown to be not, as one might expect, a subject inimical to the elegist, but rather provides the precedent for the public licentiousness which the elegist can heartily endorse. In this, Ovid maintains the aetiological structure within which reference to the regal period is so often made, but confounds the usual expectations of such aetiology.

The process at work in this example is typical of many passages in the *Fasti* where Ovid discusses moments from Rome's past. Ovid acknowledges that his material is generically unsuited to elegy, but alters it in such a way as to assimilate it to what the poet suggests is the traditional character of the genre.

Crucial to the inclusion of the episode of the Sabine women in the *Ars Amatoria* is the aetiological structure with which they are introduced. Ovid maintains the solution that Propertius used when attempting to narrate history in elegy, and employs aetiology. On a much larger scale, the *Fasti* uses aetiology to incorporate into elegiac verse a very large variety of non-erotic material. The *Fasti* is essentially a collection of aetiologies; the poem explains the rites of the Roman religious year as they occur in order from January to June, and these explanations are always aetiologies; they narrate an occurrence at some point in the past, which is the origin of some aspect of the particular festival under discussion, the

origin of the name of the month, or the story that lies behind the constellations as they move around the heavens through the year.[3]

The *Fasti* structure produces a very different result from the disparate aetiologies of Propertius IV. The poem uses the synchronic calendar structure to build a sense of the present-day, and all fields from which explanation are drawn are unified by reference to this present-day.[4] The contemporary world of the narrator is thus felt continuously to be the centre of the poem. It is one strong formal resemblance to erotic elegy that the voice of the poet is dominating and omnipresent.[5] Comparison with the almost entirely concealed hexameter narrator of the *Metamorphoses* makes the point more obvious. With Propertius' aetiology, the disappearance and reappearance of the elegiac world in IV fulfilled the programme of IV.i, and reinforced the idea of a new type of elegy, where the poet's dominating personality could no longer be relied upon. The regular aetiological structure of the *Fasti* is in some ways closer to conventional erotic elegy. Because of the continuous comparisons with the present-day, the voice of the poet is never lost for long.

The result of the domination of the poetic voice and of the similarity with erotic elegy is recognizable in the account of the Sabine women in the *Ars Amatoria*. There, to overstate it slightly, historical aetiology was made erotic, in the process undermining expectations about the relationship of past purity to present decadence which are intrinsic to the Roman aetiological tradition. The same process occurs often in the *Fasti*, and in part, this chapter will be concerned with describing alterations that the regal period undergoes. In addition, I shall attempt to describe the particular view of history which Ovid's alteration of the regal period implies, and to place this within the wider context of history in Augustan ideology.

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3 See D.Porte, *L'étiologie religieuse dans les* Fastes *d'Ovide* (Paris,1985), hereafter "Porte".

4 See M.Beard important essay, 'A complex of times: No more sheep on Romulus' birthday', *PCPS*, n.s.33(1987),1-15. and A.Wallace-Hadrill, 'Time for Augustus: Ovid, Augustus and the Fasti', in *Homo Viator: Classical Essays for John Bramble*, ed. by Michael Whitby and others (Bristol,1987),pp.119-129.

5 R.Heinze, "Ovids elegische Erzählung," *B d. Sächs Akad der Wiss, Lpz,.phil.hist.Klass*.71,1919, reprinted in R.Heinze *Vom Geist des Römertums* (Darmstadt, 1960) contains a section, "Subjecktivität des Erzählers", describing the assumptions of the dominance of the narrator in elegiac narrations.

However, I shall begin with those places in the Fasti where a particular character is attributed to the regal period.

The particular role of the regal period in the *Fasti* .

The regal period was, as we have seen, ideally suited to elegy by virtue of its aetiological heritage. The first reference to one of the kings in the *Fasti* illustrates Ovid's readiness to refer to the regal period. The poem opens with the dedication to Germanicus, and there are verbal echoes which join what follows this introductory section with the first line of the work.

> Tempora cum causis Latium digesta per annum,
> lapsaque sub terras ortaque signa canam.
> *Fasti* I.1-2.

Compare:

> Tempora digereret cum conditor urbis in anno,
> constituit menses quinque bis esse suo.
> *Fasti* I.27-28.

Romulus is made into the active force behind the arrangement of the year itself, and it is suggested that in arranging the year he is responsible for defining that area which will itself be the subject of the poem. He is also the first originator to be mentioned in the poem, and the foundation of the city is shown to be contemporaneous with the establishment of the subjects which will interest the poet. It is remarkable how easily the poet moves straight from the dedication back over eight centuries to Romulus. The regal period is easy of access, indeed it seems to be the obvious place to begin. It provides the first explanation. The reasoning behind Romulus' choice of ten is given, (the length of the human gestation period and of time a widow mounds her husband), and Numa's introduction of the remaining two months ends the section.[6] However, the knowledge of Romulus' motives does not result in a bland modernization of his character, as Ovid succeeds in briefly suggesting a simple and unsophisticated character for the age as a whole:

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6 *Fasti* I.43-4.

Haec igitur vidit trabeati cura Quirini,
cum rudibus populis annua iura daret,
Martis erat primus mensis, Venerisque secundus:
haec generis princeps, ipsius ille pater.
Fasti I.37-40

Romulus is pictured as the pious law giver, honouring his ancestors, wearing his old-fashioned striped robe, in the face of a primitive people.[7] This simplicity continues the naïveté with which Romulus actually chose the wrong number of months, his interest lying more with *arma* than with *sidera*.[8] A thematic relationship common in depictions of the period between simplicity and military interest, is continued here, suggesting the increased scale of the undertaking by the poet, in treating a period which, it is hinted, was dominated by interest in warfare.[9]

In explaining the ten-month system, Ovid excuses Romulus' mistake to Germanicus:

scilicet arma magis quam sidera, Romule, noras,
curaque finitimos vincere maior erat.
est tamen et ratio, Caesar, quae moverit illum,
erroremque suum quo tueatur, habet.
Fasti I.29-32.

Essentially the simplicity with which he then proceeds to characterize the age becomes the object of irony, in that simplicity, particularly primitive warlike simplicity, is the cause of Romulus' mistake. It seems a small point, but Ovid creates a sense of antiquity, endowing the time of Romulus with an atmosphere that distinguishes it from the present, then at the same time uses this sense of antiquity to produce an ironic overtone. Although Romulus' ancient simplicity is described in reverent tones, it remains simplicity, and Ovid does not shirk from connecting it with error. Ovid maintains his own controlling presence, assessing the reliability of the ancients, and implies unfavourable, if humorous,

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7 Ovid uses the *trabea* particularly to suggest the primitive, probably taking its character from Virgil. See Bömer on VI.375.

8 This surely contains a pun on σίδηρος, a pun which pushes home the point that Romulus' interests were entirely martial.

9 However, the primitive warlike ignorance of Romulus is not extended to imply scientific sophistication on the part of Numa in his introduction of the remaining two months. They are the result of his piety, his respect for ancestral shades (February) and Janus (January). This can be taken as confirmation of the emphasis placed on Romulus' warlike character in the poet's irony, since it reproduces the deep traditional dichotomy between Romulus as warlike and Numa as devout, rather than Romulus as primitive and Numa sophisticated

comparison of present knowledge with past ignorance.[10] By mocking the mistake that results from Romulus' military interests, Ovid points out the aspect of Romulus' character that disqualifies it from endorsement by the love-elegist, and instead of this endorsement offers himself, the present, and an irony that depends on the dominance of the poet over his subject. All of these are accepted parts of the elegiac genre, emphasized by the leaning towards the present that the use of aetiology entails. It is made clear that the poet is in control and that, in spite of the apparent interest in the reasoning behind Romulus' institution, this is really only an accessory through which the respect for the past is then made subservient to the wit of the poet. The same kind of exploitation of characterization of the past occurs frequently in the poem. The poet's quiet mockery of Romulus' naïveté contains a hint of the more large scale events that occur as the result of the dominance of the narrator when dealing in elegiacs with Rome's past.

There is one place where the regal period's accessibility is openly mentioned. Near the start of *Fasti* VI, which is a debate between goddesses over rival explanation for the name of the month June, Hebe makes open reference to the dominance of the Romulean period in the poem. First of all she claims that her name, Iuventas, gives the month its name, and describes the debt owed by Rome to her husband Hercules for the killing of Cacus. But then she offers an alternative; June derives from *iunior*, as May from *maiores* in the previous book, the division being connected to Romulus' division of his people by age.[11]. The transition between these two etymologies indicates the accessibility of the regal period:

> ... huc captas appulit ille boves,
> hic male defensus flammis et dote paterna
> Cacus Aventinam sanguine tinxit humum.
> ad propiora vocor. populum digessit ab annis
> Romulus, in partes distribuitque duas.
>
> *Fasti* VI.80-84.

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10 Ovid expands the ideas used here at II.99-134, with less ironic implication, and extends Romulus' interest in ten to include the division of his soldiers, senators, and the tribes. Instead of past to present, he compares Rome to Greece, contrasting Greek learning with Roman military skill, and ignorance of the stars, which were, nonetheless, regarded with the same simple piety with which they safe guarded their standards.

11 *Fasti* V.73-4.

Not surprisingly, a tradition going back to Romulus is felt to be *nearer* than one concerning with Hercules. The relationship of these two eras suggested in Livy and Propertius, is here made explicit. Romulean traditions, presumably because their traces are still recognizable, are different from the more remote pre-Romulean period; it is a difference in the immediacy with which they bear upon the present.

The relationship of the regal period and that of the *Aeneid* surfaces again in places where Ovid parodies Virgil. When Juno appears at the beginning of June and states her claim to be eponym of the month, Ovid produces a remarkable trivialization of the view of Rome's history put forward in the *Aeneid*:

an potuit Maio paelex dare nomina mensi
    hic honor in nobis invidiosus erit?
cur igitur regina vocor princepsque dearum?
    aurea cur dextrae sceptra dedere meae?
an facient mensem luces, Lucinaque ab illis
    dicar at a nullo nomina mense traham?
tum me paeniteat posuisse fideliter iras
    in genus Electrae Dardaniamque domum.
causa duplex irae: rapto Ganymede dolebam,
    forma quoque Idaeo iudice victa mea est.
paeniteat, quod non foveo Carthaginis arces,
    cum mea sint illo currus et arma loco.
paeniteat Sparten Argosque measque Mycenas
    et veterem Latio supposuisse Samon:
adde senem Tatium Iunonicolasque Faliscos,
    quos ego Romanis succubuisse tuli.
sed neque paeniteat, nec gens mihi carior ulla est:
    hic colar, hic teneam cum Jove templa meo.

Fasti VI.39-52.

The terrible wrath which motivates so much of the *Aeneid* is here made into the jealous whims of a vain and self-deceptive creature. Particular irony emerges from *fideliter* (l.41), which totally ignores Juno's intransigence in the *Aeneid*, and from the *cum* of l.46, which suggests that the reason for her love of Carthage was simply due to its convenient storage facilities.[12] To supplement those sacrifices familiar from the *Aeneid*, Juno mentions others from the early expansion of Rome. Her patronage of Tatius recalls the episode of Tarpeia as described by Janus in *Fasti* I. It was Juno who removed the bolts from the door to

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12 cf.*Aeneid* I.16-17; it is proof of her love that she keeps her chariot and weapons there. cf. also Juno's speech at *Aeneid* VII.293ff.

allow Tatius' troops to enter the Capitol.[13] As well as reusing Virgil in a new context, Ovid supplements this parodic view of Virgilian history by giving Juno a role in the regal period.

There are a few places in the work where Ovid takes advantage of the speed with which the regal period can suggest antiquity, where his main concern is not an event from that period. We can recall the end of Propertius IV.9, where aetiologies connected with Hercules are suddenly brought into the context of a regal aetiology.[14] At *Fasti* V.148ff, Ovid describes the foundation of the temple of the Bona Dea, and uses a Romulean reference solely to create an atmosphere of antiquity, when in fact the monument was a republican one. The location of the temple, the Aventine, is described, it is then remembered that it is the place where Remus took his stand at the time of the foundation, and then, with no historical connection between the events but simply common location, Ovid describes the foundation of the temple by the senate, and Livia's part in its restoration, in imitation of her husband. Ovid evokes an historical context that is not itself especially relevant, creating a link between Augustus and the foundation, to telescope Rome's history and exalt the present.

In Urania's explanation of the name of May (V.57ff),.a different process occurs, whereby a republican institution becomes assimilated to the regal period. Urania begins in an unspecified time in the past; "magna fuit quondam capitis reverentia cani", praising ancient respect for age, and describing, among several proofs, the age of the senate, and the laws that restricted the assumption of public office to older men. Other observations are framed in totally general terms, as expression of the natural deference given to the old, in no historical setting. She then moves to Romulus.

> Romulus hoc vidit selectaque pectora patres
> dixit. ad hos urbis summa relata novae.
>
> *Fasti* V.71-72.

Thus Romulus' invention of the senate is the result of his knowledge of the reverence Urania has been describing. The blurring of time-scales is interesting. As Frazer points

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13 *Fasti* I.260-266. Cf.*Metamorphoses* XIV.781-2.

14 See above, p.189f.

out, laws concerning the age of public officials were not introduced until the early second century. While Ovid's description of the senate and Romulus' subsequent invention of it does not constitute the same kind of idealization we found in Cicero, Ovid is careful not to articulate historical time. The character of the senate, and even specific laws of clearly republican provenance, are described in wholly general, timeless terms. The only temporal anchor is Romulus, and the origin of the senate. In addition, this is one of the few places in the poem where Ovid does concern himself with a political institution. Romulus here fits more closely with the view of Cicero and Dionysius, of the king as as a great political founder, characterized by his uncommon insight. It is interesting that it is in expressing this particular view, that Ovid demonstrates the insignificance of the lapse of time during the republic. As in Cicero, Romulus can function best as a model statesman if the difference between past and present is minimized.

So the regal period is used to give an archaic flavour, even if reference to it is not demanded by the subject under discussion. The opposite process can also be described, in those places where Ovid ignores the role of the kings as founders even when he is treating a religious institution with strong regal associations. One example is the god Terminus, and the Terminalia, a festival occurring in May. Ovid describes the rite as taking place in a contemporary rustic setting.[15] The origin of the worship is simply *ab antiquis*, with no specific period mentioned. We can compare this to Varro, recording that Titus Tatius introduced the god and citing the *Annales* as his source.[16]. Dionysius relates that no animal was sacrificed to Terminus, and that Numa was the instigator of his rites; his account is confirmed by Plutarch.[17] Ovid, on the other hand, even describes blood offerings to the god.[18] The other story concerning the god involves him being left on the Capitol when the new temple of Jupiter was built. Naturally enough this is usually linked

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15 *Fasti* V.641ff

16 Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, V.74

17 Dionysius A.R.II.74.3. For Plutarch it is an example of how Numa was δίκαιος καὶ πολιτικὸς in comparison to Romulus.(*Quae.Rom.*276C).

18 Fasti II.655-6.

specifically to Tarquinius Priscus.[19] Oddly, even though Ovid exploits the Terminalia to eulogize the unbounded empire, (Romanae spatium est urbis et orbis idem), he rejects the endemic temptation to refer back to Rome's small beginnings. Instead he suggests antiquity by citing as his source for the story nameless (and timeless) *veteres*. He thus creates an association of antiquity in the present day, but at the expense of antiquarian characterization of the regal period.

The defeating of expectations of the value of past and present.

We can observe that in many of Ovid's references to the past, the usual expectations of the relationship of the past and the present is altered or reversed. Ovid's treatment of Mars in *Fasti* III also demonstrates such alteration, and, because Mars is a figure of particular significance for the elegist, the way in which he is included provides a pattern for the inclusion of subjects inimical to elegy.

Fasti III, the month of March, opens with Mars:

> Bellice, depositis clipeo paulisper et hasta,
> Mars, ades et nitidas casside solve comas.
> forsitan ipse roges, quid sit cum Marte poetae:
> a te, qui canitur, nomina mensis habet.
>
> *Fasti* III.1-4.

The traditional incompatibility of Mars with poets is resolved by Mars' role as eponym of the month, by his function as an *aetia*. The poet then invokes an altered Mars, one active in another sphere, without weapons. Mars was once in love, with Rhea Silvia, and their union is narrated, followed by the story of the twins. Mars returns to the poem later, on the first of March, when he is fully accommodated into the genre. He takes on the role of elegiac narrator to tell of the rape of the Sabine women, in response to the poet's question concerning the role of *matronae* in the worship of Mars Gradivus. Again, the regal period provides the basis for Ovid's compromise.

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19 cf. Dionysius, *A.R.*III.69.3ff.;Livy.I.55.3-4,cf.V.54-7, where at the end of the pentad, Camillus urges the Romans not to migrate to Veii.

parva fuit, si prima velis elementa referre,
    Roma, sed in parva spes tamen huius erat.
moenia iam stabant, populis angusta futuris,
    credita sed turbae tunc nimis ampla suae .
quae fuerit nostri, si quaeris, regia nati,
    aspice de canna straminibusque domum

Fasti III.179-182.

Mars assumes that *prima elementa* will be found in Rome just after her foundation. In pointing out the Casa Romuli to his readers, he emphasizes the present day as his view-point and sets up a sense of complicity between the readers and the narrator which recalls the topographical aetiology of Varro or Propertius IV.i.. He then depicts Rome as a small city, and this blends into the account of the simplicity of Romulus' house. Next he turns to the poverty of the period, to explain the need to seek wives by force.

spernebant generos inopes vicinia dives,
    et male credebar sanguinis auctor ego.
in stabulis habitasse et oves pavisse nocebat
    iugera inculti pauca tenere soli.

Fasti III.189-192

Mars does not defend the virtues of simplicity; instead he distances himself from it, pointing out that it was not the kind of thing he would normally be associated with, and he reiterates his description of the earliest houses in a more extreme, somewhat disdainful form. Although it is Mars who spurs Romulus to take action against the condescension of Rome's neighbours, his description of Rome makes this condescension quite understandable. Mars does not make poverty attractive, neither does he suggest that it was in any way an encouragement to virtue. By making Mars the reader's confidant, primitive simplicity is looked at ironically from the view-point of the self-satisfied contemporary world.

The dominating and ironizing voice which perverts conventions of past simplicity is given what amounts to a programmatic manifestation in Janus' world history in *Fasti* I. Janus opens the poem and the year; he explains that he is older than time, and is in fact Chaos itself. He can thus view the whole of time, and take a synoptic view of the past, which corresponds to the view represented on a larger scale by the poem as a whole. The poet asks Janus to explain the offerings of gold made to him on the first of January, and receives a surprising reply:

risit et "o quam te fallunt tua saecula," dixit
"qui stipe mel sumpta dulcius esse putes.
vix ego Saturno quemquam regnante videbam,
cuius non animo dulcia lucra forent.
tempore crevit amor, qui nunc est summus, habendi:
vix ultra, quo iam progrediatur, habet.

Fasti I.191-196.

The idea familiar from historians of a decline due to greed is recalled, but at the same time the basis for the idea of decline, that at a point in the distant past such greed did not exist, is, remarkably, contradicted. He continues:

pluris opes nunc sunt, quam prisci temporis annis,
dum populus pauper, dum nova Roma fuit,
dum casa Martigenam capiebat parva Quirinum,
et dabat exiguum fluminis ulva torum.
Juppiter angusta vix totus stabat in aede,
inque Iovis dextra fictile fulmen erat.
frondibus ornabant que nunc Capitolia gemmis,
pascebatque suas ipse senator oves.

Fasti I.197-204.

The image of Jove crouching in a cramped temple with his clay thunderbolt strengthens the irony, particularly since the resemblance to Propertius IV.i again suggests literary parody. There follows more derivative descriptions of decline, of the growth of riches and greed, culminating again rather surprisingly:

tu tamen auspicium si sit stipis utile, quaeris,
curque iuvent vestras aera vetusta manus?
aera dabant olim, melius nunc omen in auro est,
victaque concessit prisca moneta novae.
nos quoque templa iuvant, quamvis antiqua probemus,
aurea: maiestas convenit ista deo.
laudamus veteres, sed nostris utimur annis:
mos tamen est aeque dignus uterque coli.

Fasti I.219-226.

So in spite of the atmospheric depiction of early Rome Janus denies any privilege to poverty. Indeed, he suggests that the poverty of early Rome was simply circumstantial, rather than in any way desirable or productive of virtue. Early simplicity was just the result of poverty, and not in any way a manifestation of lack of desire for money. Janus' first words on the subject make clear that the historians' view of moral decline was simply a mistake; the lovers of poverty have never existed. There is a resemblance here to Livy's depiction of Latium at the time of Rome's foundation, where Rome's poverty was put into the context of the wealth of neighbouring states, (also found in Mars' description of poor

Rome quoted above).[20] Ovid draws a different conclusion from Livy, suggesting a causal connection between lack of poverty and simplicity which is normally passed over. At the same time, Janus is emphatically based in the contemporary world, and takes a sophisticated and cynically modern view-point.

Ovid is even more explicit in disdain for the grim character of early Rome on the Nones of March, describing the dedication of the temple of Vedjovis. Several of the traditional virtues of the period are rejected at once:

> Una nota est Marti Nonis, sacrata quod illis
> templa putant lucos Vediovis ante duos.
> Romulus ut saxo lucum circumdedit alto,
> "quilibet huc" dixit "confuge, tutus eris."
> O quam de tenui Romanus origine crevit.
> turba vetus quam non invidiosa fuit.
>
> *Fasti* III.429-434.

The small origin responds to the etymology, given next, of Vedjovis as small Jove. Condescension towards the diminutive rather undermines the usual pride in Rome's growth. It is clear from Livy's description that the asylum could reflect badly upon Rome's racial constitution, and perhaps for this reason, it is not mentioned by Dionysius.[21] Ovid is not constrained to include the asylum at this point, and his wilful failure to give a favourable depiction of the institution again shows him rejecting the past as a model. Instead, he maintains the superiority of his own, more comfortable, present-day. The old crowd are not to be envied. In all these examples, Ovid reproduces a picture of the regal period that is familiar from earlier Latin accounts, and then subjects it to an ironic reinterpretation, based upon the standpoint of modernity, and depending upon the confidential relationship of the narrator to the reader.

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20 p.207.

21 Livy, I.8.5-6.

The main narrative accounts of events from the regal period: The Lupercalia

Extended narratives from the Romulean and regal period are particularly dense in *Fasti* II and III.[22] The references all support the idea that the regal period was one which lent itself to the swift transition from the present, acting as the most obvious point of reference in Rome's past, and at the same time could function, because of its tendency to inspire aetiology, as history most suited to the elegist. The Lupercalia dominate *Fasti* II, providing an explanation of the name of the month, from the purification element of the ritual,[23] and appearing again in the long section dealing with the origins of various elements of the rites of the festival itself. Two of these aetiologies explain why the Luperci run naked. The first is the extended narration of Faunus's attempt on Omphale, and his mistake in finding Hercules wearing his wife's clothes in her place. The second has a brief programmatic introduction which signals the movement from myth to history.

> adde peregrinis causas, mea Musa, Latinas,
> inque suo noster pulvere currat equus.
> cornipedi Fauno caesa de more capella
> venit ad exiguas turba vocata dapes.
> dumque sacerdotes veribus transuta salignis
> exta parant, medias sole tenente vias,
> Romulus et frater pastoralisque iuventus
> solibus et campo corpora nuda dabant.
>
> *Fasti* II.359-366.

A distinction is established between the story just completed, "foreign" in character, and the one that is to follow, more Roman. However, the geographical terms conceal a pretence at a much more significant distinction. The invocation to the Muse makes it clear that the new mode is to be more epic, and the image of the horse restates this combination of greater vigour and of something more home-grown.[24] The narrative begins, and it is

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22 In quick succession; The twins rout some cattle-rustlers, the exposition of the twins, the Sabine women, Quirinus, the rape of Lucretia, the rape of Silvia, the Sabine women, Numa and the aetiology of the Salii.

23 II.31-32.

24 The horse may be derived from Propertius IV.i. at a point where a similar change of scope is envisaged:

clear, from the fact that sacrifices have been made to Faunus, that the setting will not be taken from myth, but will be, broadly speaking, historical; the god whose antics have just been described is being worshipped, and one must presume that the events to be described take place during an embryonic form of the Lupercalia, some time in the past. The postponement of the information that makes known the exact period in time again demonstrates how naturally all narrative that takes place in the past tends towards the Romulean period. The programmatic proclamation also makes it apparent that stories from the period are envisaged as more epic in nature. The story turns out to be aetiological at the last moment, when the names of the two Lupercalian colleges are implicitly derived from groups of young men in the train of Romulus or Remus.

In this episode the regal period is used as the ground for a new aetiology, and is introduced in words that suggest that the elegist is capable of such swift change of subject, and is not confined to one particular type of poetry. There is little in the way the episode is narrated to suggest that we should detect irony in the claim to change poetic modes, or that the poet is undermining his own attempt at something more grand. Of course, the juxtaposition of Roman and foreign aetiology, as though the festival of the Lupercalia owed no more to one culture than the other, has its own important implications. By proclaiming a difference in poetic style to deal with the change in subject matter, Ovid emphasizes the elegist's versatility, something recognizable from the altered elegiac technique of Propertius IV. By drawing attention to the poet, the centrality of the present day is stressed, but the particular juxtaposition between two such different kinds of aetiology suggests that this emphasis upon the present day in fact denies priority to any one way of conceiving of Rome's past. The traditional Roman form of explanation is really being equated with the Greek mythical form. In other words, myth and history are being made equivalent in terms of the origins of Roman culture. Just as when the expectations of the relative value of the past and present was overturned, a traditional Roman explanation for that most primitive of

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Sacra diesque canam et cognomina prisca locorum:
has meus ad metas sudet oportet equus.
Prop.IV.i.69-70

Roman customs, the Lupercalia, is put in second place. Such juxtapositions of disparate sources of explanation are so widespread in the *Fasti* that the poem's character can be defined in terms of variety and incongruity. The not unimportant implication is that myth and history, Greek and Roman, men or planets, are all equally serviceable as sources in the Roman calendar, at least in the hands of a poet so capable of swift changes.

The *Fasti*'s first account of the Sabine women, in an aetiology of the fertility element of the Lupercalia, demonstrates that even though expectations of past and present are overturned, the historical character of the regal period is still perceptible. Once more, the movement back to the past is not marked. The poet instructs a bride to accept the ritual beating:

> excipe fecundae patienter verbera dextrae,
> iam socer optatum nomen habebit avi,
> nam fuit illa dies, dura cum sorte maritae
> reddebant uteri pignora rara sui.
> "quid mihi" clamabat "prodest rapuisse Sabinas"
> Romulus (hoc illo sceptra tenente fuit)
> "si mea non vires, sed bellum iniuria fecit,
> utilius fuerat non habuisse nurus."
> *Fasti* II.427-434.

We can note first of all the infertility of the Sabine women, which contradicts the usual impression of them as mothers; a more frequent problem in the accounts is extending the Sabine wars just long enough so that speaking grandchildren could be presented on the battle-field.[25] Second is the picture of Romulus himself assuming the position of father; he is not erotically involved, resembling much more the historians' kindly patriarch.[26] "Nurus" is, I suppose, an extension of the idea of Romulus as *pater patriae*. It is interesting that Romulus is presented in this light here, rather than in the more youthful rôle, exercising naked on the plain. It coincides with his wholly pragmatic motive for the rape, the way he accepts responsibility for his own *iniuria* and balances his assessment of the means with the end. The picture of his frustration at the outcome contains new images of Romulus acting in a recognizably kingly manner.

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25 Thus the account given in connection with the Matronalia at the start of *Fasti* III.

26 Cf. *Ars Am*, discussed above. See O.Seel, 'Der Raub der Sabinnerinnen: Eine Livius-Interpretation', *Antike und Abenland* 9(1960),7-17.

One may also note how emphatic the closeness of the past to the present is in this example. The imagined father-in-law of the bride, about to become a grandfather, acts as a prophetic parallel to the presentation of grandchildren to the Sabine warriors. By introducing a father-in-law eager for a grandchild, the eventual peaceful outcome of what is in essence a civil war between *socer* and *gener* is evoked, and the aetiological basis for the narration of the conflict is made a wholly personal one, the individual bride, admonished by the poet.[27] Of course, this elegiac element is emphasized by the grounding of the passage away from either the rape or the war, both events of a grand historical, rather than personal nature. Elegiac too is the disparity of tones found in the description of the omen of Juno Lucina, which explains the fertile properties of goat-skin strips. Juno's words are preceded by an atmosphere of ancient religiosity:

> monte sub Esquilio multis incaeduus annis
> Iunonis magnae nomine lucus erat.
> huc ubi venerunt, pariter nuptae virique
> suppliciter posito procubuere genu,
> cum subito motae tremuere cacumina silvae
> et dea per lucos mira locuta suos:
> "Italidas matres" inquit "sacer hirtus inito."
>
> *Fasti* II.435-441.

The language recalls *Aeneid* VIII, with its emphasis on trees, the grove, and the numinous tremor of the wood, as well as in the topographical interest that often provides a basis for comparison of the past and present in aetiologies that involve Rome.[28] All this is entirely undermined by the crude sexual image of Juno's words. It might be said, in analogy with the previous examples of clichés of ancient simplicity exploited to mock themselves, that this line acts to over-extend the idea of rustic simplicity to the point where it acquires a totally different association. It also serves to introduce an erotic element into the story, one which was otherwise excluded by the decision to pass over the story of the rape itself. Both these points stem from the elegiac rendering of the past; the aetiological explanation is

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27 By creating a personal fictitious contemporary parallel, Ovid may well be averting the more obvious, factual parallel, of the conflicts of the last decades of the republic. In the second narration of the episode, Mars makes overt this structure behind the conflict: "tum primum generis intulit arma socer", III.202.

28 The *de lingua latina* attests Varro's topographical interests, eg. V.41ff, and topography dominates Propertius IV.

the root of the shocking and unusual element in the story, and it is only in the deciphering of the oracle, in the continuation of the *aition* to its symbolic version in the ritual, that the primitive crudity of the oracle is escaped. In this way, by emphasizing the endurance of the ritual into the present with his fictitious new bride, the division between the primitive past and the more refined present occurs with the Sabine women themselves, and the interpretation of the oracle. It is suggested that although the fertility ritual of the Lupercalia may well be thought to be uncivilized, in fact, in comparison with the event that led to its inception, its barbarity has already been softened. This softening is shown to have occurred in the distant past, but the unchanged continuation of the ritual until now, and the parallel of the modern bride, both bring the Sabine women close to the present day. The closeness of the past to the present is strengthened, the relationship of the past to the present is telescoped, and the conventional view of picturesque antique rusticity is confounded. As in the explanation of the Lupercalian colleges, it is aetiology which inspires the apparently fictitious addition to the story. At the same time it is also the element which most destroys the picture of the past that has been created. All of these points combine to lay much greater weight on the present day, and suggest that the use of the past in relation to the present need not depend upon the creation of a picture of an enviable world that no longer exists. However, unlike the aetiology of the Fabii and Quinctilii, the transformation of the *aition* into the ritual that it explains takes place in the distant past.

By locating the the creation of the ritual to a particular point in the past, Ovid sustains the historical character of his account, betrayed too in his depiction of Romulus.. The origin of the rites of the Lupercalia is not one that has changed into its modern form at an unspecified point, in some undefined space between myth and the real world. By describing the transformation of the origin into the rite, Ovid is pinning it to historical time.[29] We can thus justifiably regard the account as an elegiac rendering of history. It is an important methodological point. For those who regard the Romulean period as wholly

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29 D.Porte gives an excellent analysis of distinctions of this nature; *Histoire et historicisation,* p.357ff.

mythical, the juxtapositions between myth and history must really only be juxtapositions between Greek and Roman myth. Such an interpretation of the *Fasti* will be very different from one which stresses assimilation of myth to history. We have seen how the prose accounts of the regal period all stress its historical character; Ovid is writing within this tradition, and the historian's conceptions of the regal period are essential to his description. Likewise, Ovid echoes Livy in all the narratives which overlap with his.[30] Against such a background, it is appropriate when speaking of Ovid's exploitation of the past, to regard this as playing with history, both in terms of time in the past, and in terms of its literary record. The result of this play is the object of our study.

Numa: History made mythical.

Ovid's interest in the careful definition of historical time is by no means constant. In his account of Numa, the king with whom, for Plutarch at any rate, history began, is made, with the help of more Virgilian parody, into an entirely fantastic figure.[31] There are two substantial episodes involving Numa: one is a complex of aetiologies, beginning with a rite to expiate thunderbolts and ending with the Salii, and the second the aetiology of the Fordicalia.[32] The significance of the episodes again comes in their variation of the traditional view of Numa as the founder of Roman religion. Ovid uses this as a thematic foundation, but gives a rather absurd interpretation of Numa's religiosity and his involvement with gods. Ovid makes a prelude to his narrative of the aetiology of the Salii by invoking Egeria to help him give his aetiology. He describes the grove where Egeria lives, which is also that which is inhabited by the *rex nemorensis*, used by Ovid to create a heightened atmosphere of sylvan mystery. The wood is moist and cool:

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30 Much work has been done on Livy as a source for Ovid, e.g. by K.Schenkl, 'Ovidius (Fasti) und Livius', *Z.f.d.ö.G* (1860),401-406 and E.Sofer, *Livius als Quelle von Ovids Fasten* Jahres-Bericht des K.k.Maximilians-Gymnasium, Vienna, 1906. See also Bömer's commentary, p.26.

31 Plutarch, *Theseus* I.1-2.

32 III.259-392, i.e. just after the close of Mars' narration, which includes the rape of the Sabine women; IV.629-676., coming after the lengthy narration of Ceres and Persephone.

defluit incerto lapidosus murmure rivus:
saepe, sed exiguis haustibus, inde bibi.

Fasti III.273-4.

Ovid imbibing this stream is in part just a poetic joke, based upon the different types of poetic inspiration, represented by allegorical streams. Certainly, this joke reminds the readers of the artificiality of the atmosphere described. It may also be a more significant expression of the elegist's relationship to the kind of poetry that describes the mysteries of old Rome. Ovid then continues by characterizing Numa in ways that particularly recall Livy's interpretation:[33]

principio nimium promptos ad bella Quirites
molliri placuit iure deumque metu.

Fasti III.277-8.

He is successful, and perhaps as a counterpart to his pacification of his citizens, Ovid passes to his expiation of Jove's thunderbolts.[34] His goddess wife advises him to capture Picus and Faunus, and accordingly he binds the gods in irons while they are sleeping after a feast. The picture of this physical encounter with these gods is a bathetic sequel to the mood which Ovid creates in describing the topography of the grove on the Aventine where the capture occurred:

lucus Aventino suberat niger ilicis umbra
quo posses viso dicere :"numen inest".
in medio gramen, muscoque adoperta virenti
manabat saxo vena perennis aquae.

Fasti III.295-6.

It is a reference to *Aeneid* VIII.351-3, but clearly a parody; the mysterious vagueness of the inhabitant of Virgil's Palatine is replaced by a humorous scene of bucolic myth, more reminiscent of the capture of Silenus in *Eclogue* VI. After their capture, the gods comply with Numa's requests, and, in an aetiology of Jupiter Elicius, they instruct him how to summon the king of the gods. Jupiter and Numa then barter over offerings, in an absurd aetiology of the ritual of expiation; Jove demands a life in three different ways, and Numa buys him off with a home-grown onion, some hair, and a fish. The next episode involves a shield dropped from heaven as a *pignus imperii* , which becomes involved with the rite of

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33 Livy I.19.
34 III.285ff.

the Salii. Remembering the importance of the divine gift, "memor imperii sortem consistere in illo,"[35] Numa has Mamurius, the blacksmith, whose name is then included in the Salian hymn, make copies.

The section contains several verses which stress the rural atmosphere of early Rome, where gods were never far away, and where king Numa was followed by a simple throng:[36]

> constat Aventinae tremuisse cacumina silvae,
> terraque subsedit pondere pressa Iovis.
>
> III.329-30.

> mollis erat tellus rorata mane pruina
> ante sui populus limina regis adest.
>
> III.357-8

They are equally important in the aetiology of the Fordicalia, and the section contains an introductory section describing the drought and famine that led Numa to placate the gods. As in the earlier narrative, this aetiology is full of strange little rituals, the epiphany of gods, the king entering a religious state. Numa's first ritual takes place in another sacred grove:

> silva vetus nullaque diu violata securi
> stabat, Maenalio sacra relicta deo.
>
> *Fasti* IV.649-50.

He performs several others, before settling down for incubation; Faunus appears in his sleep, and his omen is in turn interpreted by Egeria. There is nothing intrinsically unsuitable about using this particular atmosphere so extensively to characterize Numa. Rather, it makes it entirely clear exactly what kind of figure Numa is, and exactly how far removed from history, how well integrated into the mythical and magical he can become. The relationship to Virgil may be important. *Aeneid* VIII is clearly the classic exposition of topographical aetiology centred around the ancient city of Rome. It may be that in presenting himself drinking small draughts from Egeria's stream, Ovid is anticipating

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35 III.379.

36 Like the passage quoted above. In fact, Ovid is ambiguous about Numa's superiority to his people; it seems clear in his success in making them abandon war, and in his dialogue with Jupiter, but when the thunderbolts strike, like his citizens he is struck with simple terror, only mitigated by his wife's advice (III.288-9).

creating an atmosphere so reminiscent of Virgil, yet naturally limited in its extent. It is of even more relevance for Numa that he should be thrown back into a culture more appropriate to the *Aeneid.* It may be remembered that Aeneas himself witnesses the Salian rites.[37]

We can compare the account of Numa in *Metamorphoses* XV. There, the bare outlines of Numa's life, his origin at Cures, his wife Egeria, are mentioned, but they are all made into the starting points for narratives with totally different material. The most striking is the very long speech (four hundred lines) which Ovid gives to Pythagoras, introduced very indirectly as a response to a visit by Numa to Croton. Ovid's Pythagoras is heavily Lucretian in character, and Ovid may well be exploiting the same conception of the early philosopher-poets which lies in the background to the Augustan idea of the poet as *vates*.[38] Ovid avoids explicitly describing Numa's meeting with Pythagoras, but he clearly states that he had the latter's teachings in mind when he set out to bring peace to the warlike Romans.[39] He thereby, of course, ignores the long resolved historical question of the chronological relationship between the two. Likewise, Ovid despatches Numa after these few words about his peaceful, Pythagorean-influenced rule, soon switching to his grieving nymph widow, who is consoled in the forest by a loquacious Hippolytus. As in the *Fasti*, Ovid uses Numa as the opportunity to create a particular sense of the magical sanctity of ancient Rome, without being at all interested in the historical reality of his rule. Here, the long and ostentatious foray into scientific poetry is a demonstration of the poet's power and versatility. Although Ovid reproduces the reverence for his material, and for the atmosphere of early Roman mysticism, which corresponds to Pythagoras' position in a sense of Roman cultural identity, this reverence is belied by the poet's own self-glorifying display.

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37 *Aeneid* VIII.256.

38 See Philip R.Hardie, Virgil's *Aeneid*: *Cosmos* and *Imperium* (Oxford, 1986),pp.16-22.

39 *Metamorphoses* 15,479-84.

Servius Tullius: The eroticization of history.

The assimilation of history to a parodied version of the myths of the *Aeneid* can easily be understood as an allegorical expression of the elegist's relationship to the writer of epic. A related process can be described as the eroticization of history, a process which Propertius' Tarpeia foreshadows. Servius Tullius was the only other king apart from Romulus who seems to have had popular significance in the Augustan period, as the child of a slave and a symbol for plebeian pride.[40] He had also, as a consequence, acquired a number of mythological accretions, which, Dionysius makes clear, were rather embarrassing for a historian to relate.[41] Ovid, however, supplements them with relish. He makes Servius the lover of the goddess Fortuna, and constructs several improbable explanations for the covering of the statue in the temple of Fortuna, the statue which he says was of Servius.[42] He hereby contradicts the antiquarian analysis that it was the statue of Fortuna wearing the cloth woven for Servius by Tanaquil.[43] Ovid gives three explanations for the covering of the statue, but in none of them does he entertain the possibility that it is a statue of Fortuna, and takes advantage of the robes to maintain his perverse ascription of identity. At the same time he keeps the covering the central feature of all the aetiologies, to keep attention of the very object that conceals the identity of the statue,

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40 See E.Gabba 'Studi su Dionigi da Alicarnasso II, il regno di Servio Tullio', *Athenaeum* n.s.39(1961),98-121. and R.Syme 'Sejanus on the Aventine', *Roman Papers* I,pp.305-314.

41 A.R.IV.II.1. φέρεται δέ τις ἐν ταῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἀναγραφαῖς καὶ ἕτερος ὑπὲρ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ λόγος ἐπὶ τὸ μυθῶδες ἐξαίρων τὰ περὶ αὐτόν, ὃν ἐν πολλαῖς Ῥωμαϊκαῖς ἱστορίαις εὕρομεν, εἰ θεοῖς τε καὶ δαίμοσι λέγεσθαι φίλος, τοιοῦτος τις· the use of μυθῶδες is particularly revealing. Dionysius clearly suggests that this story was a later development out of character with the period itself.

42 *Fasti* VI.570ff.

43 See Varro *De Vita Populi Romani* Fr.16 &17 Ripos. Ovid is alone in the traditions concerning the statue to suggest that it is Servius. On his forthright assumption "Servius est, et constat enim" Porte remarks "la formulation adoptée par Ovide témoigne bien de ses intentions malignes: il se doute bien que lesdites toges ne servent pas à *dissimuler* qui que ce soit, mais ont une valeur purement rituelle. Aussi tourne-t-il sa question de façon à bien faire ressortir l'absurdité de ces voiles, qui, en fait, ne voilent rien." Porte,p.57. Ovid exploits the veils as a symbol of the arcane and unreliable nature of antiquarian knowledge

and permits him to sustain his fiction. The first explanation of the veil is that Fortuna was so ashamed of her love for a mortal that she covered his whole body.

> dum dea furtivos timide profitetur amores,
> caelestemque homini concubuisse pudet
> (ardet enim magno correpta cupidine regis
> caecaque in hoc uno non fuit illa viro),
> nocte domum parva solita est intrare fenestra;
> unde Fenestellae nomina porta tenet.
> nunc pudet, et voltus velamine celat amatos.
>
> *Fasti* VI.573-579.

Ovid rather overdoes the erotic element; Fortuna's physical desire was so great that she would even climb secretly to her lover through a little hatch. No wonder she felt ashamed, and still does. Ovid uses the concealment of the statue as the basis for an elaborate joke at the expense of antiquarian tradition. Fortuna's embarrassment is made to be eternal, so that one will never be able to remove the veil to find the identity of the statue. Servius is placed in the setting of mythical erotic elegy, and the wanton exploitation of the intrinsic mystery of the object that forms the focus for the aetiology draws attention to the poet's deception.

The second explanation continues the insistence that the statue was one of Servius, as well as the joke that because of the great love Servius inspired, the statue needed to be covered. This time it is the grief of Servius' loyal citizens unable to bear the sight of the object of their grief, the representation of their murdered king.

> an magis est verum post Tulli funera plebem
> confusam placidi morte fuisse ducis,
> nec modus ullus erat, crescebat imagine luctus,
> donec eum positis occuluere togis?
>
> Fasti VI.581-584.

The characterization *placidus* could fit with the tradition of Servius as the last good king, coming just before Tarquinius Superbus, single-handedly responsible for degrading the position of king. However, it is not the most obvious way of depicting the king who was the first to take power through personal popularity and influence, rather than be chosen by the senate. Ovid used the same adjective to describe Numa earlier in the same book,[44] which suggests that he is more concerned to create a general impression of Servius as the

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44 VI.259. "regis opus placidi". The adjective is enough to make it clear which king, as he is not named for another five verses.

beloved ancient king than to substantiate his unique historical character. In this context, the characterization as *placidus* grows out of the brief glance at the central feature of the traditions about Servius, that he was particularly beloved of the *plebs*. However, the rhetorical question, (is it more likely that the *plebs* was so grief-struck that it covered the statue?), does contain an ironic overtone, again drawing attention to the essential absurdity of his main thesis, that it is a statue of Servius. The irony also naturally includes the actions of the plebs; clearly Ovid is much less interested in the reasons for the plebs' affections than he was in describing Fortuna's infatuation. He does give a hint of these reasons when he describes the festival of Fors Fortuna toward the end of the book.[45]

> plebs colit hanc, quia qui posuit, de plebe fuisse
> fertur et ex humili sceptra tulisse loco.
> convenit et servis, serva quia Tullius ortus
> constituit dubiae templa propinqua deae.
>
> *Fasti* VI.781-784.

However, he does not go on to make the final link, and relate his version of Servius' relationship to Fortuna to this more factual analysis of the tradition, nor does he explain Servius' popularity in terms of his behaviour as monarch. He keeps the affection of the plebs purely sentimental.[46] He does not concern himself with the well-established details of Servius' democratization of society, his rôle as the Roman Solon. In the programmatic introduction to Ovid's third explanation of the covered statue, we find out how far the enlarged scope of elegy will go in its accommodation of more grandiose themes; clearly political reform is beyond that limit.

> tertia causa mihi spatio maiore canenda est,
> nos tamen adductos intus agemus equos.
>
> *Fasti* VI.585-6.

This suggests that the subject is rather grander than the accounts of the love of Fortuna or the grief of the plebs. It is implied that the previous aetiologies did not require any extra effort from the elegist. Here, however, the poet will not give way entirely to his obligation

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45 *Fasti* VI.771ff.

46 We find the same kinds of expressions of rejection of responsibility for a historical version here as Ovid uses in the descriptions of the much less probable descriptions of the speaking statue of Servius. See below p.201f . Ovid is clearly refusing to discriminate between different categories of information in the tradition.

to sing at greater length. Although the subject is a historical one, it will not be treated without being tempered by the poet's tendency to trot rather than gallop.[47] The style of the description fulfils this programme, combining the violence of a vivid historical narrative with the wholly fanciful. Tullia has just run over her father:

> post tamen hoc ausa est templum, monumenta parentis,
> tangere: mira quidem, sed tamen acta loquar.
> signum erat in solio residens sub imagine Tulli;
> dicitur hoc oculis opposuisse manum,
> et vox audita est "voltus abscondite nostros,
> ne natae videant ora nefanda meae."
> veste data tegitur, vetat hanc Fortuna moveri...
>
> *Fasti* VI.611617.

The poet disclaims responsibility for the verisimilitude of his story; at least, he asserts that the events are true, but acknowledges that they seem miraculous. In fact, he pretends to be assessing what he describes with the criteria that normally govern normal historical occurrences.[48] A similar protestation accompanies the sequel, referring to the history of the temple of Fortuna, saved from destruction by fire by Vulcan. Even though it is somewhat extraneous to the main thread of his story, which really concerns the temple of Fortuna, Ovid manages to include the story of Servius' magical conception from a stray phallus, to explain how, when the temple once burnt, Vulcan protected the statue of his son.

> hic inter cineres obsceni forma virilis
> aut fuit aut visa est, sed fuit illa magis.
>
> *Fasti* VI.631-2

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47 The gerundive is also used to introduced the story of the exile of Tarquinius Superbus (as well as, for example, the day Augustus became *pater patriae,* II.124, quoted below, p.233.):

> Nunc mihi dicenda est regis fuga: traxit ab illa
> sextus ab extremo nomina mense dies.
> ultima Tarquinius Romanae gentis habebat
> regna, vir iniustus, fortis ad arma tamen.
>
> *Fasti* II.685-688.

Perhaps the military element implies an obligation.

48 There are other points in the poem where affirmations of truth are absurdly strong, and others where the poet distances himself from affirming as true things which quite obviously are true, such as Julius Caesar's reform of the calendar, introduced as "traditur", II.162; cf the "mira sed acta loquor" describing Numa's shield.III.370, or for Claudia Quinta the more ironic "mira sed et scaena testificata loquar", IV.326.

As Porte says, "dans ces protestations d'innocence que multiplie Ovide, nous décelons comme une ironique duplicité."[49] Ovid stresses the unlikelihood of the event by suggesting that what cannot have been true, was true. It is not simply a question of respect for historical fact, however. The fantastic sexual element with which Ovid shapes his discussion of Servius fits with his interests as an elegist, and the perversity of his decision to include it in an historical aetiology is highlighted by the exploitation of the criteria normally used to distinguish fact from fiction.

In Ovid's discussion of Servius, we can see manifested elements that characterize his attitude to the regal period generally. His inclusion of Servius in the first place responds to the fact that his historical tradition was contaminated by myth.[50] Ovid stresses this contamination against the more conventional aspects of the historical tradition, fairly well established in the case of Servius. When Ovid does mention Servius' importance as a figurehead for the *plebs* , at the celebration of the festival of Fors Fortuna, he isolates this information from his main description of the relationship of Servius to Fortuna, and does not attempt what would have been quite plausible, to assimilate the contemporary importance of Servius and the cult of Fortuna by linking his plebeian origins to the character of the god. Instead, Servius' personal contact with gods is exaggerated, and because of this, his presence in historical time is made rather implausible. In conjunction with this, the interpretations of the antiquarians concerning the statue of Fortuna are ignored, and even though the the idea of Servius as a political reformer was strong in the historical tradition, Ovid refuses even to mention it, and keeps the treatment of the reign within the limits of explanations of more picturesque causes. Even though Roman myth should not be thought of as static, in his elegiac treatment of the king Ovid emphasizes his difference from prose versions, both antiquarian and historical, by deliberately rejecting well-known aspects of the traditions of both these disciplines.

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49 Porte, op.cit.p.69.

50 When Ovid does treat republican history at length, the same preference for the mythical can be observed, in the story of Claudia Quinta (IV.291ff) juxtaposed as a large narrative set-piece with the story of Ceres and Persephone (IV.420ff), or in the story of the departure of the flautists, of obvious attraction for an elegist (VI.657ff).

The rape of Lucretia.

The narration of the rape of Lucretia is the longest and most complex of all the narratives that treat the regal period. In it one can observe many of the processes at work in the shorter references to the regal period, but because of the unique clarity of the historical model of Livy behind Ovid's narrative, the position that the poem takes to historical tradition is given much greater definition.

If one is familiar with Livy's account of the reign of Tarquinius Superbus, it is obvious that Ovid recounts three of the episodes found in Livy, the treachery of Sextus as Gabii, the visit to Delphi where Brutus kisses the earth, and the rape of Lucretia itself. From the start of his narrative of the reign it is clear that Ovid is referring to Livy. Livy describes Tarquinius thus; "nec ut iniustus in pace rex, ita dux belli pravus fuit."[51] He is closely followed by Ovid's "vir iniustus, fortis ad arma tamen".[52] Since Ovid's narration is totally uninterested in Tarquinius himself, one significant function of this characterization is the recollection of Livy.[53] However, Ovid compresses the first two episodes taken from Livy, in such a way that it appears that they take place in the same context. At Gabii, Sextus receives his messenger, returning bewildered from Rome.

> nuntius ut rediit decussaque lilia dixit,
> filius "agnosco iussa parentis" ait.
> nec mora, principibus caesis ex urbe Gabina
> traduntur ducibus moenia nuda suis.
> ecce, nefas visu, mediis altaribus anguis,
> exit et extinctis ignibus exta rapit.
> consulitur Phoebus: sors est ita reddita: "matri
> qui dederit princeps oscula, victor erit."
> oscula quisque suae matri properata tulerunt.
>
> *Fasti* II.707-715.

You would not know, without Livy, that the snake crawled from an altar in Rome, nor that Phoebus was consulted in Delphi. Ovid totally understates the point, to which Livy, in

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51 Livy I.liii.1.

52 *Fasti* II.688.

53 Most of the verbal parallels for the Lucretia narrative are given in C.Marchesi, 'Leggende Romane nei *Fasti* di Ovidio',*Atene e Roma* 13(1910),110-119 and 170-183. as well as by Heinze.

order to emphasize the great age of the events, gives great weight, that this was the first ever sea journey made by Romans. Ovid also makes the reply of the oracle seem absurd, since it is hard to see how the answer could bear any relation to the omen itself, nor in what victory will consist.[54] This would normally not be unusual for oracles, only here, since the model of Livy, where the oracle was unequivocal, is apparent, the obscurity creates a sense of parody rather than of mystery. More echoes of Livy make clear that he is a model. Ovid introduces Brutus into the story in very much the same point in the events, only Livy leaves a little more room for Brutus' character to be explained before he displays his ingenuity by kissing the ground. Again, Ovid's words recall Livy's: "Brutus erat stulti sapiens imitator". cf "factus ad imitationem stultitiae"[55] Heinze points out, "Die Geschichte vom delphischen Orakel hat Ovid bis zur Unverständlichkeit verkürzt."[56] One can go further; the lack of logic is the effect of the point that Ovid makes concerning his treatment of Livy. By compression he produces a parody, dependent on his relationship with Livy, since the events can be disentangled only when read in conjunction with the historian.

By comparing this compression to the expansive and detailed treatment of the rape, Ovid's preference for certain kinds of stories becomes clear. We have already had a large number of mythical stories in the book which revolve around rape, successful or not: Faunus and Omphale; Jove and Callisto; Jove and Juturna; Mercury and Lara. Immediately after the story of Lucretia follows Rhea Silvia's encounter with Mars, and the rape of the Sabine women. These parallels emphasize the effect of the elaboration of the rape of Lucretia from Livy, at the expense of any other of the episodes which contributed to the exile of the Tarquins. The compression of history is a sign that history, simultaneously events from the past and their literary record, is to be worked into an elegiac context and made equivalent to myth. The greater care given to the story of the rape suggests a concern

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54 This may be a problem in the tradition. Livy makes the statement about the successor to Tarquinius a reply to a further, specific question, passing over the interpretation of the original omen.

55 *Fasti* II.717 cf Livy I.lvi.8.

56 Heinze, *Ovids elegische Erzählung* p.48.

for the kinds of historical events that lend themselves to an elegiac treatment and a deliberate neglect of historical contexts and the intricacies of the historical cohesion of events. It is a neglect that is marked through the verbal parallels, and the disappointed expectation that Ovid would be reproducing Livy.

These declarations that the poet will treat history as material for elegy have much wider significance. It is obvious by now that all material in the poem is to be worked over to suit its elegiac context, and it is made the specific point of the prologue of the next book, *Fasti* III, where the poet accommodates Mars by relating the god's erotic associations.[57] Ovid's particular concern to evoke Livy points to the difference between his interpretation of Lucretia and the historical one. It is a central part of Livy's narrative that outrage at the rape of Lucretia, a Roman *matrona*, acts as an agent for political change, and that thus her rape is a symbol of the need for such change. By framing the rape in terms which recall elegiac erotic poetry, Ovid undermines the outrage of the historian's version.[58]

In the first picture of Lucretia, spinning with her servants, her respectability as a *matrona* is brought into question by the elegiac tradition of picturing the mistress as a *materfamilias*.[59] Livy does not characterize Lucretia at all at this point, except what one might call passively; her effect on Sextus emerges as perversity on his part, because her appeal has remained out of the direct view of the reader. Livy does not enter the room before the returning husbands, he simply says that Lucretia was found spinning in the hall. Ovid joins the men in spying on Lucretia, creating a voyeuristic picture in which the reader

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57 See above, p.206.

58 The comments of Marchesi in 1910, op cit (note 52), are much more pertinent than those of A.G.Lee, who cites him forty years later in 'Ovid's Lucretia', *G & R* 22(1953),107-118. Lee describes the realism of Ovid's sympathetic picture of Lucretia in comparison with Livy's more stylised account. Marchesi points out how in Ovid "l'episodio di Lucrezia diveniva per lui una folle appassionata avventura di amore." and that "la leggende della patria è diventata leggenda erotica." He also has an interesting theory on the irrepressible urge to speech, as a hall-mark of elegiac characterization, contrasting Livy's silent, with Ovid's loquacious Lucretia.

59 See F.Cairns, *Tibullus: A Hellenistic Poet at Rome* (Cambridge,1979),pp.179-80, and K. Flower Smith's commentary on Tibullus, (reprinted Darmstadt,1978) on I.3.;pp.383-92.

is made to be complicit.[60] He suggests that he is seeing a side of Lucretia that would normally be hidden for men's view, and is indeed hidden in Livy. The view he gains is of Lucretia behaving very much like one of the characters of the Heroides, elegiac women separated from their loved ones. Thus Lucretia's fidelity and modesty are directly described, and simultaneously are made, before our eyes, to be the objects of erotic attraction.

> "sint tantum reduces. sed enim temerarius ille
> est meus, et stricto qualibet ense ruit.
> mens abit, et morior, quotiens pugnantis imago
> me subit, et gelidum pectora frigus habet."
> desinit in lacrimas intentaque fila remittet,
> in gremio voltum deposuitque suum.
> hoc ipsum decuit; lacrimae decuere pudicae,
> et facies animo dignaque parque fuit.
>
> *Fasti* II.751-758.

In just the same way, Penelope is gripped by icy fear in her chest when she thinks of Ulixes in battle, and it is a symptom shared by Sappho.[61] Women in elegy often cry; in this picture of Lucretia, her grief is not emphasized; the tears are described purely for their cosmetic effect. There is an ironic double meaning in *decere*. Frazer translates "was becoming", which well conveys it. It is quiet clear that Ovid does not mean that Lucretia's tears fitted with her station in life, or if he does it only in an ironic way. That they are tears of *pudicitia* intensifies the irony. Modesty is a great virtue, but here, manifested by appealingly downcast eyes, it becomes the focus of desire, as so often in elegy.[62] When Sextus recalls Lucretia, he is only making an extension of the kind of observation with which Ovid has already characterized her, and, of course, his recollection of the picture we have seen is the inspiration for his deed. Because of the unanimity of the poet's view of Lucretia and the view of Sextus, Sextus' desire is implicitly condoned by the poet, he who has so often been the "victim" of such passion in his own poetry. One of the features that

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60 It may even be that Ovid intends us to imagine her in her bedroom. "ante torum calathi lanaque mollis erat." (II.742) If so, the poet's intrusion is greater, as men were, presumably, not expected to enter the women's quarters, especially not strange men, like the poet and his readers. Livy has a more respectful attitude; Ovid further discourages our image of the *matrona*.

61 *Heroides* I.22; XV,110.

62 Compare for example 'sive aliqua est oculos in deiectos modestos, uror, et insidiae sunt pudor ille meae.' *Amores* II.14.11-12.

especially appeals to Sextus is Lucretia's unbound hair. Bömer points out that *matronae* normally wear their hair tied up, and cites *Ars Am* III.153, where hair that is skillfully neglected is prescribed. However, he misses the point, perhaps falling into the poet's snare; "was hier gekünstelte Einfachheit ist, soll bei Lucretia natürliche Schlichtheit sein".[63] Surely, as well as being a sign of simplicity, it is intended as naturally erotic.

In *Amores* III.vi Rhea Silvia is more attractive to the river Anio because of her tears of shame.[64] She is an interesting figure for comparison, since after her rape she shares several features with Lucretia before hers. Thus Ovid's first picture of the frantic matron is only a foretaste of the picture of Lucretia distraught after her rape, where her dishonour only emphasizes those aspects which are implicitly erotic in her first appearance; the tears, her dishevelled hair, her downcast eyes.[65] They are now set off by her blush.[66] Again, it is Lucretia's tears of matronly modesty that are the centre of the picture:

> illa diu reticet pudibundaque celat amictu
> ora: fluunt lacrimae more perennis aquae
>
> II.819-820.

Lucretia's *pudor* is the object of appeal, not with condemnation, but with the approval of desire that men's admiration of women usually entails in elegy. There is a further strand in the language in which the story is told, which adds another aspect to the implications of the elegiac reworking of the story. Military imagery is frequently used both in explicitly sexual metaphors and to create more implicit *doubles entendres*. Although this tactic is commonplace in erotic elegy, its use here makes clear how far the episode has been assimilated to elegiac techniques. When Sextus first expresses his intent, he compares his capture of Lucretia to the successful capture of Gabii.[67] This has the secondary effect of confirming that the episode at Gabii represented the military aspect of Ovid's account of the reign. His speech ended, Sextus takes up his sword.

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63 On II.772.
64 III.vi.67ff.
65 Tears, II.820 and 823; hair, II.813; eyes II.814.
66 II.828.
67 II.784.

hostis ut hospes init penetralia Collatini:
comiter excipitur; sanguine iunctus erat.
II.787-788.

His entrance to the house is given a sexual overtone, in the use of *ineo* in conjunction with the more obvious military metaphor in *hostis*. *sanguine* is the first occurrence of the blood imagery that becomes important after Lucretia's suicide, where her physical wound, because of the parallel between her rape and her stabbing, becomes a symbol for her violation. The dominance of the combination of sexual symbolism with military that permeates the narrative would seem justify this assertion. Thus dual imagery becomes more overt when Sextus leaves his bed:

surgit et aurata vagina liberat ensem.
II.793.

and when Lucretia gives way:

succubuit famae victa puella metu,
quid, victor, gaudes? haec te victoria perdet.
II.810-11.

succumbere literally means to lie under, but is also commonly used for military defeat. The fairly ordinary use of *victoria* for the accomplishment of the rape continues the metaphor, and then lays the way for reversal by the poet, in that, momentarily, the military imagery is shown to contain something deserving of condemnation.

Elegy involves the rejection of military subjects, but from an early stage this led to the reappropriation of military vocabulary for erotic metaphors. Here, in chosing a subject for elegy that had a strong historical account, Ovid compresses the military aspects, and extends an episode which he then endows with an erotic character, partly by using coherent military imagery. By depicting the episode as erotic in the first place he performs a sophisticated inversion of the historical account of the rape. It is not just military subjects that are scorned; the moral implications of Livy's treatment of Lucretia are upset; by endorsing her erotic appeal, he destroys the outrage that characterizes Livy's treatment, where the rape is seen from all sides as a shock, as the introduction of desire into a context where it does not belong. It clinches Ovid's rejection of this paradigm that on the point of

her rape he uses *puella* for Lucretia.[68] It is not in the least shocking that Sextus rapes Lucretia in Ovid; Ovid has shown his desire develop, one might say sympathetically, and he has consistently depicted Lucretia as an erotic object, making her matronly virtues into elegiac enticements, and implying inevitability by making all her expressions of grief alluring.

Ovid's account of another great model of chastity, Claudia Quinta, has much in common with his presentation of the rape of Lucretia, although in a less complex form.

> Claudia Quinta genus Clauso referebat ab alto,
> nec facies impar nobilitate fuit:
> casta quidem, sed non et credita; rumor iniquus
> laeserat, et falsi criminis acta rea est;
> cultus et ornatis varie prodissse capillis
> obfuit, ad rigidos promptaque lingua senes.
> conscia mens recti famae mendacia risit,
> sed nos in vitium credula turba sumus.
>
> *Fasti* IV.305312.

Just as Ovid presents Lucretia's attractions and Sextus' desire from a standpoint of implicit sympathy, in the case of Claudia, he places himself explicitly with those who judged Claudia unchaste. As Wilkinson points out, Ovid's Claudia is far removed from the usual picture of the *matrona*; instead we have a "gay and high-spirited girl".[69] This is only possible because Ovid can change his position and place himself with the crowd, rejecting the moral objectivity of the historical narrator.

Ovid's narration of the rape of Lucretia demonstrates exactly what is involved when Roman history is reworked into elegy. It is quite clearly not simply the retelling of the story in a different metre. The historical significance of Lucretia is subverted by the eroticism of the genre. This functions even outside the particular method of the the narrative itself, in the juxtaposition of Lucretia with the jocular mythical rapes that abound in *Fasti* II. Perhaps even more significant is the opening of the next book, where the poet attempts to assimilate Mars into elegy by describing his erotic aspect, exemplified by his

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68 II.810, quoted above,p.229.

69 L.P.Wilkinson *Ovid Recalled* (Cambridge,1955),p.263. Bremmer and Horsfall, *Roman Myth and Mythography* BICS Supp.52(1987),pp.105-111 discuss the history of the connection of Claudia with Cybele, which is first made in Propertius IV.11.51., and may be a post-Ciceronian development. This late date would make it better material for Ovid to upset the traditional picture of Claudia.

intercourse with the sleeping Rhea Silvia. In the treatment of the military aspects of Tarquin's reign, and the extensive use of military imagery in the rape of Lucretia, Ovid has already exploited this theme very fully; he then proceeds to give it an explicit exposition.

It is in the identification of the narrator with Sextus, and the elaboration of Lucretia's appeal, that Ovid's Rape of Lucretia most effectively upsets the historical interpretation which Livy gives to the event. However, this does in itself constitutes a new interpretation of the rape's historical significance. Livy carefully takes a high moral stance, encourages his reader's outrage, and makes them identify with the excellent progress of Rome's destiny which this outrage precipitated. In contrast, Ovid suggests not that we should identify with the virtues of the early Romans, but rather that we can immediately identify with their desires. A process of modernization takes places, so that the past is no longer seen as the repository for model behaviour; rather, the same immoralities that delight the readers of erotic elegy took place then. And indeed, by juxtaposing the rape of Lucretia with the series of mythical rapes that precede it, this equation of the regal period with the present extends to an equation of history with myth. The overturning of expectations of the past and present, which I discussed above, is again relevant here. Both are part of a view in which the distinctness of the past from the present is replaced by an identification of the past with the present. We can recall Janus' view, that there was never a time when wealth was not valued, and poverty is simply the result of circumstance, not the manifestation of material disinterest. Janus privileges interpretation in contemporary terms, and in so doing eliminates any difference in social nature between the age of Saturn and that of Augustus. Ovid's equation of historical figures with erotic protagonists contains the same basic idea. Similar too is the reuse of those formulae for creating an atmosphere of antique sanctity; by exploiting them for a poetic joke, their original function, the creation of a sense of distinctness for the distant past, is deliberately destroyed, and instead subsumed into the realm of literary parody, where the main focus of interest is the wit of the poet.

Past, Present, and Augustus.

For the most part, the elegiac rewriting of history is a harmless and amusing process, but there were places in the Roman calendar where more sensitive matters were raised. One such place is the comparison of Romulus and Augustus, occasioned by remembrance of the day on which Augustus took the title of *pater patriae*, the nones of March. Even though the motivation of the comparison is the glorification of the *princeps*,.Ovid's lack of concern for the conventional reverence for the past is alarming,

> Romule, concedes: facit hic tua magna tuendo
> moenia, tu dederas transilienda Remo.
> te Tatius parvique Cures Caeninaque sensit:
> hoc duce Romanum est solis utrumque latus
> tu breve nescio quid victae telluris habebas:
> quodcumque est alto sub Iove, Caesar habet.
> tu rapis, hic castas duce se iubet esse maritas
> tu recipis luco, reppulit ille nefas.
> vis tibi grata fuit, florent sub Caesare leges.
> tu domini nomen, principis ille tenet.
> te Remus incusat, veniam dedit hostibus ille.
> caelestem fecit te pater, ille patrem.
> iam puer Idaeus media tenus eminet alvo...
> II.133-144.

The reversals are quite bizarre, and become more bizarre as the passage progresses. It is not unusual to regard the rape of the Sabine women as uncivilized, but here it is set up as the opposite of the civilized actions of the present. The same is true of Romulus' institution of the asylum, only here the suggestion that this was welcoming *nefas* fits with the anti-Romulean literature against which Dionysius takes up his stand, and which is clearly anti-Roman literature, not the appropriate component for praise of Augustus.[70] The juxtaposition of *dominus* and *princeps* in turn suggests that Romulus' power was based on domination rather than leadership. Ovid ignores the analysis of Livy that the Roman people still needed to be ruled, an analysis which has its roots in Ennius' portrayal of the love which Romulus inspired in his people, which is quoted by Cicero to prove that the earliest

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70 *A.R.*I.4.2. People regard the founders of Rome as barbarian vagabonds.

Romans did not call their kings *dominus* but *pater*.[71] It may be less significant that Ovid ignores the accounts that emphasize Romulus' concern for the constitution, but to pit *vis* against *leges* certainly makes it clear that Romulus' state was barbaric. In fact Ovid here contradicts the image of Romulus that he creates elsewhere, with considerable care. The suggestion in "te Remus incusat" is wholly out of accord with the blameless Romulus, grieving over the death of his brother in the main foundation narrative, or as described by Remus himself, speaking from beyond the grave in the aetiology of the Lemuria, or in the pictures of him as a careful ruler.[72] The final, extraordinary, opposition is that of the two deifications. It is difficult to assess the grounds on which deification of his father makes Augustus a greater man than the deified Romulus, even if Augustus' filial piety is the basis for the comparison. The speed with which the poet then moves to astrological detail tactfully prevents us dwelling on the implications. It also suggests that there is no need to make a distinction between the constellations and deified leaders.

The reasoning behind the modernizing accounts of Romulus given in Cicero and Dionysius, both of which stress the civilization of early Rome at the expense of colouring it with atmospheric historical detail, is that Romulus provides a model of the ideal statesman, and a suitable beginning for a view of Roman history that looks back to the foundation for confirmation of the present. Ovid, on the other hand, devalues the past in his attempt to praise the present. Ovid's contravention of the conventional relationship may be said to be foreshadowed by the expressions of poetic incapacity which come as he introduces the topic:

> maximus hic fastis accumulatur honos.
> deficit ingenium, maioraque viribus urgent:
> haec mihi praecipuo est ore canenda dies.
> quid volui demens elegis imponere tantum
> ponderis? heroi res erat ista pedis.
> sancte pater patriae, tibi plebs, tibi curia nomen
> hoc dedit, hoc dedimus nos tibi nomen, eques.
> II.122-129.

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71 Livy I.17.3; Cicero *De Republica* I.64. See J.Classen 'Die Königszeit im Spiegel der Literatur der römischen Republik', *Historia* 14(1965),385-403(p.389ff). Presumably the passage of Ennius was the inspiration for the idea of *pater patriae*.

72 The foundation, IV.807-862; the Lemuria V.445-485.

Such sentiments of weakness when faced with the great weight of epic subjects were explored thoroughly by Propertius, and have by now have acquired almost a standard coded significance, that the poet's attempt at something grand will be self-defeating and will result in a perturbing deflation of the subject. It is perhaps too subtle to find in this a prediction that a further expectation will be overturned, the expectation that history will substantiate the present. However, it does provide a hint that the associations that the attempt at this great subject will create may not be entirely satisfactory, given the incompatibility of the poet and the metre to the subject matter.

The episode is essentially aetiological in method. The assumption of the title of *pater patriae* depends on the relationship of Augustus to the real *pater patriae*, the father of the Roman state, the original bearer of the title, in fact if not in name. In this light it becomes clear that the normal function of the aetiology is totally lost, and instead the *aition* is shown to be the germ for a more sophisticated version of events in the future. Romulus only provides confirmation of the present insofar as he gives a crude and barbaric version of *pater patriae* on which Augustus can really have been said to have expanded. It is the logical structure behind the comparison between the sizes of the two leaders' empires that underlies and explains the remaining comparisons. The idea of humble beginnings for Rome is quite common, but when the idea spreads to include morals or values, so that sophisticated civilized modern values are said to grow out of uncivilized ancient ones, there is a concurrent flow of bad associations to the present. It is easy to accept that Rome was once small, then grew, but something of a strain to hear that Rome was once uncivilized, then grew to civilization. As with Janus' comparison of past and present, the process of development is given a slightly different nuance, so that the traditional picture is totally destroyed.[73]

Another important force on the comparison are the astrological passages that form the context of the episode; the catasterism of the Dolphin, entailing the story of Arion, comes

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73 Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 'The Golden Age and Sin in Augustan Ideology', *P&P* 95(1982),19-36(p.27-8) places these two passages in the context of the relationship of the Augustan present to an idealized past in Augustan ideology.

immediately before, and the rising of Aquarius and his origin as Ganymede take the reader back up to the stars as soon as Caesar's divination has been favourably compared to Romulus'. Such astrological sections abound in the work, and quite apart from their probable popularity with Ovid's readers and particularly Germanicus, they can be helpful in defining the use of the regal period in the work, and the use of the past generally.[74]

There is an expectation that arises from all prose accounts of the regal period, and which is continued and made explicit in the *Aeneid*, that literature depicting the past will in some way enhance the glory of the present. Concurrent to this, and again central to the *Aeneid*, is the importance that astrological considerations seem to have played in Augustan public propaganda. In both cases the central belief is that the Augustan present forms the centre of the cosmos, both in terms of the history, and in terms of the natural universe.[75] By choosing to base his account of Rome's past within a framework that depends on the perennial motions of the stars, Ovid combines the two in a way that represents most satisfactorily two strands of Augustan propaganda. However, in Ovid, the influence of Hellenistic models is extremely clear when one comes to individual astrological episodes. Likewise, Ovid's use of aetiology allows him to assimilate history to the world view of elegy, centred in the present day. He delights in overturning the conventional relationship of past to present that aetiology normally presents. In the case of the relationship of

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74 For Germanicus' translation of Aratus see D.B.Gain, *The Aratus ascribed to Germanicus Caesar* (London,1976); V.Buescu, *Cicéron, Les* Aratea, (Paris,1941) gives a more general view of Aratus at Rome. However, Aratus did not include catasterisms, which may have become popular through the work of Eratosthenes. J Martin, 'Histoire du texte des Phénomènes d'Aratus', *Etudes et Commentaires* 22(1956),58-62, gives an elegant summary of the history of the stories of catasterisms in pseudo-Eratosthenes and Hyginus, some of which are reproduced in Ovid (eg. the story of Orion, Hyginus, III.34; *Fasti* V.498-544). It is possible to identify Ovid's astrological source with Augustus' Palatine librarian, a friend of Ovid. See A.le Boeuffle's introduction to the Budé edition of Hyginus, (Paris,1983),p.xxxii-vii; P. de Woestyne, 'Un Ami d'Ovide: C.Julius Hyginus,' *Le Musée Belge* 33(1929),33-45.

75 See E.Buchner *Die Sohnenuhr des Augustus: Nachdruck aus RM 1976 und 1980 und Nachtrag über die Ausgrabung 1980/81* (Mainz, 1982) and the review of Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, *JRS* 75(1985),245-50. There is a brief summary of the significance of the sundial by E.Buchner, 'Horologium solarium Augusti', in Antikenmuseum Berlin, *Kaisar Augustus und die verlorene Republik: eine Ausstellung im Martin-Gropius-Bau, Berlin* (Mainz, 1988),pp.240-245. Philip R.Hardie, Virgil's *Aeneid*: *Cosmos* and *Imperium* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986) describes the interplay of scientific poetry with ideas of destiny and world rule as the context of the *Aeneid.*

Augustus to Romulus, this once more takes the form of suggesting a new and different causal relationship between the past and the present. Catasterisms, although they resemble historical aetiologies in their deviation from the serious picture of the Augustan present in the universe, do provide an anodyne and amusing setting, which prevents disturbing implications from spreading outside their immediate context.

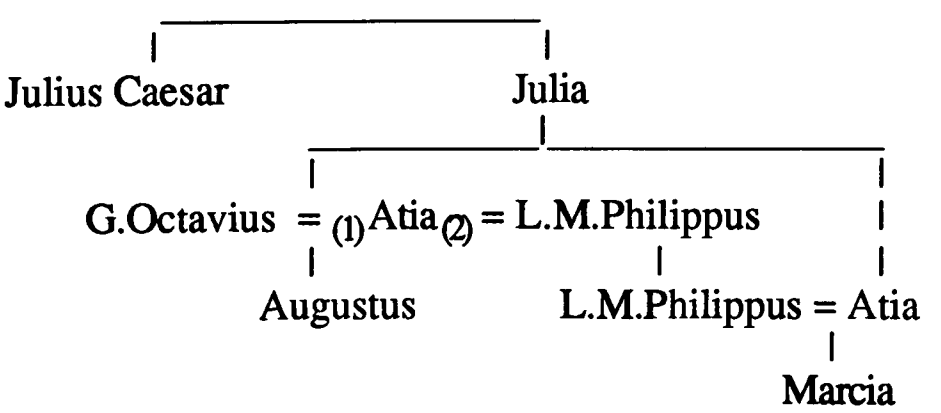
Ancus Marcius only makes one appearance in the poem, at the very end of the last book.

> clari monumenta Philippi
> aspicis, unde trahit Marcia casta genus,
> Marcia, sacrifico deductum nomen ab Anco,
> in qua par facies nobilitate sua est.
> nec quod laudamus formam, tu turpe putaris:
> laudamus magnas hac quoque parte deas.
> nupta fuit quondam matertera Caesaris illi.
> o decus, o sacra femina digna domo."
> sic cecinit Clio. doctae assensere sorores;
> annuit Alcides increpuitque lyram.
>
> *Fasti* VI.801-end.

Ovid makes it clear that the main reason for including the king is his relationship to Augustus. The relationship is distant enough to need spelling out; the Marcii Reges, who claimed descent from Ancus, were joined to the imperial family through Augustus' mother's sister, Atia, who married Lucius Marcius Philippus, this Marcia being their daughter, product of the conjunction of the two families.[76] It is also worth remembering,

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76 *PIR* 2 No.241a; 257. Augustus' mother Atia also married Lucius Marcus Philippus. The only analysis of the families that fits Ovid's statement here that Augustus' aunt was once married to Philip is this: Augustus' mother had a sister with the same name. Mother and sister married father and son respectively, both called Lucius Marcius Philippus.



It was the son (cos.suff.38) who developed the temple of Hercules Musarum that is celebrated on this day. Syme points out that "except for members of the central

and striking that Ovid does not mention, that Julius Caesar was part of the same family. In the funeral oration of his aunt Julia, delivered when he was still a quaestor, he recalled her descent from Ancus, as a member of the Marcii Reges through her mother.[77]

This singular mention of the king is informative. Ancus was one of the least substantial of the kings, as Cicero remarked.[78] Even so, Ovid finds him more worthy of mention than Tullus Hostilius or Tarquinius Priscus, neither of whom enters the work, and this is quite obviously due to the possibility of ending his sixth book with a mention of Augustus.[79] Even when he does mention Ancus, he does not feel constrained to flesh him out as a historical figure, or as responsible for any particular aspect of Roman culture, or even as some kind of model.[80] Ovid's interest in Ancus is restricted to the contribution he makes to the substantiation of the present, to the glorification of Augustus, and of Marcia, his cousin. This substantiation is in no way dependent on historical interpretation, or in creation of a specifically Roman atmosphere for the past.

Indeed, the final picture of the poem, of Hercules and the Muses, is a very Greek picture. No doubt it was inspired by the statue group inside the temple, the statues of the Muses which M.Fulvius Nobilior had brought back from the conquest of Ambracia in 187 B.C. In his comparison of the great Roman lady to the Muses, Ovid openly confronts this conflict between Roman expectation and his elegiac tone. He points out that praising the looks of one so noble could be regarded as *turpe*. He brings forward his treatment of goddesses as his defence, and makes the Muses who end the poem approve his analysis. But they emphasize too the elegiac setting. The goddesses in the *Fasti* are depicted in

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dynastic nexus, the wife of Fabius Maximus [Marcia] is the only living person to be named in the Fasti." *The Augustan Aristocracy* (Oxford,1986),p.404.

77 Suetonius, *D.J.*6.

78 *De republica* xviii.33. See above, p.26, note 41.

79 Marcia also seems to have been an acquaintance of Ovid's wife and is mentioned several times in the exile poems. See Syme, op.cit.p.413. Suetonius *Augustus* 29.5 suggests that L.Marcius Philippus' temple was among those constructed under encouragement from Augustus.

80 Paley points out that the characterization "sacrificus" depends on Livy's account of Ancus, piously perpetuating the religiosity of Numa. It could also be said to be of the same order as Ovid's characterization of Servius as *placidus*. Both depend on the use of a suggestive adjective, but where the suggestion is not substantiated. For *Servius placidus*, see above, p.199-200.

elegiac colours, often placed in dialogue with the poet, in the model of Callimachus' *Aitia*, but more overtly in Ovid the vehicle for the authorial manipulation.[81] Their use as a model for the treatment of a Roman aristocrat reflects the central process of the poem; the reworking in elegiac form of a celebration of Augustan identity which was expressed more seriously in public monuments and the *Aeneid*. The role of Ancus in the passage is a paradigm for the use of the kings generally in the poem. He is Marcia's ancestor, but Ovid does not extend the sense of antiquity that descent from a king could entail to include a sense of awe. Instead, he takes Marcia's descent as an opportunity to praise her beauty, then, by the comparison of Marcia to the goddesses, ever present and quite incompatible with a sense of history, he surrounds the present with a mythical atmosphere, in which the relationship to Ancus does play a part, but where the king becomes subsumed into that atmosphere, losing any function as a figure from history, as a founder, inventor, or model statesman.

Conclusion

The references to the regal period in the *Fasti* paradoxically demonstrate one great similarity to the accounts of the regal period in our prose authors. Cicero, Livy and Dionysius all form their accounts of the regal period around a particular conception of the relationship of the regal period to the present day. Livy's is the most subtle, and the one determined most by what might be called aesthetic considerations: it is an elegant formal device to enclose the regal period in one book, and to show it containing the germs for Rome's later decline. At the same time, this decline is demonstrated by making the regal regal period resemble the present more as it progresses. Cicero and Dionysius depend upon a much more blatant identification of the kings with their contemporaries, both hoping that they can act as models; Cicero prefers a certain degree of utopian distance; Dionysius is so pleased with Augustan Rome that such differences are redundant. Ovid too shapes the

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81 See Carlo Santini 'Toni e strutture nella rappresentazione della divintà nei Fasti', *GIF*. ns.4(1973),41-67.

regal period to conform with a conception of the relationship of the regal period to the present day, one where the present day is shown to contain the standards by which all ages are to be judged. In implementing this conception, Ovid exploits those devices with which earlier writers have stressed the differences between past and present, and with which they have depicted the decline which the present-day represents. Ovid uses parody to deny the validity of ideas of decline. When he discusses love of money or material comfort, these appear as constants, and the idea of difference between past and present is subverted. In his account of the rape of Lucretia we can observe particularly clearly that Ovid's pride in the present is the pride of the elegiac poet/lover, whose identification with the rapist produces an entirely different interpretation of the historical significance of the event from that of Livy, upon which it is so closely based. Livy uses outrage at Lucretia's rape to end the monarchy, and to re-establish moral purity after Tarquin, ready for the second beginning of Rome's history, the republic, his next book, and a new scale to his historical narration. Ovid rejects what is in essence Livy's insistence on a early Rome of greater moral purity, and suggests that the desire that the elegist describes has been unchanged in history. By juxtaposing the rape with myths, he also suggests that nowhere and never has the world been different; all the bases for Roman culture share the same concerns as Roman culture in its developed form; that form is the world inhabited by the poet.

It may seem paradoxical to credit the *Fasti* with a coherent view of Rome's history, when its most dominating feature is parody of conventional ways of depicting the past. Parody has its own justification, and can be thought of just in terms of its object. It would be possible to characterize the *Fasti* solely in terms of being an anti-*Aeneid*, or an elegiac *Aeneid*. Certainly, had it been finished, its formal resemblance to the *Aeneid* would have been obvious. However, when making such a comparison, the complexity of the question becomes apparent. The closeness of the *Fasti*'s vision of Rome's position in the universe to that of the *Aeneid* casts doubt upon the simple analysis of parody. Both poems show Augustan Rome as the centre of both of cosmic and historical order. Indeed, because of the greater role for the present, in the continuous comparisons which aetiology demands, the present day has a much stronger presence than in the *Aeneid*. By subsuming so many

different themes into explanations of present-day religious institutions, Ovid grants the present remarkable dominance. The cynical ambiguity which his insistence on the elegist's moral standards occasionally produces, is only one part of the diversity with which he depicts Rome's religious year. This diversity again demonstrates the poet's dominance over his material, and his pride in such dominance.

The tendency to regard the subversion of historical expectations as subversive, and to deduce that the poet's claims to be treating history in elegy are simply a coded way of saying that elegy will demonstrate its contempt for history, needs refining. The matter is as important for Propertius as for Ovid. The elegiac metre brings with it a certain conception of the dominance of the poetic voice; the history which the elegists then present does not eliminate this element. Ovid and Propertius demonstrate rather that history can act as the elegist's material, and still allow the claims of poetic skill which had become so important earlier, while they still rejected heavy subjects. History thus written is clearly different from prose history, and Ovid signals this by close reworking of Livy. The aetiological tradition of the regal period, which had always allowed variety in its interpretation, enables both poets to produce an account of Rome's history with a new interpretation, one which corresponds to the elegist's insistence on the dominance of his own world. However, the Propertius' product is very different from Ovid's. In his final poem, Propertius incorporates into personal elegy the qualities of a monument to traditional Roman virtue, and aristocratic descent, with its sense of personal historical significance. The experiments with different kinds of historical material which precede IV.xi lay the ground for such a momentous alteration in what is the poet can reconcile with the demands of the genre. Propertius IV changes the idea of the range of elegy, of the world of the poet and the sense of the elegiac present. It alters the conception of what kinds of women can appear in elegy, and what sort of historical depth is possible in personal poetry.

Ovid goes further, by abandoning elegiac poetry's emphasis on the personal. By the time Propertius IV comes to a close in the present, the conventional relationships of past to present have been very variously explored. In the *Fasti*, in spite of its huge range of material, everything becomes flattened by the domination of the poet and subordinated to

the supremacy of the present. At the same time, the decision to place historical anecdote within an account of Rome's calendar gives an external formal dimension to the elegist's preference for the present, and provides a concrete reality outside the normal range of the elegiac world. There is a harmony between the kind of history produced and the structure of the poem which outweighs the contradictions of the idea of an elegiac celebration of Augustan Rome.

Conclusion.[1]

When we look back, most striking perhaps is the great variety of uses to which the regal period was put. The extreme rationalized, hellenified modernism of Dionysius, and the atmospheric poverty of Propertius IV.1 represent the extremes. The tendency to find in the regal period the origins of later Rome, and the fertile traditions of aetiologies which surrounded them, explains why the period was open to so many interpretations. This tendency to aetiology, however, also provides the principle which unifies all accounts of the regal period. In Cicero's account the tradition of the kings as founders gains a political dimension, with the kings becoming ideal rulers. The concept of the innovating founder is transmuted slightly, so that he comes to act as a model. Whereas traditions about a founder depend only upon a present-day institution having a recognizable origin, however different, and are even possible where the institution has become obsolete, the effective use of a historical model relies upon the possibility of continuity with the present day, a continuity of culture, and of standards of behaviour and government. Cicero's idea of continuity was shown to be an ideal, a view of the past which his own present showed was impossible. However, he sets out the grounds upon which such a model could function; these are a similarity between the past and present, and a concurrent insistence upon the historical reality of the regal period.

In Dionysius, Cicero's picture of history is realized. Cicero suggests that he does not believe his account, but this is not stated at all unequivocally, and the dialogue eloquently expresses a desire for such such belief. I hope my discussion of Dionysius has shown that

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1 Literature on Augustan culture is vast. I list here only the items I have found particularly useful. D.Keinast, *Augustus: Prinzeps und Monarch*, (Darmstadt,1982) contains copious bibliography. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill, 'The golden age and sin in Augustan ideology', *P&P* 95(1982),19-36. and the review of P.Zanker, The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus, *JRS* 79(1989),157-64; M.Fuhrmann, 'Erneuerung als Wiederherstellung des Alten: zur Funktion antiquarisher Forschung in spätrepublikanishchen Rom', in *Epochenschwelle und Epochenbewußtsein*, ed.by R.Herzog and R.Koselleck, (Munich,1987),131-152. Antikenmuseum Berlin, *Kaisar Augustus und die verlorene Republik*,(Mainz,1988) with bibliographies.

belief in an idealization of early history is not incomprehensible, and that what looks to us like an idealization was in fact a reconstruction congruent to any other historical reconstruction. Livy's account is more subtle, but again the originative character of the kings and the insistence on historicity are preserved, as is the reconstruction of the period in accordance with a particular idea of Rome's development. Dionysius and Livy have a common method; they both shape the regal period around a view of how it contained the origins of what came later.[2]

Propertius too can be drawn into this scheme. It is more accurate to characterize his treatment of the regal period as a reaction to a fixed conception of the nature of elegy, and to a cliché idea of the relationship of past to present. IV conflates the normally separate worlds of history and love, public and private. Nevertheless, there are elements of historical reinterpretation. The preoccupations of the elegist are given historical precedent not just with Tarpeia, but also with Vertumnus, a historical model for the new elegist, and at the end of IV.ix Propertius defines himself as the poet of regal history. In one way, simply including history in elegy involves reinterpretation of that history. Ovid, as we have just seen, makes much more of this reinterpretation, again in line with a particular view of Rome's history, in which he grants the poet a central role.

The presence of the regal period in elegy paradoxically confirms the insistence in the prose accounts that the kings were historical. They were historical figures whose wealth of stories made suitable for elegy, as an area of Roman history with a store of non-military associations. It was as the inclusion of history in elegy that the regal period appears in Propertius and Ovid. We can recall Livy's assertion that the pre-foundation material was more suitable for poets.[3] The elegists signal their difference from Virgil by treating figures

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2 E.Lefèvre 'Argumentation und Struktur der moralischen Geschichtschreibung der Römer am Beispiel von Livius' Darstellung des Beginns des römischen Freistaats (2,1-2,15) in *Livius: Werk und Rezeption, Festschrift für Erich Burck zum 80 Geburtstag*, ed. by E.Lefèvre and E.Olshausen, Munich 1983,pp.31-57, and M.Fuhrmann, 'Narrative Techniken im Dienst der Geschichtschreibung (Livius, Buch 21-22). Eine Skizze',ibid,pp.99-106 together provide interesting discussion of the idea of guiding themes in Roman historiography.

3 Livy, *Praef* 6-7.

from the history books; and in Ovid particularly, so dependent on Livy, it becomes manifest that elegy is now treating history.

All our prose accounts can be thought of as reconstructions of pre-history into history. The use of a particular determining idea to create an historically credible version is clearly something necessitated by the state of the evidence about the regal period, probably a large jumble of aetiological tradition. Dionysius refers to this determining idea as the ἱστορίας σχῆμα .[4] It is what makes history seem like history, what makes it believable. The regal period has a place in Rome's history; if the history of Rome is to be an accurate one, the events of that time must be placed in an order which corresponds to the meaning of the remainder of Rome's history. This is a task which modern historians of the regal period are still performing.[5] Variation in the idea of Rome's development should not obscure the central feature of all accounts of the regal period, that they confirm whatever view of Rome's history the author may hold.

There remains the question of the relationship of the principate to the depictions of kings. Work on the *Aeneid* has taught us to beware of typological literary analysis;[6] even without this, the temptation to perceive Augustus in accounts of the kings is hardly great. It will be clear by now that the way in which the present day can be most reliably perceived in accounts of the regal period is a rather general one. The position granted to the kings within Rome's history reflects the writer's view of his own day, in particular the present in comparison to the past. In the *de republica*, Cicero wistfully recalls the time when the kings could act as models of statesmanship without damaging connotations of tyrannical domination interfering. This was no longer possible in his own time. Dionysius perceived Rome in terms of a flourishing cultural revival, and as proof of the virtuous rectitude of historical development. In his interpretation, the aetiological function of the kings predicts this later development; their virtue is the origin of Rome's later greatness. Livy, writing

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4 See above, p.87ff.

5 For a summary of the latest versions, see T.J.Cornell, 'Rome and Latium Vetus', *Archaeological Reports* 32(1985-6),123-133,esp.124-5.

6 See J.Griffin, 'The creation of characters in the Aeneid', in *Latin Poets and Roman Life* (London,1985),pp.183-197.

earlier, shares Cicero's anxiety about Rome's development. The kings still provide the origins for Rome's later history, maintaining an aetiological role, but this time for the later decline of Rome, being shown to act, at isolated, particularly symbolic moments, as seeds for the political processes which characterized that decline. Ovid reflects a new view of history that is particularly Augustan, one in which history has already reached its culmination, and where the present is celebrated by the binding together of past and present with myth and astronomy.

Propertius' position is a difficult one. How one views the alteration of poetics in IV must depend to a considerable extent on one's view of the idea of the life of the poet. If one believes books I to III to be autobiographical in the modern sense, written in order to publicize the poet's personality, then in IV one cannot avoid sensing ideas of pressure from Augustus, however indirectly that pressure is thought to be exerted. If, on the other hand, the main interest of Propertius' work is thought to be poetry itself, then the alteration in IV can be seen more in terms of its boldness, its challenging of the generic expectations of elegy. Indeed, the continuity between Propertius III and IV reinforces the centrality of poetry and the desire for an extension of its scope. In this way, the political questions recede slightly, to a position where our lack of knowledge of the facts no longer becomes frustrating. We can never know if IV.vi or xi were written (reluctantly) to specific commissions. If our ignorance does not disturb us, the remarkable variety of IV, which facilitates the inclusion of so many different new subjects, can itself be seen as sufficient reason for their inclusion. In IV we find experiments in blending personal with historical that constitute a development of elegy for which no further justification need be sought. A stronger argument, however, emerges by viewing Propertius in the context of other accounts of the regal period. By wishing to treat Rome's history in elegy, Propertius was responding to the retrospective tendencies of his day.

But if the kings function in all our accounts as the originators of Rome, the benign founders, what of their other function, as embodiments of *regnum* ? Apart from Tarquinius Superbus, tyrannical behaviour is very absent, and the mixed constitution appears in all the prose accounts during the regal period. Can we assume a complete divide

between the historians' kings and the rhetoricians', or should the absence of negative currents in depictions of the period be taken as part of the propaganda of the new monarchy, or at least, quiet consent to it? There is no doubt that hatred of *regnum* was still alive at this time. However persuasive one finds the compendious account of Alföldi, that Julius Caesar never intended to be king, it is not to be doubted that enough people at the time thought he did for their opinion to have outlasted the coming of the principate, and penetrate to Suetonius and Plutarch.[7] More important for us than Caesar's actual intentions is the fact that many were certain *regnum* was his aim, and that this suspicion provided the necessary justification for his murder. Augustus later confirmed his position within forms at least recognizable as republican offices of government, and it is common to interpret this care as a desire to avoid Caesar's fate, a fate consequent on carelessness about these forms of government.

We have seen that absolute power was not what characterized the historical kings. Indeed it is likely that Caesar's putative desire for kingship rested not upon the increase it would bring to his power, so much as the perceived difference to his status. He had already been granted so many honours, including divinity and a gold crown. The name of king itself, rather than any material change to Caesar's power, was the object of polemic against him. Given the republican rhetorical tradition, it was more powerful a weapon to vilify Caesar as a king than as a god.[8] Cicero's careful demarcation of bad and good kingship, to the point where the latter can scarcely have the same name as the former, when taken together with the deconstruction of the historical narrative, was a careful way of praising monarchy in the past, and appreciating the contribution which the kings could make as models for *principes*, while at the same time seeming to avoid advocating a return to monarchy itself. At the same time it should be remembered that some of Caesar's

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7 Suetonius D.J.76ff. Plutarch, Caesar,60.1; A.Alföldi, *Caesar in 44 v.Chr.*,Bd.I, Bonn 1985,*passim*. For a discussion of the various theories of Caesar's intentions, especially at the Lupercalia of 44 B.C., see H.Gesche, *Caesar* (Darmstadt,1976),p.154ff.

8 Alföldi suggests that it was in order to prevent Caesar becoming a king that the senate made him a god. *Caesar in 44.B.C,* p.166. cf. the analysis of S.R.F.Price, *Rituals and Power: The Roman Imperial Cult in Asia Minor*, (Cambridge,1984) that gods were easier to deal with than kings.

supporters liked the idea of Caesar as a king. As Cicero makes clear, whether kings were loved or loathed depended entirely on what sort of king they were.

In spite of Caesar's fate, Octavian could still associate himself with Romulus, with whom Caesar too had fostered his own comparisons, and nearly took that as his new name.[9] We should perhaps consider this in the light of the sculptural programme of Augustus' new Forum. Flanking the approach to the new temple of Mars Ultor stood rows of statues of great men from Rome's past. Romulus, Aeneas and the kings of Alba Longa were certainly among them, and it is unlikely that Rome's other kings were excluded.[10] Augustus himself stood in the middle, as *pater patriae*, with the *quadriga* donated by the senate on the completion of the forum. On the pediment of the temple stood Mars, Venus, Rome and Romulus, Fortuna and the personified Palatine and Tiber. This grouping was "ein hervorragendes Beispiel dafür, wie Augustus, ohne seine Person in den Vordergrund zu stellen, seine eigene Position als Sache des gesamten staatswesens zu formulieren verstand."[11] Augustus is figured as the culmination of the whole of Rome's past, the destiny of fate, and as the great man at the end of a long line of great men. Caesar too, we may remember, had placed a statue of himself next to the seven ancient statues of the kings on the Capitol.[12] The view of history which such self-glorification implies is not dissimilar to certain ideas discernible in literary accounts of the regal period. Rather than thinking of the influence of Augustus on the literary accounts, we can think of the expression in both of a particular view of Rome's history. The kings were founders, and

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9 Suetonius, *Augustus* 7,2 cf.Dio 53,16,5. See J.Gagé, 'Romulus-Augustus', *MEFR* 47(1930)138-61. and Keinast,p.79 and note 45. for bibliography. P.Zanker has pointed out that it would be incorrect to speak of a Romulus period, since Romulus was a fairly constant figure thoughout Augustus' principate. *Forum Augustum* (Tübingen,1970),p.21. On Caesar as Romulus, and the republican precedents, see S.Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford,1971),pp.175-191.

10 Zanker, *Forum Augustum* p.18 assumes that the kings were included, although none of their statue basis have survived. See A.Degrassi, *Inscriptiones Italiae Vol 13, Fasti et Elogia, Fasc.3, Elogia*, (Rome,1937),pp.4-5 for a discussion of the identity of the figures. The presence of the kings of Alba Longa, as well as the traditional continuity between the kings and later great men of the republic which the *de republica* attests, make the exclusion of the kings unlikely.

11 T.Hölscher, 'Historische Reliefs', in *Kaisar Augustus und die verlorene Republik*, pp.351-400(p.378).

12 Suetonius *Divus Julius* 76.1.

their representation invited comparison of the present day with the distant past. This role for the kings was traditional, gaining strength in the late republic. Caesar failed to insert himself into this tradition successfully, suggesting the wrong regal connotations. He was not, it should be remembered, the first to have done so; many great men of the republic had wished to be thought of as refounding Rome. Augustus' great achievement seems to have been that he was eventually able to present himself as the culmination of Rome's *principes* without embarrassment. His forum represents a much broader sweep of Rome's history than Caesar's self-display on the Capitol; in the same way, the role of the kings in all our prose accounts is one that reflects on the whole of Rome's history. The idea of a series of great men in Rome's past lies as much at the root of accounts of the regal period as of Augustus' appropriation of Roman history.[13]

The last title which Augustus assumed was that of *pater patriae*, in 2 B.C.[14]. The lateness of the title can be taken to corroborate the difficulty of identifying oneself with Romulus which had originally led Octavian to reject the name Romulus in favour of Augustus, a title which nonetheless recalled the *augurium augustum*, which sanctioned the foundation of Rome. Romulus was clearly a particularly ambivalent figure, one who could be used as a model, but with whom an oblique identification, through a related title, was better. Augustus' care points to a crucial difference with Caesar's case; it clearly did not matter how powerful Caesar was; the honours heaped upon him were his downfall, the rumour that he desired *regnum* as the ultimate honour. Augustus avoided these ambiguities. He could accrue so much power, and maintain a convincing show of collegiality, by steering clear of *regnum* itself. In the process he gave credibility to a view of Rome' history in which he was the second founder of Rome, proof of the virtues of Rome's original founders, and of the perpetuation of their legacy.

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13 cf.Livy, Praef.9. It is easy to lay too much stress on the 'per quos uiros', but even so, it is implied that the actions of the great are the subject of history. See also T.J.Luce, 'Livy,Augustus and the Forum Augustum', in K.A.Raaflaub & M.Toher (eds.) *Between Republic and Empire*, (Oxford,1990),pp.123-138.

14 *Res Gestae* 35; notably very near the end of the inscription.

Ovid's comparison of Augustus with Romulus expresses in a succinct form a difficulty which lies at the root of all accounts of the regal period, insofar as all imply some kind of comparison of past and present. The possible connotations of this kind of comparison of past and present were clearly not limited or uniform. There was an intrinsic problem in depicting the past as a lost ideal, a problem which arose from an ambivalent attitude to the present day. The late republican interest in the past rested upon a delight in the idea of decline, and a pretence at disgust in the present.[15] The past was praised in order to escape the present.[16] When the present was able to fulfil desire, erotic or political, the status of the past became ambiguous. The poets particularly dwell upon the dialectic between military cruelty and simplicity. An extension of this conflict can be perceived in Propertius' dilemma about what kind of poetry to write, given the temptation of epic, but insistence on the personal. None of his ways of representing the past is in the end definitive. Ovid is clear that he really prefers the present in every case, but in the process upsets veneration for the past. In Cicero, sophistication and simplicity go hand in hand, until the point in the dialogue where idealization of the period becomes exposed, and the necessity for the disguise of historical atmosphere is lessened. Before then, the tension between them is one of the strongest signs of the artificiality of the narrative of the regal period. A mystery of Varro's lost works is whether he attempted to reconcile the extraordinary philosophical awareness of his kings with the material simplicity of their surrounding; perhaps he depicted the regal period as more of a golden age, but his belief in its historical character, along with all other accounts, makes this seem unlikely. Dionysius evades such difficulties, by assuming a very direct relationship of originative virtue. Only in Livy is the problem of comparison of past and present less obtrusive. By employing prehistory to create a sense of historical context, and by having a more sophisticated idea of the kind of origin the regal period contained, Livy moves away from the difficulty of trying to praise

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15 See F.Della Corte, 'Passato e presente in Varrone', reprinted in *Opuscula* VI (Genoa,1978),pp.213-239. on the hypocrisy of Varro's obsession with decadence and love of poverty.

16 Livy's preface contains the residue of this idea, although it is not clearly followed through, at least not where one might expect, that is his first book.

the present by praising the past. The horrible fate of Mettius Fufetius, dragged apart by horses, is the one focus for a relief that the past is the past, which still appears rather incongruous in the context of an account abounding in aetiology.[17] When Ovid came to discuss Augustus in comparison to Romulus, the problem before him was to show the continuation of Romulus' virtues in Augustus. The solution could not be easy. The award of this honour depended upon a superficial, unexplicated comparison. When attempting to give a literary version, the lack of certainty as to how this should be done becomes apparent. It is a lack of certainty which the variety of accounts of the regal period makes clear was due to the very nature of such comparisons.

Perhaps we can conclude that Augustus' success caused the anti-monarchical tradition to recede. Cicero suggested that when strong leadership was not perceived to be threatening, then a positive depiction of the kings was possible. Livy implies that the basis for hatred of monarchy was very circumstantial; for him, an accurate representation of the monarchy would explain how the tradition arose, while at the same time giving the kings a place in Rome's history which is their due. This involved moving away from the Polybian constitutional pairings; in Livy's account, the detailed political situation, together with the significance which fate bestows on events, is sufficient to explain how the good kings could need to be replaced without the institution of monarchy itself being intrinsically discredited. The revival of the monarchic form of government remains a distinct possibility at the end of Livy I. It is tempting to argue that by enclosing the period in one book Livy was implementing a new division of Rome's history which had only occurred as a possibility with the coming of the principate. By containing the monarchy as a prelude to the main body of his history, he looks forward to the next change of era, the refoundation.

It is but a short step from this argument to one based upon a direct association of Augustus with Rome's early monarchs. If the kings are represented positively, their

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17 Livy, I.28.11. Perhaps too it marks a stage on the way to the modernity later in I, the fall of Alba symbolizing the end of the old style of behaviour. For Dionysius, the manner of his death reflects his personality: III.30.7. Compare his account of the death of the last of the Horatii, which plays the same role as Livy's Fufetius. *AR*.III.21.7, see above, p.105, note 109.

negative associations minimized, could this not be just a reflection of the authors' respect for Augustus? Against such a view, Cicero and Varro suggest that idealization of the kings was traditional. Dionysius is much concerned with anti-Roman traditions, and was doubtless aware that the Roman's own ambivalent view of their kings contributed to this.[18] For him, the defence of Rome's monarchs is a defence of Rome. Cicero's pride in the development of Rome's constitution is likewise served by his account of the regal period. Like Cicero, Livy prefers a strong government which keeps the people in check. His view of the regal period gives the kings an essential role in the foundation of the city, and at the start of the republic it is far from clear that they have been replaced by something intrinsically superior. Even in Livy, with a clear sense of Rome's people under the kings, the difference between the rule of kings and the rule of the senate is not such that political relationships totally change. It seems a possibility that Augustus' success depended upon such views of Rome's history. Even without thinking of him as a king, the desire for strong government and order, nostalgia for the simple past, and a lack of particular affection for the faction politics of last century of the republic, explain how he could take such confident control of the whole state.

In spite of Caesar's failure, one need not therefore be surprised that anti-monarchic feeling did not alter conceptions of Rome's kings. The desire for a new kind of historical view had already been expressed by Cicero; the Augustan ideas of the refoundation, of the start of a new and different historical epoch, which at the same time represented a return to the virtues of the forefathers, were well served by accounts of the history of Rome which included its kings and gave them significant roles in Rome's development. Indeed, accounts of the regal period clearly display affinity to what can be thought of as the mainstream view of history of Augustan propaganda. The development of antiquarianism and its escapist reconstructions expressed a desire to revive the past as a way of

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18 Eastern kings rallying their troops against Rome by recalling Roman hatred of kings and their own bad experience of them is a recongnizable *topos* in the anti-Roman polemic found in Roman historians, e.g. Sallust, *Bell.Jug.* 81.5, Trogus, 29,3,1 and 38,4,1.See E.Burck, 'Die römische Expansion im Urteil des Livius', *ANRW* 30.2(1982),1148-89, esp.pp.1159ff.

resuscitating contemporary society. Caesar and Augustus both exploited the prestige to be gained by allegiance to this conservatism. Augustus actively encouraged antiquarian activity, as the revival of the Fetial formula, or the great prominence and salary of Verrius Flaccus attests. It is even possible that on becoming Pontifex Maximus in 12 BC he promoted the publication of an eighty volume edition of the *Annales Maximi*; if so, they are an eloquent sign of the political topicality of making written antiquarian material available.[19] These are only the more erudite manifestations of a general spirit of revival and retrospection to which the *Aeneid*, much of Horace, and many Augustan monuments and institutions bear witness.

The regal period, the first era in Rome's history, was inevitably the focus for much of this activity. As we have seen, antiquarian reconstruction serves the concerns of the present day just as much as historical reconstruction, and not just in the fact of its existence. The author's view of his own day determined the details of historical accounts. In prose, the regal period could be exemplarily simple while still containing modern political or philosophical virtues. This interplay between simplicity and sophistication is a feature of all our authors, perhaps excepting Dionysius. It is not an inconsistency, but rather one more revelation of a familiar Augustan process, whereby a new way of using the past was disguised in historical reconstruction. The classical style of Augustan art is a parallel. While ostensibly announcing the revival of Greek models, it in fact constituted a new, classicizing style. *Res publica restituta* might be thought to manifest the same pattern. The new state, as imagined in public works and moral legislation, was not the recreation of the old one, so much as an ideal state, based upon an idealized image of Rome's great past. The regal period displays the same kind of process; it was subjected to historical recreation, but in each case the recreation demonstrates the concerns of the present, so that modernity is inevitable. In different ways in Livy and Dionysius we find the Augustan present retrojected onto the past; Livy is much more concerned about political details, and a long-term historical perspective. Ovid's *Fasti* suggests that the Augustan

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19 B.W.Frier, *Libri Annales Pontificum Maximorum: The Origins of the Annalistic Tradition*, (Rome:*PAAR*,1979).

view of history underwent further development, or perhaps just became more pervasive. Emphasis upon the present is markedly increased, while the past becomes the medium in which the present is celebrated. Propertius' work provided a basis by dissolving the separation of past and present, between historical and personal which elegy had maintained; it seems likely that he was responding to a contagious interest in recreating that past which characterized the new order.

Augustus dominated every sphere of Roman life. Thinking of the Campus Martius we can perceive the encouragement given to a conception of a world in which the *princeps* was part of the natural order, Augustan Rome representing a new turn in Rome's history, with nature and history in peaceful, static harmony. In such a context it is not surprising that strict boundaries between personal and public had lessened: Augustus' moral legislation attempted to coerce his citizens into greater moral responsibility; the depiction of Romans in monuments invited onlookers to compare themselves to their supposed forbears; Augustus himself represented in a very developed form an extraordinary compromise between public institution and individual. The conventional view of pressure on Propertius to celebrate Rome and abandon love-elegy can be reinterpreted: with the *pax Augusta* the history of Rome was no longer equivalent to military service, and the life of the individual was no longer in direct danger from the life of the state. History could be seen to culminate in peace, rather than being simply a continuous series of wars. That Propertius and Ovid should include history in elegy suggests the attraction of this more productive view of Rome's past; the same view no doubt gave impetus to Livy' and Dionysius' change in emphasis back to earlier history, with its greater antiquarian flavour, and a different kind of relevance from contemporary history. As I have made clear, the tendency to aetiology in regal material made it ideal for writing concerned with the emergence of the present from the past.

In spite of these unifying features, it would be wrong to end with the impression of uniformity. The tension between innovation and conservatism, which so characterized Augustus' political position, also left its traces in written representations of the regal period, in the more or less constant struggle between modernity and antiquity, between the

similarity and difference of the past from the present. These tensions were not new and neither were the ideas which formed the basis for the public representations of Rome's past. They can be clearly perceived in the ambivalent attitude to the present of the antiquarians, and in the nostalgic idealism of Cicero's *de republica*. The regal period invited comparison of present and past, and the nature of these comparisons was extremely varied. In spite of the similarities with a view of history expressed in Augustan monuments, the complexity of a literary account is greater than a monument, coin or brooch. While in broad outline, all accounts of the regal period demonstrate their kinship in an aetiological tendency, the detailed depiction and recreation of that period was open to great diversity of interpretation.

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