

**ORIENT-OCCIDENT, MYTH AND PROPAGANDA
IN AUGUSTUS' EPOCH**

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The battle of Actium (31 B.C.), which made Octavianus the sole ruler of Rome, closed a much troubled period; that period had been marked by ceaseless civil wars, which not only led to the collapse of the Roman republic, but also seriously degraded the Roman civic sense, moral and religious values.¹ The last century of the republic had pointed out, by the violence of the struggle for power, that the old Roman constitution was no longer in keeping with necessities of the period. The Roman historians close to that period understood those necessities. Thus, Tacitus, though having the nostalgia of the republic², mentioned that, unfortunately, the republic could no longer stand, and that it was „to the benefit of peace that all power should come into the hands of a single person”³.

Augustus, a political man of great insight, realized that the principality, a form of government characterized by the personal power of the emperor, could become valid only if it were accepted by the majority of the Romans. The sad experience of the civil wars had clearly shown that the support of the army only, though it was essential, was not sufficient. A broader consensus was needed, resulting from the advantages which the citizens and the provinces would get from a monarchic regime (masked as republican); that regime was supposed to ensure external and internal peace. Consequently, an intense (but subtle) propaganda was directed by the emperor himself, in order to justify the new order and to glorify Caesar's deeds; the emperor appeared as the maker of peace (*pax Augusta*), the giver of liberty (*libertas*), and the restorer of the moral and religious values of the empire (*mores maiorum*).⁴ The themes of that political propaganda conceived at the imperial court are the ones contained in Augustus' political testament, *Res gestae divi Augusti*; the latter presents the official conception regarding the emperor's rule, the purpose being to justify it, and to show the *princeps* as an ideal ruler, as he was supposed to be imagined by the Roman citizens⁵.

One of the most effective means in that propagandistic campaign was the evocation of Rome's past. For Augustus, the restoration of those *mores maiorum*, shattered during the civil wars, could be done only by following the good examples of the past. It was not by chance that the emperor, surrounded by respect the memory of the leaders who had raised the Roman people from anonymity to greatness. That is why he restored their edifices, preserving their inscriptions, and at both porches of the Forum he placed the statues of them all, dressed in triumphal clothes; besides, he announced in an edict that he had done all that in order that those great men of the past should serve as an example to the citizens, in their opinion both about himself — while he is still alive —, and about the outstanding men of the future”⁶.

Suetonius' report is confirmed, to a great extent, by the archeologic research performed between the wars in *Forum Augusti* of Rome. Here, the Trojan ancestors of the emperor, as

¹ Of the extensive literature on the problems concerning the fall of the Roman Republic and the emergence of the principality, see R. Syme *The Roman Revolution*, Oxford, 1939; N. A. Maşkin, *Principatul lui Augustus, originea și configurația sa socială* (translated from the Russian), Bucharest, 1954; R. Paribeni, *L'età di Cesare e di Augusto*, Roma, 1950; L. Parelli, *Storia di Roma e del mondo romano*, vol. IV, Torino, 1955; S. Mazza, *L'Impero romano*, vol. I, Roma—Bari, 1976; D. Klenast, *Augustus, Prinzeps und Monarch*, Darmstadt, 1982; M. A. Levi, *Augusto e il suo tempo*, Milano, 1986.

² Cf. N. I. Barbu, *Quid Tacitus de formis republicae Romanae, senserit, Latinitas*, 2, 1968, p. 129 sqq.; E. Cizek, *Tacit., Bucharest*, 1974, p. 211 sqq.

³ Tacitus, *Hist.*, I, 1. Cf. și Velleius Paterculus, II, 89; Dio. Cass., LII, 19.

⁴ Cf. R. Syme, *op. cit.*, p. 440—524; S. Weinstock, *Pax and the Ara Pacis*, *JRS*, L, 1960, p. 47, sqq.

⁵ Cf. N. A. Maşkin, *op. cit.*, p. 290.

⁶ Suet., *Aug.*, 31.

well as the kings and the illustrious men of the republic were immortalized in statuary groups or in individual statues placed either in the two hemicycles, or under the colonades, along the walls⁷. Some of the inscriptions under those statues, and under others, which had been erected or restored, after the Roman model, in towns like Arretium, Pompeii, and Lavinium, have been preserved and now constitute an important source of information about Augustus' epoch⁸. As already mentioned⁹, the choice of statues and eulogies was not done at random. The statues chosen for restoration were meant to show the Roman citizens, present and future, where to find examples worth following; the eulogies placed under those statues were, very probably, re-worded¹⁰, as we can conclude from the fact that there is a certain similarity between them and the phraseology of *Res gestae*, in whose spirit Caesar's son was to appear as an embodiment and quintessence of the ancient wisdom and glory. In his intention of creating a halo of sacredness around his own person, the emperor resorted to and cultivated the legendary genealogy of the kin of Julia he belonged to¹¹; that pedigree confirmed his divine origin, since the Trojan hero Aeneias, his forefather, was the son of Anchises and of the goddess Venus. The official propaganda, which regarded Augustus as the descendant of celebrated heroes, and attributed the remotest beginnings of Rome to some Trojan colonists, was favoured, to an important extent, by the early spreading of the myth of Aeneias among Etruscans and Italics. We may mention that Aeneias' departure from Troy, together with his father, Anchises, was depicted on Ionian and black-figure pottery, present in Italy, especially in Etruria¹², as early as the end of the 6th century B.C.¹³; we can suppose that the hero had been popularized in Italy either by the Phocaeen colonists settled on the Tyrrhenian coast¹⁴, or through *Magna Graecia* — due to Stesichoros¹⁵, whose work, *Iliou persis*, known through later illustrations known as *Tabula Iliaca*¹⁶, presented Aeneias' adventures too.

We do not intend to dwell in this paper, upon the interesting problem of the way and the time in which Aeneias was linked to Romulus, and, consequently, came to be considered as the remote forefather of the Romans. Suffice it to say, in a nutshell, that the myth is to be found, in a primeval form, in Homer¹⁷; later it developed in the Greek world, and from there it was popularized, as early as the 6th century B.C., among the Etruscans, as a result of the intense exchange (economic and of other kinds) between Greece and Etruria¹⁸; then it was linked to the origins of Rome¹⁹, thus inserting the city in the vein of traditional Greek history²⁰. Accepted in

⁷ See N. Hannestad, *Roman Art and Imperial Policy*, Aarhus, 1986, p. 146 sqq. (Romanian version, Bucharest, 1989).

⁸ *Inscriptiones Italiae*, vol. XIII, *fasci et elogia*, fasc. 3, *elogia*, Roma, 1937.

⁹ Cf. N. A. Mas'kin, *op. cit.*, p. 508 sqq.

¹⁰ See, for instance, *Inscriptiones Italiae*, vol. XIII, 1, no. 11, 12, 17, 18, 60, 79, 80, 82, 83, 86.

¹¹ It is apparent that, as far back as late second century B. C., *gens Iulia* considered themselves related to the goddess Venus and Aeneas's Trojans. But it was Caesar who spread this genealogy for purposes of propaganda. Cf. J. Perret, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome (281—31)*, Paris, 1942, p. 560 sqq. See also S. Weinstock, *Divus Iulius*, Oxford, 1971; M. Pani, *Troia resurgens: mito troiano e ideologie del principato*, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere di Bari*, XVIII, 1974, p. 4 sqq.; R. Seuderi, *Il mito enico in età augustea: aspetti filotruschi e filolienici*, in *Aevum*, LII, 1, 1978, p. 88 sqq.

¹² So far there are 57 pots depicting Aeneas's departure from Troy. Of the 27 pots considered genuine, 17 were discovered in Etruria. Cf. K. Schauenburg, *Aeneas und Rom, Gymnasium*, LXXVII, 1960, p. 176—191, and the tables VII—XVIII; G. K. Galinsky, *Eneas, Sicily and Rome*, Princeton, 1969, p. 122. This Etruscan inclination to the myth of Aeneas does not mean that the Etruscans were of Trojan extraction (= Hittites), as V. Georgiev was misled in a series of articles. Of the latest see, *La lingua e l'origine degli etruschi*, Roma, 1979.

¹³ Besides the studies of Schauenburg and Galinsky, quoted above, also include A. Alföldi, *Die troianischen Urhähnen der Römer*, Basel, 1957, *passim*, P. Grimal, *A la recherche de l'Italia antique*, Paris, 1961, p. 279 sqq. and F. Canciani, *JAMC*, I, 1, 1981, p. 381 sqq., *s.v.* Aeneias.

¹⁴ F. Bömer, *Rom und Troia: Untersuchungen zur Frühgeschichte Roms*, Baden-Baden, 1951, p. 1 sqq.; *Vasenlisten zur griechischen Heldensage*², Marburg, 1960, p. 273 sqq.

¹⁵ J. Heurgen, *Atti del 8. Convegno di studi sulla Magna Grecia*, Taranto, 1968, p. 22 sqq. Also the doubts of G. K. Galinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

¹⁶ *Tabula Iliaca* was made during the reign of Augustus, before the year 20 B.C., year known as one of the first illustra-

tions of Aeneid. Cf. A. Sadurska, *Les Tables Iliques*, Warszawa, 1964, p. 16 sqq. Other aspects are revealed in Jean-Marc Moret, *L'Iliou persis dans la céramique italique* (Thèse), vol. I—II, Genève, 1975, *passim*.

¹⁷ Y 293—308; *Hymn. hom. in Ven.*, 197 sqq. Aeneas is: prophesied the rule over Troada, for himself and his successors. Cf. Aeusilaos, *FGRIIst* 2, fr. 39 = *Schol. ven.* Y 307; Strabo, XIII, 152. Yet, since in historical times there were no Trojans living in Troada, but Gergites and Ionian colonists (cf. Hdt. V, 122; VII, 43) and since, it was impossible with the Greeks that a Homeric hero, foreordained to eschew the slaughter, should not be faced with an uneventful history, the divine predestination was liable to undergo several important correctives: that Aeneas did not reign over Troy, but migrated to other places followed by his fellow warriors. See G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*², vol. I, Firenze, 1956, p. 191 sqq.

¹⁸ On the relations between Etruria and Greece, see M. Pallottino, *Urartu, Greece and Etruria, East and West*, IX, 1954, p. 29 sqq.; *Enciclopedia Universale dell'Arte*, vol. X, Firenze, 1963, col. 223—237 s. v. *Orientalizzante*; R. Bloch, *Etruschi* (translated from the English), Bucharest, 1966, p. 112 sqq., 129 sqq.

¹⁹ On the times when Aeneas became the forefather of the Latins, see the notes 13—14 above. A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latin*, Ann Arbor, 1965, p. 125 sqq., considers that the legend „is at least as old as the sixth century B. C.,” as a result of the Etruscan expansion in Latium. This inference is not yet sustained by archaeological finds. Plut., *Rom.*, II, recounts several variants of the foundation of Rome, circulated in the Greek world. The oldest of them seems to be one recorded by a certain Promathion. Cf. S. Mazzarino, *Il pensiero storico classico*, vol. I, Bari, 1966, p. 196 sqq.

²⁰ E. Bayer, *Rom und Westgriechen bis 280 v. Chr.*, ANRW, I, 1, Berlin—New York, 1972, p. 307 sqq. The mythical, rather than historical character of the Trojans' migration into Italy under Aeneas is apparent from the Homeric hero's itinerary, marked with the placenames and ritual places either homonymous or homophonous with the names of Aeneas and his predecessors. Thus, the places Aineia and Ainos along the Thracian coast, as well as the

Rome²¹, the myth of the Trojan origin was turned to good account by the Romans, especially during the conflicts with the Hellenistic states, as a kind of mythologic justification for political expansion²². During the 2nd century B.C. it seemed to withdraw, only to come up again, in the following century (of violent political strife), with a quite manifest propagandistic hue²³. Augustus' officializing the Trojan Aeneas' myth had an important propagandistic significance, since it meant that Rome represented the supreme synthesis between Orient and Occident, at the same time exalting — in a dynastic sense — the *princeps*' Trojan ancestry. We have already mentioned the way monumental art served that official propaganda²⁴. Literature and historiography were also involved in helping support the new political edifice.

It is notorious that Roman literature during the Republic was not alien to political controversies, but it is only during the second triumvirate that it was placed direct in the service of the political propaganda²⁵. Maecenas' circle²⁶ — Augustus' chief of cabinet — played an important part in that development, attracting the most prominent writers of the time to supporting the principality ideology. Although Augustus himself attached great importance to literary activities and accepted the praise by the greatest poets only²⁷, it would be a mistake to assume that poets and historians such as Vergilius, Horatius, and Titus Livius were simple *instrumenta regni*. The conscious acceptance of political necessities of the Rome of their time would be a better explanation to their cultivating the Augustan propaganda themes²⁸.

Aeneas' myth — a commonplace in the Augustan literature — raised extremely delicate questions for the writers of the time. It suggested that the Romans were, to a great extent, the descendants of the Trojans, those of the Trojans who, having escaped the disaster provoked by the Greeks, found a new country from where, several centuries later, they started to conquer Greece, thus taking revenge for the mythical defeat. That is why, during the Augustan epoch, around Aeneas' myth developed a propagandistic literature, placed either on a philo-Roman (or philo-Italic) position or on a philo-Hellenic one, which had as main promoters, of opposed tendencies, Vergilius and Dionysios of Halicarnas, the former trying to point out the Trojan and Italic origin of the Romans — with an important Etruscan participation —; the latter trying to demonstrate the original Greekness of the Romans.

island of Anaria of the coast of Campania were suggestive of the presence of Aeneas to the Greek and Roman scholars; the Onchestos harbour in Chaonia remained of Anchises, Aeneas's father; the town of Capua to Capys, the father of Anchises; the cult of Aphrodite, Aeneas's mother — sometimes associated with epitet Aineias —, was spread about Greece, Sicily and Magna Graecia; the places in Epirus and Latium bearing the name of Troy implied the migration of the Trojans to New Troy (Rome) following the Trojan War. Cf. G. De Sanctis, *op. cit.*, p. 191 sqq.; L. Pareti, *Pelasgica*, in *RFIC*, XLVI, 1918, p. 328 sqq.; J. Perret, *op. cit.*, *passim*; J. Bérard, *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie méridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité: l'histoire et la légende*², Paris, 1957, p. 374 sqq.; L. Lacroix, *Monnaies et colonisation dans l'Occident grec*, Bruxelles, 1965, p. 56 sqq.; D. Kienast, *Rom und Venus von Eryx, Hermes*, XCIII, 1965, p. 478 sqq.; G. K. Galinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 111 sqq.; *idem*, *Aeneid V and the Aeneid*, *AJPh*, LXXXIX, 1968, p. 157 sqq.; E. Kraggerud, *Aeneisstuden*, Oslo, 1968, *passim*; A. M. Biraschi, *Enea a Butrolo: genesi, sviluppi e significato di una tradizione troiana in Epiro*, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università degli studi di Perugia*, XIX, n.s. V, 1981/82, p. 279 sqq. The study of P. M. Martin, *Dans la sillage d'Enée, Athenaeum*, N. S., LIII, 3–4, 1975, p. 212 sqq., should be considered with a grain of salt since the author considers, overestimating the data in his sources, that Aeneas' "stopovers" should be related with events of the Mycenaean age. Likewise, Cf. G. Pugliese Carratelli, *Achéi nel Etruria e nel Lazio?*, *PdP*, XVIII, 1962, p. 12. As regards the cult of Aphrodite, see R. Schilling, *La religion romaine de Venus*, Paris, 1954: On the focus of the Greek historiography and ethnography on Hellenism, see E. J. Bickernau, *Origines gentium*, *CIPh*, XLVII, 1952, p. 65 sqq., likewise, for some specific aspects, Gh. Al. Niculescu, *Contributions Toward the Study of Kinship between the Greeks and the Romans Reflected in Greek Historiography* (Published in Romanian), *SICL*, XXIII, 1985, p. 37 sqq. Regarding the part played by pseudo-etymologies in the emergence of legends of origins, see J. Poucet, *Les origines de Rome. Tradition et histoire*, Bruxelles, 1985, p. 204–205 as well as the above quoted bibliography.

²¹ First recorded in detail by the poet Naevius, the myth of Aeneas is also present in the Histories of Fabius Pictor. The latter's narration of the origins of Rome is based on a Greek source, Diocles of Peparetos, whose work was probably entitled *The Foundation of Rome*. Cf. *FGrHist* 820 F. 1; J. Perret, *op. cit.*, p. 460 sqq. Naturally, the myth, though not having a popular character, bestowed cultural identity on that city. Cf. R. Enking, *P. Vergilius Maro Vales Etruscus*, *MDAI(R)*, LXVI, 1959, p. 95; G. K. Galinsky, *Troiae qui primus ab oris...* (*Aen.*, I. 1), *Latomus*, XXVIII, 1969, p. 13; E. Weber, *Die trojanische Abstammung der Römer als politisches Argument*, *WSI*, VI, 1972, p. 213 sqq.

²² Cf. M. Holleaux, *Rome, la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques au III^e siècle avant J.-C.*, Paris, 1921, p. 53 sqq.; J. Perret, *op. cit.*, p. 501 sqq.; E. Gabba, *Storiografia greca e imperialismo romano (III—I sec. a.c.)*, *RSI*, LXXXVI, 4, 1974, p. 625 sqq.; *idem*, *Sulla valorizzazione politica della leggenda della origini troiane di Roma fra III e II secolo a.c.*, *Autori vari, I canali della propaganda nel mondo antico*, ed. Marta Sordi (Contributi dell'Istituto di Storia antica, vol. IV), Milano, 1976, p. 84 sqq.; E. Weber, *op. cit.*; B. Virgilio, *Logografia greca e storiografia locale pseudoepigrafi in età ellenistica*, *SCO*, XXIX, 1979, p. 162 sqq.

²³ Cf. M. Perret, *op. cit.*, p. 545 sqq., 560 sqq.

²⁴ See above p. 131 sqq. The same requirement was met by *Ara Pacis* and possibly by his mausoleum. Cf. N. Hannestad, *op. cit.*, p. 127 sqq.; R. Ross Holloway, *The Tomb of Augustus and the Princes of Troy*, *AJA*, LXX, 2, 1966, p. 171 sqq.

²⁵ R. Syme, *op. cit.*, p. 459 sqq.; N. A. Maşkin, *op. cit.*, p. 497 sqq.; P. Jal, *La guerre civile à Rome. Etude littéraire et morale de Cicéron à Tacite*, Paris, 1963, p. 73 sqq.

²⁶ On Maecenas, see A. Kappelmacher, *RE*, 1930, col. 207–229, s.v.; J. Eberle, *Marcenas der Etrusker*, *Allertum*, IV, 1958, p. 15 sqq.

²⁷ Suet., *Aug.*, LXXXIX, 3: *recitantes et benigne et patienter audiit, nec tantum cornina et historias, sed orationes et dialogos; componi temen aliquid de se misi et serio et a praestantissimis offendeatur.*

²⁸ Cf. A. Rostagni, *Letteratura latina*, vol. II, Torino, 1955, p. 7.

The above two tendencies find their explanation in the history of the Greek — Roman relationships which fluctuated depending on the Roman policy to the Hellenistic states and on the Greek influence on Rome²⁹. The Greek influence, present during every period of Rome's history, was especially felt beginning with 6th and 5th centuries B.C.³⁰, before the Latin literature appeared, and intensified during 4th and 3th centuries B.C., once the progress of the Roman expansion over the Greek cities in Magna Graecia and Sicily began. Then, Latin literature — by imitating Greek models — began increasing the prestige of Homer's language among Romans, and, supported by the large number of Greeks brought to Italy as a consequence to the Roman conquests in the East in the 2nd century B.C., influenced spoken Latin to a great extent, Greek being familiar to a large number of Romans belonging to all social layers³¹. The rapid and profound penetration of the Greek language, fashion and education hurt the Roman pride, thus occurring an anti-Greek reaction, supported by an essential psychologic element, meant to diminish the social prestige of the Greek language and customs: to the Romans it was humiliating to be influenced by a defeated nation, especially when the Greeks in Rome had humble professions and most of them were slaves³². The anti-Greek feelings — already obvious during Plautus' time, viz. his references to *pergræcari* and *Græca fides*³³ — cultivated in the Scipios' circle through the contemptuous name *Græculi*³⁴, found in Cato the Elder a strong supporter³⁵. During the last century of the Republic, *Græculus* insult was in current use³⁶, the Greeks being called such infamous names as *leuis*, *loquax*, *insulsus*, *fallax*, *otiosus*, etc.³⁷.

The political developments during the last years of the second triumvirate and of the beginning of the principality placed the Hellenistic world in a less favourable light toward Rome. Antonius' policy in the East³⁸, his relationship to Cleopatra, his ruling and living styles which differed so much from the Roman traditions, and anti-Roman propaganda in the East³⁹ were shrewdly used by Octavianus. He and his „staff” actively supported a public opinion against Antonius and Cleopatra by spreading rumors about official papers that had been so far doubtful⁴⁰. Thus, before the battle of Actium, there was the rumor that Antonius — before Caesar's assassination, under Cleopatra's evil influence — intended to move the empire's capital to Alexandria in case he won, Rome and the Roman state being placed under Egyptian rule, Cleopatra becoming the administrant of justice in the Capitol⁴¹. Such rumors were the result of a real fact, Alexandria had become, especially after 34 B.C., when Antonius proclaimed Cleopatra „queen of the kings”, i.e. she became the ruler of a true oriental empire, separated from the Roman one — the capital of a powerful and vast state that would have been able, according to Octavianus' circles, to ruin Rome's power. According to the same sources, Antonius would have bequeathed the Egyptian queen and her children, among which Caesarion, recognized as Caesar's legitimate son, vast territories in the East, which officially belonged to the Roman people and would have asked to be buried in Alexandria, next to Cleopatra, in a mausoleum⁴².

Octavianus' propaganda, which in fact prepared Roman public opinion for the war against Antonius, put the blame for the moral degradation and the extinction of the patriotic feeling mainly on Cleopatra, „an insatiable woman when it came to Aphrodite's pleasures” who „got the kingdom of Egypt through her craftiness in the art of love, hoping to rule over the Romans by the same

²⁹ See E. Gabba, *RSI*, LXXXVI, 4, 1974, p. 625 sqq.

³⁰ A pertinent example as to the esteem of the Hellenic civilization in Rome is that the Greek origin of Rome was put forth as far back as that time. Cf. E. Manni, *Sulla più antiche relazioni fra Roma e il mondo ellenistico*, *PdP*, XII, 1956, p. 179 sqq.; E. Gabba, *op. cit.*, p. 636 sqq.; E. Beyer, *op. cit.*, p. 305 sqq.

³¹ Cf. A. Rostagni, *op. cit.*, p. 141 sqq.; J. Kramer, *L'influence du grec sur la latin populaire: quelques réflexions*, *StCl*, XVII, 1979, p. 127 sqq.

³² Cf. J. Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

³³ Plaut., *Bacch.*, 813; *Most.*, 22, 64, 960; *Poen.*, 603; *Truc.*, 88; *Asin.*, 199. Cf. Titinius ap. Paul. ex Fest., 235 L.

³⁴ Cic., *Tusc.*, 1, 35, 86; *Fam.*, 7, 18, 1.

³⁵ Cf. Plut., *Cato Mai.*, 9, 22; Polyb., XXXV, 6; Macrob., III, 14, 9. See and J. Bayet, *Littérature Latine*, Paris, 1965; Romanian Version, Bucharest, 1972, p. 121 sqq.

³⁶ Cic., *Verr.*, II, 2, 72; 4, 127; *Pis.*, 70; *Sest.*, 110, 126.

³⁷ Cic., *Verr.*, II, 2, 72; *Rabb. Post.*, 36; *De Orat.*, I, 102; *Ad Quint.*, I, 1, 16; Sall., *Jug.*, 85, 32, cf. *Ep. de Caes.*, II, 9, 3; Nep., *Praef.*, 2; *Bell. Alex.*, 15. The examples are collected by H. Hill, *Dionysios of Halicarnassus and the Origins of Rome*, *JRS*, LI, 1961, p. 90. It has been noticed that Cicero, who was against the invasion of Hellenic words into Latin, resorted to few Hellenisms in his works meant for wide circulation, to fewer than Terentius himself, whereas

their number was much greater in his letters. Cf. P. Oksala, *Die griechischen Lehnwörter in der Prosa Ciceros*, Helsinki, 1953, pp. 163 sqq.; J. Kramer, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

³⁸ See H. Buchheim, *Die Oriental politik des Triumvirn M. Antonius*, Heidelberg, 1960.

³⁹ The anti-Roman propaganda in the East, at the court of the Seleucids especially at the court of Mitridates VI Eupator, by the activity of Diodor of Adremytion and Metrodoros of Skepsis, is illustrated in the latter period of the civil wars by *Sibylline Oracles*, III, 350 — 380. Cf. Th. Reinach, *Mitridate Eupator, roi de Pont*, Paris, 1890, p. 282; E. Gabba, *RSI*, LXXXVI, 4, 1974, p. 641; A. Peretti, *La Sibilla babiloniese nella propaganda ellenistica*, a work quoted by R. Scuderi, *op. cit.*, p. 92, nr. 35.

⁴⁰ On the authenticity of Antonius' will, see P. Ceaușescu, *Rome et Augustus, a Research into the Imperial Ideology* (a typewritten doctorate thesis, published in Romanian), Bucharest, 1977, p. 22.

⁴¹ Cass. Dio., L, 4 — 5; Flor., *Epitom.*, IV, 4. See and R. Syme, *op. cit.*, p. 28; P. Ceaușescu, *op. cit.*, p. 21; idem, *Alteră Romă, o istorie „folie” politice*, *Historia*, XXVII, 1976, p. 79 sqq.

⁴² Cf. P. Ceaușescu, the works quoted in the previous note. As to the complex position of Antonius in the East, see the note 29 above; also W. W. Tarn — M. P. Charlesworth, *Octavian, Antony and Cleopatra*, Cambridge, 1955.

means⁴³. She would have been the one who, by charms, witchcraft and wine, had succeeded in corrupting a true Roman. Thus Octavianus, who did not declare Antonius, enemy of the Roman people⁴⁴ and nor did he mention him in *Res gestae*, shrewdly avoids saying that he is preparing a fratricidal war, but he is going to fight against Egypt that had become *hostis externus*⁴⁴. Thus the battle of Actium looked like a confrontation between the western and the eastern, hellenistic, parts of the empire⁴⁵, between two mentalities, the Roman matrix and the oriental one dominated by the Greek spirit.

Conjunctio totius Italiae — political attitude that was meant by Octavianus to render the occidental element evident — found its reflection in the poetical works of the poets connected with Maecenas' circle. Thus Vergil, whose *Georgics* had already been finished when Octavianus came back to Italy, sang the defeat of the Orient by the great Caesar's sword which *fulminat Euphratem bello, victorque volentes per populos dat iura*⁴⁶. To Horatius, Cleopatra was the one who, seized with mad dreams of conquest, threatened, in the lead of a horde of base people, Rome which was saved thanks to Octavianus, which caused a great relief among the Romans (*Nunc est bibendum*)⁴⁷. In Epode IX, dedicated to Maecenas, Venusia's poet makes an allusion to Antonius who, unbelievably (*posteri negabitis*), had let himself be subjected by Cleopatra, thus becoming the slave of her eunuchs. But 2,000 Gaulish horsemen oblige the enemy ships to take refuge in the port⁴⁸. To Propertius, a less submissive adherent to the idea of principality⁴⁹, Cleopatra — *meretrix regina* — was the embodiment of the baseness, debauchery and oriental idleness who, as a reward for her relationship with Antonius, demanded Rome's surrender and the senators' submission to her power. Moreover, she dared to oppose the monstrous oriental deities to the Roman gods, to replace the noble *tuba* by the thyrsus, etc.⁵⁰ With that poet, the conflict opposing the two worlds was symbolized by the Tiber and the Nile (*cum Tiberi Nilo gratia nulla fuit*)⁵¹, in spite of the threats the Nile reviled against the Tiber (*Tiberiam Nili coegere ferre minas*)⁵², the latter would finally win... *attractus (scilicet Nilus) in Urbem septem captivis debilis ibat aquis*⁵³.

The Tiber's supremacy over the Nile meant Octavianus' victory over Antonius and Cleopatra, the Occident's over the Orient, of the simple Roman life over the oriental refinement and idleness. In that point, we must take it into account that Cleopatra and the Orient represented to the common Roman citizen the Greek wealthy class which had a life style that differed from the one praised by the Latin poets, to whom the austere life and bravery in the service of the country were qualities identified with the typical Roman and Italic virtues⁵⁴. That victory also had another significance which the Augustan poets subtly suggest: it removed a danger that, during the previous decade, had threatened Rome, viz., the political centre of the empire be transferred to Troy or to Alexandria. Indeed, during Caesar's reign, there had been rumors about the dictator's intention to give a new magnificence to the old city of Dardanus, his ancestor, by removing the capital there, and anyone could well suppose that Octavianus, his adopted son and spiritual successor, would comply with that wish. And the new ruler of Rome gave the people to understand that the city founded by Romulus would preserve its status as long as Troy stayed burnt down: *sit Dadium, sint Albani per saecula reges / sit Roma Potens Itala virtute propago; / occidit occideritque sinas cum nomine Troiae*⁵⁵. Troy, Horatius says through Juno's mouth, should not be rebuilt because, if that should happen, it will be again destroyed by divine will⁵⁶, as Rome's dominant and civilizing position will be maintained. *Dum longus inter saecula Ilion/Romamque pontus, ... / dum Priami Paradisque busto/insulset armamentum*

⁴³ Cass. Dio., II, 15.

⁴⁴ R. Syme, *op. cit.*, p. 299 sqq. See K. Scott, *Octavian's Propaganda and Antony's „De ebrietate sua“*, *ClPh*, XXIV, 1929; *idem*, *The Political Propaganda of 44-30 B.C.*, *MAAR*, XI, 1933, p. 7 sqq.; M. P. Charlesworth, *Some Fragments of the Propaganda of Marc Antony*, *CQ*, XXVII, 1933, p. 172 sqq.; H. Volkman, *Kleopatra, Politik und Propaganda*, München, 1953; D. Kienast, *op. cit.*, p. 214 sqq.; M. A. Levi, *op. cit.*, p. 311 sqq.

⁴⁵ *Res gestae divi Augusti*, XXV, 2; *Iuravit i mea verba tota Italia sponte sua, et me bellum que iuci ad Actium ducent deposcit. Iuraverunt in eadem verba provinciae Galliae, Hispaniae, Africa, Sicilia, Sardinia*. See also R. Syme, *op. cit.*, p. 461.

⁴⁶ Verg., *Georg.*, IV, 560 sqq., cf. I, 509.

⁴⁷ Hor., *Carm.*, I, 37, 1 sqq. On Horace's stand against Cleopatra, see V. Cremona, *Due Cleopatra a confronto: Propertio replica a Orazio*, *Aevum*, LXI, 1, 1987, p. 123 sqq.

⁴⁸ Hor., *Ep.*, IX, 9 sqq.

⁴⁹ Cf. L. A. Panna, *L'integrazione difficile: Un profilo di Propertio*, Torino, 1977.

⁵⁰ Prop., III, 11, 39 sqq. On his relations with Horace, see V. Cremona, *op. cit.*; R. Hanslik, *Storia e storia della*

cultura nelle elegie di Propertio, „Atene e Roma“, 1972, p. 94 sqq.; J. P. Sullivan, *Horace and Propertius — Another Literary Feud?*, *StCl*, XVIII, 1979, p. 88.

⁵¹ Prop., II, 32, 10.

⁵² Prop., III, 11, 42.

⁵³ Prop., II, 1, 31.

⁵⁴ Cf., for instance, Hor., *Carm.*, III, 6, 37-44; *Sat.*, II, 2, 11 (*graccani*). On the part Italy should play in Augustus' plans, see *Autori Vari*, *L'integrazione dell'Italia nello stato romano* (Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica, ed. Marta Sordi, Pubblicazioni della Università Cattolica, vol. I), Milano, 1972, p. 146.

⁵⁵ Verg., *Aen.*, XII, 826-828.

⁵⁶ Hor., *Carm.*, III, 3, 57-64.

Sed bellicosus fata Quirilibus

hac lege dico, ne nimium pii

rebusque fidentes aulicæ

tocta velint reparare Troiae.

Troiae renascens alite lugubri

Fortuna tristi clade iterabitur

ducente victrix caeteruas

coniuget me Iouis et sorore.

*et catules ferae/celest inultae, . . .*⁵⁷. These lines obviously support the Augustan propaganda that tried to calm down the Roman public opinion, excited by the rumors about moving the capital, first, during Caesar's reign, to the old Ilion, and then, as a consequence to Antonius' policy in the Orient, to Alexandria⁵⁸.

Rome and Italy's ascendancy over the Orient may also be found with Titus Livius. His vast historical work is but a hymn of glory dedicated to Rome's past, thus supporting Augustus' political work⁵⁹. He speaks ill about the Greeks: they are *gens lingua magis strenua quam factis*⁶⁰, who, unlike the Romans, that used to wage war without any cunning, preferred to cheat their enemy than to defeat them by honest fight, by means of their weapons⁶¹. In a well-known *excursus* on Lucius Papirius Cursor, Titus Livius argues with the Greek historians that opposed Alexander the Great's feats to the Roman people's greatness⁶². What if Alexander had attacked Italy and Rome?⁶³ In Italy, says Livius, the luck he had during his entire Asian campaign, would have let him down, since Alexander would have encountered a citizens' army perfectly trained and disciplined, led by generals that were his peers. The Macedonian would have realized that a war against Romans was in no way similar to the one against Darius (*non cum Dareo rem esse dixisset*) who used to drag along with him a horde of women and eunuchs and was surrounded by a gorgeous display of luxury, which made of him an easy prey, nor to the one in India which he travelled all over, carousing together with his drunken army⁶⁴. But, if the Macedonian king had attacked Italy after he conquered the Persian kingdom, his chances would have been even less as he would have rather looked like Darius than the previous Alexander the Great; since he would have commanded an army weakened by the ill morals of the Persians (*degeneratem iam in Persarum mores*)⁶⁵. Obviously, in this digression, Titus Livius opposes the myth of Rome to that of Alexander. There is also another possibility, that the theme of the individual's decay in the Oriental environment is aimed at a contemporary reality, viz. Antonius who tried to imitate Alexander, according to some sources⁶⁶. In our opinion, the digression is mainly aimed at a different point. It positively comprises elements furnished by the oldest eulogic historiography on Papirius but the allusions to the contemporaneity make it a document of the Augustan propaganda. Because Titus Livius' polemic with „the garrulous and inconsiderate Greeks, who glorify the Parthians and judge them as superior to the Romans”⁶⁷, as well as the fact that the Greeks praise Cyrus⁶⁸, give us a *terminus ante quem* of the polemic between the Greeks and the Romans, viz. the year 23 B.C., when Augustus began the first diplomatic negotiations with the Parthians on the occasion of the embassies led by Tiridate and Phraates⁶⁹. It is difficult to identify today who might have been *leuissimi ex Graecis* that judged the Parthians' glory as greater than that of the Romans' with whom Titus Livius polemizes⁷⁰. But it

⁵⁷ Hor., *Carm.*, III, 3, 37–42.

⁵⁸ An echo of this theme of Augustan propaganda is apparent in Titus Livius, V, 51–55, cf. I, 45, 3, in the figure of Marcus Furius Camillus, and his action as saviour and avenger of Rome, who prevented the Romans from fleeing the city and taking refuge at Veii, „the second founder of Rome”, who stood for Augustus. Cf. P. Ceaușescu, *op. cit.*, p. 26 with an older bibliography.

⁵⁹ On the character of Titus Livius' work, see G. De Sanctis, *Livio e la storia della storiografia romana, Problemi di storia antica*, Bari, 1932, p. 225 sqq. On the historian's relations to Augustus, see R. Syme, *Livy and Augustus, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, LXIV, 1959, p. 27 sqq.; H. J. Mette, *Livius und Augustus, Gymnasium*, LXVIII, 1961, p. 269 sqq.; M. Mazza, *Storia e ideologia in Livio*, Catania, 1966, p. 90 sqq.

⁶⁰ Liv., VIII, 22, 8.

⁶¹ Liv., XXVII, 130, 5; cf. and IX, 14, 5, XLII, 47, 7.

⁶² Liv., IX, 17–19. See and Plut. *Pyrrh.*, 19.

⁶³ On the question of the embassy of western peoples to Alexander in Babylon in the year 323 B.C. and also on the western plans of the King of Macedonia, see L. Braccisi, *Grecità adriatica*, Bologna, 1971, p. 145 sqq.; E. Bayer, *op. cit.*, p. 337 sqq. For a chronology, see M. Sordi, *Alessandro e i Romani, Rendiconti. Istituto Lombardo, Classe di Lettere e Scienze morali e Storiche*, XCIX, 1965, p. 435 sqq.

⁶⁴ Liv., IX, 17.

⁶⁵ Liv., IX, 18, 1–3. Cf. XXXVIII, 17, 12: *Macedones . . . in Syros, Parthos, Aegyptios degenerarunt*. For Roman writers the notion of degeneration referred to the Eastern and especially to the Persian way of life. Cf. P. Ceaușescu, *La double image d'Alexandre le Grand à Rome. Essai d'une explication politique*, SICI, XVI, 1974, p. 156 sqq.

⁶⁶ Suet., *Aug.*, 17, 1; Sen., *Suas.*, 1, 5–7; *Epist.*, 83, 23–25. Cass. Dio. L. 27. Cf. P. Ceaușescu, *op. cit.*, p. 157 and older bibliography.

⁶⁷ Liv., IX, 18, 6: *... leuissimi ex Graecis qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae fauent.*

⁶⁸ Liv., IX, 17.

⁶⁹ A. Oltramare, *Auguste et les Parthes*, REL, XVI, 1938, p. 122; P. Treves, *Il mito d'Alessandro e la Roma d'Augusto*, Milano–Napoli, 1953, p. 3 sqq., 13 sqq. Braccisi's work *L'ultimo Alessandro*, Padova, 1986 has not been available to the author.

⁷⁰ Most scholars consider the Greek author hinted at to be Timagenes of Alexandria: G. Schwab, *De Livio e Timagene historiarum scriptoribus aemulis*, Stuttgart, 1834; A. V. Gutschmidt, *Trogus und Timagenes, RM*, XXVI, 1882, p. 548; R. Laquer, *RE*, 1936, col. 1063 sqq., s.v.; P. Treves, *op. cit.*, p. 39 sqq.; M. Sordi, *Timagene di Alessandria: un storico ellenocentrico e filobarbaro, ANRW*, II, 30, 1, 1982, p. 795 sqq. Though he may have been closer to Antonius, his former friendship with Augustus and Asinius Pollio casts a shadow of doubt on his assumed anti-Roman stand. In this sense, see G. De Sanctis, *Ricerche sulla storiografia siceliota*, Palermo, 1958, p. 146 and G. B. Santschi, *Sul presunto antiromanesimo di Timagene, Studi di Storia antica offerli dagli allievi a Eugenio Manni*, Roma, 1976, p. 91 sqq. See D. Kienast, *op. cit.*, p. 219. The fragments belong to Jacoby, *FGrHist* 88, 11A, Leiden, 1961, p. 318 sqq. with comments in *FGrHist* IIC, Leiden, 1963, p. 220 sqq. Also included were Memnon of Heracleia, *FGrHist* 434, who, for all his eulogies of Alexander, did not take a stand against the Romans, as well as Metrodoros of Skepsis, *FGrHist* 184, mentioned above for his obvious anti-Roman stand. See L. Braccisi, *Livio e la tematica d'Alessandro in età augustea. Autori vari, I canali della propaganda nel mondo antico* (Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica, ed. Marta Sordi, vol. IV),

is certain that there were at that time Greek historians who strongly resented the Romans and had, for a time, seen in Cleopatra, the last survivor of Alexander's political work, his follower in supporting the Orient's supremacy over Rome⁷¹, and, after Actium, they looked upon the Parthian dynasts as playing that part⁷².

Indeed, to the Greek historiographers who looked down on Augustus and Rome's glory such a transfer seemed natural since, after Actium and after the defeat of the last Hellenistic state, the Parthians had remained the only redoubtable enemies to the Romans, with a strong moral ascendancy over them through their victories against Crassus and Antonius. It was especially the heavy defeat at Carrhae in 53 B.C., enhanced by the grievous disgrace of the Roman army, which lost several banners of the legions, that deeply embittered the Roman public opinion. Caesar intended to alleviate the disgrace by an Oriental campaign, but his death put an end to such plans as Octavianus could not afford, after long years of internal wars, a campaign against the Parthians that could prove unpredictable⁷³. After 23 B.C., through an ingenious diplomacy that combined negotiations with the threat of arms, Augustus persuaded the Parthians to repatriate Crassus' soldiers and the Roman banners which were displayed at Ctesiphon (20 B.C.). Undoubtedly, it was one of Augustus' greatest diplomatic triumphs, turned by the official propaganda into a great peaceful victory. It is a pity that we cannot know anything of the Parthians' opinion about the event⁷⁴, but in Rome, *Parthica victoria pax* and *Parthica signa recepta* were celebrated with great pomp, as a brilliant success of the *princeps* over the ancient enemy and poets and artists registered it for the posterity. Augustus himself boasted that he had made the Parthians hand back the banners of three armies and beg for the Roman people's friendship⁷⁵, and, on the breast of his armour on his statue at Prima Porta, the moment of recovering the three banners is symbolically represented⁷⁶. It is in this context that one must understand Titus Livius' polemic with *leuissimi ex Graecis*: indeed, the army that was not destroyed by the disasters at Caudium and Cannae could not have been frightened by Alexander (*... uno proelio victus Alexander bello victus esset: Romanam quem Caudium, quem Cannae non fregerunt, quae fregisset acies?*)⁷⁷, an idea that our reader may easily mentally follow with the sentence which the Roman historian does not write down but is insinuated, „the same as the defeat at Carrhae could not prevent Augustus from being victorious over the Parthians". Augustus' „peaceful” victory is much more important than any victory won on battlefields, and Titus Livius voices that propagandistic idea when writing that the Romans will defeat thousands of more terrible armies than Alexander's, as long as the soldier's heart is full of the love for peace, as it was the case of his time, and as long as there is the desire of bringing about harmony and solidarity among the citizens: *„... Mile acies grauiiores quam Macedonum atque Alexandri auerit auertelque (scil. Roma), modo sil perpetuus, huius qua uivimus pacis amor et civilis cura concordiae*⁷⁸. But such a victory could not possibly solve the Parthian question and the Carrhae defeat was not a revenge by an actual war, which placed Augustus on a lower level than Alexander that had conquered the Orient and was going to conquer the Occident too. That is why, in that time, the comparison between Augustus and Alexander did not appeal to the writers too much⁷⁹, although there are some facts that seem to prove a certain liking that the *princeps* and his family would have felt to Alexander's myth and personality⁸⁰.

By his global policy of pacifying and unifying the Empire, Augustus naturally strove to diminish or to appease the ideologic, political and ethnic conflicts in the Empire. That is why *pax* and *concordia* were the propagandistic slogans very often used by the *princeps* in governing. Being aware of the importance of the Greek ethnic element and culture in the Empire, Augustus tried hard to bring the Greeks and Romans together and to make the philo-Greek Roman aristocracy adhere to his program⁸¹. But, at the same time, he was not indifferent as we have shown above, to the popular

Milano, 1976, p. 184. Tit Livy probably considered all the Greek historians who had praised Alexander to have sympathized with the Parthians. Cf. S. Mazzarino, *op. cit.*, II, 1, p. 538 sqq.

⁷¹ Plutarch may have had in mind, *de fort. Rom.*, (= *Mor.*, 326 A-B), Livy's conception on *leuissimi ex Graecis* when, contrary to the latter, he stated that Alexander's untimely death was the first sign of the Romans' good fortune. Cf. P. Treves, *op. cit.*, p. 49 and L. Braccisi, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

⁷² Cf. L. Braccisi, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

⁷³ On the relations between Rome and the Pars' state, see K.-H. Ziegler, *Die Beziehungen zwischen Rom und dem Partherreich. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Völkerrechts*, Wiesbaden, 1964; G. Wirth, *Rom, Parthien und Sassaniden. Erwägungen zu dem Hintergrunde eines historischen Wechselverhältnisses*, *Ancient Society*, XI—XII, 1980—1981, p. p. 305 sqq.

⁷⁴ On the nature of our information concerning the Parthians, see Wolski's judicious remarks, *Les Parthes et leur attitude envers le monde gréco-romain, Assimilation et résistance à la culture gréco-romaine dans le monde ancien (Travaux du VI^e Congrès International d'Etudes classiques, réunies et présentés par D. M. Pippidi)*, Bucharest, 1976, p. 455 sqq.

⁷⁵ *Res gestae*, 29; A. Oltremare, *op. cit.*

⁷⁶ N. Hannestad, *op. cit.*, p. 99 sqq.

⁷⁷ Liv., IX, 19, 9.

⁷⁸ Liv., IX, 19, 17.

⁷⁹ L. Braccisi, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁸⁰ Augustus's real ring had the effigy of Alexander, Germanicus imitated the same king of Macedonia. See H. U. Instinsky, *Die Siegel des Kaisers Augustus. Ein Kapitel zur Geschichte und Symbolik des antike Herrscherstegels*, Baden-Baden, 1962 (*non vidi*). N. Hannestad, *op. cit.*, p. 134; P. Căuşescu, *op. cit.*, p. 165, n. 41.

⁸¹ Cf., for instance, R. Gelsomino, *Maia*, 1958, p. 154.

dislike and distrust towards the Greeks. We have pointed out that by selecting Aeneias the Trojan as his official ancestor, the emperor proved that there was a legendary relationship between Aeneias and the Julia family but, at the same time a concession to the popular anti-Greek feeling in Rome.⁸² The official version of the origin of Rome, vigorously supported by the Augustan propaganda, had in Vergil its most famous active element.⁸³ *The Aeneid* is the best-known literary work based on the legend of Aeneias and that is proved by the numerous handicraftsmen's objects that were inspired by it during the following two centuries.⁸⁴ It seems that the subjects of the poem would have been suggested to Vergil by Augustus himself⁸⁵, which would explain the fact that *Ara Pacis*, the biggest monument built in Rome during the Augustan age, conceived after the model of the great altar in Pergamum, was to a great extent a parallel transposition of *The Aeneid*, a glorification of Aeneias' deeds.⁸⁶

Besides Aeneias' celebration, Augustus' ancestor, which is in fact the most important propagandistic element of the epic, there are other two important aspects which, in our opinion, must be mentioned: on the one hand, Vergil tried to point out the Italic element⁸⁷ and especially the Etruscan one in the birth of the Roman people and, on the other hand, to place the Greeks in an unfavourable light, to diminish their contribution to the Italic history. If the stress laid on the Italic element seems a natural tendency, common with the other Augustan poets, of Italic extraction, to praise their native land, Vergil's philo-Etruscan attitude may be explained by his geographic origin, the Mantuan region, and also by the cultural and political circumstances of the time and by certain mythologic precedents. Mantua, his native city, preserved numerous Etruscan traditions. Vergil says that the city, allied to Aeneias, owes its force to the Toscan blood (*Tusco de sanguine vires*)⁸⁸, and Pliny⁸⁹ that *Tuscorum trans Padum sola reliquit*. The poet's full name may be a proof to his Etruscan descent. The *nomen* Vergilius is quite widely spread among the Etruscan population, and his *cognomen* Maro reminds one of the Etruscan title *maru*⁹⁰. It is a fact that in *Vita Vergilii* he is described as *uates Etruscus*⁹¹. Vergil's philo-Etruscan attitude may also be explained by his affiliation to Maecenas' literary circle, who was an aristocrat of Etruscan origin, whom the poet mentions several times⁹² as well as by the growing interest in the Etruscan history and civilization during the 1st century B.C. and the Augustan age; interest caused by the ever more intimate integration of the Etruscans in the political and cultural life of Rome.⁹³

Vergil's mythologic precedents may be found in the Greek literature comparing the Romans to the Etruscans. As early as about mid-4th century B.C., Alkimos of Sicily spoke of Romulus as being the son of Aeneias and Tyrrhenia⁹⁴, and Lycophron tells us the support Aeneias received to settle down in Latium from the Etruscan princes Tarchon and Tyrrhenos.⁹⁵

Vergil's deliberate anti-Greek attitude may be seen every where in *The Aeneid*. Far from being — as one might suppose — a natural consequence of the selection of the subject matter and the hero, the unfavourable light in which the Greeks are depicted is at the same time the result of a political conviction and of a careful analysis of the mythological relations between Greece and Italy which allowed the poet to choose, from among several possibilities, the version which served best the propagandistic aim of the epic. Everywhere in the first six books of *The Aeneid*, the lines referring to the Trojan war are full of bitterness to the Greeks⁹⁶. But, in a few places, the allusions to the historical Greeks are quite obvious. In Book 3, the Trojans, on their way to Italy, curse Ulysses and the

⁸² H. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

⁸³ Cf. E. Norden, *Virgils Aenis im Lichte ihrer Zeit*, *Neue Jahrb.*, VII, 1901, p. 249 sqq.; 313 sqq.; H. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 90. G. K. Galinsky, pointed out the connection between Horace's *Carmen Saeculare* and the legend of Aeneias, *Sol and the „Carmen Saeculare“*, *Latomus*, XXVI, 3, 1967, p. 619 sqq.

⁸⁴ For further references K. Schauenburg, *Gymnasium*, LXXVII, 1960, p. 184 sqq.; A. Sadurska, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

⁸⁵ Cf. Ov., *Trist.*, II, 533.

⁸⁶ S. Weinstok, *JRS*, L, 1960, p. 47 sqq., 56 sqq.; N. Hamstead, *op. cit.*, p. 127 sqq.

⁸⁷ Cf. for instance, *Georg.*, II, 513 sqq. In *Aen.*, IX, 598 sqq., Vergil draws a pertinent portrait of primitive Italy, contrasting its uneducated manners to the luxury of the Trojans. See N. Horsfall, *Numanus Remulus: Ethnography and Propaganda in „Aen.“*, IX, 598 f.; *Latomus*, XXX, 4, 1971, p. 1108 sqq. Regarding Vergil's pro-Etruscan stand, see J. Gagé, *Les Étrusques dans l'Énéide*, in *MEFRA*, XLVI, 1929, p. 120 sqq.; R. Enking, *MDA I (R)*, LXVI, 1959, p. 65 sqq.; A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins*, Ann Arbor, 1965, p. 279; N. Horsfall, *Corythus: The Return of Aeneas*

in *Virgil and his Sources*, *JRS*, LXIII, 1973, p. 75 sqq.; R. Scuderi, *op. cit.*, p. 88 sqq.

⁸⁸ Verg., *Aen.*, X, 203.

⁸⁹ Plin., III, 130.

⁹⁰ Cf. M. E. Gordon, *The Family of Vergil*, *JRS*, XXIV, 1934, p. 1 sqq.; J. Perret, *Virgile: L'homme et l'oeuvre*, Paris, 1952, p. 7-8; H. H. Scullard, *Etruscan Cities and Rome*, London, 1967, p. 216; R. Scuderi, *op. cit.*, p. 88-89. On Etruscan magistratures, see M. Pallottino, *Nuovi spunti di ricerca sul tema delle magistrature etrusche*, *Studi Etruschi*, XXIV, 1955-1956, p. 45 sqq.

⁹¹ Phocas, *Vita Verg.*, 21-22, 27-29, in E. Bachreus, *Poetae Lat. Min.*, V, Lipsiae, 1883. Cf. R. Enking, *op. cit.*, p. 65 sqq.

⁹² *Georg.*, I, 2; II, 39-41; IV, 2.

⁹³ Cf. R. Scuderi, *op. cit.*, p. 89 sqq.; W. V. Harris, *Rome in Etruria and Umbria*, Oxford, 1971, p. 4 sqq.

⁹⁴ Alkimos, *FGH Hist.*, 560, F. 4. Cf. J. Perret, *Les origines de la légende troyenne de Rome*, *cit.*, p. 386-387.

⁹⁵ Lycophr., *Alex.*, 1239-1254. On the dating of this work, see below, n. 140.

⁹⁶ Cf. H. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

country that feeds him⁹⁷ and, happy that they are rid of the dangers in the Greeks' country, celebrated by Trojan games the Actium coast⁹⁸, a clear allusion to Augustus' victory over Antonius. Farther on, Aeneias is advised to avoid the Italian coast because it is inhabited everywhere by the infamous Greeks (*cuncta malis habitantur moenia Graecis*)⁹⁹. With the same purpose, Lucius Mummius, who in 146 B.C. destroyed Corinth and turned Greece into a Roman province, and Aemilius Paulus, the Roman general who in 168 B.C. had defeated Perseus the king of Macedonia, are regarded as the avengers of Troy (VI, 836 sqq.). And, if there is still any doubt concerning Vergil's referring to the Greeks of his time, the well-known paragraph *excedent alii* (VI, 847 sqq.) dissipates it, because by these lines the poet tries to justify the inferiority felt by the Romans to the Greeks both in arts and science. Moreover, Rome, born out of the merger between Greeks and Latins, was meant to put an end to the mythical antagonism between the Greeks and the Trojans, by conquering Greece¹⁰⁰. That conquering of Greece was preceded by Aeneias' revenge of the mythical defeat of the Trojans by the Greeks during the Trojan war through his deeds in Italy. That is why — quite significantly — Vergil depicts Turnus, the Italian antagonist of Aeneias, as being of Greek descent¹⁰¹, being surrounded by *Argiva pubes*¹⁰², and five of the leaders allied to him are of Greek origin¹⁰³. Turnus, who believes himself as destined to destroy the Trojan race¹⁰⁴, replaces, a few times¹⁰⁵, Achilles, Troy's famous enemy¹⁰⁶. Besides the above examples that show that the Greeks were natural enemies to the Trojans, Rome's ancestors, which was obvious to every contemporary reader, Vergil makes use of other opportunities to minimize the Greek contribution to the foundation of Rome. Those, by their highly elaborate character, were addressed to the educated reader, able to decipher the mythological subtleties. According to a wide-spread tradition, Aeneias could leave Troy thanks to the goodwill of the Greek conquerors. Some people think that such an act of goodwill may be explained by his opinion, that, being a champion of peace, Helen must be returned to Menelaos¹⁰⁷. Others think that Aeneias' piety (*εὐσεβεία*) was the cause of the Greeks' admiration¹⁰⁸. But, as Vergil hoped that Aeneias would become to the common Roman citizen the mythical image of Augustus, he could not accept such explanations which must have been known to him. Giving the notion of *pietas* a certain meaning, the poet made Aeneias escape the Trojan disaster not thanks to the conquerors' goodwill but to his own accord.¹⁰⁹

Another illustrative example of Vergil's altering traditions giving an anti-Greek colouring, was about the Greeks' role in the primitive Italy. Traditions referring to the primitive history of Italy gave an essential role to the Greeks. The Pelasgians generally considered as having a Thessalian descent, Evander's Arcadians, Heracles and his companions had been believed as the most important founders in the Italian peninsula and were placed, according to the traditional chronology, in a period previous to the Trojan war, that is much earlier than Aeneias' Trojans¹¹⁰. But, even to the generation of the Trojan war, the oldest tradition spoke not of Aeneias the Trojan but of Odysseus the Greek as being the hero that left Troy heading West, to Italy, even to Latium. Thus, an excerpt from Hesiod's *Theogony* that could hardly be previous to the mid-7th century¹¹¹, tells that Agrios and Latinos, sons to Circe and Odysseus, ruled over the Tyrrhenians¹¹². Odysseus' priority is also proved by craftsmen's objects discovered in Etruria. A Krater of Aristhonothos, made in Caere and da-

⁹⁷ Verg., *Aen.*, III, 272—273:

*Effugimus scopulos, Laetia regna,
et terram altricem sacui execramur Ulti.*

⁹⁸ Verg., *Aen.*, III, 280—288.

⁹⁹ Verg., *Aen.*, 396—402. It is obvious that Virgil had in mind the historical Greeks, rather than the mythical ones, at war with the Trojans, since, according to a tradition familiar to the poet, the Greek colonies of Magna Graecia were founded after the Trojan War.

¹⁰⁰ Verg., *Aen.*, I, 283—285:

*Uenit Iultris labentibus actas
cum domus Assaraci Phthiam clarasque Mycenae
seruilio premet ac uicis dominabitur Argis.*

Cf. VI, 778—779, 836 sqq.; 875 sqq.

¹⁰¹ Verg., *Aen.*, VII, 371—372:

*et Turno; si prima domus reptatur origo,
Inachus Acrisiusque patres mediacque Mycenae.*

Cf. 409 sqq.; 789 sqq.; IX, 738 sqq.; XII, 44.

¹⁰² Verg., *Aen.*, VII, 794.

¹⁰³ Verg., *Aen.*, VII, 672; 723, 733, 761; X, 317 sqq.; XII, 514—515.

¹⁰⁴ Verg., *Aen.*, IX, 128 sqq.

¹⁰⁵ Verg., *Aen.*, VI, 89; IX, 136 sqq.; 742; XI, 400 sqq.

¹⁰⁶ See H. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Liv., I, 1, 1.

¹⁰⁸ Xenoph., *Cyn.*, I, 15; Aelian., *Varia Hist.*, III, 22; Apollodor., *Epitoma Vaticana*, XXII, 19.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. J.-P. Brisson, *Le „picu Énée”*, *Latomus*, XXXI, 2, 1972, p. 409 sqq.

¹¹⁰ On Pelasgic legends, see L. Pareti, *RFIC*, XLVI, 1918, p. 153 sqq.; 307 sqq. D. Briquel, *Les Pélasges en Italie, Recherches sur l'histoire de la légende*, Roma, 1984. On arcadianism, see J. Bayet, *Les origines de l'arcadisme romain*, *MEFRA*, XXXVIII, 1920, p. 63—143. On Heracles, see J. Bérard, *La colonisation grecque de l'Italie meridionale et de la Sicile dans l'antiquité: l'histoire de la légende*², Paris, 1957; M. Pallottino, *Le origini storiche dei popoli italici, Relazioni del X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche, Roma, 1955*, Firenze, s.a. p. 31 sqq., we think these authors in a forced manner relate these legends to the Indo-European migrations from the East.

¹¹¹ On the dating, see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorf, *Hermes*, XXXIV, 1899, p. 611; L. Pareti, *op. cit.*, p. 326. A. Alföldi, *op. cit.*, p. 238 sqq. and *Die troianischen Urnahmen*, p. 24; A. Momigliano, *JRS*, LVII, 1967, p. 212; E. Bayer, *op. cit.*, p. 307—308; D. Briquel, *op. cit.*, p. 159. The interpolation is by the hand of one of Hesiod's disciples and reflects the situation in the age of the Tarquinius Priscus or Tarquinius Superbus.

¹¹² *Theog.*, 1011—1016. For commentary, see G. K. Galinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 627 sqq.; M. Durante, *Ἄγριον ἤδὲ Λατῶνον*, *PdP*, VI, 1951, p. 216 sqq.; E. D. Phillips, *Odysseus in Italy*, *JRS*, LXXIII, 1953, p. 53 sqq.

ted toward the half of the 7th cent. B.C., represents Odysseus blinding Polyphemus the cyclops¹¹³. Only toward the half of the 5th c. B.C. Hellanicus brings Aineias in Latium and makes him the founder of Rome. But his narrative, preserved by Dionysios of Halicarnas¹¹⁴, unveils the fact that, in the time of the logograph of Mytilene, Odysseus' anteriority in Italy was known, because Aineias became founder of Rome (οἰκιστὴν . . . τῆς πόλεως), coming to Italy together with (μέτ' Ὀδυσσεύος), or, perhaps, after Odysseus (μετ' Ὀδυσσεύα)¹¹⁵. During the following centuries, Odysseus and Aineias' adventures in Italy did not disappear from the Greek and Latin literature. Moreover, the theme enjoyed an important development, the two myths influencing and intermingling with each other under various circumstances, among which the political ones played an important part¹¹⁶. It is only natural to assume that Vergil knew of the tradition telling about Odysseus' presence in Italy prior to Aineias, which thus made Rome a Greek foundation¹¹⁷. But that tradition contradicted the poet's anti-Greek feelings as well as his intention to make *The Aeneid* the „national” epic of not only the Romans, but also of all the nations in Italy situated outside the Greater Greece. That is why the first line of *The Aeneid*¹¹⁸ has a programmatic character, because in it Vergil denies Odysseus' priority in Italy replacing it by the Trojan Aineias¹¹⁹. And, consequently, the poet makes important alterations in the traditional mythological material.

In *The Aeneid*, Aineias and his Trojans are called *Dardanius* and *Dardanides*¹²⁰. According to a wide-spread tradition, Dardanos, the Trojans' mythic ancestor, was the son of Zeus and the Atlante Electra. He was a native of Samothrace which he left and settled on the Asia Minor coast founding the city of Dardany¹²¹. According to another tradition that may be traced up to Hellanicus, Dardanos seems to be a Greek from Arcadia¹²². But with Vergil, Dardanos, Aineias' ancestor, does not come from Samothrace, nor from Arcadia, but from Italy, to be more precise from Corythus, where he left for Phrygia and Samothrace. Also from Italy come his Trojans¹²³. In other words, Aineias' coming in Italy is not a simple conquest, but represents in fact a return to his former country¹²⁴. Thus Vergil saves the ancestry of the Julia family and of Rome making them strongly connected to the Italian land and protecting them from the aversion that might be caused if they were regarded as intruders, and at the same time justifying Italy's claim of ruling the world based on a divine predestination¹²⁵. Corythus (or Corythum), as place in Italy where Dardanus came from¹²⁶, occurs for the first time in Vergil's epic and only later Corythus was considered Dardanus' father¹²⁷. Apparently the name is not Vergil's invention because an obscure mythic character, Κόρυθος, appears sometimes in the stories about Telephos¹²⁸. He is connected to Tegea, where a deme bears his name¹²⁹. We might think that, in selecting the name, Vergil was inspired by the Arcadian legends which were

¹¹³ See B. Schweizer, *MDAI(R)*, LII, 1955, p. 70—106. Cf. G. K. Galinsky, *Latomus*, XXV, 1, 1969, p. 6—7.

¹¹⁴ Hellan., *FGrHist*, 4, F. 84; Damastes of Sigeion, *FGrHist* 5, F. 3 = Dion. Hal., I, 72.

¹¹⁵ Cf. E. D. Phillips, *op. cit.*, p. 55 sqq.; G. K. Galinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹¹⁶ Cf. G. K. Galinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 7 sqq.

¹¹⁷ The idea that Rome was a Greek city was widespread as early as the sixth century B. C. Cf. E. Mani, *Sulle più antiche relazioni fra Roma e il mondo ellenistico*, *PdP*, XI, 1956, p. 179 sqq.; E. Gabba, *RSI*, LXXXVI, 4, 1974, p. 636 sqq.

¹¹⁸ Verg., *Aen.*, I, 1 sqq.:

*Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiano fato profugus Launiaeque venit
litora.*

¹¹⁹ Cf. G. K. Galinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 14. On Liv. I, 1, see R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy, Books 1—5*, Oxford, 1965, p. 32 sqq.

¹²⁰ The equivalence between Dardans and Trojans had long been a commonplace in Greek literature whence it was adopted by the Romans. Cf. J. Heurgon, *Les Dardanides en Afrique*, *REL*, XLII, 1969, p. 211.

¹²¹ Y 215: Hellan., *FGrHist* 4, F. 19a; Apollod., *Bibl.*, III, 12, 1 etc. Cf. L. v. Sybel, *Roscher Lexikon*, I, 963, s.v.; B. Traemer, *RE*, IV, 1900, 2163—78, s.v.; P. Grimal, *Dictionnaire de la mythologie grecque et romaine*³, Paris, 1963, p. 117 s.v.

¹²² Hellan., *FGrHist* 4, F. 23 with a commentary by Jacoby; B. Traemer, *op. cit.*, 2168 sqq.; Strabo, VIII, 3, 19; Varro of Serv. Dan. *ad Aen.*, III, 167.

¹²³ Verg., *Aen.*, I, 380.

*Italiam quaero patriam et genus ab Ioue summa
II, 96 sqq.:*

Dardanidae duri, quae uos a stirpe parentum

*prima tulit tellus, aedem uos urbe lacto
accipiet reduces.*

III, 163 sqq.:

*Est locus, Ilesperiam Graei cognomine dicunt,
terra antiqua, potens armis atque ubere glaciae;
Oenotri coluere uiri; nunc fama minores
Italiam dixisse ducis de nomine gentem:
haec nobis propriae sedes, hinc Dardanus ortus
Iasiusque pater, genus a quo princeps nostrum.
Surge age et haec lactus longaeuo dicta parenti
haud dubitanda refer: Corythum terrasque requirat
Ausonias; Dictaea negat tibi Iupiter arua.*

Cf. VII, 205 sqq.:

¹²⁴ Cf. V. Buchheit, *Virgil über Siedlungs Roms*, *Gymnasium Beiheft*, III, 1963, p. 151 sqq.; G. K. Galinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 14 sqq.; J. Heurgon, *Inscriptions étrusque de Tunisie*, *CRAI*, 1969, p. 526 sqq.; N. Horsfall, *Corythus: The Return of Aeneas in Virgil and his Sources*, *JRS*, LXIII, 1973, p. 68 sqq.

¹²⁵ Cf. V. Buchheit, *op. cit.*, p. 166 sqq.

¹²⁶ Also in Verg., *Aen.*, VII, 209; X, 719. The line IX, 10, *extremas Corythi penetrauit ad urbes*, seems to refer to that place rather than to Corythus, the eponymous hero. Cf. N. Horsfall, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

¹²⁷ *Lact.*, *Inst.*, I, 23, 3; Serv., *ad Aen.*, IX, 10. On Κόρυθος, see H. W. Stoll, *Roscher Lexikon*, II, 1, 1395—96, s.v.; Weiker, *RE*, IX, 2, 1466, s.v.; P. Grimal, *op. cit.*, p. 101, s.v.; J. Heurgon, *REL*, XLVII, 1969, p. 288; D. Briquel, *op. cit.*, p. 162 sqq.

¹²⁸ Diod., IV, 33, 11; Apollod., III, 9, 1; 11, 7, 4; Paus., I, 4, 6; VIII, 48, 7; 54, 6; Hygin., *Fab.*, NCIN; Tzet., *ad Lycophr. Alex.*, 206. See N. Horsfall, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

¹²⁹ Paus., V, 11, 45, 1. Cf. O. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte*, I, München, 1906, p. 203.

wide-spread in Rome¹³⁰, as well as by the mythical connections between Tegea and central Italy. Thus, Varro and his Greek sources¹³¹ made Dardanus Arcadian¹³². Ovid associates Evander with Tegea¹³³ and Vergil with the Pheneus, a river in Western Arcadia¹³⁴, Salius of Tegea being one of Aeneias' companions¹³⁵.

But that would place at the origin of Aeneias and Rome's ancestors a Greek element which would have been against the anti-Greek feelings that pervade the whole of *The Aeneid*. So we must look elsewhere. In Vergil, Corythus is a place situated with certainty in Etruria¹³⁶, and the ancient annotators of *The Aeneid* call it *mons, oppidum* or *civitas Tusciae*¹³⁷. Its name must be connected to Telephos, not that in Arcadia but that of Mysia¹³⁸. The character was used by the Greek scholars as a Hellenic alternative to the Lydian, barbarian genealogy of the Etruscans (cf. Hdt., I, 94), not interesting to them¹³⁹. Indeed, by means of pseudo-scholarly speculations, during the interval of time when Herodotus and Lycophron wrote¹⁴⁰, Tyrhenos, the Etruscans' eponym, turned from the son to Atys the Lydian and brother to Lydos, into the son to Telephos, the one descending from Heracles, and brother to Tarchon¹⁴¹. That variant co-existed in the Etruscan environment together with that of the Lydian origin, if we may trust Tacitus (Ann., IV, 55), and it is attested by representations of numerous Telephos' adventures that have been preserved on coins, vessels, *cistae*, mirrors and sarcophaguses discovered in Etruria or in areas in which the Etruscan influence is certain¹⁴². The popularity of the legend of Telephos the Mysian is accompanied by the popularity of the Trojan legend which, besides the painted representations we mentioned above, may be seen also in the frequency of the name Troy which occurs in the Etruscan inscriptions: *Truia, Truie, Truialos* «Troianus», etc.¹⁴³ That is why we must admit that the names Corythus and Dardanus, known in Etruria through the Greek mythological stories, were regarded here as natural, especially during the last century of the Republic, when the interest in the Etruscans' past was largely widespread, through the activity of Marcus Terentius Varro, A. Caecina, Nigidius Figulus and Tarquinius Priscus¹⁴⁴. We think that the hypothesis we advanced above may be proved by the three Etruscan inscriptions that were found in Tunisia long ago but have only been studied for the recent years. The inscriptions, dated in the former half of the 1st cent. B.C., and written by an Etruscan population emigrated in North Africa probably because of the civil wars ravaging Etruria, read about a «tul» (*terminus*) «Dardanium»¹⁴⁵. Vergil, making Dardanus a hero native of Corythus, once more proves his Etruscan liking, because,

¹³⁰ On Roman Arcadianism, see J. Bayet, *op. cit.*, p. 63 sqq.

¹³¹ There sources apparently date back to Hellenicos. See above, n. 122.

¹³² Serv. Dan., *ad. Aen.*, III, 167; *Graeci et Varro, humanum rerum, Dardanum non ex Italia, sed de Arcadia, urbe Pheneo, oriundum dicunt*. Varro's stand is not clear in this respect. Cf. *Res hum.*, apud Serv., *ad. Aen.*, III, 148; Serv. Dan., *ad. Aen.*, I, 378. Cf. V. Buchheit, *op. cit.*, p. 165 sqq.

¹³³ Ov., *Fast.*, I, 545.

¹³⁴ Verg., *Aen.*, VIII, 168; Cf., Paus., VIII, 43, 2.

¹³⁵ Verg., *Aen.*, V, 209. See J. Perret, *op. cit.*, p. 43 sqq., N. Horsfall, *op. cit.*, p. 72-73.

¹³⁶ Cf., for instance, Verg., *Aen.*, VII, 209; 230-42; IX, 10-11. Starting with Silius Italicus, V, 122-25; IV, 718-21, it was identified with Cortona on the basis of a mere phonetic similitude between Cora, the name of an Argian hero who, together with his brothers, Catillus and Tiburtus (or Tiburnus), took part in the foundation of Tibur and Cortona. Since P. Cluverius, in 1642, this identification has been accepted by modern science. Here at Cortona, was founded „Academia Etrusca di Cortona” in the eighteenth century, the sittings of which were called *Le Noti Corilane*. In the last decades, N. Horsfall, *op. cit.*, p. 68 sqq., has declared himself in favour of identifying the name Corythus with the Etruscan town of Tarquinia on the basis of some of Virgil's vague geographic indications. Nonetheless, Silius Italicus' declarations do not allow of such a supposition. Virgil's identifying Corythus to Cortona was dictated by his position as to Odysseus's "saga" in Italy. According to an older tradition, Odysseus left Italy for Tyrhena where he founded Cortona: Lycophr., *Alex.*, 805-8011; *Schol. Lycophr. Alex.*, 806; Theopomp., *FGH Hist* 115, F. 354. Concerning these questions, see E. D. Philpotts, *op. cit.*, p. 65; G. K. Galinsky, *op. cit.*, p. 15; J. Heurgon, *REL*, XLVII, 1969, p. 290, note 3; D. Briquel, *op. cit.*, p. 161, note 115, and p. 163; R. Bloch, *Etrusci* (translated from the English), Bucharest, 1966, p. 27-28.

¹³⁷ Serv., *ad. Aen.*, I, 380; III, 104; VII, 209; IX, 10. Cf. Serv., and Serv. Dan., *ad. Aen.*, III, 170.

¹³⁸ On Telephos, the head of the Mysians during the Trojan War, see the allusion in *Ilias Parva*, F. VII, Allen,

Paus., III, 26, 9 and the even more obvious one in *The Mysians* by Aeschilus. Cf. O. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 204, note 11.

¹³⁹ Cf. O. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, p. 75 sqq.; J. Bayet, *op. cit.*, p. 75 sqq.

¹⁴⁰ The date when Lycophron's *Alexandra* was published has not been positively established, A. Momigliano, *Secondo contributo alla Storia degli Studi Classici*, Roma, 1960, p. 442, dates it about the years 270 B. C., whereas K. Ziegler, *RE*, 1927, 2365-2381, s.v. *Lycophron*, and S. Josifovič, *RE*, Suppl., 1968 col. 928 s.v. *Lycophron*, about the year 196 B.C.

¹⁴¹ *Lycophr., Alex.*, 1245 sqq. Tzet., *Schol. Lycophr. Alex.*, 1242, 1249; Dion. Hal., I, 28, 1; Servius, *ad. Aen.*, VIII, 479. Cf. J. Bayet, *op. cit.*, p. 75 sqq.; N. Horsfall, *op. cit.*, p. 73. Fr. Schachermeyr, *Telephos und Etrusker*, *WSI*, XLVII, 1929, p. 154 sqq. and *Etruskische Frühgeschichte*, Berlin u. Leipzig, 1929, p. 205 sqq., considered that, on the contrary, Lycophron's version must have represented the genuine Etruscan tradition as opposed to Herodotus' Greek one. This stand is shared by D. Briquel, *op. cit., passim*. Contra, J. Perret, *op. cit.*, p. 156 sqq. See also L. Pareti, *Le origini etrusche*, Firenze, 1926, p. 15-16; M. Pallottino, *L'Origine degli etruschi*, Roma, 1947, p. 17.

¹⁴² Cf. A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins...*, p. 28; J. Schmidt, in *Roscher Lexikon*, V, 296, 10 sqq.; J. D. Beazley, *Etruscan Vase-Painting*, Oxford, 1947, p. 54, nr. 1, 66; N. Horsfall, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

¹⁴³ Cf. M. Pallottino, *Testimonia linguae Etruscae*, Firenze, 1954, nr. 74, 329, 296.

¹⁴⁴ Cf. N. Horsfall, *op. cit.*, p. 79; R. Scuderi, *op. cit.*, p. 88-90.

¹⁴⁵ Cf. J. Heurgon, *CRAI*, 1969, p. 526-551 and in *REL*, XLVII, 1969, p. 284-294. We do not think that these inscriptions can be adduced in favour of the Etruscans' Trojan origin, as do Vl. Georgiev and, with more precaution, O. Carruba. See Vl. Georgiev, *La langue et l'origine des Etrusques*, in *Etudes Balkaniques*, 4, 1971, p. 75 sqq.; Troer und Etrusker, *Philologus*, CXVI, 1972, p. 96 sqq.; *La lingua e l'origine degli Etruschi*, Roma, 1979, p. 96 sqq.; O. Carruba, *Nuova lettura dell'iscrizione etrusca dei cippi di Tunisia*, *Athenaeum*, N. S., LIV, 1-2, 1976, p. 163 sqq.

if Aeneas — Augustus' ancestor — cannot be considered Etruscan by birth, his ancestors certainly are¹⁴⁶.

If the Italic writers were actively supporting the Augustan propaganda¹⁴⁷, which by its mythical bases had an anti-Greek colouring, the Greek writers chose a different way. They did not fight against the propaganda but interpreted the mythical facts in a way that should not hurt the Greeks' pride and, moreover, as is the case of Dionysios of Halicarnas, to show Rome itself as a result of the Greeks' actions. Certainly, there were expressions of opposition against that propaganda, and the best known example is Trogius Pompeius. He was not a Greek by birth but, being familiar with the Greek literature, chose the way of the so-called „filobarbarian" historians who, writing the history of Greece in Latin, did not deal with the greatness of Greece (whose foundation was also connected to Greece)¹⁴⁸, very carefully analysing instead the glorious deeds of the Greeks, as well as those of other peoples who fought against the Greeks. His critical attitude to Rome may also be proved by the fact that the historian of Gallia Narbonensis had as his main source the work of Timagenes of Alexandria who, writing in Rome in late 1st cent. B.C., exalted the deeds of Alexander the Great and those of his successors and criticised Rome's past at the same time¹⁴⁹. But Strabo and Dionysios of Halicarnas¹⁵⁰ generally have a favourable attitude to Rome and their writings meet the official propaganda. Thus, Strabo praises Augustus and the necessity of replacing the old Roman constitution, the benefactor effects of peace and the emperor's respect to divinity¹⁵¹. Aeneas' myth is treated according to the tradition¹⁵². At the same time, aware of the anti-Greek feeling prevalent in Rome¹⁵³, the work of the geographer from Amaseia is pervaded by sympathy and admiration to the achievements of the people he belonged to. The sources of *Geographia* are Greek, avoiding the Latin ones, since, Strabo writes, the Roman historiographers imitated the Greek scholars and what was personal in their works did not prove great love for science¹⁵⁴.

The place occupied by Dionysios of Halicarnas in the context of the Augustan propaganda is opposite to that of Vergil. Recent and highly careful research more and more support the idea that the historic work of Dionysios of Halicarnas, far from being in a conscious opposition to the Augustan propaganda¹⁵⁵, is a hymn of praise to the Rome prior to the Punic wars, written in order to surpass — within an ecumenical empire — the traditional opposition between Rome, barbaric but victorious, and the Greek world, conquered but superior in spiritual achievements¹⁵⁶. The appearance of the *Roman Antiquities* by Dionysios of Halicarnas is illustrative. According to his own confession¹⁵⁷, Dionysios began writing this work in 30 B.C., that is as soon as he settled in Rome, and finished it in the year 7 A.D., quite a long period of time when in Rome worked some of the most prominent Roman writers and historians. During that time Vergil's *Æneid* appeared, a true national epic of the Romans, Horatius published his poems; between the years 27 and 20 B.C. Titus Livius wrote the first ten books of his history and, soon after he came to Rome, in 28 B.C. Varro died, the famous scholar of the Roman ancient history¹⁵⁸. At the same time, Dionysios is aware of the emperor's supporting the studies on the sources of the Roman greatness and that such studies depict the Greeks in an unfavourable light. Being conscious of the political reality of his time, Dionysios intended — as his work proves — that, observing the official propaganda, to create a different image of the relationship between Rome and Greece. Thus he did a long and vast ethnographic and historic research on the origins of Rome and of the various peoples in Italy that for the first time succeeded in gathering

¹⁴⁶ N. Horsfall, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹⁴⁷ Also Propertius who, in the last two books of his *Elegies* develops themes of Augustan propaganda. Cf. A. Penna, *Properzio*, Firenze, 1951, p. 73 sqq.; P. Grimal, *Les intentions de Propertius et la composition du livre IV des Elegies*, Latomus, XI, 1952, p. 183 sqq.; R. Hanslik, *Storia e storia della cultura nelle elegie di Propertius, Alene e Roma*, N.S., XVII, 1972, p. 94 sqq.; V. Cremona, *Due Cleopatre a confronto: Properzie replica a Orazio*, *Aevum*, LXI, 1, 1987, p. 123 sqq.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Iust., XX, 1, 12.

¹⁴⁹ On Trogius Pompeius, see S. Mazzarino, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 485 sqq.; R. Scuderi, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

¹⁵⁰ The work of Diodorus of Sicily, another famous Greek historian of the Augustan age, to the extent that has come down to us, is not especially relevant from the standpoint of our research. Aeneas' myth is only summed up with no innovations. Cf. VII, 4. On Diodorus, see F. Cassola, *Diodoro e la storia romana*, ANRW, II, 30, 1, Berlin — New York, 1982, p. 724 sqq.

¹⁵¹ Cf. Strabo, I, 1, 16; VI, 4, 2; XIII, 1, 30.

¹⁵² Strabo, V, 3, 2, where in the version, according to which to which Rome would be an Arcadian foundation, is considered „far more fabulous". In XIII, 1, 53, he enters a con-

trovery with Demetrios of Skepsis, recounting Aeneas' itinerary. On Strabo, see Fr. Lassere, *Strabon devant l'Empire romain*, ANRW, II, 30, 1, Berlin — New York, 1982, p. 879 sqq.; A. M. Biraschi, *Strabone, Omero e la leggenda di Enea*, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università degli studi di Perugia*, vol. XVI—XVII (nuova serie vol. II—III); 1978/1979, 1979/1980, p. 101 sqq.

¹⁵³ Strabo, III, 116; VII, 301.

¹⁵⁴ Strabo, III, 4, 19.

¹⁵⁵ As H. Hill give us understand, *op. cit.*, p. 88 sqq.

¹⁵⁶ See E. Gabba, *Studi su Dionigi di Alicarnasso, I. La costituzione di Romolo*, *Athenaeum*, N.S., XXXVIII, 1960, p. 175—225, idem, *La „Storia di Roma arcaica" di Dionigi d'Alicarnasso*, ANRW, XX, II, 30, 1, Berlin — New York, 1982, p. 799 sqq.; idem, *Mirsilo di Metimna, Dionigi e i Tirreni*, *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rendiconti, Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*, Serie VIII, vol. XXX, 1—2, 1975, p. 35—49; P. M. Martin, *La propaganda agustéenne dans les Antiquités Romaines de Denys d'Halicarnasse (A.R., I, 24—44)*, *Athenaeum*, N.S., L, 1972, p. 252—275.

¹⁵⁷ Dion. Hal., I, 3, 7.

¹⁵⁸ Cf. H. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

the data from the research of the literary sources and from the study of the monuments¹⁵⁹. He spoke both to the Romans, whom he wanted to admire his own people, and to the Greeks, among whom at that time only small Roman history compendia were circulated, and whom he wanted to make familiar, through the pen of a true writer, with the illustrious Roman men¹⁶⁰. The fundamental idea in Dionysios of Halicarnas, completely differing from Vergil, is that, ultimately, Rome was founded from the fusion of several Greek peoples that came to Italy (cf. I, 5, 1; 90, 2). The Greek tribes that contributed to Rome's founding in Dionysios' opinion, are: the aborigines¹⁶¹, the Pelasgians of Arcadian origin¹⁶², Evander's Arcadians¹⁶³, Greeks of various descent that accompanied Heracles¹⁶⁴ and, lastly, Aineias' Trojans¹⁶⁵. Dardanus, Aineias' ancestor, is not, as is in Vergil, a native of the Italian Corythus since Dionysios agrees with the older idea according to which the hero came from Arcadia (see *supra*)¹⁶⁶. In other words, *gens Iulia* to which Augustus belonged, was of Greek descent, idea that was supported by the cultural Greek-Roman merger that followed after the battle of Actium¹⁶⁷. The historian of Halicarnas places the Roman state within the series of the hegemonies of the Greek states, the Romans deserving their supremacy as they are the best of the Greeks¹⁶⁸, considering as a natural law the concept, already existing in the works of Polybios, Panetius and Posidonius, on the rule of the superior people (ἀρείττονας) over the inferior (ἡττονας)¹⁶⁹. The theory that, originally, Rome is a Greek city, which is not new in the Greek and Roman historiography¹⁷⁰, is proved by Dionysios by means of numerous examples taken from several Greek and Latin writers, quoted nominally or left anonymous, as well as from the study of the institutions, laws, traditions and religious beliefs that the Romans preserved from their Greek ancestors¹⁷¹. In order to strengthen his assertions, Dionysios reinforces them with „linguistic” evidences, using the thesis, already popular among the Greek and Roman scholars, according to which the Latin language was a Hellenic language, more precisely, an Aeolic type dialect¹⁷².

Stressing the Greek origin of the various elements that contributed to founding Rome, Dionysios felt himself obliged to argue against some theories considered as axioms. Thus by considering the Pelasgians as having a Greek origin, the historian could not ignore the widespread opinion that they were thought of as Tyrrhenians (= Etruscans), population whose language and traditions differed from the Greeks' and the Romans'. That is why Dionysios supports the autochthony of the Etruscans¹⁷³, based on old writers and on linguistic and ethnographic facts¹⁷⁴. The Hellenistic vision of Italy's prehistory, the way it is presented in the *Roman Antiquities* by Dionysios, did not displeased the Romans, who thus felt culturally ennobled and justified in playing their part the world policy of the time¹⁷⁵. Also, the way Aineias' legend is narrated met the ideals of restoring the moral and religious values, propagated by Augustus. In this point, the careful analysis of the historic work of Dionysios of Halicarnas, revealed the insidious and efficient presence of the Augustan propaganda, concealed by the scarcity of any allusion to Augustus. The propaganda is indirect, by the presence of the mythic heroes Heracles, Evander, Aineias and Romulus, who, by their civilizing actions and their moral and religious qualities heralded Augustus¹⁷⁶.

Translated by VALERIU DINESCU

¹⁵⁹ Cf. E. Gabba, *Mirsilo di Metimna, Dionigi e i Tirreni*, p. 36; A. Andren, *Dionysius of Halicarnassus on Roman Monuments, Hommages à L. Herman*, Coll. Latomus, XLIV, Bruxelles, 1960, p. 97 sqq.

¹⁶⁰ Cf. H. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. 88; R. Scuderi, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹⁶¹ Dion. Hal., I, 10–11. In the literature preceding Dionysios of Halicarnas other etymologies of the ethnic *Aborigines* had been attempted. Consequently the Latin writers tried to derive it from, „ab-errigenes”. Cf. Fest., s.v. *Roman*; *Epit.*, 19 M; *Origo gentis rom.*, 4, 2; Dion. Hal., I, 10. The Greeks related it to βροδς ἕρος, meaning „mountain people”. Cf. Lycophr., *Alex.*, 1253; Dion. Hal., I, 13; *Origo gentis rom.*, 4, 1.

¹⁶² Dion. Hal., I, 17.

¹⁶³ Dion. Hal., I, 31.

¹⁶⁴ Dion. Hal., I, 34, 44.

¹⁶⁵ Dion. Hal., I, 64, 3; 49–58, 61, 68 sqq.

¹⁶⁶ Dion. Hal., I, 61, 68.

¹⁶⁷ Cf., G. W. Bowersock, *Augustus and the Greek World*, Oxford, 1966, p. 123, 132; E. Gabba, *op. cit.*, p. 641–642; R. Scuderi, *op. cit.*, p. 96. In II, 16–17 and XIV, 6, 4, Dionysios opposes the open-minded, racially unbiased attitude of the Romans to the situation in Sparta, Athens and Thebe.

Cf. E. Gabba, *Storici greci dell' impero romano da Augusto ai Severi*, RSI, LXXI, 1959, p. 369.

¹⁶⁸ Dion. Hal., I, 5, 3.

¹⁶⁹ Cf. R. Scuderi, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

¹⁷⁰ Cf. E. Gabba, *Mirsilo di Metimna, Dionigi e i Tirreni, cit.*, p. 641.

¹⁷¹ Dion. Hal., I, 90, 2; VII, 22, 1; 23, 2–3; 70, 2. Cf. E. Gabba, *Studi su Dionigi da Alcamasse, cit.*, p. 189.

¹⁷² Dion. Hal., I, 20, 3; 29, 2–4; IV, 26, 5. Cf. E. Gabba, *Il latino come dialetto greco, Miscelanea di studi alessandrini in memoria di Augusto Rostagni*, Torino, 1963, p. 188–194; D. Marin, *Dionisio di Alcamasse e il latino*, in *Hommages à M. Renard*, Coll. Latomus, 101–103, I, Bruxelles, 1969, p. 595–607.

¹⁷³ Verg., *Aen.*, II, 781; VIII, 479; IX, 11; X, 155. In these lines, the Etruscans are considered to be Lydians.

¹⁷⁴ E. Gabba, *Mirsilo di Metimna. Dionigi e i Tirreni, cit.*, p. 641–642. See also H. H. Scullard, *Two Halicarnassians and a Lydian*, in *Ancient Society and Institutions. Studies presented to V. Ehrenberg*, Oxford, 1966, p. 225–231.

¹⁷⁵ Cf. G. W. Bowersock, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

¹⁷⁶ Cf. P. M. Martin, *REL*, XLIX, 1971, p. 162–179.