# THE WIFE AND CHILDREN OF ROMULUS

## I

Some say that only 30 were seized, and that the Curiae were named after them, but Valerius Antias [fr. 3 P] says there were 527, Juba [*FGrH* 275 F 23] that there were 683. They were virgins, which was Romulus' main justification: no married women were taken – except one, Hersilia, by mistake – since it was not in wanton violence or injustice that they resorted to rape, but with the intention of bringing the two peoples together and uniting them with the strongest ties. As for Hersilia, some say she was married to Hostilius, a very distinguished Roman, *others that she was married to Romulus himself and even bore him children: one daughter, Prima, so called from the order of birth, and a single son, whom Romulus named Aollios after the crowd of citizens under his rule, though he was subsequently called Abillios* [i.e. Avillius]. Many authors, however, contradict this account, which is given by Zenodotus of Troezen [*FGrH* 821 F 2].

οἱ δὲ αὐτὸν ῾Ρωμύλον, καὶ γενέσθαι καὶ παῖδας αὐτῷ, μίαν μὲν θυγατέρα Πρίμαν τῇ τάξει τῆς γενέσεως οὕτω προσαγορευθεῖσαν, ἕνα δ᾿ υἱὸν μόνον, ὃν ᾿Αόλλιον μὲν ἐκεῖνος ἀπὸ τῆς γενομένης ἀθροίσεως ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ τῶν πολιτῶν ὠνόμασεν, οἱ δ᾿ ὕστερον ᾿Αβίλλιον.

<div align="right">(Plutarch, <em>Romulus</em> 14. 7–8, on the Rape of the Sabines)</div>

It is not surprising that Zenodotus' version found no favour – if Romulus had children, what happened to them? By the same token, however, it is hard to see why he invented it, and what lies behind that far-fetched etymology. ἀολλής, 'in crowds', was evidently the closest Greek word he could find to justify Avillius; but why did he have to? I think an answer can be found which not only accounts for those 'two inexplicably named children',[1] but may also cast some light on the aims and methods of late-hellenistic historiography. First, however, we must look at the story of the Rape as a whole.

## II

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who was well read in both Greek and Roman historiography, offers three possible motives for what the Romans did (2. 31. 1).

The first is the simplest: they needed women, and so took them regardless. Like the suckling wolf, the fratricide and the vagabonds' asylum, the Rape was splendid material for those Greek historians to whom the Romans were simply robbers and bandits, strangers to the laws of gods or men.[2] (Some have thought that these stories were actually invented by such authors, but their origin is probably much older than that.)[3] It seems that well-disposed authors also told the story in this brutally simple version, at least in the third century: in Antigonus, for instance, who held that Rome was founded by a son of Zeus, the girl who betrayed the Capitol (he may not yet have known her as Tarpeia) was Tatius' daughter, living with Romulus by compulsion – i.e., presumably one of the unwilling victims of the Rape.[4] Even the patriotic Roman tradition still shows signs of it, as in Virgil's 'raptas *sine more* Sabinas' (*Aen.* 8. 635).

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[1] R. M. Ogilvie, *A Commentary on Livy books 1–5* (Oxford, 1965), 73.

[2] Dion. Hal. 1. 4. 1–3, cf. 1. 89–90. For the burden of their case, see (e.g.) Sall. *Hist.* 4. 69. 5 & 17 M, Justin. 28. 2. 8–10, 38. 6. 7–8.

[3] e.g. H. Strasburger, *Zur Sage von der Gründung Roms* (S.-B. Heidelberg. Akad., phil.-hist. Kl. 5, 1968), H. D. Jocelyn, *PCPS* 197 (1971), 51–60; *contra* T. J. Cornell, *PCPS* 201 (1975), 9–11, 27–32.

[4] Plut. *Rom.* 17. 5 (*FGrH* 816 F 2); cf. Festus 328 L (F 1) for Rhomus son of Zeus, Dion. Hal. 1. 6. 1 for Antigonus' probable date.

The second motive Dionysius reports is that the Romans were merely seeking a pretext for war. Plutarch gives a fuller version (*Rom.* 14. 1):

Some say that Romulus took the initiative in aggression against the Sabines because he was naturally warlike – and because certain oracles had convinced him that Rome's destiny was to thrive on wars and grow thereby to greatness. For he did not take many girls, but only thirty; what he needed was not marriages but war.

The 'evidence' adduced was no doubt a later elaboration, from the Roman aetiological story – accepted by Cicero, rejected for good reasons by Varro – that the thirty *curiae* were named after the kidnapped girls.[5] In its essentials, however, this account looks like an admiring version of the first, acceptable to those whose attitude to Rome's irresistible conquests was like that of Judas Maccabaeus (*Macc.* 1. 8. 1–16). The oracles justify it: from the start, Rome's empire was the will of the gods.[6] The natural source of these prophecies would be the god of war; he had foretold to Ilia that her offspring would be great warriors, and in the Roman tradition it was evidently accepted by about 100 B.C. at the latest that Mars had given the order for the Rape.[7]

The most thoroughly pro-Roman of the three motives, however – and the one which Dionysius himself, like Plutarch, predictably accepts – is the last: that Romulus wanted to bring Rome and her neighbours together in an alliance based on kinship. In this version, the Rape is a foretaste not of Roman conquests but of Roman *pietas* and *fides*.[8] One essential corollary of it is that Romulus had sent embassies round to his neighbours courteously requesting *conubium*, and been rudely rebuffed; the Rape was therefore οὐχ ὕβρει τολμηθέν, ἀλλὰ δι' ἀνάγκην.[9] Another is that he won the women's consent by convincing them that the Romans wanted not rape but marriage.[10] Aetiological proof of this was found in Roman marriage customs – parting the hair with a spear, carrying the bride over the threshold, and so on.[11]

The κοινωνία which was Romulus' aim from the start, in this third and most complimentary version,[12] was achieved by the intervention of the women in the subsequent war. It is a famous and spectacular scene, but its familiarity must not deceive us. There was no one canonical version (at least, not before Livy), and the variants are connected with the question of the nationality of the women.

It was not only to the Sabines, but to all the neighbouring peoples, that Romulus

[5] Cic. *Rep.* 2. 14; Varro *ap.* Dion. Hal. 2. 47. 4 (cf. Plut. *Rom.* 20. 3), pointing out that some of the *curiae* bore place-names; Varro accepted Antias' view (Plut. *Rom.* 14. 7, quoted above) that there were 527 girls involved. In Livy (1. 13. 3) and Servius (on *Aen.* 8. 638) the 30 from whom the *curiae* were named were a selection from a greater total.

[6] cf. Plut. *Rom.* 9. 3 (Delphi orders the Asylum), Dion. Hal. 2. 32. 1 (μαντεύματα promising success in all Romulus' wars).

[7] Ilia: Dion. Hal. 1. 77. 2; cf. *origo gentis R.* 20. 1 (citing Fabius Pictor and Vennonius). Rape: Cn. Gellius fr. 15P (from a speech of Hersilia: see below); cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 3. 197 f.; for the date of Gellius' history, see *CQ* n.s. 29 (1979), 142–4 on Cic. *div.* 1. 55.

[8] For the importance of that concept already in the third century, see B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*[2] (Oxford, 1911), 104 fig. 57, for Fides crowning Roma on the coins of Italian Locri, and Agathocles *FGrH* 472 F 5 (Festus 328 L) on the temple of Fides founded on the Palatine by Aeneas' daughter Rhome.

[9] Plut. *Rom.* 9. 2, 14. 7 (quoted above), Dion. Hal. 2. 30. 2, Appian *Reg.* fr. 5. For the embassies, see also Livy 1. 9. 2–6, Ovid, *Fasti* 3. 189 f.

[10] Dion. Hal. 2. 30. 5, Livy 1. 9. 14–10. 1; cf. Cic. *Rep.* 2. 12 f.

[11] Plut. *Rom.* 15. 6–7, *Quaest. Rom.* 29, 87; cf. Festus 364L on 'rapi ex gremio matris'. Explanation of the wedding-cry *talasio*: Plut. *Rom.* 15. 1–5 (Juba *FGrH* 275 F 90), with an additional suggestion of his own (ἑτέραν ἄν τις αἰτίαν εἰκάσειε πιθανωτέραν) taken for granted as fact at *Rom.* 19. 9; Livy 1. 9. 12, Serv. *Aen.* 1. 651, Festus 480L, Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 31.

[12] Dion. Hal. 2. 30. 6, Plut. *Rom.* 14. 2, *comp. Thes. Rom.* 6; cf. Livy 1. 13. 8 (*concors*).

issued his invitation to the *ludi* in honour of Neptune.[13] Those who came were the Latin Caeninenses, Crustumini and Antemnates (Plutarch adds the Fidenates) as well as the Sabines.[14] Servius reports a version in which these three Latin peoples did nothing, while the Sabines alone made war.[15] The opposite view was more popular, that the Sabines delayed and the three Latin peoples rushed in and were defeated piecemeal by the Romans; the delay of the Sabines was, of course, artistically necessary in order to allow their daughters to have given birth to Roman children before the showdown came.

In Dionysius, after Romulus has defeated Caenina and Antemnae and held his triumph over them, he summons the Caeninenses and Antemnates among the kidnapped women and promises a merciful solution: Roman colonists are to be sent to the two cities, and their inhabitants invited to migrate to Rome (which 3000 of them immediately do). The equivalent scene in Livy concentrates on the women's plea rather than Romulus' reply, but the effect is the same. The defeat of Crustumerium follows immediately.[16] In Plutarch, on the other hand, the victorious campaign against Acron of Caenina is followed by a joint attack by Fidenae, Crustumerium and Antemnae in alliance; Romulus defeats them in a single battle and confiscates their land, with the exception of that belonging to the parents of the captured women; but there is no role in the story for the women themselves.[17]

Finally comes the war with T. Tatius' Sabines, the capture of the Capitol and the battle in the Forum valley. Dionysius, in fact, reports *two* battles, with heavy casualties but no clear result; both sides retire to lick their wounds and consider what is to be done; then the Sabine women decide to appeal to both sides for peace.[18] They approach the Roman Senate first, and beg for permission to go as ambassadors to the Sabines; permission is given, and they successfully make their plea, their infant children adding to the pathos. Fragments of a speech to the Sabines survive from Ennius' play *Sabinae* and from Cn. Gellius' history, and it may be that Dionysius' version is based on Gellius.[19] Livy and Plutarch have a more dramatic and economical narrative – a single battle interrupted by the women, who address their pleas to both sides simultaneously.[20] The Plutarchan version of their speech emphasises the wrong done to them by both sides, the Romans for carrying them off by force, the Sabines for neglecting them and not coming to their rescue until time had united them to their ravishers 'by the strongest ties'. But that, according to the pro-Roman view, was just what Romulus had intended from the start.[21]

[13] Dion. Hal. 2. 30. 3, Livy 1. 9. 7; cf. Plut. *Rom.* 14. 5, but he thought the Caeninenses and the rest were themselves Sabines (*Rom.* 16. 1–2, 17. 1–2).

[14] Dion. Hal. 2. 32. 2, Livy 1. 9. 8, Plut. *Rom.* 14. 2, 17. 1. Latins: Dion. Hal. 3. 49. 4, Livy 1. 38. 4 (Crustumerium – but cf. Festus 48 L 'Tuscorum urbs'); Pliny, *NH* 3. 68 (Caenina, Antemnae); Dion. Hal. 1. 16. 5 (Antemnae founded by Aborigines; cf. Cato fr. 21 P 'older than Rome'), Strabo 5. 230 (Antemnae, Fidenae).

[15] Serv. *Aen.* 8. 638; cf. Dion. Hal. 2. 32. 1 on the tolerance of those who recognised Romulus' worthy motives!

[16] Dion. Hal. 2. 35; Livy 1. 11. 2 (Hersilia the spokeswoman, see below).

[17] Plut. *Rom.* 17. 1–2.

[18] Dion. Hal. 2. 41. 1 (μάχαι διτταί), 41. 2–3 (first battle), 42–43 (second battle), 44 (deliberations), 45. 1 (ἄρξαι πρὸς ἀμφοτέρους αὐταὶ λόγων).

[19] Dion. Hal. 2. 45–46; cf. 2. 31. 1 for his use of Gellius; Ennius *ap. Rhet. Lat. Min.* 402 Halm ('cum spolia generis detraxeritis, quam inscriptionem dabitis?'); Gellius fr. 15P *ap.* Gell. *NA* 13. 23. 13 ('cum apud T. Tatium verba faceret [Hersilia] pacemque oraret'). Appian (*Reg.* fr. 5, from the excerpts *de legationibus* also has a speech to the Sabines.

[20] Livy 1. 13. 1–4, Plut. *Rom.* 19; Dio 1. 5 (from the excerpts *de sententiis*) has them appear from the Palatine, unlike Plutarch's ἀλλαχόθεν.

[21] Plut. *Rom.* 14. 7 (quoted above), 19. 4: ταῖς μεγίσταις ἀνάγκαις.

## III

With these various strands of narrative in mind, we can now turn to the question of where Hersilia fits in.

We do not know when Zenodotus of Troezen wrote (Jacoby's 'c. 150 B.C.' is a plausible guess, but he could be later than that), so the first certain reference to her is in Cn. Gellius about 100 B.C. In her plea to T. Tatius, Gellius makes her say 'uti nos itidem *integras* raperent...', which seems to imply that she was a virgin like the rest.[22] Wherever else she appears, however, she is a married woman, the versions differing over how she came to be taken, and who she was married to.

The most edifying version made her stay in Rome of her own accord when her only daughter was taken in the Rape. Dionysius offers that explanation (along with the simpler one, followed by Plutarch, that she was taken by mistake), and it reappears in Macrobius, who cites *vetustatis peritissimi*, unfortunately anonymous.[23] A stray comment in Dio, supposedly reporting Augustus' speech on the *lex Papia Poppaea* in A.D. 9, alludes to Hersilia attending her daughter at her wedding and thus instituting the Roman marriage ceremonies. It looks as if the 'one married woman' idea was originally brought into the story to legitimise Romulus' act: if Hersilia's daughter was the first of the kidnapped girls to be married, and with her mother's consent, no doubt the others would be willing to follow suit.[24]

But what of Hersilia herself? Macrobius' sources provided a detailed account: Romulus gave her in marriage to a certain Hostus, *virtute conspicuus*, who had come to his Asylum from the *ager Latinus* (i.e. the territory of Antemnae).[25] In his speech of encouragement to the kidnapped girls, Romulus promised great rewards to the child of whichever of them was the first to give birth; it turned out to be Hersilia, who named her son Hostus Hostilius 'quod primus esset in hostico procreatus', and Romulus duly presented him with the *aurea bulla* and *toga praetexta*.[26]

Hersilia's husband, in this version, was the mighty warrior who fought with Romulus in many campaigns, and performed deeds of valour in the battle against the Sabines before falling just below the Capitol *arx* (where he was buried, as some said, in the monument below the *lapis niger*); his infant son subsequently became the father of Tullus Hostilius.[27] According to Pliny he was decorated by Romulus 'quod Fidenam primus inrupisset', an exploit repeated by his descendant L. Hostilius Mancinus (*cos.* 145), 'qui primus Carthaginem inruperat'.[28] (The war with Fidenae was *after* the battle with the Sabines; but the version Plutarch followed provided an earlier campaign against the Fidenates, in alliance with Antemnae and Crustumerium.)[29]

It is quite possible that this whole ἀριστεία goes back no further than Hostilius

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[22] Gell. *NA* 13. 23. 13 (Cn. Gellius fr. 15P; cf. n. 7 above), Dion. Hal. 2. 45. 6.

[23] Dion. Hal. 2. 45. 2, Plut. *Rom.* 14. 7 (quoted above), Macr. *Sat.* 1. 6. 16.

[24] Dio 56. 5. 5, cf. n. 11 above on marriage rites. It would be appropriate if the first Roman bride were called Prima.

[25] Pliny, *NH* 3. 53, with L. R. Taylor, *Voting Districts of the Roman Republic* (Rome, 1960), 39 f.; cf. Cic. *Har. resp.* 20 on the *ager Latiniensis*, 'propinquus et suburbanus'.

[26] Macr. *Sat.* 1. 6. 16; cf. the gold *bulla* inscribed HOST. HOS., condemned by Dressel at *CIL* XV 7066.

[27] Dion. Hal. 3. 1. 2–3, Plut. *Rom.* 18. 6, Livy 1. 12. 2, 22. 1 ('in infima arce'), *vir. ill.* 2. 7. *Lapis niger*: Festus 184L; cf. Dion. Hal. 3. 1. 2; F. Coarelli, *PP* 174 (1977), 220–2.

[28] Pliny, *NH* 16. 11, 35. 23; F. Münzer, *RE* 8 (1913), 2503 f.

[29] Plut. *Rom.* 17. 1, n. 14 above.

Mancinus' campaign for the consulship.[30] Equally, however, the 'first-born Roman citizen' motif may have been originally independent of it, its purpose not political but aetiological, to explain the insignia of freeborn Roman children as the Rape itself explained the rituals of Roman marriage. At any rate, Hersilia appears elsewhere as the wife not of Hostus but of Romulus himself.

In one account, she was simply taken from her husband by Romulus. That evidently found little favour, however: the silence in the sources about her original husband is so complete that Ogilvie can be forgiven for assuming, without evidence, that she was a widow.[31] But in the gentler versions too, she is Romulus' wife.

She has two complementary roles – to plead and to exhort –, and we find her playing one or other of them in all the different variants of the wars resulting from the Rape. In Livy, she pleads on behalf of the women of Caenina and Antemnae.[32] In Dionysius and Ovid, she exhorts the Sabine women to take the initiative for peace after the battles in the Forum;[33] in Cn. Gellius and Dionysius, she pleads with T. Tatius' Sabines as spokeswoman of the resulting delegation.[34] In Plutarch and Dio, who follow the more dramatic 'single battle' version, she pleads with Romans and Sabines alike.[35]

Finally, when Romulus was apotheosised into Quirinus, Hersilia joined him in heaven as Hora Quirini.[36] In origin, Hora Quirini was probably an attribute, 'the power of Quirinus', later rationalised as an attendant or wife of the god and identified with Ὧρα.[37] There were, however, other explanations of her name, including derivations from orare and hortari.[38] Those were precisely the activities attributed to Hersilia and the women in the story of their intervention;[39] and since Hora Quirini was honoured every August 23rd at the Volcanal – now convincingly identified with the lapis niger monument which was believed to be the tomb of Romulus (or of Hostus)[40] – identification with the 'pleader' who was married to Romulus (or to Hostus) was aetiologically very attractive.

It was not, however, the version Ovid followed. His Hora has a short first syllable (not from orare, therefore);[41] and his Hersilie (sic) is spelt as if her name were Greek.

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[30] Pliny, NH 35. 23: Mancinus displayed a picture of the Carthage exploit in the Forum (by his ancestor's tomb?) in the course of his consular candidature; perhaps the historian who wrote up Hostus' deeds was working in the same context.

[31] Serv. Aen. 8. 638, 'quam sublatam a marito sibi Romulus fecit uxorem'; Ogilvie, loc. cit. (n. 1 above).

[32] Livy 1. 11. 2 (cf. n. 16 above): 'Hersilia coniunx (sc. Romuli)'.

[33] Dion. Hal. 2. 45. 2 (cf. n. 18 above): γένους δ' οὐκ ἀφανοῦς ἐν Σαβίνοις, husband not named. Ovid, Fasti 3. 203–12: nurus of Mars; the women meet in the temple of Juno (cf. δίχα τῶν ἀνδρῶν εἰς ἐν χωρίον in Dionysius).

[34] Dion. Hal. 2. 45. 6; Cn. Gellius fr. 15P (cf. n. 19 above): husband not named.

[35] Plut. Rom. 19. 7, Dio 1. 5. 5 (cf. n. 20 above): husband not named. Livy has the intervention in a single battle, but does not name Hersilia in that context.

[36] Ovid, Met. 14. 829–51; Sil. It. 13. 811–15.

[37] Gell. NA 13. 23. 2, citing libri sacerdotum p. R.; ibid. 23. 10 for Nerio Martis as 'Martis vis et potentia et maiestas quaedam', 23. 11–16 on Nerio as the wife of Mars (Plaut. Truc. 515, Cn. Gell. fr. 15P, etc.). Nonius 172L 'Hora iuventutis dea', citing Enn. Ann. 117V; see O. Skutsch, Studia Enniana (London, 1968), 132–6.

[38] Plut. Quaest. Rom. 46 (the latter taken from Antistius Labeo). Note also Ovid's pun on ora at Met. 14. 843.

[39] Orare at Cn. Gell. fr. 15P, Livy 1. 11. 2; oratrices at Cic. Rep. 2. 14.

[40] Inscr. It. 13. 2. 17 and 500 (Fasti Antiates maiores): 'supra comitium'; cf. Festus 370L; see Coarelli, op. cit. (n. 27 above), 218–20.

[41] Met. 14. 851: but he was probably aware of derivations that presupposed a long syllable (n. 38 above).

(In fact, it seems to have been a real Latin name, though a very rare one.)[42] It is reasonable to infer that Ovid's pretty story comes from a Greek source, and one that evidently presupposed the identification while ignoring the Latin aetiology which gave rise to it in the first place. That is, a hellenistic author of the late second or first century B.C. with an interest in Roman legends – someone from the world of Butas, Simylos and Castor of Rhodes.[43] It is in that world, I think, that we should look for Zenodotus of Troezen.

<p style="text-align:center">IV</p>

Three fragments of Zenodotus' work survive. One records the founding of Praeneste by an eponymous son of Latinus (who in turn was the son of Odysseus and Circe, as in Hesiod);[44] another concerns the Umbrians, originally autochthonous, driven out of the area of Reate by the Pelasgians, and changing their name to Sabines;[45] the third is the passage in Plutarch on the wife and children of Romulus.

His Hersilia gave Romulus two children. Prima, the daughter, is evidently a variant of the theme otherwise attested in the story of Hostus' son (certainly not the original version – what a disappointment when the first-born Roman citizen turned out to be a girl!), possibly borrowed from the hypothetical account of the first Roman marriage.[46]

Romulus' son is the second child – Aollios, later known as Avillius. That sort of derivation for the name of a Roman *gens* is a familiar phenomenon: Avillius from ἀολλής is no more far-fetched than Aemilius from αἰμυλία or Pinarius from πεινᾶν.[47] Similarly, the insertion of Roman families into the foundation-story was part of the stock-in-trade of Greeks who wished to make themselves agreeable; witness the Servilia who appeared on the second-century temple sculptures at Cyzicus as the mother of the twins, or the 'Aimylia', daughter of Aeneas and Lavinia, who bore Romulus to Ares in one of the historians Plutarch had read.[48] But the Aemilii, the Servilii, and even the Pinarii were great noble families, providing proconsuls, legates or quaestors who had to be flattered as a matter of course. Why should the obscure Avillii be honoured with a heroic past?

The first known senator in the family is Avillius Pastor, *praetor aerarii* in A.D. 28 (his *cognomen* is not inappropriate for a man with a Romulean ancestry); of rather more consequence was his contemporary A. Avillius Flaccus, prefect of Egypt from A.D. 32 to 38.[49] The sort of family they came from is indicated by a very elegant first- or second-century B.C. altar from Delos, now in the Ashmolean Museum. It bears two inscriptions:[50]

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[42] *Met.* 14. 830, 839 (*Hersilien*), 848. *CIL* 6. 21100 (Rome), 11. 4759 (Tuder) – apparently the only attestations.

[43] Butas and Simylos: Plut. *Rom.* 17. 6, 21. 8, Arnob. *Adv. nat.* 5. 18; M. Hubbard, *Propertius* (London, 1974), 118–21; T. P. Wiseman, *Cinna the Poet* (Leicester, 1974), 134–7. Castor (*FGrH* 250): Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 10, 76 etc; according to the *Suda* (s.v.), he was called Φιλορώμαιος.

[44] *FGrH* 821 F 1 (Solinus 2. 9), cf. Hes. *Theog.* 1011–13, Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Prainestos'.

[45] F 3 (Dion. Hal. 2. 49. 1). For the arrival of the Pelasgians, cf. Dion. Hal. 1. 19. 1.

[46] See, respectively, nn. 26 and 24 above.

[47] Plut. *Numa* 8. 10, *Aem. Paull.* 2. 2; Serv. *Aen.* 8. 270.

[48] *Anth. Pal.* 3. 19; Plut. *Rom.* 2. 3.

[49] *PIR*² A 1414–15. For 'Pastor', a rare name, see I. Kajanto, *The Latin Cognomina* (Helsinki, 1965), 323; the Augustan senator Aietius Pastor (Sen. *Contr.* 1. 3. 11) had a name that would lend itself easily to bilingual fantasy about Romulus' eagles.

[50] A. Degrassi, *ILLRP* 961, *CIL Auctarium* (Berlin, 1966), 335.

## Q. AVILI C.F. LANVINE SALVE

### *KOINTE AOYIΛΛIE ΓAIOY YIE PΩMAIE*
### *XPHΣTE XAIPE*

Q. Avil(l)ius of Lanuvium, 'excellent Roman', was presumably one of the *negotiatores* from the Agora of the Italians on Delos. The altar was carved to do him honour in two cultures simultaneously. Perhaps Zenodotus was doing the same sort of thing for the same sort of customer – expressing in literature what was expressed in stone by the Athenian sculptors of the statue of another Delos business-man, C. Ofellius Ferus.[51] In the commercial centre of the Aegean world, it was not only quaestors and proconsuls who needed flattery in the Greek style. Avillius or Aemilius, what did it matter as long as the patron paid?

It is a reasonable guess that Lanoios as well as Prainestes featured in Zenodotus' *archaiologia* of Italy. Lanuvium was one of those cities of Latium where Hellenic culture (as we are told explicitly by Cicero) flourished particularly in the second century B.C.[52] It produced Luscius Lanuvinus, the purist comic poet who thought Menander should be translated straight and not 'contaminated';[53] the grammarian L. Aelius Stilo, 'eruditissimus et Graecis litteris et Latinis';[54] the consular L. Murena, with his taste for hellenistic learning and hellenistic sculpture;[55] and two of the glories of the Roman stage, Q. Roscius the actor and D. Laberius the mime-writer.[56] The Roscii and Laberii were Lanuvine families of senatorial rank and wide-ranging business interests,[57] who would surely have patronised Greek artists and literary men both at home and in the provinces.

Were the Hersilii another family of that sort, fortuitously unattested? Some such explanation would account for the otherwise inexplicable name of the heroic lady in the Rape story. She is first mentioned either by Zenodotus or by Cn. Gellius (p. 448 above); Gellius was certainly well informed about the hellenistic pseudo-history of

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[51] E. Lapalus, *L'agora des italiens* (Exploration archéologique de Délos 19, Paris, 1939), 54–7 and Plate XV. Cf. also the 'pseudo-athlete', with portrait head on a heroic body: C. Michalowski, *Les portraits hellénistiques et romains* (ibid. 13, Paris, 1932) 17–22 and Plates XIV–XIX. For the background to this style, see A. Stewart, *Attika: Studies in Athenian Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (London, 1979), 142–6; R. R. R. Smith, *JRS* 71 (1981), 36–8.

[52] Cic. *Arch.* 5: 'erat tum [102 B.C.] plena Graecarum artium ac disciplinarum; studiaque haec et in Latio vehementius tum colebantur quam nunc isdem in oppidis'. Lanoios: Fabius Pictor, Tauromenium *pinax*, c. 125 B.C.: ἱστόρηκεν τὴν ['Hρ]ακλέους ἄφιξιν [εἰς] 'Ιταλίαν καὶ δ' ἔτι [νόσ]τον Λανοίου συμ[μάχ]ου τε Αἰνεία καὶ ['Ασκα]νίου. I print the text as given by G. Manganaro, *PP* 29 (1974), 394–7. I have not examined the original for myself, and I cannot vouch for the accuracy of the published text, which contains some obvious peculiarities.

[53] Ter. *Andr.* 5–23 (with Donatus on line 7), *HT* 14–24; cf. *Phormio* 1–23; C. Garton, *Personal Aspects of the Roman Theatre* (Toronto, 1972), 41–72.

[54] Cic. *Brut.* 205, Suet. *Gramm.* 3, Varro *ap.* Gell. *NA* 1. 18. 2, etc.

[55] Learning: Plut. *Luc.* 19. 8, on Tyrannio. Sculpture: F. Coarelli, in *L'art décoratif à Rome* (Coll. de l'école fr. de Rome 55, Rome, 1981), 229–84, esp. 251 f., on the 'Alexander' statuary group in the Juno Sospita complex at Lanuvium.

[56] Roscius: Cic. *Div.* 1. 79. Laberius: origin inferred from the tribe of Q. Laberius L.f. Mae. (*IGRR* 4. 262) and from *ILLRP* 263, *CIL* 14. 2097, 2143–4. On the sophistication (and Greek-ness) of first-century mime, see J. C. McKeown, *PCPS* 205 (1979), 71–9.

[57] Laberii: *Inschr. v. Priene* 114, *BCH* 36 (1912), 45 (Delos); a senator attested in 129 B.C. (*IGRR* 4. 262). Roscii: *ILLRP* 1262 (Carthago Nova); R. Syme, *Hist.* 13 (1964), 125 = *Roman Papers* (Oxford, 1979), 603.

Italy,[58] and could well have taken her from an author like Zenodotus, flattering a Roman family as Zenodotus flattered the Avillii of Lanuvium.

But there is another possibility that may be worth mentioning. To a Greek author the name Hersilia would suggest ἔρση, dew, and the Latin for ἐρσήεις is *roscidus*. Could Hersilia have been the legendary ancestress of the Roscii?[59] The calque may seem impossibly far-fetched; but the Memmii claimed descent, via μεμνῆσθαι = *meminisse*, from Mnestheus the Trojan; and when Tibullus wanted a pseudonym for his mistress Plania, he called her Delia via δῆλος = *planus*.[60] Word-games like that were just what hellenistic authors liked.

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[58] cf. Gell. fr. 7P (Solinus 1. 7); I have tried to explain the significance of this passage (and, in general, the relevance of hellenistic culture to the local aristocracies of Italy) in M. Cébeillac-Gervasoni (ed.), *Les 'bourgeoisies' municipales italiennes aux IIe et Ier siècles avant J.-C.* (Naples, 1983), forthcoming.

[59] It was in the temple of Juno that Hersilia exhorted the women (Ovid, *Fasti* 3. 205); Juno Sospita was the patron goddess of Lanuvium, and duly featured on the coins of L. Roscius Fabatus (Crawford, *RRC* no. 412).

[60] Virg. *Aen.* 5. 117; Apul. *Apol.* 10.