



## THE SETTING OF GRATTIUS' *CYNEGETICA*

### ABSTRACT

*Nothing is known of the poet Grattius except that he was a contemporary of Ovid. However, certain peculiarities in the text of his Cynegetica suggest that he wrote for public performance, that the poem was presented at ludi scaenici where dancers and singers were performing too, that the Palatine temple of Apollo was probably where the event took place, and that the most likely occasion for it was one of the 'quinquennial' games celebrating the defeat of Cleopatra.*

**Keywords:** Grattius; poetry performed; dance and song; Palatine; temple of Apollo; *ludi quinquennales*

### 1. NOT WITHOUT SONG?

Like his great didactic predecessors Hesiod and Aratus,<sup>1</sup> Grattius began with the gods:<sup>2</sup>

dona cano diuom, laetas uenantibus artis auspicio, Diana, tuo. prius omnis in armis spes fuit et nuda siluas uirtute mouebant inconsulti homines uitaque erat error in omni. post alia propiore uia meliusque profecti	5
te sociam, Ratio, rebus sumpsere gerendis; hinc omne auxilium uitae rectusque reluxit ordo et contiguas didicere ex artibus artis proserere, hinc demens cecidit uiolentia retro. sed primum auspiciu deus artibus altaque circa	10
firmamenta dedit; tum partes quisque secutus exegere suas tetigitque industria finem. tu trepidam bello uitam, Diana, ferino, qua primam quaerebat opem, dignata repertis protegere auxiliis orbemque hac soluere noxa.	15

I sing the gifts of the gods, skills welcome to hunters under your auspice, Diana. Before, all hope was in weapons, without instruction men disturbed the woods with bare courage, and there was error in all their life. Afterwards, starting out better by a different, more appropriate, path, they took you, Reason, as their ally in their campaigns. From here came every help to their life, the right way shone out and from skills they learned to produce associated skills; from here mindless violence fell behind. But it was a god who gave the first auspice to their skills, and deep supports all round; then each man followed his own role and carried it through, and hard work reached its goal. It was you, Diana, when life was trembling at war with the beasts and first sought help, who thought it right to protect it by finding reinforcements, and to free the world from this harm.

<sup>1</sup> Hes. *Theog.* 1 Μουσάων Ἐλικωνιάδων ἀρχόμεθ' αἰεΐειν, Aratus, *Phaen.* 1 ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχόμεσθα. Cf. Hes. *Op.* 1 (Muses), Xen. *Cyn.* 1.1 (Apollo and Artemis), Lucr. 1.1 (Venus), Verg. *G.* 2.2 (Bacchus), 3.1 (Pales).

<sup>2</sup> With two exceptions (the punctuation of lines 1 and 17) I follow the Loeb text: J.W. Duff and A.M. Duff (edd.), *Minor Latin Poets* (Cambridge, MA, 1934), 151–3; the translation, which is my own, owes much to the suggestions of Tony Woodman, who very kindly commented on the first draft of this article (but should not be assumed to accept its conclusions).

The train of thought is clear enough. Yes, early humanity used its own resources by applying reason to its war against wild animals, and the poet duly exploits Lucretius' account of the natural development of civilisation in *De rerum natura* Book 5.<sup>3</sup> But it was a god—Diana, marked out by the conspicuous ring-composition (1–2/13–15)—who heard the cry for help and provided the necessary leadership.

The key word is *auspicio* (2, 10). A Roman general's victories were won *ductu imperio auspicio suo*,<sup>4</sup> because as *dux* he led the army, as *imperator* he gave the orders, and as *auspex* (or *augur*) he consulted the will of the gods.<sup>5</sup> Since that is the world Grattius' language evokes,<sup>6</sup> it seems we are meant to think of Diana as humanity's victorious commander against dangerous beasts.

So far, so intelligible; but what comes next is much harder to understand. In the next eight lines the meaning of the text is ambiguous in two separate places:<sup>7</sup>

adsciure tuo comites sub nomine diuae  
centum, omnes nemorum, umentes de fontibus omnes  
Naiades, et Latii <satyri> Faunus<que subibant>  
Maenaliusque puer domitrixque Idaea leonum  
mater et inculco Silvanus termite gaudens. 20  
his ego praesidibus nostram defendere sortem  
contra mille feras et non sine carmine iussus,  
carmine et arma dabo et uenandi persequar artes.

*Either* Under your name a hundred goddesses, all the (Dryads) of the groves and all the Naiads wet from the springs, brought in companions, *Or* Under your name the goddesses brought in a hundred companions, all the (Dryads) from the groves, all the Naiads wet from the springs,<sup>8</sup> and the satyrs of Latium and Faunus came in support, and the Maenalian boy (Pan) and the Idaean Mother, tamer of lions, and Silvanus, rejoicing in his wild tree-branch.<sup>9</sup>

*Either* With these as my guardians, and bidden, not without song, to defend our human lot against a thousand wild beasts, *Or* Bidden to defend our human lot against a thousand wild beasts with these as my guardians and not without song,

with song I shall both supply the weapons and pursue the skills of hunting.<sup>10</sup>

Does *centum* (17) go with *diuae* or with *comites*? Does *non sine carmine* (22) go with *defendere* or with *iussus*?

<sup>3</sup> Lucr. 5.1250–1, 5.1452–7; see M.R. Gale, “‘te sociam, Ratio...’: hunting as paradigm in the *Cynegetica*”, in S.J. Green (ed.), *Grattius: Hunting an Augustan Poet* (Oxford, 2018), 77–95, at 80–2.

<sup>4</sup> Plaut. *Amph.* 196 (cf. 192 *imperio atque auspicio*, 657 *auspicio atque ductu*); *CIL* 1<sup>2</sup> 626 = *ILLRP* 122 *ductu auspicio imperioque*, Livy 40.52.5 *auspicio imperio felicitate ductuque*.

<sup>5</sup> In a Roman legion's headquarters the *auguratorium* was set up opposite the tribunal in the *praetorium*, ‘so that when the augury has been taken the commander can mount the tribunal and address the army under favourable auspices’ (Hyg. *De munitionibus castrorum* 11: M. Lenoir [ed.], *Pseudo-Hygin: Des fortifications du camp* [Paris, 1979], 6).

<sup>6</sup> Grattius 2 *in armis*, 6 *rebus ... gerendis, sociam*, 13 *bello*, 15 *auxiliis*.

<sup>7</sup> There is also some textual uncertainty: *centum* in line 17 is no more than an early copyist's emendation of the meaningless *centem* in the only authoritative manuscript (*A*); and of course the supplements in the defective line 18 can only be conjectural.

<sup>8</sup> For the first option, cf. S.J. Green (ed.), *Grattius: Hunting an Augustan Poet* (Oxford, 2018), 7; for the second, Duff and Duff (n. 2), 153.

<sup>9</sup> Silvanus is often portrayed carrying the branch of a tree: P.F. Dorsey, *The Cult of Silvanus: A Study in Roman Folk Religion* (Leiden, 1992), 17–19, with illustrations 1–4 and 6. For his association with Faunus and Pan, see Verg. *Ecl.* 10.24–7, *G.* 1.16–20, 2.494, *Ov. Met.* 1.192–3.

<sup>10</sup> Duff and Duff (n. 2), 153 and Green (n. 8), 17 both prefer the first option; the second, suggested by Tony Woodman (pers. comm.), makes *carmine* in line 22 respond closely to *carmine* in line 23 (as it were, ‘bidden to defend with song, it is with song that I shall supply ...’).

On the first of these dilemmas, neither of the possible meanings of lines 16–18 is really satisfactory. If we understand *centum diuae*, it is not clear who the companions were, and if we understand *centum comites*, it is not clear who the goddesses were. A very small emendation, *diuas* for *diuae* at line 17, would provide better sense. In that case the subject of *adsciure* would be the same as that of all the previous third-person plural verbs (*mouebant* 3, *sumpsere* 6, *didicere* 8, *exegere* 12), namely humans still seeking help: they now had their divine leader, Diana, but the commander-in-chief cannot be everywhere at once, and they needed the expertise of local divinities too. 'Under your name (by your authority) they brought in your goddess-companions,<sup>11</sup> a hundred of them, all the (Dryads) from the groves, all the Naiads wet from the springs.'

Whatever the exact sense, and whether or not his text needs emendation, Grattius chose to emphasize the sheer number of divinities now involved. It was not just the hundred wood- and water-nymphs, followed by their colleagues as local 'countryside divinities',<sup>12</sup> Faunus, Silvanus and the satyrs; there was also Pan from Arcadian Maenalus and the Magna Mater from Phrygian Ida, unexpectedly present among the deities of Latium (18). These 'guardians' (*praesides*) had evidently instructed the poet to teach humankind about the equipment and techniques of hunting.

It is a measure of the neglect Grattius has suffered that line 22 does not appear in Peter White's list of evidence for the use of *iubere* in literary contexts.<sup>13</sup> As that list shows, authors in the first century B.C. might be 'bidden' to write by their equals (brother Quintus or Atticus for Cicero),<sup>14</sup> by their patrons (Pollio for Virgil, Maecenas for Virgil and Propertius),<sup>15</sup> or by divinities (Apollo for Virgil, Amor for Ovid).<sup>16</sup> Grattius' motivation must belong in the third category, but he seems to imply a whole collective of divinities delivering the commission.

And what exactly were their instructions? Here the second dilemma comes into play (21–3): either they told him with song to defend our human lot, or they told him to defend our human lot with song. In the latter case, *carmine* is merely the familiar metaphor for poetry: the poet was told to do it in verse. That seems unsatisfactory (why should the order be 'do not use prose?'), and the emphatic repetition of the word in the following line seems to be more than just a convention of the didactic genre.<sup>17</sup> But if *carmine* goes with *iussus*, were the assembled divinities speaking verse, or literally singing? It is not at all clear what was going on.

<sup>11</sup> As at lines 124–5: for the nymphs as *comites* of Diana, see, for instance, Ov. *Fast.* 2.160, *Met.* 2.426, 3.186. The successive verbs imply two stages, first the call-up of the *comites* (Dryads and Naiads) and then the arrival of Faunus, the satyrs, Pan, Magna Mater and Silvanus.

<sup>12</sup> *rustica numina*: Ov. *Met.* 1.192–3 *nymphae*, | *Faunisque satyrique et monticolae Siluani*, *Fast.* 6.323 (satyrs and nymphs); cf. *Met.* 6.392–4 (Fauns, satyrs and nymphs as *ruvicolae, siluarum numina*), *Fast.* 2.307 (nymphs as *montana numina*), 3.292 (Faunus and Picus as *Romani numina soli*). For local Latin nymphs, analogous to Grattius' *Latii <satyri>*, see, for instance, Ov. *Fast.* 2.589–602, *Met.* 14.326–34, 14.623–4, 14.785–9.

<sup>13</sup> P. White, *Promised Verse: Poets in the Society of Augustan Rome* (Cambridge, MA, 1993), 266–7 ('*iubere* and Literary Requests').

<sup>14</sup> Cic. *QFr.* 3.6(8).3, *Att.* 2.4.3, 13.47.

<sup>15</sup> Verg. *Ecl.* 8.11, *G.* 3.41.

<sup>16</sup> Verg. *Ecl.* 6.9, Ov. *Am.* 2.1.3.

<sup>17</sup> For repetition in Lucretius, see C. Bailey (ed.), *Titi Lucreti Cari De rerum natura libri sex* (Oxford, 1947), 1.144–5 and K. Volk, *The Poetics of Latin Didactic: Lucretius, Virgil, Ovid, Manilius* (Oxford, 2002), 176–7.

## 2. PERFORMING TO AN AUDIENCE

In the excellent volume that has given back to Grattius the attention he deserves, Steven J. Green notes that ‘the identity of the implied student audience ... can oscillate between a singular and plural entity’.<sup>18</sup> It was the norm for didactic poets to address a single pupil, sometimes named (Hesiod’s Perses, Lucretius’ Memmius) but more often not, allowing the reader to assume the role. Take, for instance, the first book of the *Georgics*: in 514 lines there are a total of forty unspecified second-person singular verbs and pronouns. In Grattius’ surviving text, of similar length (541 lines), the total is sixty-three, plus six uses of *tuus*. In each case, however, there are a few lines where the second-person verbs are plural.<sup>19</sup>

Why should that be? Green offers an ingenious explanation based on the specialist skills of those involved in the hunt:

In an attempt to preserve the dramatic illusion, one might, perhaps, envisage Grattius as speaking in the presence of the entire hunting team, offering instructions into the air to be caught by the relevant member of the audience.

Similarly, the *Georgics* ‘deal with an activity (agriculture) that also requires a diverse “workforce”’.<sup>20</sup> However, that escape is not available for another contemporary didactic work, Ovid’s *Fasti*, where the same phenomenon has been pointed out: there are sixty-one unspecified second-person singular verbs and pronouns, but also five second-person plural verbs.<sup>21</sup> The fact is that all three poems were addressed to a notional single pupil, but all three poets sometimes found it natural to address a collective audience.

A likely reason for that may be inferred from Ovid’s *Amores*, where the poet frequently seems to be addressing a collective audience.<sup>22</sup> The same is true of the *Ars amatoria* and the *Remedia amoris*, where second-person plural verbs are ubiquitous, and *uulgus* and *mea turba* are used as vocatives;<sup>23</sup> but the evidence of the *Amores* is critical, because the poet himself tells us that they were read to the Roman people.<sup>24</sup> The current belief that Roman poetry was written solely for an educated elite readership can be sustained only by disqualifying part of the primary evidence—those poems that present themselves as addressing the general populace.<sup>25</sup> Since that is exactly what Ovid says he did, it offers a simple explanation of the second-person plural verbs.<sup>26</sup> The poet was addressing those listening to him on the day.

<sup>18</sup> Green (n. 8), 7–8.

<sup>19</sup> Verg. *G.* 1.101 (addressed to *agricolae*), 210 (addressed to *uiri*), 267 (unspecified); Grattius 56, 125, 378 (all unspecified).

<sup>20</sup> Green (n. 8), 8. G. Fanti, ‘Grattius’ *Cynegetica*: a Protean poem at the heart of the Roman didactic tradition’, in S.J. Green (ed.), *Grattius: Hunting an Augustan Poet* (Oxford, 2018), 61–76, at 72–5, discussing ‘Grattius and the envisaged audience(s)’, refers without distinction to ‘the addressee’, ‘his pupil’, ‘his audience’ and ‘the reader’.

<sup>21</sup> For the statistics, see T.P. Wiseman, *The Roman Audience: Classical Literature as Social History* (Oxford, 2015), 278: the plural verbs are at Ov. *Fast.* 3.370, 5.1, 5.347, 6.195 and 6.551.

<sup>22</sup> Ov. *Am.* 1.7.2, 1.8.1–2, 1.12.1, 2.1.3 and 37, 2.11.15–22, 2.14.27–33, 3.2.43 and 73–4, 3.12.44.

<sup>23</sup> Ov. *Ars am.* 2.536, 3.811; cf. *Tr.* 3.1.77 (there was no *turba* for him in exile).

<sup>24</sup> Ov. *Tr.* 4.10.57, *carmina cum primum populo iuuenalia legi*.

<sup>25</sup> E.g. Hor. *Epod.* 7, 16, *Carm.* 3.1–6 (especially 3.3.57–8 *Quiritibus ... dico*), 3.14, 4.4; Tib. 2.1; Prop. 3.4, 4.1a (especially 4.1.67, address to *Roma* and the *ciues*); on writing for the approval of the *populus* or the *turba*, cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.147, Hor. *Epist.* 2.2.103, Prop. 2.13.13–14, 3.1.21, [Verg.] *Ciris* 2, Pers. 1.15, 1.42, 1.63.

<sup>26</sup> Also at Hor. *Sat.* 2.2.1–7, *Carm.* 3.4.5, Tib. 2.3.79, Prop. 2.1.1, 3.13.1.

How and where would it happen? With poems 'read to the people', it is not a case of *recitationes* in private houses,<sup>27</sup> nor even of poets finding an *ad hoc* audience in the street or the forum or a public portico.<sup>28</sup> To have the Roman people gathered together as an audience, the poet needed to be performing at big public festivals. The most important such events were the annual *ludi scaenici* and *ludi circenses*,<sup>29</sup> and there seems to have been fierce competition among poets to be selected for the programme.<sup>30</sup>

The best evidence comes from the young Horace, who didn't need to compete:<sup>31</sup>

While the turgid poet of the Alps murders Memnon and moulds the muddy head of the Rhine, I play about with things that are not meant to resound in the temple, in a competition with Tarpa judging, and come back again and again as theatre shows.

Horace could afford to be contemptuous of poets popular enough to be selected year after year, but it must have looked different to those who did not have access to an exclusive private audience at the house of Maecenas.<sup>32</sup> This passage, not well understood by commentators,<sup>33</sup> explains not only Ovid's reading of the *Amores* 'to the people'—and thus the problematic second-person plural verbs in the *Georgics*, the *Fasti* and Grattius—but also the scattered and neglected evidence for poets performing in theatres.<sup>34</sup>

The six months of Ovid's half-completed *Fasti* included the first three public *ludi* of the Roman year: the *Megalenses*, beginning on 4 April, the *Ceriales*, beginning on 12 April, and the *Florales*, beginning on 28 April and continuing into May.<sup>35</sup> For each of them Ovid composed a lengthy set-piece narrative or dialogue, and in each case the

<sup>27</sup> Cf. N. Holzberg, *Die römische Liebeslegie: Eine Einführung* (Darmstadt, 2001<sup>2</sup>), 3: 'Texte vom Autor zunächst für einen relativ kleinen Kreis von Zuhörern bei Rezitationen bestimmt waren.' The evidence is collected and discussed by H.N. Parker, 'Books and reading Latin poetry', in W.A. Johnson and H.N. Parker (edd.), *Ancient Literacies: The Culture of Reading in Greece and Rome* (New York, 2009), 186–229, at 199–206.

<sup>28</sup> Street (*triumm* or *compitum*): Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.33–8, Verg. *Ecl.* 3.26–7, Calp. *Ecl.* 1.28, Juv. 7.55, Mart. 7.97.12. Forum: Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.74–5, Mart. 7.97.11. Portico: Petron. *Sat.* 90.1, Mart. 7.97.12.

<sup>29</sup> See in general F. Bernstein, *Ludi publici: Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung der öffentlichen Spiele im republikanischen Rom* (Stuttgart, 1998); for the audience at the games as *populus Romanus* (or *populus Romanus uniuersus*), see Plaut. *Rud.* 1251, Cic. *Sest.* 106, 116–23, Pis. 65, Att. 2.19.3, 14.3.2, Har. *resp.* 22–5, Phil. 1.36, Plin. *HN* 6.119–20. See Ov. *Am.* 3.10.1 and 47 for a poem set at the Cerialia (19 April), therefore during the *ludi Cerales*.

<sup>30</sup> Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.37–9, *Ars P.* 387 (Maecius Tarpa as *iudex*); Cornelius Gallus 2.9 Courtney, Furius Bibaculus 6 Courtney (Valerius Cato as *iudex*); Phaedrus 3.prol.62–3 (Eutyclus' *iudicium*); the process is presupposed by Hor. *Epist.* 1.19.35–49 (Wiseman [n. 21], 142–6).

<sup>31</sup> Hor. *Sat.* 1.10.36–9: *turgidus Alpinus iugulat dum Memnona dumque | defingit Rheni luteum caput, haec ego ludo, | quae neque in aede sonent certantia iudice Tarpa, | nec redeant iterum atque iterum spectanda theatris.*

<sup>32</sup> 'I don't recite to anyone except friends, and then only when forced to—not just anywhere or to just anybody' (Hor. *Sat.* 1.4.73–4); cf. *Epist.* 1.19.41–5 ('you keep your stuff for the ears of Jupiter'); for Maecenas' Esquiline residence, which seems to have had a private stage, see T.P. Wiseman, 'Maecenas and the stage', *PBSR* 84 (2016), 131–55.

<sup>33</sup> C.O. Brink, *Horace on Poetry: Prolegomena to the Literary Epistles* (Cambridge, 1963), 170: 'He declines his responsibility as an author and jealously guards his freedom of "play"'; E. Gowers (ed.), *Horace Satires Book I* (Cambridge, 2012), 324: 'experimentation with literary personae is the point here'.

<sup>34</sup> Varro, *Sat. Men.* 218 Astbury, Hor. *Sat.* 2.1.71, *Epist.* 1.19.41–2, Strabo 1.2.8 C20, Petron. *Sat.* 90.5, Stat. *Silu.* 5.2.160–3, Tac. *Ann.* 11.13.1.

<sup>35</sup> For the calendar evidence, see A. Degraffi (ed.), *Inscriptiones Italiae, XIII Fasti et elogia*, fasc. 2 *Fasti anni Numani et Iuliani* (Rome, 1963), 435–7, 439–40, 449–52.

phraseology suggests that he meant it to be delivered to the audience at the time.<sup>36</sup> At the games of Magna Mater: ‘The stage resounds, the games are calling. Take your places, citizens!’<sup>37</sup> At the games of Ceres: ‘The place itself demands that I tell of the virgin’s abduction.’<sup>38</sup> At the games of Flora: ‘Let this song too go with the Circus’ show.’<sup>39</sup> It is not surprising that one of the few unspecified second-person plural verbs in the *Fasti* comes in the *ludi Florales* passage, and in the context of stage performance: ‘She is not, believe me she is not, to be counted among the goddesses in tragic boots.’<sup>40</sup>

If these parallels are persuasive, then the first step in explaining Grattius’ introductory passage is to recognize that the poem was probably composed with public performance in mind, and that the ‘theatre games’ (*ludi scaenici*) are a likely context for the audience implied by those otherwise anomalous second-person plural verbs.

### 3. DANCERS AND SINGERS

There is no need to imagine a poet reading from the huge stage of the Theatre of Pompey or the Theatre of Marcellus.<sup>41</sup> Those enormous buildings were not the only places for a festival crowd to assemble: the tradition of constructing *ad hoc* wooden theatres still continued in the Augustan Age,<sup>42</sup> and in any case the steps of the relevant temple could always provide seating for a sizeable audience.<sup>43</sup>

The performers who did need wide spaces were the dancers, singers and musicians who made up the most conspicuous part of the *ludi scaenici* programme. Again, the evidence is scattered and neglected, but it tells a consistent story.<sup>44</sup> Our earliest evidence for the Roman games is Fabius Pictor’s description, for the benefit of his Greek readers, of the procession at the *ludi Romani* in September: it included ‘groups of *satyristai* presenting the Greek dance called *sikinnis*, [who] mocked and mimicked the serious

<sup>36</sup> Ov. *Fast.* 4.179–372, 4.393–620, 5.183–378; Wiseman (n. 21), 160.

<sup>37</sup> Ov. *Fast.* 4.187 *scaena sonat, ludique fremunt: spectate, Quirites.*

<sup>38</sup> Ov. *Fast.* 4.417 *exigit ipse locus raptus ut uirginis edam.* No doubt the games were held at the site of the temple of Ceres, Liber and Libera, identified as Demeter, Dionysus and ‘the virgin’ Persephone (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.17.2, 6.94.3 Δήμητρος καὶ Διονύσου καὶ Κόρης); the temple itself was burned down in 31 B.C. (Dio Cass. 50.10.3) and not replaced until A.D. 17 (Tac. *Ann.* 2.49.1), but the cult-site and the altar must still have been in place.

<sup>39</sup> Ov. *Fast.* 5.190 *hoc quoque cum Circi munere carmen eat.* The temple of Flora was next to that of Ceres (Tac. *Ann.* 2.49.1), above the starting-gates of the Circus Maximus (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 6.94.3).

<sup>40</sup> Ov. *Fast.* 5.347–8 (n. 21 above) *non est, mihi credite, non est | illa cothurnatas inter habenda deas.*

<sup>41</sup> For which, see F. Sear, *Roman Theatres: An Architectural Study* (Oxford, 2006), 134–5: stages respectively c.100 and c.88 metres wide.

<sup>42</sup> Tradition: Varro *apud* Serv. on Verg. *G.* 3.24, Tac. *Ann.* 14.20.2. Late Republic: Dio Cass. 37.58.3–4 (60 B.C.), Cic. *Att.* 4.1.6 (57 B.C.). Augustan Age and after: Vitruvius *De arch.* 5.5.7 (*multa theatra quotannis Romae facta*), *CIL* 6.32323.108, 156–7, 161 (17 B.C.), Joseph. *AJ* 19.75, 60 (A.D. 41).

<sup>43</sup> Tiro *apud* Gell. *NA* 10.1.7, Tert. *De spect.* 10.5; cf. Cic. *Leg. Man.* 44, *Att.* 4.1.5. See S.M. Goldberg, ‘Plautus on the Palatine’, *JRS* 88 (1998), 1–20, for the steps of the temple of Magna Mater.

<sup>44</sup> See, for instance, Varro, *Men. Sat.* 513 *Astbury saltatores in theatro*, Gell. *NA* 1.3.3 with Cic. *Rosc. Com.* 23 on Dionysia, *notissima saltatricula*, Lucr. 4.978–83 *saltantes et mollia membra mouentes*, Prop. 2.22.4–6 *in molli diducit candida gestu braccia*, Ov. *Rem. am.* 753–4 *citharae lotosque lyraeque | et uox et braccia mota*. ‘From the seventies B.C. to the turn of the millennium, these passages offer a consistent picture of what theatre meant in Rome: it meant song, dance and music’: T.P. Wiseman, *Catullan Questions Revisited* (Cambridge, 2023), 113.

movements, turning them into something laughable'.<sup>45</sup> Two hundred years later, in the early years of Augustus, the satyric *sikinnis* was one of the dance styles developed by Bathyllus and Pylades into the elaborate spectacle of 'all-mime' (*pantomimus*).<sup>46</sup> Bathyllus' *Satyr* was a famous piece, and his style of dance was described by Plutarch as 'Echo or some Pan or satyr revelling with Eros'.<sup>47</sup>

Echo was a nymph, one of 'those born in the waters and the hills' like Diana's hundred companions in Grattius; and she had a voice.<sup>48</sup> Nymphs always danced (their characteristic collective noun was *chorus*),<sup>49</sup> and they often sang.<sup>50</sup> Satyrs too were dancers,<sup>51</sup> Pan's pipes made music, and the Bacchic *thiasos* to which they belonged was also often called a *chorus*.<sup>52</sup> The world of divine mythology, as Varro complained, was the world of the stage.<sup>53</sup>

One mythological story that was danced from the very start of the history of drama (Phrynichus in the sixth century B.C.) was that of the hunter Actaeon, who came across Diana and her nymphs bathing, and was torn to pieces by his own hounds.<sup>54</sup> Five centuries later it was still being performed on the Roman stage, as we happen to know from a joke in Varro's *Menippean Satires* about the expense of keeping hounds: 'If Actaeon had got in first and eaten his dogs before they ate him, he would not be rubbish for dancers in the theatre.'<sup>55</sup> Two centuries later again, it was part of the repertoire of 'all-mime' (*pantomimus*).<sup>56</sup>

With all that in mind, understanding that a poet might share his occasion and his audience with performers of a different kind, we can go back to Diana and the hundred nymphs in Grattius' introductory passage, conjecturally emended:

adsociare tuo comites sub nomine diuas  
centum, omnes nemorum, umentes de fontibus omnes  
Naides, et Latii <satyri> Faunus<que subibant>  
Maenaliusque puer domitrixque Idaea leonum  
mater et inculco Siluanus termite gaudens. 20  
his ego praesidibus nostram defendere sortem

<sup>45</sup> Fabius Pictor, *FRHist* 1 F 15.10 = Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 7.72.10 οἱ τῶν σατυριστῶν ἐπόμπειον χοροὶ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν εἰδοφοροῦντες σίκιννιν. ... οὗτοι κατέσκοπόν τε καὶ κατεμμούντο τὰς σπουδαίας κινήσεις ἐπὶ τὰ γελοιώτερα μεταφέροντες, discussed by Wiseman (n. 21), 43–5.

<sup>46</sup> Ath. *Deipn.* 1.20D, with E. Hall and R. Wyles, *New Directions in Ancient Pantomime* (Oxford, 2008), 396; cf. Lucian, *Salt.* 26 (*sikinnis*, etc.), 34 (Augustan date). Pylades is dated to 22–21 B.C. by Jer. *Chron.* on Ol. 189.3.

<sup>47</sup> Pers. 5.123 *satyrum Bathylli*, Plut. *Mor.* 711F (Hall and Wyles [n. 46], 384).

<sup>48</sup> Ov. *Met.* 3.357 *uocalis nymphe*, 402–3 *sic hanc, sic alias undis aut montibus ortas ... nymphas*; Grattius 16–18.

<sup>49</sup> E.g. Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.31, 1.4.5, 3.4.25, 4.7.6; Verg. *G.* 4.460, 4.533, *Aen.* 5.240, 9.112, 10.219; [Verg.] *Culex* 116–17; Prop. 1.17.26, 1.20.46; Ov. *Fast.* 1.512, 2.156, 2.590, *Met.* 2.441; Stat. *Silu.* 1.3.77, *Theb.* 2.521.

<sup>50</sup> E.g. *Hom. Hymn* 19.19–21, Ap. Rhod. *Argon.* 1.1222–5; the best known singing nymph was a local girl, born on the Capitol (Ov. *Met.* 14.326–40 on Canens).

<sup>51</sup> E.g. Soph. *Ichneutai* 224–8, Eur. *Cyc.* 63–72, Verg. *Ecl.* 5.73, Hor. *Ars. P.* 231–3.

<sup>52</sup> E.g. [Verg.] *Culex* 115–16; Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.31; Prop. 2.3.18, 2.32.38, 3.17.22; Ov. *Fast.* 3.764, 6.510, *Met.* 11.86; Stat. *Theb.* 4.379, 9.479.

<sup>53</sup> Varro, *Ant. diu. fr.* 7 and 10 Cardauns (August. *De ciu. D.* 6.5.2 and 7).

<sup>54</sup> *Suda* Φ 762 (TGF 3 T1) for Phrynichus' *Aktaion* and his date (511–508 B.C.); Plut. *Mor.* 732F and Ath. *Deipn.* 1.22A (TGF 1 T11, 3 T13) for dance as his main medium.

<sup>55</sup> Varro, *Sat. Men.* 513 Astbury *quod si Actaeon occupasset et ipse prius suos canes comedisset, non nugas saltatoribus in theatro fieret.*

<sup>56</sup> Lucian, *Salt.* 41; cf. Wiseman (n. 21), 177–8 for the story on a sarcophagus of about A.D. 130 (Paris, Louvre, inv. MA 459) which also features closed-mouth *pantomimus* masks.

contra mille feras et non sine carmine iussus,  
carmine et arma dabo et uenandi persequar artes.

Under your name they brought in your goddess-companions, a hundred of them, all the [Dryads] from the groves, all the Naiads wet from the springs; and the satyrs of Latium and Faunus came in support, and the Maenalian boy and the Idaean Mother, tamer of lions, and Silvanus, rejoicing in his wild tree-branch. With these as my guardians, and bidden, not without song, to defend our human lot against a thousand wild beasts, in song I shall both supply the weapons and pursue the skills of hunting.

It is now possible to understand how ‘not without song’ can go with *iussus*. The suggestion is that those nymphs, satyrs and other deities were dancers and singers, and that at the end of their performance (‘The Death of Actaeon’, perhaps?) they provided the lead-in for Grattius as the next item on the festival programme. One hopes that some at least of the audience stayed to listen.

#### 4. WHERE?

If the poem presupposed a specific performance context, where might that have taken place? As it happens, the best evidence for the use of a temporary theatre at *ludi scaenici* is Josephus’ description of the scene on the Palatine immediately before the assassination of Caligula in January A.D. 41.<sup>57</sup> The seating was arranged immediately in front of the imperial residence,<sup>58</sup> with the performance presumably taking place in the piazza (*area Palatina*);<sup>59</sup> there was certainly enough space there for competitions of *pantomimus* dance-drama, as we know from the record of one of the winners.<sup>60</sup> There are, I think, good reasons to suppose that that was where the Grattian *corps de ballet* was performing.

Pan was the god of Arcadia; his favourite haunts were Maenalus and Lycaeus, mountains respectively in the north-east and south-west of that country.<sup>61</sup> However, he also had a cult site in Rome, first attested in the third century B.C. but probably much older than that,<sup>62</sup> at the Lupercal, a cave in the western slope of the Palatine.<sup>63</sup> He was worshipped there as ‘Pan Lycaeus’,<sup>64</sup> but the other Arcadian mountain could

<sup>57</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 19.75–101 (cf. n. 42 above); the games were the *ludi Palatini*, instituted by Livia in A.D. 14 in honour of the deified Augustus (Suet. *Calig.* 56.2, Dio Cass. 56.46.5, Tac. *Ann.* 1.73.3).

<sup>58</sup> Joseph. *AJ* 19.75 πρὸ τοῦ βασιλείου, 90 (next to the entrance portico).

<sup>59</sup> Attested in the Constantinian *Notitia* and *Curiosum* (R. Valentini and G. Zucchetti [edd.], *Codice topografico della città di Roma*, vol. 1 [Rome, 1940], 1.128–32, 177–8); cf. Joseph. *AJ* 19.223 ἐν εὐρυχωρίᾳ δὲ τοῦ Παλατίου; see T.P. Wiseman, *The House of Augustus: A Historical Detective Story* (Princeton, 2019), 90–3, with 142–3 fig. 67 for a ‘conjectural plan’.

<sup>60</sup> *AE* 1956.67.14 (c.A.D. 200).

<sup>61</sup> Verg. *Ecl.* 10.26 *Pan deus Arcadiae*, cf. Hdt. 6.105.1–2. Maenalus and Lycaeus: Verg. *Ecl.* 8.21–4, *G.* 1.16–17, Ov. *Met.* 1.698–9; cf. also Verg. *Ecl.* 10.14–15, Ov. *Met.* 1.216–17 for the juxtaposition.

<sup>62</sup> Founded by the Arcadian Evander: Eratosth. *apud* schol. Pl. *Phdr.* 244b Εὐάνδρος, ὁ τὸ ἐν Ῥώμῃ τοῦ Πανὸς ἱερόν, τὸ καλούμενον Λούπερκον, κτίσας, cf. Clem. Al. *Strom.* 1.108.3; Just. *Epit.* 43.1.6–7, Livy 1.5.1–2, Ov. *Fast.* 2.267–82. For the likely historical context, see Wiseman (n. 21), 207–11 with fig. 5 (satyr-mask antefixes, c.500 B.C.).

<sup>63</sup> Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.79.8 τὸ δὲ ἄντρον ... τῷ Παλλαντίῳ προσφοδομημένον, Just. *Epit.* 43.1.7 *in huius [sc. Palatii] radicibus*, Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 8.343 *sub monte Palatino*; cf. Livy 1.5.1 *in Palatio*, Verg. *Aen.* 8.343 *gelida sub rupe Lupercal*.

<sup>64</sup> Livy 1.5.2, Just. *Epit.* 43.1.7, Verg. *Aen.* 8.344, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.32.3.



identify him just as well.<sup>65</sup> So Grattius' 'Maenalian boy' turns out to be not a foreign intruder after all.

The same is true of the 'Idaeian Mother', who was brought to Rome in 204 B.C. and installed in a new temple on the Palatine, at the top of the hill immediately above the Lupercal.<sup>66</sup> Since her cult was famous for frenetic music and dancing,<sup>67</sup> it is not surprising that Propertius pictured the goat-footed Pans playing their reed-pipes as the Great Goddess nearby beat raucous cymbals for her Idaeian dances.<sup>68</sup> Ovid presented a similar scenario in *Fasti* Book 6: 'Cybele, her brow encircled by a turreted crown, invites the eternal gods to her festival, including the satyrs and nymphs, deities of the countryside.'<sup>69</sup> Notionally set on Mount Ida, the story was for a Roman festival, the Vestalia (9 June), and Vesta too was now a Palatine resident.<sup>70</sup>

Finally, Diana herself, the presiding deity of Grattius' poem,<sup>71</sup> was quite at home on the Palatine. The magnificent temple dedicated there on 9 October 28 B.C. was for her as much as for Apollo, as contemporary evidence shows.<sup>72</sup> Its lavish endowments included a *silua* or *lucus*, very appropriate for the divine mistress of woods and forests.<sup>73</sup> And hunting was not all Diana did:<sup>74</sup>

When she is satisfied and has cheered her heart, this huntress who delights in arrows slackens her supple bow and goes to the great house of her dear brother Phoebus Apollo, to the rich land of Delphi, there to order the lovely dance of the Muses and Graces.

On the Palatine, Diana did not have to visit: she already shared the 'great house', where her brother was conspicuous as the *citharoedus*.<sup>75</sup> Apollo had always played for the

<sup>65</sup> Ovid, who identifies Faunus as the Pan of the Lupercal cult, calls him both *Lycæus* (*Fast.* 2.424) and *Maenalius* (*Fast.* 4.650, cf. 3.84); for Antipater of Thessalonica (75.5 Gow–Page = *Anth. Plan.* 305.5), Pan is ὁ Μαινάλιος κερόεις θεός.

<sup>66</sup> Livy 29.10.4–11.8, 29.14.5–14, 29.37.2, 36.36.3–4 (dedicated 191 B.C.); she is referred to as *mater Idaea* (29.10.5, 29.14.5), *mater deum* (29.11.7), *mater magna* (29.37.2) and *mater magna Idaea* (36.36.3). The temple was next to that of Victoria (cf. Livy 29.14.14), which was directly above the Lupercal (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.32.3–5 ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ ... ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ λόφου).

<sup>67</sup> Varro, *Sat. Men.* 131–2, 149–50 Astbury, Lucr. 2.618–20, Ov. *Fast.* 4.179–90, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 2.19.3–5.

<sup>68</sup> Prop. 3.17.34–6 *capripedes calamo Panes hiant canent, | uertice turrigero iuxta dea magna Cybebe | tundet ad Idaeos cymbala rauca choros.*

<sup>69</sup> Ov. *Fast.* 6.321–3 *turrigera frontem Cybele redimita corona | conuocat aeternos ad sua festa deos. | conuocat et satyros et rustica numina nymphas.*

<sup>70</sup> Ov. *Fast.* 6.327 (Ida), 6.331–6 (Vesta), 4.949–54, *Met.* 15.864–5 (Palatine).

<sup>71</sup> Grattius 2, 13, 99, 105 *memorum dea*, 124, 252, 483–96, 497.

<sup>72</sup> Verg. *Aen.* 6.69–70 *tum Phoebus et Triuiaae solido de marmore templum | institutum*, Vitr. *De arch.* 3.3.4 *Apollinis et Dianae aedis*, CIL 6.32323.146 *eisdem uerbis Dianae* (17 B.C.), Hor. *Carm. saec.* 1 *Phoebae siluarumque potens Diana, 75–6 Phoebi ... et Dianae | dicere laudes*; Wiseman (n. 59), 112–21 on Apollo, Diana and Latona. Date of dedication: Degrassi (n. 35), 209 (*Fasti Antiatie ministrorum*).

<sup>73</sup> Prop. 4.6.71 *mollis ... luco*, Solin. 1.18 *silua quae est in area Apollinis*; for Diana as *domina siluarum* and *memorum custos*, see, for instance, Catull. 34.9–10, Hor. *Carm.* 3.22.1, Verg. *Aen.* 9.405. Endowment: cf. Grattius 251–2 *dum carmina dumque manebunt | siluarum dotes atque arma Diana terris.*

<sup>74</sup> *Hom. Hymn* 27.11–15 (transl. H.G. Evelyn-White): αὐτὰρ ἐπὶν τερφθῆθηροσκόπος ἰοχέαιρα, | εὐφρήνη δὲ νόον, χαλάσασ' εὐκαμπέα τόξα | ἔρχεται ἐς μέγα δῶμα κασιγνήτιο φίλιον | Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος Δελφῶν ἐς πῖονα δῆμον, | Μουσῶν καὶ Χαρίτων καλὸν χορὸν ἄρτενέουσα.

<sup>75</sup> Tib. 2.5.1–3, Prop. 2.31.5–6 and 15–16, 4.6.69–70; *RIC* 1<sup>2</sup> Aug. 170–1, 179–80, 365; Villa Albani relief (inv. 1014) illustrated at P. Zanker, *The Power of Images in the Age of Augustus* (Ann Arbor, 1988), 64 fig. 50, K. Galinsky, *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction* (Princeton, 1996), 217 fig. 122, and Wiseman (n. 59), 115 fig. 54. For Apollo in his Palatine context, see J.F. Miller, *Apollo, Augustus, and the Poets* (Cambridge, 2009), 185–252.

Muses' choir,<sup>76</sup> and on 3 June 17 B.C., in front of the Palatine temple itself, Horace sang in praise of 'Phoebus the augur, glorious with his shining bow and dear to the nine Camenae'.<sup>77</sup>

If the Muses were associated with the Palatine cult of Apollo and Diana,<sup>78</sup> Grattius' address to the goddess makes better sense: 'Come speak, Diana—for it is lawful—to a servant of the Muses.'<sup>79</sup> By making a point of *fas est*, the poet claimed fellow-membership with her in the Muses' world of dance and song; that, no doubt, was how he had received his instruction 'not without song' to read the *Cynegetica* to the assembled audience. (Circulation of the text on papyrus copies was a separate, and later, stage of 'publication'.)

### 5. THE *LVDI QVINQVENNALES*

The Palatine temple would be a very appropriate scene for Grattius' observations on hound-puppies' diet, where reason must control self-indulgence:<sup>80</sup>

haec illa est Pharios quae fregit noxia reges, dum seruata cauis potant Mareotica gemmis nardiferumque metunt Gangen uitiisque ministrant. sic et Achaemenio cecidisti, Lydia, Cyro:	315
atqui diues eras <ac> fluminis aurea uenis. ... at qualis nostris, quam simplex mensa Camillis! qui tibi cultus erat post tot, Serrane, triumphos! ergo illi ex habitu uirtutisque indole priscae imposuere orbi Romam caput, actaque ab illis ad caelum uirtus summosque tetendit honores.	325

This [luxury] was the very wrongdoing that broke the Egyptian kings, while they were drinking vintage Mareotic wine from hollowed-out gemstones, harvesting the nard-bearing Ganges and acting as servants to their vices. In the same way also did you fall, o Lydia, to Persian Cyrus: and yet you were rich with gold in the veins of your river. [Greece too gave in to luxury.] But of what sort and how simple was the table of our own Camilli! What was your lifestyle, o Serranus, after so many triumphs! Consequently, it was these men, in accordance with the bearing and custom of ancient virtue, who set over the world Rome as its head and, led by these men, virtue reached towards the heavens and the highest honours.

The temple was there because Apollo had given Rome victory over the last of those luxurious Egyptian monarchs.<sup>81</sup> No one could possibly miss the message, as Grattius

<sup>76</sup> E.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.603–4, Hom. *Hymn* 3.182–93, Hes. [*Sc.*] 201–6, Pind. *Nem.* 5.22–5, Verg. *Ecl.* 6.66 *Phoebi chorus*.

<sup>77</sup> Hor. *Carm. saec.* 61–2 (cf. *CIL* 6.32323.139–49): *augur et fulgente decorus arcu | Phoebus acceptusque nouem Camenis*. For *Camenae* = *Musae*, see Paul. Fest 38L, Serv. on Verg. *Ecl.* 3.59.

<sup>78</sup> As may be suggested by their prominence in Horace's public poetry (*Carm.* 3.1.3, 3.3.70, 3.4.1–4, 3.4.21–42); cf. Wiseman (n. 59), 141–3 for possible Palatine references in the great Alcaic sequence traditionally known as the 'Roman odes' (but wrongly: see A.J. Woodman, 'Horace's "Roman Odes"', *CJ* 115 [2020], 276–82).

<sup>79</sup> Grattius 99 (transl. Green [n. 8], 25): *dic age Pierio (fas est), Diana, ministro*.

<sup>80</sup> Grattius 312–16, 321–5 (transl. Green [n. 8], 29–31).

<sup>81</sup> Prop. 4.6.57–68 *uincit Roma fide Phoebi: dat femina poenas (57) ... Actius hinc traxit Phoebus monumenta (67)*.

piled up one Augustan moral topos after another,<sup>82</sup> ending with virtue reaching *ad caelum* just like the conqueror of Egypt himself.<sup>83</sup>

Although recent work on Grattius has had the laudable aim of 'exploring the potential of Grattius' text to engage meaningfully with Augustan society and contemporary Augustan authors',<sup>84</sup> surprisingly little notice has been taken of this digression on Egyptian luxury defeated by Roman virtue, with its clear reference to the moral policy Augustus was famous for.<sup>85</sup> Equally surprising is the assertion that 'Grattius undoubtedly writes for the elite of his time, the same elite to which he probably belongs'.<sup>86</sup> Since the only thing known about him is his presence in Ovid's list of poets who enjoyed a popular following ('the crowd has his songs'),<sup>87</sup> it makes better sense to pay attention to the evidence for Augustan poets performing to a public audience.

Evidence for the Palatine temple of Apollo as a performance venue could hardly be more conspicuous: not only Horace's hymn at the *ludi saeculares* of 17 B.C. but also Tibullus 2.5, celebrating Messalla Messallinus' induction as *quindecimuir sacris faciundis*, and Propertius 4.6, in praise of Apollo as Augustus' ally at Actium.<sup>88</sup> The forecourt of Augustus' own house, decorated with Apollo's laurel, was so close to the temple that the god and the *princeps* could be said to live together.<sup>89</sup> As Diana's temple too (a fact frequently forgotten), it is an attractive possibility as the setting for Grattius' poem. What might the occasion have been?

When the news of Actium reached Rome, the Senate and people voted that a public festival be held every four years in commemoration of the victory. The games were held for the first time in 28 B.C., along with the dedication of the Palatine temple.<sup>90</sup> Their superiority to the regular annual *ludi* was expressed in various ways: the four-year cycle, expressed inclusively as 'quinquennial', gave them the dignity of a Hellenic πεντετηρίς;<sup>91</sup> the funding was provided by each of the four main priestly colleges,

<sup>82</sup> *Pharios* (312): cf. Prop. 2.1.30–2. *Mareotica* (313): cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.37.14. *Gangen* (314): cf. Verg. *G.* 2.137. *Aen.* 9.31. *Lydia, Cyro* (315): cf. Verg. *G.* 4.211, Hor. *Carm.* 2.2.17, 3.29.27. *Camilli* (321): cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.12.42–4, Verg. *Aen.* 6.825, Prop. 3.9.33. *Serrane* (322): cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.844, Manil. 4.148–9. *orbi Romam caput*: cf. Livy 1.16.7, 21.30.10, Ov. *Am.* 1.15.26, *Fast.* 5.93, *Met.* 15.435.

<sup>83</sup> Cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.45 *serus in caelum redeas*, Ov. *Met.* 15.869–70 *quem temperat orbe relicto | accedat caelo*, *Trist.* 2.57 *peteres caelestia sidera tarde*, Manilius 1.799–800 *descendit caelo caelumque replebit, | quod reget, Augustus*, 4.935 *maius et Augusto crescet sub principe caelum*, Vell. Pat. 2.123.2 *animam caelestem caelo reddidit*. See Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.17–22 for the collocation of *uirtus, caelum* and *honoribus* (Grattius 325).

<sup>84</sup> Green (n. 8), 6: not a straightforward task, since neither Augustus nor any other contemporary person is mentioned in the text.

<sup>85</sup> Hor. *Epist.* 2.1.2–3 *moribus ornes, | legibus emendes*, cf. *Carm.* 3.24.25–30, 4.5.20–4, 4.15.9–14, *Carm. saec.* 57–60; Ov. *Met.* 15.834 *exemploque suo mores reget*, *Tr.* 2.233–4 *legum ... tutela tuarum | et morum*; Aug. *Res gestae* 6.

<sup>86</sup> Fanti (n. 20), 75. The underlying assumption is that 'the Augustan audience for poetry was coextensive with the social and cultural elite of Rome', to use the succinct formulation of F. Cairns, 'The mistress's midnight summons: Propertius 3.16', *Hermes* 138 (2010), 70–91, at 72.

<sup>87</sup> Ov. *Pont.* 4.16.34, cf. 4.16.38 *carmina uulgus habet*; Grattius is no. 28 in a list of thirty.

<sup>88</sup> In each case the setting is explicit: Hor. *Carm. saec.* 65, Tib. 2.5.1–6, Prop. 4.6.1–14; Wiseman (n. 59), 120–1, 145–7.

<sup>89</sup> Ov. *Fast.* 4.951–4, *Met.* 15.864–5; cf. *Met.* 1.563–4 and *Trist.* 3.1.39–46 for the laurels.

<sup>90</sup> Dio Cass. 51.19.2 (vote in 31 B.C.), 53.1.3–5 (temple and games).

<sup>91</sup> Aug. *Res gestae* 9.1 *qu[in]to qu[is]que anno* / καθ' ἑκάστην πεντετηρίδα; Dio Cass. 51.19.2 πανήγυρτι πεντετηρίδα; similarly, Suet. *Ner.* 12.3 *more Graeco*, Tac. *Ann.* 14.20.1 *ad morem Graeci certaminis* on the 'quinquennial' *Neronia* introduced in A.D. 60; see S. Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Oxford, 1971), 314–16.

presumably in rotation;<sup>92</sup> the consuls often presided, outranking the praetors who looked after the annual games;<sup>93</sup> above all, they were in honour of Augustus, a regular public vow for his safety.<sup>94</sup> However, they are not well attested: not being part of the annual calendar, they do not appear in either the epigraphic or the Ovidian *fasti*. That may be the reason why recent scholarship largely ignores them.<sup>95</sup>

It is not known when or where these games took place. A good guess for the date would be 2–3 September, the two days immediately before the start of the annual *ludi Romani* (4–19 September), each marked in the calendars as a holiday (*feriae*) in celebration respectively of the victories at Actium and Naulochus.<sup>96</sup> Since numismatic evidence shows that Diana was given retrospective credit for Naulochus, to match that of her brother for Actium,<sup>97</sup> the site of the games must surely have been the Palatine, in front of the temple of Apollo and Diana and the house of Augustus himself.

Festivities so closely associated with the *princeps* were no doubt a mixture of entertainment and serious content.<sup>98</sup> What sort of thing would be deemed appropriate? One possibility is the hexameter poem on the war against Cleopatra of which fragments survive from the library of the ‘Villa of the Papyri’ at Herculaneum.<sup>99</sup> The villa was very probably owned by L. Piso Caesoninus, consul in 58 B.C.;<sup>100</sup> Caesoninus’ son L. Piso ‘the *pontifex*’, consul in 15 B.C., was a prominent figure who may well have been involved in organizing the quinquennial games for Augustus on one of the occasions when the college of *pontifices* had the responsibility.<sup>101</sup> The library contained the works of Caesoninus’ poet-philosopher friend Philodemus of Gadara;<sup>102</sup> the author of the poem on Actium may have had similar patronage from Piso the *pontifex*.<sup>103</sup>

Grattius’ subject did not have the immediate relevance of the Actium war, and the poem shows no sign of being commissioned by a patron. One feature, however, suggests that the text as transmitted may have been adapted to fit new circumstances. After the introductory lines 1–23, discussed in section 1 above, there is a passage of thirty-seven

<sup>92</sup> Dio Cass. 53.1.5 (the colleges of *pontifices*, *augures*, *VIIviri epulonum* and *XVviri sacris faciundis*), 54.19.8 (*XVviri* in charge in 16 B.C.); Aug. *Res gestae* 9.1 [*sacerdotum*] *quattuor amplissima colle[gi]a*; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 44.3 for athletic competitions at the games of the *pontifices*.

<sup>93</sup> Aug. *Res gestae* 9.1 τὸτὲ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπάτων, cf. Dio Cass. 54.2.3–4.

<sup>94</sup> Aug. *Res gestae* 9.1 *uota p[ro salute mea suscipi] p[er] consules et sacerdotes*.

<sup>95</sup> They seem not to be mentioned in *CAH* 10<sup>2</sup> (1996). There is a notable contrast between the comments on Prop. 4.6 by Cairns in 1984 and Hutchinson in 2006: F. Cairns, ‘Propertius and the Battle of Actium (4.6)’, in T. Woodman and D. West (edd.), *Poetry and Politics in the Age of Augustus* (Cambridge, 1984), 129–68, at 149: ‘Commentators have rightly wished to associate Propertius 4.6 with a specific sacrificial occasion, generally suggesting the *ludi quinquennales*’; G. Hutchinson (ed.), *Propertius Elegies Book IV* (Cambridge, 2006), 153, 15: ‘The poem does not present itself as written for an occasion ... This is a metaphorical rite’ (with no mention of the *ludi*).

<sup>96</sup> Degraffi (n. 35), 32–3, 150–1, 192–3 (*fasti Arualium, Vallenses, Amiternini*).

<sup>97</sup> *RIC* 1<sup>2</sup> Aug. 170–3, 179–83, 190–7, 273; Wiseman (n. 59), 117–18.

<sup>98</sup> As recommended by the Sibyl for the *ludi saeculares*: Phlegon, *FGrHist* 257 F 37.166 σπουδῆ δὲ γέλῳτι μεμίχθω.

<sup>99</sup> *P.Herc.* 817; E. Courtney (ed.), *The Fragmentary Latin Poets* (Oxford, 1993), 334–40.

<sup>100</sup> See R.G.M. Nisbet (ed.), *Cicero: In L. Calpurnium Pisonem oratio* (Oxford, 1961), 186–8; D. Sider, *The Epigrams of Philodemus: Introduction, Text, and Commentary* (New York, 1997), 12–24.

<sup>101</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 6.10.3, cf. Vell. Pat. 2.98.1–3, Sen. *Ep.* 83.14, Plut. *Mor.* 208A; for his career, see R. Syme, *The Augustan Aristocracy* (Oxford, 1986), 329–45, with the frontispiece (a bronze bust of Piso from Herculaneum, now in the Museo Nazionale at Naples, identified by a copy at Veleia, cf. *CIL* 11.1182 = *ILS* 900).

<sup>102</sup> On whom, see Cic. *Pis.* 68–70 with Asc. 16C, Philodemus 27 Sider (*Anth. Pal.* 11.44).

<sup>103</sup> For Piso’s patronage of poets, cf. Antipater of Thessalonica 43 Gow–Page (*Anth. Pal.* 6.241), with Syme (n. 101), 332–3.

lines on the making of nets (24–60). That in turn is followed by fourteen lines on the dignity of the whole subject of hunting, complete with mythological precedents (61–74), a passage that some editors, in order to achieve a more natural sequence, have transposed to after line 23 as part of the introduction.<sup>104</sup> However, it is not enough merely to posit an unexplained dislocation in the order of lines. We need a more specific hypothesis.

## 6. ADAPTED FOR THE OCCASION

Suppose Grattius' poem had originally begun, like the *Georgics*, with the naming of a patron. The size of the task would then be stated (61 *magnum opus*), and the dignity and importance of the subject asserted, just as we find in lines 61–74. If the poem were subsequently chosen for a particular performance occasion, the opening few lines could be sacrificed and a new introduction composed, consisting of the first sixty lines of the text as we have it.

Evidence for poets writing passages appropriate to a particular venue goes back at least to the fifth century B.C. 'Hail to you, my friends, who dwell by the citadel in the great city looking down on yellow Akragas!'<sup>105</sup> 'Celebrate in your hymns, O Muse, Nephelokokygia the fortunate!'<sup>106</sup> Seven centuries later, poets and orators were still being instructed how to praise a city.<sup>107</sup> A poet in Rome did not have to travel from one city to another to find his festival venues; but though the capital offered many different performance opportunities, each of them required its own particular thematic treatment. Ovid's *Fasti* gives an idea of how it might be done, at least for the regular annual *ludi*.<sup>108</sup>

It was argued above (sections 2–4) that lines 1–23 of Grattius' poem were composed for delivery to an audience, at *ludi scaenici* that involved singers and dancers, on the Palatine in front of the new temple of Apollo and Diana. It was also argued (section 5) that lines 312–25, a digression on the treatment of puppies' diet, were composed in particular for the *ludi quinquennales* in honour of Augustus' victory over Cleopatra; and a further suggestion may now be made, that those lines had not been in the poet's original composition, but were spliced in at a more or less relevant point to help adapt the poem to that occasion.

That idea, if accepted, may also be applied to the problematic lines 24–60, on the making of nets. Since that was slave's work, dealt with only briefly at the end of the later *Cynegetica* by Nemesianus,<sup>109</sup> the prominent position of this passage at the start of Grattius' poem requires a particular explanation.

<sup>104</sup> Green (n. 8), 257: 'on the grounds that a general commendation of hunting fits more naturally in a poem'.

<sup>105</sup> Empedocles *apud* Diog. Laert. 8.54 = *Anth. Pal.* 9.569.3–5.

<sup>106</sup> Ar. *Au.* 904–6. For a poet (perhaps Stesichorus) flattering his audience at Sparta, see *P.Oxy.* 2735.1.15–41, with M.L. West, 'Epic, lyric, and lyric epic', in P.J. Finglass and A. Kelly (edd.), *Stesichorus in Context* (Cambridge, 2015), 63–80, at 70–4.

<sup>107</sup> Men. *Rhet.* 346–51 πῶς χρῆ πόλιν ἐπαινεῖν, cf. 344.6–7 (instructing ποιητὰς καὶ συγγραφεᾶς καὶ ῥήτορας); D.A. Russell and N.G. Wilson (edd.), *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford, 1981), 32–43.

<sup>108</sup> See above, nn. 36–40; also Ov. *Fast.* 5.545–98 on the *ludi circenses* for Mars on 12 May (Degrassi [n. 35], 456–7).

<sup>109</sup> Nemes. *Cyn.* 298–302, cf. Xen. *Cyn.* 2.3; Green (n. 8), 257.

The threads for the nets were made from linen, and the poet lists the most suitable flax-growing areas in Africa and Italy (34–9). By contrast, he goes on, the very fine Egyptian linen was useless for the purpose of hunting:<sup>110</sup>

The foot-stamping crowd of summer-time Canopus are scarcely veiled by their own linen when sacrificing at the rites of Bubastis; the whiteness itself, a liability in the unhelpful material, reveals the trap from far away and frightens off the ‘enemy’.

Hardly germane to the poet’s didactic argument, the place-names are eloquent in a quite different way. Canopus was notorious for degenerate luxury,<sup>111</sup> and the rites of the goddess of Bubastis involved much drunken revelry.<sup>112</sup> In Grattius’ time those ideas would call up a very specific image, ‘the harlot queen of foul Canopus’, drunken and debauched, who hoped to stretch her own fine nets over the Roman Capitol.<sup>113</sup> As at lines 312–14 on the puppies’ diet, here too the gratuitous reference to decadent Egyptian luxury served to prompt thoughts of the defeat of Cleopatra. The description of hunted animals as ‘the enemy’, continuing the military imagery from the previous invocation to Diana,<sup>114</sup> would help to achieve that aim.

Finally, it is worth noticing that Grattius’ list of Italian flax-growing areas begins with ‘the Aeolian valley of the Sibyl’.<sup>115</sup> The quinquennial games celebrating the victory over Cleopatra were put on in turn by the four major priestly colleges, and the main duty of one of those colleges, the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, was the care and consultation of the Sibyl’s books, newly edited and now installed in the temple of Apollo and Diana on the Palatine.<sup>116</sup> Perhaps Grattius’ line was a polite tribute from an invited performer to the people in charge.

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<sup>110</sup> Grattius 42–5 *uix operata suo sacra ad Bubastia lino | uelatur sonipes aestiui turba Canopi: | ipse in materia damnosus candor inertii | ostendit longe fraudem atque exterruit hostes.*

<sup>111</sup> Strabo 17.1.16–17 C800–1, Sen. *Ep.* 51.3, Luc. 8.542, Juv. 15.46; Canopus was on the coast about ten miles east of Alexandria.

<sup>112</sup> Hdt. 2.60, cf. Ov. *Met.* 9.691. Wearing fine linen was required also at the cult of Isis (Tib. 1.3.30, Ov. *Am.* 2.2.25, *Ars am.* 1.77, *Met.* 1.747).

<sup>113</sup> Prop. 3.11.30 (debauched), 39 *incesti meretrix regina Canopi*, 45 *foedaque Tarpeio conopia tendere saxo*, 56 (drunken); for the *conopia*, cf. Hor. *Epod.* 9.16, with Porph. ad loc. *retis genus.*

<sup>114</sup> See n. 6 above, and add 23 *arma*, 24 *armorum*, 30 *hostem*, 45 *hostes*, 48 *armamenta*, 51 *in armis.*

<sup>115</sup> Grattius 35–6 *bonus Aeolia de ualle Sibyllae | fetus.* It is not clear why Italian Cumae should be derived from Aeolian Kyme in north-west Asia Minor rather than from Euboean Kyme as in Virgil (*Aen.* 6.2, 6.42, 9.710) and practically all the rest of the tradition: details in S.P. Oakley, *A Commentary on Livy Books VI–X, Volume II: Books VII and VIII* (Oxford, 1998), 631–2.

<sup>116</sup> Varro, *Ant. diu.* fr. 56, 60 Cardauns (Lactant. *Diu. inst.* 1.6.10–11, Serv. on Verg. *Aen.* 6.36, Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 4.62.5–6); Verg. *Aen.* 6.65–74, Tib. 2.5.1–8, Suet. *Aug.* 31.1 (misdated to 12 B.C.), Tac. *Ann.* 6.12. Diana’s involvement is emphasized by Virgil (*Aen.* 6.35, 6.69 *Triuia*).