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## HECYRA, ADELPHOE, AND THE FUNERAL GAMES OF L. AEMILIUS PAULLUS



ABSTRACT: This article provides an improved understanding of the commemorative quality that Roman comedy had at the funeral games of L. Aemilius Paullus. By incorporating *Hecyra* into the discussion, this article shows how *Hecyra*'s intended production, in tandem with *Adelphoe*, challenges past historicizing readings. A comparative analysis of the two plays demonstrates that *Hecyra* does not offer suitable character analogues or themes to complement those found in *Adelphoe*. Since it is insufficient to present a commemorative explanation that accounts for only one of the two plays, another explanation is required. The following discussion proposes that the Greek models for *Hecyra* and *Adelphoe* were both sourced from Macedon's royal library. This library represented a versatile symbol of Paullus' conquest of Macedon which recognized not only his personal contribution to the victory, but also his redeemable qualities as a general and father on that campaign. The production of Greek comedies sourced from this library would have celebrated Paullus' achievement at Pydna; the fact that they were translated and adapted for a Roman spectacle would have further enriched the funeral's overarching ethos of conquest.

IN 160 BCE, Scipio Aemilianus and Fabius Maximus organized funeral games in the Roman Forum to celebrate the life of their birth father, the esteemed Roman general Lucius Aemilius Paullus Macedonicus.<sup>1</sup> Among the spectacles performed at this event was a production of Terence's *Adelphoe*. This makes Paullus' funeral games the only *ludi funebres* with which we can associate a surviving *palliata*. *Adelphoe* therefore seemingly pres-

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1. Abbreviations: M.-O. = Millis, B. W. and S. D. Olson, *Inscriptional Records for the Dramatic Festivals in Athens: IG II<sup>2</sup> 2318–2325 and Related Texts*, Leiden / Boston 2012; *MMC*<sup>3</sup> = Webster, T. B. L., *Monuments Illustrating Old and Middle Comedy*, 3rd ed., Revised and Enlarged by J. R. Green, London 1978; *MNC*<sup>3</sup> = Webster, T. B. L., *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy*, 3rd ed., Revised and Enlarged by J. R. Green and A. Seeberg, London 1995.

ents a unique case study for exploring how Roman comedy contributed to the ethos of Roman funeral games and commemorating the dead. There have consequently been several historicist readings of *Adelphoe* that assign significant meaning to the text based on its funeral-game production context. The predominant narrative is that *Adelphoe* was selected because of the character analogues it encouraged and the relevance of its themes for Paullus' life. These readings, however, are incomplete. *Adelphoe* was never meant to be viewed in isolation, but rather as one of two *palliatae* performed in tandem. Terence's *Hecyra* was also selected for production, yet its function in the pairing has been ignored almost completely. Although *Hecyra* was ultimately not performed at the games, the intended impact of the tandem production remains a critical question.<sup>2</sup>

By incorporating *Hecyra* into the discussion, this article nuances the commemorative role comedy played in this funerary context. Unlike *Adelphoe*, *Hecyra* does not offer flattering character analogues or themes for Paullus' life. An analogous historicising reading of *Hecyra* is therefore untenable. Since it is insufficient to present a commemorative quality that accounts for only one of the two plays, another explanation is required.

In the following discussion, I propose that, in their capacity as representative *spolia*, *Adelphoe* and *Hecyra* celebrated Paullus' legacy as Macedon's conqueror. This claim is based on my supposition that the Greek models for *Hecyra* and *Adelphoe* (composed by Apollodorus of Carystus and Menander of Athens respectively) were sourced from Macedon's royal library.<sup>3</sup> This library was a personal and powerful symbol of Paullus' achievement. The production of adapted material from this library for a Roman audience would have re-enacted Paullus' conquest in microcosm, a highly effective means of commemorating the Roman general at his funeral. Although this claim must ultimately remain speculative, it nevertheless presents a compelling reading that ought to be considered alongside the traditional scholarly narrative.

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2. *Hecyra*'s performance was allegedly interrupted by a crowd gathering to see a gladiator bout (*Hec.* 38–42). Because of this interruption, *Adelphoe* was ultimately the only comedy performed at Paullus' funeral. Previous historicizing readings which explore this comedy's coincidental impact at the funeral therefore remain highly relevant.
  3. The possibility that Terence might have been given (somewhat exclusive) access to the source material in the Macedonian library has been previously suggested as one way to understand the playwright's alleged support from *homines nobiles* (*Ter. Ad.* 15), namely those connected to L. Aemilius Paullus. See Umbrico (2010) 110; Papaioannou (2013) 97.

To begin, a summary description of previous historicizing readings of *Adelphoe* will be of use. The traditional stance is that *Adelphoe* was chosen in part because its characters and themes seem to celebrate Paullus.<sup>4</sup> In terms of character analogues, Micio—a liberal, progressive, cosmopolitan old man—is viewed as a celebration of Paullus and his redeemable qualities. Correspondingly, Micio’s antithesis Demea is often likened to Marcus Porcius Cato, who also championed a traditional, austere country lifestyle.<sup>5</sup> As for themes, *Adelphoe*’s interest in the validity of differing parental approaches to education, the complex family dynamics surrounding adoption, and *humanitas* are said to be closely connected to the life of Paullus.

Comparative analysis of *Adelphoe* and *Hecyra* demonstrates that character analogues and themes were not the common elements shared by the two *palliatae* that led to their selection and contributed to the goal of commemorating Paullus at his funeral games. While previous arguments that align *Adelphoe*’s Micio and/or Demea with Paullus remain compelling, there are no suitable counterparts among the characters in *Hecyra*. In fact, none of its male characters have any redeemable qualities about them of any kind.<sup>6</sup> The most likely candidates, the *senes* Laches and Phidippus, are perhaps the most unappealing old men in Terence’s corpus. Unlike Micio and Demea, Terence does not grant Laches or Phidippus any opportunities to gain the audience’s good will or sympathy. Their sustained ignorance throughout the play makes them the primary heels, but what marks Laches and Phidippus as particularly unenviable is that they are deliberately kept in that state at the end of the play. Equilibrium is only superficially restored and the *senes* are destined to be a point of jest *in perpetuum*. Portrayal in a negative light is not in itself sufficient cause to discount potential character analogues for Paullus, especially for a funeral tradition which embraced some mockery of the deceased (see Sumi [2002]). However, the negative depiction of

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4. E.g. Mackendrick (1954) 30–5; Trencsényi-Waldapfel (1957) 137–65; Della Corte (1969) 112–3, 137–9; Grimal (1982) 40, 44; Lehmann (2003) 558; Leigh (2004) 158–91.

5. Leigh (2004) 158–91 provides a more nuanced reading of the character analogues. Leigh faces head-on the issue circumvented in previous historicist readings—the fact that Micio (Paullus’ apparent character analogue) is bested and Demea is vindicated by the play’s end—and makes a compelling case that Paullus was perhaps meant to be evoked in both Micio and Demea.

6. Pamphilus, as an *adulescens*, is a less likely character analogue for Paullus, who was almost 70 years old when he died. Age differences aside, a comparison to Pamphilus would be unfavorable. Only the play’s female characters are worthy of emulation, though expecting a Roman audience to draw associations between Paullus and women (or slaves, for that matter) seems unlikely.

Laches and Phidippus lacks the playfulness of the derision tied to Micio and Demea, and is, I think, too severe to reasonably consider Laches or Phidippus potential character analogues for Paullus.<sup>7</sup>

There is a similar problem when it comes to thematic relevance. The major themes of *Adelphoe*—education, adoption, and *humanitas*—could be reasonably associated with Paullus. *Hecyra*, however, arguably lacks a strong theme of any sort. If anything, the comedy's through line is its uniquely sympathetic view towards women.<sup>8</sup> Others have suggested that *Hecyra* is especially focused on tension between opposing forces, such as character reputation vs. reality (McGarrity [1980–1981]), *amor* vs. *pietas* (Konstan [1983] 130–41), and failure vs. repetition (Sharrock [2009] 233–49). None of these themes has any obvious relevance to Paullus. What's more—like the potential character analogues—*Hecyra*'s themes may have actually undermined the themes of *Adelphoe* that were particularly suitable to commemorating Paullus.<sup>9</sup>

The organizers of Paullus' funeral games, Scipio Aemilianus and Fabius Maximus, surely understood that they could not expect their audience to suss out particular commemorative qualities in one play and ignore the comparative qualities of the other. Since *Hecyra* actively works against the supposed commemorative elements of *Adelphoe*, we must dismiss character analogues and themes as the potential means by which these two comedies were intended to commemorate Paullus and explore an alternative commemorative value that these plays may have offered.

Taking a step back, the obvious means of honoring Paullus at his funeral would have been celebrating his crowning military achievement: the conquest of Macedon in the Third Macedonian War. Paullus' victory at Pydna in 168 BCE had a substantial and lasting impact on the Roman Republic politically, financially, and culturally. It brought a decisive end to over four

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7. Consider, for example, Laches' excessive scolding of Sostrata at 198–242 and Phidippus at 623–6 who “seems unnecessarily harsh to his daughter” (Duckworth [1952] 244). See also Christenson (2015) 227, “there is very little to recommend the male cast of characters, especially the patriarchs Laches and Phidippus” and Goldberg (2013) 22, “the fathers Laches and Phidippus are less appealing figures, Phidippus too weak and Laches too much the bully.”

8. E.g. Norwood (1923) 91; Slater (1988); James (1998) 41–7; Penwill (2004); Moore (2015); Mulder (2019).

9. *Hecyra*, for example, undermines the authority of the *paterfamilias* (Slater [1988]), which is not only a driving force of *Adelphoe*'s action, but one of the themes that would have had an intimate connection to Paullus. See Leigh (2004) 158–91 on the Roman correlation between fatherhood and generalship.

decades of recurring conflicts with the Antigonid dynasty and made Rome the undisputed master of all of Greece.<sup>10</sup> The volume of *spolia* captured resulted in an unparalleled influx of wealth in Rome. In his triumph, Paulus displayed 2,250 talents of silver and 231 talents of gold coinage (Plut. *Aem.* 32.8–33.3).<sup>11</sup> The amount of seized money Paullus deposited into the public treasury was in fact so substantial that the Roman populace did not need to pay any extra taxes again for another 125 years (Plut. *Aem.* 38.1). Adding to this economic boom was the associated importation of a staggering 150,000 slaves (Livy 45.34.6, Plut. *Aem.* 29.4) following what has been called “the greatest slave-hunting operation in the history of Rome” (Ziolkowski [1986] 69). Finally, Paullus’ campaign prompted an import of Greek culture on an unprecedented scale that had a lasting impact in Rome. Paullus seized so much Greek art that a full day’s festivities and 250 chariots were barely sufficient to display the confiscated statues, paintings, and colossal sculptures he had prepared for the first day of his triumph (Plut. *Aem.* 32.4–5).<sup>12</sup> This was all the direct result of Paullus’ victory, an achievement that earned him the agnomen *Macedonicus* and the rare honor of a funeral in the Forum.<sup>13</sup> It was his defining moment in the eyes of the Roman Republic, and the celebration of this particular conquest would have been the most appropriate means of honoring him at his public funeral.

The incorporation of Macedon’s royal library into the games would have been an incisive gesture to reinforce Paullus’ legacy as Macedon’s conquer. The evidence for this library is limited to two brief textual references. The first comes from Plutarch’s *Life of Aemilius Paullus*.<sup>14</sup> In a section that

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10. See Green (1990) 430–1; Habicht (1997) 219; Gruen (2004) 254. The comparative impact of the Achaean War (150–148 BCE) that followed (= Fourth Macedonian War), was less noteworthy.
  11. It is no surprise that several sumptuary laws were put into place in the years following Pydna (e.g. the *Lex Fannia*, 161 BCE; *Lex Didia*, 143 BCE). For more on the types and extent of the *spolia* Paullus brought back to Rome, see Livy 45.33.1–7 and 39.4–6.
  12. Among these was a Pheidian Athena statue, which Paullus rededicated in the Temple of Fortuna in Rome (Plin. *HN* 34.54).
  13. In the Middle Republic, only former Roman magistrates could qualify for a funeral in the Forum. See Flower (2004) 334.
  14. It is generally agreed that Polybius was a main source for Plutarch’s *Life of Aemilius Paulus* (e.g. Tatum [2010] 456–7; Tröster [2012] 220). There is no reference to the library in the surviving books of Polybius; the book in which it would have most likely been mentioned—Book 29—survives only in fragments. Plutarch may have otherwise learned of Perseus’ library through (1) the eyewitness accounts of Pydna and its aftermath provided by P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Corculum and a certain Poseidonius, whom Plutarch names as sources (*Aem.* 15.5–6, 16.3, 18.4–5, 21.7; 19.7 and 10, 20.5–6, 21.7); (2) one

outlines Paullus' distribution of booty following his defeat of the Macedonian king Perseus, Plutarch notes:

οὐδενὸς δ' ἤττον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐλευθεριότητα καὶ τὴν μεγαλοφυχίαν ἐπήνον  
οἱ ἄνθρωποι, πολὺ μὲν ἀργύριον, πολὺ δὲ χρυσίον ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν  
ἠθροισμένον οὐδ' ἰδεῖν ἐθελήσαντος, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ταμίαις εἰς τὸ δημόσιον  
παραδόντος. μόνα τὰ βιβλία τοῦ βασιλέως φιλογραμματοῦσι τοῖς νιέσιν  
ἐπέτρεψεν ἐξελέσθαι.

But more than anything, the men admired his generosity and magnanimity; for he was unwilling to even look upon the great stockpile of silver and gold from the royal vaults and delivered them straightaway to the quaestors for the public treasury. It was the king's library alone that he entrusted to his book-loving sons to take for themselves (*Aem.* 28.10–1; Greek text, Perrin [1918] 430).

The other source is Isidore of Seville's seventh-century text, the *Etymologiae*.<sup>15</sup> In a chapter on books (6.5.1), Isidore writes: *Romae primus librorum copiam advexit Aemilius Paulus, Perse Macedonum rege devicto* (“following his conquest of Perseus, king of Macedon, Aemilius Paullus was the first to bring an abundance of books to Rome”).<sup>16</sup>

This library would have been a powerful reminder of Paullus' achievement at Pydna. Plutarch's account of the library provides valuable insight: *μόνα τὰ βιβλία τοῦ βασιλέως φιλογραμματοῦσι τοῖς νιέσιν ἐπέτρεψεν ἐξελέσθαι* (“It was the king's library alone that he entrusted to his book-loving

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of the other historians that have been suggested as additional sources for this particular *Life* (e.g. the fragmentary historian Valerius Antias); or (3) personal study of family archives. See Scardigli (1979) 57–60 for discussion.

15. Isidore of Seville (ca. 560–636 CE) was an influential Spanish clergyman (Bishop of Seville, ca. 600–636). His most significant written work was his *Etymologiae*, a twenty-book, etymology-driven encyclopedia of general knowledge. The main sources for the *Etymologiae* were likely Pliny the Elder, Solinus, Servius, and Cassiodorus, but Isidore refers by name to many other ancient Greek and Roman authors in the work. They include Marcus Terentius Varro, whom Isidore cites twenty-eight times and quotes eighteen times (see Barney et al. [2006] 10–7). Although Isidore's knowledge of Varro and others is likely indirect, it has been suggested that Varro's (now lost) *De Bibliothecis* —perhaps via Suetonius— was ultimately the primary source for Isidore's discussion on books (see Canfora [1990] 127–9 and Hendrickson [2015] 395 n. 2 and 3 for discussion and references). Varro's *De Bibliothecis*, perhaps filtered through later works, does seem to represent one probable source for Isidore's knowledge of the Macedonian library.

16. Latin text from Lindsay (1911).

sons to take for themselves,” *Aem.* 28.11). In its capacity as a *spolium*, no trophy was more appropriate for commemorating Paullus’ unique contribution to the conquest than this library. Countless *spolia* from the campaign littered the city of Rome (e.g. Polyb. 31.25.6–8), but the library was distinct among them as the only personal trophy Paullus took for himself and his family. Incorporation of the library into the funeral would arguably underline Paullus’ individual role in the victory as the *spolium* most associated with him on a personal level. Additionally, the library was a monument to Paullus’ “generosity” (ἐλευθεριότης) and “magnanimity” (μεγαλοψυχία) — the traits that most endeared Paullus to his men during the campaign (see Plut. *Aem.* 28.10). In Plutarch’s account of the post-battle division of spoils, the library is framed as a modest prize for Paullus given the vast wealth that was available (silver and gold from the royal treasury) and the magnitude of his victory. Further augmenting the value of this library as a testament to Paullus’ character is the fact that Paullus did not acquire it for himself, but rather for the edification of his sons who fought with him at Pydna (and who happened to be planning his funeral games). The library was therefore a monument to Paullus’ commendable character traits as both a general and a father while also representing a very personal trophy from his greatest military achievement.

How do *Hecyra* and *Adelphoe* figure into this commemoration reconstruction? I propose that the Greek models for these *palliatae* were first brought to Rome in copies seized from Macedon’s royal library. There is no evidence that the Greek models for Terence’s *Adelphoe* and *Hecyra* were in circulation before the arrival of Macedon’s royal library in Rome.<sup>17</sup> While our sources provide no details about the library’s history leading up to its acquisition by Paullus, nor its contents, there are compelling reasons to suggest that the collection included Greek comedies by Apollodorus of Carystus and Menander of Athens — that is, scripts of the playwrights who wrote the Greek comedies on which Terence based his *Hecyra* and *Adelphoe*.

The library seized by Paullus was probably an inherited collection that the Antigonid court had maintained in Pella since the third century BCE (e.g. Irwin [1964] 71; Casson [2001] 65–6).<sup>18</sup> During the reign of Antigonus

17. The *Adelphoi* on which Plautus’ *Stichus* is based is different from the one used for Terence’s *Adelphoe*. See Martin (1976) 19 n. 4; De Melo (2013) 2. The fact that Terence incorporated into his *Adelphoe* a scene from Diphilus’ *Synaptheskontes* which was known to Plautus (see *Ad.* 6–11) ought not diminish the likelihood or significance of the primary source material for *Adelphoe* coming from Macedon’s royal library.

18. This is a conservative claim in that it assumes the Antigonids did not acquire any book

Gonatas (277–239 BCE), the royal court at Pella boasted a large and impressive group of imported intellectuals. This circle included philosophers (Persaeus of Citium, Philonides of Thebes, Bion of Borysthenes, Menedemus of Eretria), poets (Aratus of Soloi, Antagoras of Rhodes, Alexander of Aetolia, Timon of Phlius), historians (Hieronymus of Cardia), and scientists (Aristogenes of Knidos or Thasos).<sup>19</sup> Like the rival Macedonian-ruled intellectual centers of Alexandria, Pergamum, and Antioch, Pella must have maintained a substantial collection of books to entice and support such a large and distinguished body of scholars and poets. Since Pella remained the Macedonian capital for all the Antigonid successors that followed Antigonus Gonatas (Demetrius II, Antigonus III Doson, Philip V), Perseus would have eventually inherited and maintained his great grandfather's library until it was seized by Paullus in 168 BCE.

It is a near certainty that a portion of the Pella collection was comprised of dramatic texts. Following a model established as early as the fifth century, the kings of Macedon used dramatic performance to reinforce their political authority and to facilitate further conquest.<sup>20</sup> Theatres were strategically built in Macedonia's formal capital at Aigai, at its most important Zeus sanctuary in Dion, and in new cities founded by Macedonian royalty (e.g. Philippi, Demetrias).<sup>21</sup> Performers themselves were even entrusted with political authority to represent the interests of the Macedonian court.<sup>22</sup>

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collections from their predecessors, the Argead dynasty. Aristotle, for example, spent several years in Pella and nearby Mieza in the middle of the fourth century as a tutor to the young Alexander. His position that philosophers ought to consider a broad array of opinions (see *Eth. Nic.* 1.8, 1098b27–29 and Natali [2013] 98), his apparent ready access to a broad selection of dramatic verse, and the substantial book collection later assembled at the Lyceum all suggest a dependence on libraries. Access to a rich library may have been a factor in enticing Aristotle to come to Pella, where a broad collection might have supported him in composing several treatises he may have composed for Alexander while in residence there (e.g. *On Colonies*, *On Monarchy*). The location of the library in Pella is not known, but it has been suggested that it was housed in Building IV of the palace. See Lilibaki-Akamati et al. (2011) 61.

19. For extended discussion, see Tarn (1913) 223–56.

20. E.g. Csapo (2010) 172–8, 192; Le Guen (2014); Moloney (2014).

21. Giannou (2016) 51 suggests that the placement of the theatre at Aigai (relative to the palace and agora), signals its political importance and also points out (55) that Pella seems to have had a theatre by the time of Alexander's reign (see Plut. *Mor.* 1096b), though its location has not yet been discerned.

22. The actors Neoptolemus of Scyros (Dem. 5.6) and Aristodemus of Metapontum (Dem. 19.315–6), for example, both served as Philip II's ambassadors to Athens. The actor Thettalus was sent to Cardia as an envoy of Alexander to propose a political marriage (Plut. *Alex.* 10.2–3). For more, see Giannou (2016) 44.

Since theatrical production clearly played an important role in the Macedonian court, it stands to reason that dramatic texts must have been regularly sought for inclusion as part of Macedon's royal library. These scripts would have been especially crucial for the Antigonids as they fought to secure their dynasty's control in Macedonia at the end of the fourth century.<sup>23</sup>

The nature of the scholarly circle associated with Antigonus Gonatas also suggests that dramatic texts were an important part of Macedon's royal library. Antigonus' childhood tutor, Euphantus of Olynthus, was an accomplished tragedian in the competitive circuit (Diog. Laert. 2.110 and 141). When Antigonus assumed power, he hosted at least two dramatists at his court. Timon of Phlius, though typically known for his *Silloi*, wrote thirty comedies and sixty tragedies (Diog. Laert. 9.110). Alexander of Aetolia was included among the canonical seven tragedians known as the Tragic Pleiad (*Suda* α 1127).<sup>24</sup> Alexander was also known to have worked at the library in Alexandria, where he was commissioned to help edit the dramatic texts in that collection.<sup>25</sup> This raises the attractive possibility that Alexander worked in a similar capacity at Pella, editing the library's dramatic texts. In combination, these circumstances suggest that a healthy collection of plays were housed in the library of Pella during the third century BCE.<sup>26</sup>

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23. "The Antigonids continued Alexander's practice in the area of performing arts and held very costly private celebrations, local spectacles and contests, or Panhellenic festivals, even during their military campaigns; they established new festivals in areas under their political influence and they encouraged the participation of Macedonians in the Panhellenic festivals and in Dionysiac artists' Associations" (Giannou [2016] 81).
24. "The enthusiasm of Alexandrian scholars for creating catalogues of people and things considered the best and the greatest gave birth to the concept of the Tragic Pleiad. The Pleiades, the name of the seven bright stars in the Taurus constellation, was how they described the seven most outstanding tragedians of the Hellenistic period. They came 'second' only after the three great tragedians: Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides" (Kotlinska-Toma [2015] 51).
25. See Tzetz. *Prolegomena de comoedia Aristophanis*, Proemium 1, 1–7, Proemium 2, 1–4 (Koster [1975] 22–3, 31–2).
26. Consider also the high regard held for drama in Alexandria. Ptolemy III Euergetes willingly forfeited a fifteen-talent deposit so that he might keep the original official dramatic texts of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides for inclusion at his library (see Gal. Hipp. *Epid.* 3.4; Kühn [1828] 607–8). Comparable evidence for the inclusion of dramatic texts in the libraries of other Macedonian-ruled intellectual centres is lacking, but there are some telling correlations. In the Attalid capital at Pergamon, for example, the construction of a permanent theatre (ca. 225–200, Sear [2006] 347) and artistic representations of drama (e.g. *MNC*<sup>3</sup> nos. 1DT 10, 1DT 11, 2DM 1, 2DT 17, 2DV 6, 2DV 7, 2DV 9, and 2AV 18f [the last, an Attic type]) align closely with the initial organization of the city's library (mid third century, see Vitruvius. *De arch.* 7 p. 4). The surviving evidence from the Seleucid capital at Antioch is sparser, but a Hellenistic theatre has been posited

Among the dramatic texts in Macedon's royal library, those composed by the comic poets Menander of Athens and Apollodorus of Carystus were especially likely to have been included. Menander and Apollodorus were both prolific, multiple-prize winners at Athens' major dramatic festivals and were considered canonical authors of their genre.<sup>27</sup> The Macedonian court had always had a pointed interest in the popular dramatic poets that competed in Athens.<sup>28</sup> At the end of the fifth century, both Euripides and Agathon were in residence at the court of Arcesilaus.<sup>29</sup> Anaxandrides was involved with games put on by Philip II (*Suda* α 1982), possibly those held at Dion in 347 where the comic actor Satyrus, a repeated victor in Athens (M.-O. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2325F Col. III 35), also participated at Philip's invitation.<sup>30</sup> Alexander the Great apparently had personal copies of titles by Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides (Plut. *Alex.* 8.2–3) and promoted the works of the latter two tragedians to the Persians, Susianians, and Gedrosians (Plut. *Mor.* 328d). He seems to have known some Euripides by heart (Ath. 12.537d–e) and to have hosted a recitation for Antiphanes (Ath. 13.555a–b). Philemon and Menander also appear to have received invitations from Macedonian courts in the following generation (Plin. *HN* 7.111, Alciph. 4.18.5).<sup>31</sup> As popular, outstanding competitors on the Athenian

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(though not confirmed, see Förster [1897] 106 and Downey [1961] 72) and some artistic representations of drama (e.g. *MNC*<sup>3</sup> no. 2AV 11, an Attic type) likewise coincide with the establishment of the new capital city's library (third century [?], see *Suda* ε 3801 and Downey [1961] 94).

27. Menander composed ca. 108 comedies and won 8 victories (e.g. Gell. *NA* 17.4.4–6); Apollodorus composed 47 comedies and won 5 victories (*Suda* α 3404). For their canonical status, see Anon. *De com.* 3.53–4 (Koster [1975] 10) and *Can. com.* (Kroehnert [1897] 6 no. 4 tab. M, 12 no. 10 tab. C).
28. This interest extended to actors as well. Neoptolemus had already won the actor prize for tragedy in Athens' City Dionysia (M.-O. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2320 Col. II. 17) and Lenaia (M.-O. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2325H Col. II. 30) when he was commissioned by Philip to perform at a celebratory symposium for his daughter's wedding in 336 (the evening before Philip was assassinated; Diod. Sic. 16.92.3–4, Suet. *Calig.* 57.4). The tragic actors Athenodorus and Thetaltus and comic actor Lycon, each former prize winners in one or both of Athens' two major dramatic festivals (e.g. M.-O. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2318 Col. XI 1538; M.-O. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2318 Col. XI 1478 and Col. XII 1562; M.-O. *IG* II<sup>2</sup> 2325F Col. III 48) were later sought out by Alexander the Great to perform in theatrical productions associated with a homecoming celebration in Phoenicia in 331 BCE (Plut. *Alex.* 29.1–3, *Mor.* 334d–e) and at a wedding celebration in Susa in 324 BCE (Chares *FGrH* 125 F 4, = Ath. 12.538f–539a). See M.-O. 57, 66–7, 201, 219; Giannou (2016) 46–9, 62–3, 65. These references also include discussion of Satyrus, who is addressed in the text that follows.
29. See Ael. *VH* 13.4, Plut. *Mor.* 177a–b, 531d–e, 1095d, *Suda* ε 3695.
30. Dem. 19.192–5, Aeschin. 2.156–7, Diod. Sic. 16.55.
31. Several of these references were previously compiled by Nervegna (2013) 36 and Gi-

stage, Menander and Apollodorus would have certainly merited inclusion in Macedon's royal library.<sup>32</sup>

The third-century occupation of Attica by Antigonid garrisons offers another reason to suspect that the texts of Menander and Apollodorus were acquired for Macedon's royal library. After liberating Athens from Demetrius of Phaleron in 307 BCE, the Antigonids (Demetrius Poliorketes, Antigonus Gonatas, Demetrius II) were more or less in control of Attica, if not Athens itself, for the next 78 years. During this period, Antigonid garrisons occupied the fort at Piraeus from 295 to 229 (along with many other border forts) and the fort at Museion Hill, directly adjacent to the Theatre of Dionysus, from 295 to 287 and again from 262 to 255.<sup>33</sup> This stretch of Antigonid control was concurrent with the production periods of both Menander (ca. 321–292) and Apollodorus (ca. 300–250). Macedonian generals as early as Philip II are known to have used dramatic production as a means of entertaining troops (e.g. Csapo [2010] 192). It is reasonable to assume that Antigonid garrisons comprised part of the audience at Athenian theatrical productions from the late fourth to mid third century BCE. The fact that Antigonid soldiers—perhaps even Demetrius Poliorketes and Antigonus Gonatas themselves—may have witnessed the premier productions of new comedies by Menander and Apollodorus means there was obvious opportunity for the appreciation and subsequent acquisition of these particular poets' dramatic texts for inclusion in Pella's library, a library that Perseus would eventually inherit in 179 BCE.

After Aemilius Paullus seized the library from Perseus in 168 BCE, it went to Rome. There, it would have undoubtedly been the richest and most centralized source for dramatic texts in the city, as Isidore of Seville describes.<sup>34</sup> Certainly for the collection's curators, Scipio Aemilianus and Fabius Maximus (see Plut. *Aem.* 28.11 above), Macedon's royal library would

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annou (2016). Sositheus, another member of the Tragic Pleiad, seems to have competed in Athens (Diog. Laert. 7.5.173), and Nervegna (2019) 205 has recently asserted that "he was clearly active in Alexandria." See also Kotlinska-Toma (2015) 94. It is, however, unclear whether Sositheus cut his dramatic teeth in Athens before allegedly competing in Alexandria.

32. Note also that Attic-type dramatic figurines have been found throughout ancient Macedonia. See Chasapi-Christodoulou (1991–1992); *MMC*<sup>3</sup>; and *MNC*<sup>3</sup>.

33. On Antigonid Athens, see Habicht (1997) 67–97, 124–72.

34. The tradition of Terence's death by drowning put forward by Quintus Cosconius (see Suet. *Vita Ter.* 5), which indicates that he had travelled to Greece to find and adapt more plays of Menander, might suggest otherwise. This tradition, however, is highly suspect. Not only is it one of several differing accounts, but it also conveniently aligns Terence

have been their most readily available source of Greek comedies, offering new texts and a range of possibilities from which to choose for adaptation. This alone is sufficient reason to assume that Macedon's royal library would have provided the Greek source plays for any *palliatae* commissioned to be performed at games organized by Scipio Aemilianus and Fabius Maximus. In the case of Paullus' funeral games, the adaptation of plays from Macedon's royal library would have also contributed to the games' primary function: commemorating Paullus.<sup>35</sup>

The library, however powerful it was as a symbol of Paullus' conquest, would not have easily lent itself to a funeral game context as an impressive or practical trophy in its literal form. The only way to functionally include the library and convey its symbolism would have been to incorporate selected content from the collection that was appropriate for *ludi funebres*. Theatrical productions developed from scripts found in this library are the obvious solution. These performances would have had a synecdochial effect and projected the symbolism of the library in a medium that was appropriate, practical, and functional for the context, with drama becoming an increasingly expected complement to gladiator bouts in major public funerals (cf. the *ludi funebres* of T. Quinctius Flamininus in 174 BCE, Livy 41.28.11). For this to have worked, the organizers would have needed to emphasize and perhaps inflate the connection between *Hecyra*, *Adelphoe*, and the library. If Scipio Aemilianus and Fabius Maximus did not make the connection explicit in their eulogy, it may have also been reinforced by the

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with famous comic predecessors of the Greek tradition, such as Eupolis and Menander, who allegedly suffered similar fates (see Cic. *Att.* 6.1.8 and schol. *Ov. Ib.* 591).

35. Here it is important to acknowledge that Paullus' funeral was not the first attempt to stage Terence's *Hecyra*. The play had previously been adapted for production at the *Ludi Megalenses* in 165 BCE (*Hec.* didasc.), but the performance was halted because of competing spectacles (*Hec.* 1–5, 33–6). This need not detract from the likelihood that *Hecyra*'s Greek model was sourced from Macedon's royal library. Although the library was in the ownership of Scipio Aemilianus and Fabius Maximus, it was "probably made freely available by them to other readers, as the great libraries of Lucullus and others were in the next century" (Astin et al. [2003] 464). It was perhaps especially available to those who served Paullus on campaign. Sextus Julius Caesar, one of the aediles who sponsored the attempted production in 165 BCE (didasc.), served as a military tribune under Paullus during his campaigns in Liguria in 181 BCE (Livy 40.27.5–7). It would not be surprising if Sextus had later approached Paullus and his sons for political support through access to the resources available in Macedon's royal library. It is also noteworthy that Gnaeus Octavius, the admiral serving under Paullus to whom Perseus eventually surrendered, was the presiding consul in 165 BCE when the first performance of *Hecyra* was attempted.

games' heralds (*praecones*), official programs (*edicta munerum*), and pamphlets (*libelli munerari*).

The added step of adapting the plays from this collection would have further reinforced the motif of conquest. Like the exhibition of *spolia* in a Roman triumph, *palliatae* took foreign materials from their original context and prepared them to be consumed as Roman spectacle. Assuming the Greek models for *Hecyra* and *Adelphoe* were sourced from Macedon's royal library, their submission, as it were, to Roman will, via adaptation and display in Rome, would have represented in microcosm Paullus' conquest of Macedon and called to mind the grand triumph that followed.<sup>36</sup> Obviously the adaptation of Greek comedies for the Roman stage was not unique to Paullus' funeral games.<sup>37</sup> What would have distinguished the *palliatae* that had been adapted from Greek models found in Macedon's royal library is the manner in which these models were acquired. Whereas in most cases the manner of acquisition of Greek source plays for adaptation purposes may not have been known or relevant, the dramatic texts from Paullus' collection were unequivocally acquired by force and without the approval of its former owner.<sup>38</sup> With this understanding, the revision of Greek models sourced from Macedon's former royal library should therefore be considered not just an act of adaptation, but conspicuous appropriation.

The appropriation of Perseus' former possessions for the express purpose of celebrating Paullus was not without precedent. Paullus' victory monument at Delphi functioned in a similar way (see Livy 45.27.6–8, Plut. *Aem.* 28.4–5).<sup>39</sup> This monument, a work in progress by 168 BCE, was comprised of a massive square pillar of marble that was intended to hold a golden statue of Perseus. After the decisive battle, Paullus assumed control over its construction and repurposed it as a monument to his victory over Perseus. The pillar would ultimately end up supporting an equestrian statue of Paullus and a relief depicting the battle at Pydna. The monument

36. "Paullus' funeral allowed spectators to revisit scenes from his two triumphs, which recalled his three areas of foreign conquest, and to share his interest in Greek culture in performance" (Flower [2004] 335). Goldberg (2013) 18 also acknowledges the essence of a triumph at Paullus' funeral.

37. This is why we can not necessarily consider the fact that the plays were adapted from Greek originals to be a sort of pointed celebration of Paullus' philhellenism.

38. Before the arrival of Macedon's royal library, we might imagine that many Greek models were acquired as part of a process of the broad diffusion of theatrical scripts linked to the increasing professionalization of travelling guilds of performers throughout the Mediterranean, like the Artists of Dionysus.

39. See also Polyb. 30.10.1–2.

also included a telling inscription: *L. Aemilius L. f. imperator de rege Perse Macedonibusque cepet* (“Imperator Lucius Aemilius, son of Lucius, captured this from King Perseus and the Macedonians”). Gruen ([1992] 246) provides a useful summary of the nuanced message this monument would have projected:

When Paullus reached Delphi he saw a column or columns erected to hold the sculptured image of Perseus. The Roman might have ordered them destroyed or even left incomplete in order to symbolize the Macedonian defeat. Instead, he took a further and significant step, ordering that his own statue be carved and stationed on top of the column meant for Perseus. The symbolic import would, of course, be unmistakable. And lest anyone miss it, Paullus, philhellene though he was, had the monument inscribed with the notice of its capture — in Latin. Paullus’ conspicuous admiration for the Hellenic achievement went hand in hand with the message of Roman appropriation.

The adaptation of Greek plays from Perseus’ former library for performance at Paullus’ funeral games would have echoed the message sent by the Delphi monument. The monument and library —represented by Apollodorus’ *Hecyra* and Menander’s *Adelphoi*— were both highly personal symbols of Perseus that had been actively manipulated for the express purpose of commemorating his defeat at the hands of Paullus. In addition, the act of adapting these Greek comedies into Roman *palliatae* would have similarly projected a message of philhellenism underscored by Roman control (strongly emphasized in both cases by the use of Latin rather than Greek).

Consideration of *Hecyra* —especially against the cultural and historical backdrop of its performance context— challenges the long-held belief that *Adelphoe* was chosen for production at Paullus’ funeral games because of the character analogues it encouraged and the relevance of its themes. Paullus’ funeral surely emphasized above all else his conquest of Macedon — and no symbol could have communicated this more effectively than Macedon’s royal library. If the Greek models of *Hecyra* and *Adelphoe* were sourced from this library, as I have suggested, these *palliatae*, as metonymical representatives of the library, commemorated Paullus by fortifying his legacy as Macedon’s conquer.

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