Ennius’ *Annales*, which is preserved only in fragments, was hugely influential on Roman literature and culture. This book explores the genesis, in the ancient sources for Ennius’ epic and in modern scholarship, of the accounts of the *Annales* with which we operate today. A series of appendixes detail each source’s contribution to our record of the poem, and are used to consider how the interests and working methods of the principal sources shape the modern view of the poem and to re-examine the limits imposed and the possibilities offered by this ancient evidence. Dr Elliott challenges standard views of the poem, such as its use of time and the disposition of the gods within it. She argues that the manifest impact of the *Annales* on the collective Roman psyche results from its innovative promotion of a vision of Rome as the primary focus of the cosmos in all its aspects.

**Jackie Elliott** is an Assistant Professor in Classics at the University of Colorado at Boulder. She works primarily on Roman literary history and the interaction of the epic and historiographical traditions at Rome. She has received fellowships from the American Academy in Rome and the Loeb Foundation.
ENNIUS AND THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE

ANNALES

JACKIE ELLIOTT

University of Colorado at Boulder
For RLS:
In gratitude and grief
Contents

List of tables  page viii
List of abbreviations  x
Acknowledgements  xii

Introduction  1
1 Ennius and the annalistic tradition at Rome  18
2 The Vergilicentric sources and the question of the evidence: Ennius and the epic tradition of Greece and Rome  75
3 The pre-Vergilian sources  135
4 The Annales as historiography: Ennius and the invention of the Roman past  198
5 Imperium sine fine: the Annales and universal history  233
Epilogue  295

Appendices
1 Triadic structure and the organisation of the text according to established scholarship  298
2 The gods in the Annales  303
3 The organisation of the fragments: evidence and conjecture  308
4 The chronology of the sources  342
5 Fragments organised by source  348
Bibliography  559
Index  575
Tables

3.1 The pre-Vergilian sources

3.2 The etymological, lexicographical and grammatical sources for the *Annales* page 136

A1.1 Triadic structure and the organisation of the text according to established scholarship 145

A2.1 Fragments uncontroversially relating to divine intervention 299

A2.2 Fragments relating to Homerising gods without necessarily entailing direct divine intervention in the narrative 304

A3.1 Fragments attributed to a particular book by their source(s) 305

A3.2 Reasonable modern attributions to particular books 309

A3.3 Fragments we have no sound means of placing 324

A4.1 The pre-Vergilian sources for the *Annales* 330

A4.2 The post-Vergilian sources for the *Annales* 342

A5.1 Varro 345

A5.2 Rhetorica ad Herennium 350

A5.3 Cicero 363

A5.4 Bellum Hispaniense 365

A5.5 Seneca 398

A5.6 Pliny the Elder 400

A5.7 Quintilian 402

A5.8 Fronto 403

A5.9 Apuleius 407

A5.10 Gellius 412

A5.11 Festus 413

A5.12 Tertullian 428

A5.13 Fragmentum de Metris 445

A5.14 Sacerdos 446
## List of tables

| A5.15  | Atilius Fortunatianus | 448 |
| A5.16  | Nonius               | 451 |
| A5.17  | Donatus              | 461 |
| A5.18  | Ps.-Probus           | 463 |
| A5.19  | Ausonius             | 466 |
| A5.20  | Charisius            | 468 |
| A5.21  | Diomedes             | 474 |
| A5.22  | Augustine            | 478 |
| A5.23  | Servius              | 480 |
| A5.24  | Macrobius            | 491 |
| A5.25  | Ps.-Macrobius, Exc. Bob. | 499 |
| A5.26  | ‘Porphyrio’          | 501 |
| A5.27  | Consentius           | 504 |
| A5.28  | Lactantius Placidus  | 505 |
| A5.29  | Scholia Veronensis   | 506 |
| A5.30  | Priscian             | 507 |
| A5.31  | Scholia Bembina      | 521 |
| A5.32  | Cassiodorus          | 522 |
| A5.33  | De Ultimis Syllabis  | 523 |
| A5.34  | Isidore              | 524 |
| A5.35  | Servius Danielis     | 527 |
| A5.36  | Paulus               | 539 |
| A5.37  | Brevis Expositio     | 543 |
| A5.38  | ‘Donatian’ commentary on Terence | 544 |
| A5.39  | Scholia Bernensia    | 546 |
| A5.40  | Ps.-Acro             | 548 |
| A5.41  | Scholia to Persius   | 550 |
| A5.42  | Readers of Orosius   | 553 |
| A5.43  | Glossarium Philoxenum | 555 |
| A5.44  | Commenta Bernensia in Lucanum | 556 |
| A5.45  | G. Valla             | 557 |
| A5.46  | H. Columna           | 558 |
Abbreviations


c. Century

c. Approximate


CGL Loewe, G. *et al.* (eds.) (1888–1923) *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum* (7 vols.). Leipzig


List of abbreviations


R Ribbeck, O. (ed.) (1897–8), Scaecniae Romanorum poesis fragmenta. edn. 2. Leipzig


I undertook this project under the direction of Jim Zetzel, access to whose view of Roman literary history is possibly the single most intellectually formative experience I have had. In Spring 2004, he taught a seminar on Ennius, which was the greatest external impetus this project received and which provoked me to form the views that inform Chapter 1 in particular. I should say in his defence that I have no reason to think that he approves either of the proposals I make there or of any of the other hypotheses of this project. I admire and am grateful for the standard of scholarship he set for me at the outset of my studies, and I do not believe that this project could have been conceived without the stimulus that his model provided; but I am not under the illusion that I shall ever be able to meet such a standard, let alone that I come anywhere near to approaching it in this project.

The dissertation in which this project originates barely scratched the surface of the issues central to the project as it now stands: the question of how the sources for our fragments have directed their modern interpretation and the related issue of how we understand the function of genre in defining the enterprise that the Annales constituted. For the ability to develop those themes I am indebted to fellowships from the American Academy at Rome (2007–8) and from the Loeb Foundation (Fall 2008); to the National Endowment for the Humanities, which partially funded the American Academy fellowship; and to the Department of Classics and the College of Arts and Sciences at the University of Colorado at Boulder for allowing me to accept these fellowships in sequence. A grant from the University’s Graduate Council of Arts and Humanities funded travel to and from Rome in 2008, and a grant from the Dean’s Fund for Excellence allowed me to return to Rome in Summer 2010 to complete the catalogue of sources. These fellowships and grants gave me the time and the resources radically to overhaul an awkward and intellectually inchoate dissertation. I am besides this grateful to the University of Colorado’s Eugene M. Kayden Research Grant and to Columbia University’s Lodge Fund, which jointly bore the
cost of printing the Appendixes on the sources on pp. 348–558 of the present volume.

I have a keenly felt debt to those scholars on whose time I had no call but who graciously read the project for me at my petition and greatly promoted its development: Chris Kraus and Chris Pelling read the manuscript in its entirety, and their comments pushed me in productive directions, informed my further exploration and steered me away from pitfalls; Cambridge’s anonymous reader encouraged me to think through areas of weakness; Tony Woodman read the introduction and persuaded me to clarify many points; Sander Goldberg read Chapter 1 and offered conversation, advice and encouragement, for which I am most grateful; Bob Kaster read Chapter 2 on the Vergiliocentric sources and returned helpful comments, as did Alison Keith. On the basis of my offering at a conference in Manchester in 2007 and the paper that followed (Elliott 2010: 148–61), Tim Cornell and Michael Maas gave encouragement to my then incipient thoughts about the connection between universal history and Ennius’ Annales, emboldening me to pursue the idea in the context of the book. My senior colleagues in Latin Literature at Boulder, Peter Knox and Carole Newlands, giants in my admiration and my gratitude, not only read usefully but waited and coaxed kindly while I took an inordinately long time to formulate my views and present them to the press – as did Gareth Williams, whose unfailing faith in me has meant a great deal. None of them, needless to say, is responsible for those products of my indiscipline and stubbornness that remain. I am also grateful to the eight motivated, capable and industrious participants of my Spring 2011 seminar on universal history: Reina Callier, Jen Greenberg, Ellen Honeycutt, Emily Miller, Ian Oliver, Mitch Pentzer, Sarah Teets and Courtney Tobin. They challenged my ideas and engaged productively over vast quantities of difficult material, showing no signs of tiring over the course of the long CU semester. Their stimulating company and conversation provided real support to my articulation of the argument of Chapter 5.

The time I spent finalising this project has, for reasons not entirely unconnected with it, been difficult, and this book would not have been finished without the support of friends and family. The list of names I give here does nothing to speak the gratitude I owe them: first, my parents, Michael and Margaret Elliott, my strongest allies and defenders, and my sister, Julie, whose good sense and compassion are a model I can only hope to aspire to. There is a sense in which the dedication of this book properly belongs to them, since, without them, I would certainly not have managed it. Others too: Emma Satyamurti, Tyler Lansford (to whom the idea for this
volume's cover illustration is due) and Douglas Arbuthnot, animae quales neque candidiores/terra tulit, neque quis me sit devinctior alter (Hor. Serm. 1.5.41–2); Amanda Smith, who confounded my expectations of the limits on one person's ability to understand and communicate with another; Jenn Wert, Lisa Jo Landsberg and Tam Spielman, whose grace, patience and strength have shown me the way; Nancy Schmidt, my brave, enduring and beloved mother-in-law; Mike Johnson (amicus certus in re incerta cernitur; Enn. 351 J); Federica Ciccolella; Leah Haenselman; Rachel Doriese; and finally, my grandmother, Julie Ponetz, who continues to form and strengthen me long after her own life is over.

This book is dedicated to my companion of twelve years and eventual husband, who brought me from childhood to maturity and who, for as long as I let him, stood by me as though there were no other cause on this earth. Being witness and student to his discipline, imagination, competence and integrity as an individual and as an educator has been one of the profound blessings of my life. This dedication is by no means the return he would have wanted on the years we shared, neither is it the one I would have wished to make.