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ILLE REGIT DICTIS ANIMOS:
MODELS OF AUTHORITY IN VERGIL'S *AENEID*

By
KATHERINE SANBORN

A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN CLASSICS

SUPERVISED BY PROFESSOR MONICA R. GALE

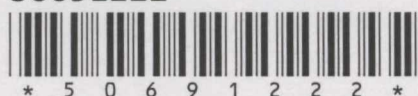
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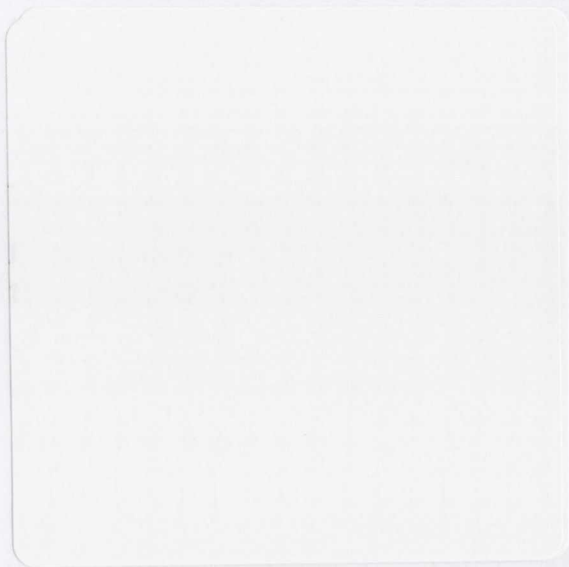
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SUMMARY

In this dissertation, I have aimed to develop a better understanding of authority itself and establish a framework for reading authority in Roman literature based on this understanding. I then applied this framework to the *Aeneid* in order to provide a new reading of the poem in which authority is a major element in the narrative and character development. Finally, I have sought to characterise both Aeneas' and Augustus' rule and implementation of dynastic succession as the result of the professionalisation of their unofficial authority. My research explores the various ways in which authority appears in the *Aeneid*. Certain words, situations, models, and metaphors indicate to the reader that a character's authority is being reinforced or diminished, and this process holds implications for the narrative progression. Several major themes which interact with or contribute to authority have emerged from my research, including memory, credibility, expertise, *pietas*, and *concordia*. Each of these works as a vehicle for authority in the *Aeneid* in either characterisation or the narrative.

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KLS
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INTRODUCTION

Galinsky (1996, 20) argues that authority is the “essential characteristic of [Augustus] rule”,¹ and he dedicates the entire first chapter of *Augustan Culture* to a discussion of *auctoritas* in Augustan politics and culture—including the arts and literature. Galinsky’s work on *auctoritas* has been especially influential on this dissertation, as my research explores the concept of Roman *auctoritas* as a central theme in the *Aeneid*. Although Vergil never uses the word *auctoritas* in the text (for one significant reason, it is not suited to dactylic hexameter),² he expresses *auctoritas* in the *Aeneid* through substitute terminology. For instance, he especially favours, among others, words such as *auctor*/*augere*/*augustus*, *pius*/*pietas*, *pater*/*parens*, *consilium*, *numen*, and *nomen*, which should often alert the audience to the presence of authority. I am more interested, however, in the even subtler expression of authority through metaphor and allusion, which I will explore throughout this dissertation. *Auctoritas* also pervades the text in terms of characterisation and the narrative, and I propose that much of the forward movement of the narrative depends upon issues of challenged or reinforced authority. A central argument in this dissertation is that Vergil often depicts positive power systems as being based on authority rather than violence or coercion,³ and I suggest that this reflects and reinforces the positive emphasis on authority in Augustan culture and politics of the Principate.

Power is a significant topic throughout Classics, in part because tracing the activity and movement of power is the means by which much of history is evaluated. Moreover, in recent scholarship authority has become an increasingly central focus, especially in Augustan culture.⁴ Few scholars, however, define clearly what they mean by ‘authority’, and often they use ‘authority’ in the modern sense (as synonymous with ‘power’) to describe several different manifestations of influence.⁵ Several studies have recognised the prominence of power and authority as underlying themes in the *Aeneid*. Feeney (1991, 152) explicitly states: “[t]he *Aeneid* is preoccupied with power before any other subject”. Nisbet (1999, 255) writes that one of Vergil’s aims in characterising Aeneas is to “confirm the legitimacy of Aeneas’ *imperium*” after the Fall of Troy, and he comments

¹ He later reinforces this (2012, 9, 70).

² This is noted also by Pomathios (1987), 158 and Katz (2014), 147.

³ Sandin (2000, 191): “*Auctoritas* is the positive antithesis of the absolute power of the king, which was abhorred by the Romans”.

⁴ Rosler (2005); Lobur (2008); Lowrie (2009); Takács (2009). I have recently become aware of the ERAMA project (Expressions et Représentations de l’Autorité dans les Mondes Anciens) based at ENS Lyon.

⁵ For modern definitions of authority, see below. Often it is those referring to *auctoritas* specifically who distinguish the terms. For modern definitions of authority, see below.

on the pains of Aeneas “growing in authority on his pilgrimage” (254). Pomathios (1987, 158) unduly avoids the topic of *auctoritas* altogether due to the absence of the term in the poem, and instead analyses instances of authority using other terms of power. Cairns (1989) also avoids a distinction between power and authority in his study of the nature of kingship in the *Aeneid*.⁶ Wyke (1994) and Syed (2005) focus especially on female power and agency (especially that of Dido) in the *Aeneid*.

There have been several recent studies on aspects of authority in the *Aeneid* specifically. For instance, Katz’s (2014) entry for *auctoritas* in the *Virgil Encyclopedia* recognises several expressions of authority in the *Aeneid*, despite the term’s absence in the poem. Sandin (2000), like Galinsky (1996), uses the statesman simile to illustrate the difference between *imperium* and *auctoritas*, which I discuss at greater length in Chapter 4. Schauer’s (2007) dissertation focuses on aspects of Aeneas’ leadership and takes a special interest in the allocation of power and authority; Schauer has also influenced my work because he is often careful to differentiate between power and authority, which I argue in Chapter 1 is of significant concern for this study. Mac Góráin (2014) connects authority within the *Aeneid* to Homer’s authoritative influence on Vergil, which demonstrates that the same elements at work in authority within the narrative are at work in the production of the text itself. Finally, Grebe (2004) finds models in the *Aeneid* for Augustus’ religious authority; this is useful for considering yet another authoritative aspect which Augustus appropriates into his role of emperor, thus contributing greatly to his authority and the power of the imperial office.

Although these scholars have touched upon issues of power and authority in the *Aeneid*, mine is to date the first comprehensive study of *auctoritas* in the *Aeneid*, especially regarding minor characters.⁷ This dissertation offers a new perspective on the text’s engagement with contemporary social and political themes in the late Republic and early Principate and seeks to understand the nature and functions of *auctoritas*.⁸ My research is comprised of three layers: first, I explore the presentation of *auctoritas* in the *Aeneid* and its contribution to characterisation and the narrative. Secondly, I evaluate the extent to which the nature of *auctoritas* in the *Aeneid* reflects *auctoritas* in the Principate. Thirdly, I address the shift in the conception, expression, and uses of *auctoritas* from the Republic to the Empire.

⁶ Evans (1992) is similarly concerned with the nature of kingship in the *Aeneid*.

⁷ See Dinter’s article (2005) on the (often-overlooked) significance of minor characters.

⁸ This is a similar approach to West’s (2002) application of his ‘Augustan Inventory’ (3-11) to the *Odes* of Horace.

Galinsky (1996, 12) recognises the potential strengths of the concept of authority on account of its elasticity—that is, it can be reshaped when it is reinforced, and as such is not limited to the political sphere. Because the nature and sources of authority are hard to pin down, it is harder to lose than *potestas* or *imperium*: legal powers can be contested or transferred and command can be stripped, but authority may be lost either dramatically all at once or very slowly over time. Augustus therefore prefers to connect himself with authority, as its endurance is better guaranteed;⁹ following years of political turmoil and fluctuation of power during the late Republic, endurance is clearly a valuable asset for a politician to possess. Grant (1946) uses coinage to argue that *auctoritas* is the key element which defines Augustan rule and distinguishes it from the Republican system. Wallace-Hadrill (1986, 73), however, argues that Augustus' coinage does not express the shift from *imperium* to *auctoritas*, but “a conception of imperial power in which the legal and suprallegal become inextricably intertwined”.¹⁰ Taking another perspective, Levick (1982, 107) argues that Augustus' coinage, rather than being propaganda directed from Augustus towards the people, is meant to appeal to Augustus himself, and later she writes (2010, 12) that his coinage reinforces the acceptance of his *auctoritas* by the people and Senate. Throughout this thesis, I will be considering *auctoritas* as an Augustan political phenomenon with regard to its shift in definition from the Republic to the early Empire.

The *Aeneid* picks up on contemporary issues of power and authority amidst the turbulence of war and its aftermath. Aeneas and Octavian are both liminal figures, especially in terms of their power and authority; at different points they are caught between public and private, divine and mortal, fatherhood and being a son themselves. Moreover, their influence, while legally tenuous, is socially supported: it is this dichotomy, I propose, which fosters the emergence of *auctoritas*. *Auctoritas* then helps to strengthen and enforce legal power (*potestas*) which maintain the everyday running of government.¹¹ The authority of the individual and the power of the government become so intertwined (thus, Wallace-Hadrill's comment above) that the individual must invent a new ‘unofficial’ office in which to exercise their authority, and in doing so, both Aeneas and Augustus make their offices inheritable. In the *Aeneid* and the Principate, we see the growth of *auctoritas* and the means by which it eventually transforms into institutional power.

⁹ Galinsky (1996, 18): “Augustus did not want to relinquish his powerful position in the state but wanted to continue it on an even more effective basis. Hence his preference of *auctoritas* to *potestas*.”

¹⁰ Last (1947), Chilver (1950), and Crook (1953) criticise the constitutional aspects of Grant's thesis.

¹¹ Galinsky (1996, 12) calls *potestates* ‘transactional powers’. On transactional leadership versus authority, see Syme (1939) and Millar (1977).

An emphasis on authority is not wholly the invention of Augustus: Alexander's *diadochoi*, responding rapidly to the power vacuum created by Alexander's death, establish their authority for the purposes of political succession. The civil war of Pompey and Caesar is largely a struggle for military and political *auctoritas*, as the *potestas* of their offices puts them on relatively equal ground. After his victory, Caesar absorbs several offices and thus the power attached to them, believing that the consolidation creates a stronger central government—however, it becomes too strong for the comfort of the men who will assassinate him in March of 44 BCE. In mid-November of 44 BCE, Cicero shares with his brother his misgivings about Octavian's political future: *quamquam animi satis, auctoritatis parum est* ('although he has plenty of courage, he is lacking authority', *Att.* 16.14.2).¹² On 20 December 44 BCE, however, Cicero claims publicly to the Senate that the army follows Octavian on account of his *auctoritas* (*Phil.* 3.38), and in late February of 43 BCE he repeats this, adding that the army also followed Octavian for his *imperium* and *nomen* (11.20). Regardless of Cicero's wider political scheming against Antony, it seems his reasoning is sound, and indeed the army's backing lends Octavian political authority in Rome.¹³

Chapter outline

I begin my larger study by defining *auctoritas* and addressing the ambiguities within and implications of the modern conception of authority. In order to define my terminology, I distinguish between the words 'power' and 'authority'. I also trace the meaning of *auctoritas* as it changes throughout the Roman period, especially in the transition from the late Republic to the Empire—though I only touch upon the advent of Christianity. Because *auctoritas* is an amorphous concept which bleeds through several spheres and takes many shapes, I consider it most useful to present my definition as a series of attributes and expressions. Several consistencies emerge in exploring the dynamics behind *auctoritas*/authority, and these features provide the foundation upon which my larger arguments rest.

Arendt's work on the centrality of memory in *auctoritas* has informed my definition, and it is also the basis of Chapter Two. This chapter expands upon my points about memory from my definition and applies them specifically to Roman culture and the *Aeneid*. I analyse notions of the centrality of memory and the past as key for creating, recognising, and reinforcing *auctoritas*. I discuss foundation stories in the narrative and also issues of memory and materiality especially arising from monuments and objects. I suggest that the authority of the past lends authority to the person who invokes it. Time, memory, and history have been significant topics of research

¹² Lobur (2008, 64) writes that Octavian possessed "social *consensus* that could coalesce into *auctoritas*".

¹³ Julius Caesar claimed that his army gave him more authority (*Civ.* 3.57); for the military as an authoritative body, see: *Caes. Gal.* 1.31, 2.4.3, 8.46.4.

recently in Classics,¹⁴ and especially within Latin poetry, as demonstrated by Galinsky's recent project, *Memoria Romana*, based at the University of Texas. This project has produced several interesting publications on the significance of memory in the *Aeneid*.¹⁵ The approach Seider (2013) takes in his contribution to this project is particularly useful for my study because he presents the dynamics of memory as a process, which complements my own approach to authority.

Chapter Three, which studies the formation of a speaker's credibility (and thus authority) builds upon the ideas of memory in Chapter Two. I explore the speakers' reputations, the claims they make about themselves or their stories, and possible references to the earlier, authoritative sources they use—all of which depend upon their audiences' past experiences and memories. I organise this chapter into several parts: first, I look at the authority of the historical poet and the role played by patronage.¹⁶ Next, I discuss the relationship between the poet, the primary narrator, and the Muses.¹⁷ In so doing, I compare the dynamics of this triad to those found in Homer, Apollonius, and Ennius. This brings me to my analyses of episodes in the *Aeneid* in which a speaker's authority is created, reinforced, questioned, or diminished. Additionally, I discuss the issue of inconsistency and unreliability in speech; my approach is influenced largely by O'Hara's (1990, 2007) work on inconsistency in prophecy, which argues that it is more beneficial to treat inconsistency as a narratological choice with a variety of implications than as pointing to the poem's incompleteness. Additionally, Conte's (2007, 169) assertion that the synthesis of opposites in Vergil leads to a dynamic quality of *pathos* – that contradictions “are internal to the text and form part of an artistic strategy” – mirrors my own approach to the text. Indeed, we will see that the theory and practice of *auctoritas* are contradictory in various scenes, and these are scenes which inspire *pathos* in the audience.

The question of poets and prophets as having professional authority leads us into Chapter Four on the authority gained from profession and expertise. This chapter proposes that an expert's credibility is based on both personal reputation and professional skill, insofar as it is not possessed by non-professionals. There is growing interest in the topic of professional authority, especially during the Principate, when Augustus encourages the professionalisation of many trades.¹⁸ To demonstrate the significance of professional authority in the *Aeneid*, I discuss Plato's use of professionals as a metaphor for the political authority of leaders. I suggest that Plato's metaphor is adopted so as to express political authority through the imagery of charioteers, pilots, farmers, and

¹⁴ Gowing (2005); Purves (2010); Kennedy (2013).

¹⁵ Especially Raymond's dissertation and Barchiesi's collection of Sather lectures (forthcoming).

¹⁶ Gold (1987); White (1993).

¹⁷ Especially Spentzou and Fowler's edited volume (2002).

¹⁸ Barton (1994b) on the scientific profession, the rhetoric of manuals, and authority; Wallace-Hadrill (1997, 2005, 2008); König and Woolf (forthcoming, 2014); Stewart's upcoming project on profession and travel.

physicians in the *Aeneid*.¹⁹ Wilhelm (1982, 1983-4) and Cairns (1989) have connected expertise and leadership in the *Aeneid*, and, more recently, Wickkiser (2005) addresses the theme of the ‘healer of state’ in Roman political imagery.²⁰ This chapter also observes a parallel between the appropriation of professional roles by Aeneas and his family members and the professionalisation of authority by Augustus. For this, I look at *curae* (duties) as non-legalistic yet influential roles which contribute to Augustus’ authority: the more themes and titles, the more roles he and the family are seen to serve in the state.²¹ Through his victories in the civil wars and especially Actium, Augustus demonstrates his ‘extraordinary “saving” powers’ as *cura* (guardian) of the state,²² and this role largely constitutes the maintenance of his peacetime authority.

Severy (2003) argues that the changing status of the family is a defining characteristic of the shift to imperial rule, and in the fifth chapter, I discuss ways in which the functions of Aeneas’ family dynamics are potentially reflective of the imperial family. I analyse the roles each member plays within the family and the expressions of authority within this structure: for instance, *pietas* between parent and child or *concordia* in marriages. I especially consider Lee’s (1979) treatment of piety between fathers and sons, and I expand upon this to include authority and piety between mothers and children.²³ In addition, Saller (1994) touches upon the relationship between authority, piety and reciprocation within the family, which I develop and use to analyse several key episodes of the *Aeneid*. I also look at the functions of authority in marriages in the *Aeneid*; to do this, I consider the Roman conventions of marriage and the legal dynamics exercised therein.²⁴ I push the issue of marriage further and consider the authority of the marital unit, and I evaluate this authority as expressed by *concordia* in marriages.

Whereas Chapter Four discusses the professional as Plato’s metaphor for authority, Chapter Five explores the family as Aristotle’s metaphor for political authority. In these last two chapters, I propose that Vergil literalises the political metaphors of professionals and the family in order to demonstrate the authority (or lack thereof) of certain characters. In this dissertation, I hope to show that both Aeneas and Augustus consolidate their personal *auctoritas* into a sort of political office which can be transferred dynastically.

¹⁹ Brock (2013) emphasises the use of profession in Greek political imagery.

²⁰ Nelson-Hawkins’s (2006) dissertation on healing in Latin poetry will be published as a monograph.

²¹ Mannsperger (1974), 941; Galinsky (1996), 39.

²² Wallace-Hadrill (1993), 15.

²³ Dixon (1988, 1992); Brazouski (1991) on Amata’s rights; Augoustakis (2010); McAuley (2014). Galinsky (2012, 9) writes that Octavian’s mother held maternal *auctoritas* over him.

²⁴ My discussions concerning marriage are informed especially by Treggiari (1979, 1984).

Book 1 of the *Aeneid* introduces the epic's themes of power and authority largely in two key scenes: Juno's interaction with Aeolus and the storm. Some of the themes include hierarchy, subordination, violence, *pietas*, divine and human power, and leadership: these are the themes which constitute much of my larger study.

Following the proem, we open with Juno, who is remembering the Trojan War and trying to keep the Trojans from Italy (1.12-38). Seeing that the Trojans are making progress, Juno wonders why Fate prevents her from achieving her own ends:

quippe vetor fatis. Pallasne exurere classem
Argivom atque ipsos potuit submergere ponto,
unius ob noxam et furias Aiakis Oilei?
ipsa, Iovis rapidum iaculata e nubibus ignem,
disiecitque rates evertitque aequora ventis,
illum expirantem transfixo pectore flammam
turbine corripuit scopuloque infixit acuto.
ast ego, quae divom incedo regina, Iovisque
et soror et coniunx, una cum gente tot annos
bella gero! et quisquam numen Iunonis adoret
praeterea, aut supplex aris imponet honorem?

(1.39-49)

I am, of course, blocked by the fates. Why was Pallas able to burn the Argive fleet and drown the men in the sea, for the injury of one man and madness of Ajax, son of Oileus?²⁵ Hurling the swift fire of Jove from the clouds herself, she scattered the ships and overturned the sea with winds. She seized him in a whirlwind, sighing out flames from his pierced heart, and she skewered him on a jagged rock. But I, who walks as queen of the gods, both the sister and bride of Jupiter, I wage war on a single clan for so many years! And after this, will anyone worship the divine power of Juno, or as a suppliant place a sacrifice on my altars?

Juno's annoyance that Minerva used Jupiter's lightning bolts is central here; clearly, Jupiter had allowed Minerva to use them, just as Zeus allows Athena to use his aegis in the *Iliad* (2.445-9, 5.733-42), which is even more powerful than his lightning bolts (21.400-1). Zeus later uses the aegis himself to authorise a victory for the Trojans on behalf of Apollo (17.593-6), and Athena then transfers the aegis Achilles to authorise and ensure his military victory (18.203-6).²⁶ This constant alternation between Trojan and Greek victory with the aid of the aegis may indicate the

²⁵ Hardie (1986, 179) discusses models for the image of Ajax here.

²⁶ The connection between the aegis and military victory is depicted in art: Alexander wears it in the Alexander Mosaic to represent his military victory, and thus authority (ca. 100 BCE, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli, 10020). Further, the Blacas Cameo shows Augustus wearing the aegis as a token of his military authority (14-20 BCE, British Museum, GR 1867.5-7.484, Gems 3577).

absence of a divine plan in its usage, infusing the bearer with its power.²⁷ That the aegis does not determine or necessarily execute divine plans may parallel the reason Minerva is allowed to use the lightning bolts to her own ends in the *Aeneid*—her use of the lightning bolts does not change the greater Fate, only the fate of individuals, who have no role in the outcome of Aeneas' campaign.

We are also given insight into Juno's frustration that despite her status of being both sister and wife (*soror et coniunx*) to Jupiter, she experiences such a lack of agency; clearly, she believes that this double-relationship should give her double the influence, when in reality, she has less than Minerva, who is only a daughter of Jupiter. Although Juno has the divine desire to destroy the Trojans, she does not have the power or authorisation to enact her will. This recalls a similar scene in the *Iliad*, in which Hera responds to Zeus' remarks about her treating the Greeks as her own children:

πῶς δὲ ἔγωγ', ἣ φημι θεάων ἔμμεν ἀρίστη,
ἀμφοτέρων γενεῇ τε καὶ οὖνεκα σὴ παράκοιτις
κέκλημαι, σὺ δὲ πᾶσι μετ' ἀθανάτοισιν ἀνάσσεις,
οὐκ ὄφελον Τρώεσσι κοτεσσαμένη κακὰ ράψαι; (18.364-7)

How could I stop, the greatest of the goddesses, because I am simultaneously your wife and sister, and you are the king of all the gods - I was bound to cause trouble for the Trojans in my anger.

Hera defends her actions by referring to herself as Zeus' sister and wife, which is the reason (οὖνεκα) that she is the leader of the goddesses. In both scenes, Juno/Hera positions herself as Jupiter's/Zeus' female counterpart, thus suggesting that she is not bound by the same rules as the other gods. Because she is related to Jupiter in two ways, she feels that she is doubly-entitled to autonomy and also unlimited power and authority over others.

Juno's final concern in this section is over the future of her divine power, status, and worship (*honorem*). Carthage, which holds great promise for being a major centre of worship for Juno, is threatened by any success of her most hated enemies, the Trojans. In order to ensure the Trojans' destruction and thus the survival and growth of her own cult, Juno seeks out Aeolus, the attendant of the winds. Our first picture of him is as follows:

hic vasto rex Aeolus antro
luctantes ventos tempestatesque sonoras
imperio premit ac vinclis et carcere frenat.
illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis
circum claustra fremunt; celsa sedet Aeolus arce
sceptrum tenens, mollitque animos et temperat iras.
non faciat, maria ac terras caelumque profundum
quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras.
sed pater omnipotens speluncis abdidit atris,
hoc metuens, molemque et montis insuper altos

²⁷ Thanks to Bethany Flanders, who pointed this out in conversation.

imposuit, regemque dedit, qui foedere certo
et premere et laxas sciret dare iussus habenas. (1.52-63)

In this vast cave King Aeolus suppresses the writhing winds and resounding tempests with command and bridles them with fetters and prison. Indignant they howl with a great rumbling of the mountain around their bars. Aeolus sits in his high citadel holding his sceptre, and he soothes their spirits and tempers their anger. If he does not, they would surely carry off with them the seas and lands and boundless heaven quickly and sweep through the skies. But the all-knowing father, fearing this, hid them in black caves, and he placed a mass of mountains high on top of them and he installed a king, who would know (by fixed agreement) to tighten the reins and to let them fall slack.

Here, we see control by several methods of violence (*imperium, vinclos, carcer, claustra*) and subjugation by force (*premit, frenat, abdidit, imposuit*) in order to keep the wild winds (*luctantes, sonoras, indignantes, iras*), under control. This control, as Hardie argues, becomes more meaningful when read against the tradition of the Gigantomachy. Hardie (1986, 92) suggests that “the potential destructiveness of the winds” should be read against the myth of the Titans and Giants in Hesiod (*Theog.* 729-34) and also in Lucretius (93, *DRN* 1. 277-9). Vergil combines the mythical elements relating to hierarchy and violence with those of the natural world. The result, Hardie (93) explains, is that “Lucretius describes actual violence in the physical world; Virgil imagines potential cosmic catastrophe in violation of a providential world-order”. The ‘providence’ in question has its origin from Jupiter (*hoc metuens*), who (especially considering the implications of Gigantomachy) has a vested interest in the control of the winds, as they threaten the natural order (*maria* and *terras*) and heaven itself (*caelum*).

Thus, just below Jupiter in the hierarchy concerning the winds is Aeolus. Aeolus is called *rex* and holds tokens of kingship (*sceptra* and *arce*). The verb *scio* here suggests that Aeolus has a level of knowledge regarding his domain, but only has as much autonomy as *foedus certum* will allow. Aeolus therefore seems to be a kind of client king installed by Jupiter. The knowledge and the *foedus* involved in his appointment are again expressed through the imagery of reins (*habenae*), which alludes to the chariot of state, positing the winds as Aeolus’ subjects.²⁸ Most telling, however, is that *frenat* is followed not by *habenae* as one might expect but *vinculis* and *carcere*, thereby casting him more as a prison guard than an autonomous king.

As I discuss in Chapter 4, the charioteer requires autonomy, foresight, and knowledge in order to make quick and informed decisions, but because Aeolus lacks these qualities, he also lacks the ability to make decisions outside of the terms of the *foedus* (and thus exercise authority beyond power) – this incompetence is precisely what Juno counts on:

ad quem tum Iuno supplex his vocibus usa est:

²⁸ I discuss the ‘chariot of state’ further in Chapter 4.

‘Aeole, namque tibi divom pater atque hominum rex
et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento,
gens inimica mihi Tyrrhenum navigat aequor,
Ilium in Italiam portans victosque Penates:
incute vim ventis submersasque obrue puppes,
aut age diversos et dissiice corpora ponto.’ (1.64-70)

Juno used these words for him now, as suppliant: ‘Aeolus, the father of gods and king of men granted you the calming and raising of the waves with wind. A race hostile to me sails the Tyrrhenian Sea, carrying Troy and their conquered Penates to Italy. Strike violence into the winds and bury the sunken ships, or drive them all over and scatter their bodies on the sea.

Clearly, Juno’s request here goes beyond Aeolus’ expertise or the terms of the *foedus*: otherwise, his foresight and knowledge of the winds’ violence and the limitations of his domain would have prevented him from carrying out her request. Though Juno is called *supplex*, thus artificially casting her as being subordinate to Aeolus, and though she refers to his divinely-willed right to rule the winds granted by Jupiter (*pater, rex*), Juno instructs Aeolus exactly what to do here by using imperatives (*incute, obrue, age, dissiice*); she even pretends to give him a choice (*aut*).

Juno follows her request (instructions) with the promise to arrange a marriage for Aeolus in exchange for his help in creating the storm:

‘sunt mihi bis septem praestanti corpore nymphae,
quarum quae forma pulcherrima Deiopea,
conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo,
omnis ut tecum meritis pro talibus annos
exigat, et pulchra faciat te prole parentem.’ (1.71-5)

I have fourteen nymphs lovely in body, of whom Deiopea is the most beautiful in form. I will pronounce her joined to you in lasting marriage and yours alone, so that for such favours she will live out her remaining years with you, and she will make you the parent of a beautiful stock.

Here, Juno emphasises aspects of an enduring marriage and strong descendants. Williams (1983, 125) writes of this passage:

[Juno] expresses the basic ideals of Roman marriage—the eternal nature of the bond, the control of the husband, the devotion and obedience of the wife, and the purpose of the marriage [children]. This passage anticipates an important theme in the epic—the concept of the ideal Roman marriage.

Thus, the ideal Roman marriage is one in which the husband holds authority through being able to both preserve his family through control and obedience and increase it with children. It is interesting that Juno uses marriage and paternity in a transaction; perhaps as the goddess of marriage and childbirth, this is her currency. Moreover, because it is within her divine realm, Juno would be most capable of authorising and accomplishing this. Indeed, her own authority to

arrange the marriage seems to be predicated upon her guardianship of the nymphs in question (*sunt mihi nymphae*).²⁹

Lee (1979, 32) argues that Aeolus is clearly most swayed by “a promise of paternity” to use his power on Juno’s behalf, though Aeolus claims that he would obey Juno’s command anyway on account of the divine hierarchy:

Aeolus haec contra: ‘tuus, o regina, quid optes
explorare labor; mihi iussa capessere fas est.
tu mihi, quodcumque hoc regni, tu sceptrā Iovemque
concilias, tu das epulis accumbere divom,
nimborumque facis tempestatumque potentem.’ (1.76-80)

Aeolus responded this: ‘Oh queen, your job is to figure out what you wish; it is correct for me to take on your orders immediately. You procure for me all of this kingdom, such as it is, and the sceptre and Jove’s patronage, you allow me to recline at the feasts of the gods, and you make me powerful over the clouds and storms.’

These lines are pure groveling – especially his remark that he must enact Juno’s will (*mihi iussa capessere fas est*). He attributes his power (*potentem*) and divine rewards (*epulis accumbere divom*) to Juno, who seems to have secured the position for him (*concilias, das*). More important for the narrative, however, is that Aeolus’ obedience to Juno (along with her bribe) gives her the ability to enact her will.

Issues with the nature and extent of Aeolus’ power and authority are further brought to light when his actions draw the attention of Neptune. Neptune notices that there is a storm at sea and, immediately recognising that Juno is the source, takes steps to stop it (1.124-130). First, he scatters the winds by addressing them directly:

‘tantane vos generis tenuit fiducia vestri?
iam caelum terramque meo sine numine, venti,
miscere, et tantas audetis tollere moles?
quos ego—sed motos praestat componere fluctus.
post mihi non simili poena commissa luetis.
maturate fugam, regique haec dicite vestro:
non illi imperium pelagi saevumque tridentem,
sed mihi sorte datum. tenet ille immania saxa,
vestras, Eure, domos; illa se iactet in aula
Aeolus, et clauso ventorum carcere regnet.’ (1.132-41)

‘Did such great confidence in your birth take hold of you? Now, winds, you dare to mix the sky and land without my divine will and to cause troubles? You whom I – but it is more important to settle the turbulent waves. After this you will pay me for your crimes with a different punishment. Hurry your flight, and tell this to your king: power of the sea and the fierce trident were given by lot to me, not to him. He has his big rocks – your

²⁹ See Chapter 5 for discussion of the mother’s *ius* in arranging marriages.

homes, East Wind. Let Aeolus show off in that court, and let him rule in the closed-off prison of the winds.'

Neptune asserts that his command over the sea (*imperium pelagi*) trumps Aeolus' power over the winds (*ventorum*). Again, Aeolus is cast as a jailor (*carcere*) rather than a proper king, who has the power to subdue the winds but does not have the authority to use them to affect any other realm. Indeed, Neptune lets the winds know that he has the ability to punish them (*luctis*) for their insubordination (*ardetis*), even though they are supposed to answer to Aeolus.

As Neptune calms the storm off the coast of Libya, the narrator compares him to a statesman who is able to calm a mob:

sic ait, et dicto citius tumida aequora placat,
collectasque fugat nubes, solemque reducit.
Cymothoe simul et Triton adnexus acuto
detrudunt navis scopulo; levat ipse tridenti;
et vastas aperit syrtis, et temperat aequor,
atque rotis summas levibus perlabitur undas.
ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est
seditio, saevitque animis ignobile volgus,
iamque faces et saxa volant— furor arma ministrat;
tum, pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
conspexere, silent, arrectisque auribus adstant;
ille regit dictis animos, et pectora mulcet.
sic cunctus pelagi cecidit fragor, aequora postquam
prospiciens genitor caeloque invectus aperto
flectit equos, curruque volans dat lora secundo. (1.142-56)

Thus he spoke, and quicker than a word he soothes the swollen seas, and he chases off the gathered clouds, and he brings back the sunlight. Together Cymothoe and Triton, leaning into it, pry the ships off the sharp rock. Neptune himself lifts with his trident; and he opens up the vast sandbars and calms the sea, and he glides across the surface of the waves on his weightless wheels.

Just as a large crowd often gathers in discord, the common mob rages in their souls— and now torches and stones fly past, and fury provides the weapons. But if they see a serious man with piety and authority, they fall silent and stand still with open ears. He rules their minds with words, and he soothes their hearts.

Thus all the crashing of the sea has fallen, after gazing upon the sea and carried over the open sky the father turns his horses, and flying away he gives free reins to his following chariot.

This is one of the more striking instances of oratorical authority in the *Aeneid* and is also the first in the narrative.³⁰ The sight of the respected statesman (*gravem...virum*) is enough to calm the mob initially, as they immediately recognise his authority as a pious and virtuous man (*pietate... ac meritis*). Because he is already an authoritative figure, the statesman does not have to establish his authority; rather, he exercises it in order to achieve peace. This simile is presumably modelled on Hesiod's description of the ideal king, who is able to 'appease with gentle words'

³⁰ See Chapter 3 on the authority of speakers.

(μαλακοῖσι παραιφάμενοι ἐπέεσσιν, *Theog.* 90). Similarly, the *Aeneid* narrator emphasises the power of speech on the mob's mental faculties (*regit dictis animos*), which parallels Neptune's trident. The statesman thus calms his audience by appealing to their intellect (*animus* as opposed to *pectus*), which especially contrasts with the *seditio* and physical *furor* of the mob. The statesman's authority is expressed through his skill as an orator, and the crowd recognises his authority by ceasing to be a mob and becoming his audience. Further, by calming this crowd, the statesman's authority is reinforced and perhaps even increased. Although Vergil does not use the word *auctoritas* here (or anywhere in the *Aeneid*), this simile is a clear model of authority, which, in this instance, is largely based on skilled oratory.

The narrator suggests that Neptune knows when to give his fleet free rein (155-6), which as we saw is the main requirement for Aeolus' job (62-63). It is clear, however, that unlike Aeolus, Neptune is autonomous in that he has no external *foedus* for rule; his right was decided *sorte* ('by lot', 39) at the same time that Jupiter and Pluto received their realms. So, Neptune can make sufficiently informed decisions using his knowledge of his domain, his foresight, his autonomy, and thus his authority.

Hardie (1986, 190) writes of the significance of the storm scene:

Within the broader context this storm is merely a passing assault on the established order of the world, but within the narrower frame of the history of Aeneas its function is to mark the extreme state of helplessness from which Aeneas must advance; the chaos from which eventually emerges the *cosmos* of the Roman *imperium*.

Thus, we have seen that the storm scene in Book 1 introduces us to many of the themes of power and authority that are crucial for understanding both the *Aeneid* and contemporary issues in Rome. At this point, we will begin our larger study by establishing an understanding of the precise nature of authority and power, which are so often confused.

CHAPTER 1

DEFINING *AUCTORITAS*

Authority is a phenomenon which transcends culture and epoch and permeates nearly every level of human interaction, yet it is a term which evades a common definition and thus common understanding. Political theorists have recognised for nearly a century the need to define and distinguish clearly our terminology for various expressions of power.¹ Schmitt (1931, 137) blames the rise of dictatorships on a lack of tradition and consistency within modern political theory and the resultant confusion about the nature of authority. Similarly, Arendt (1961, 91) groups the failures of the twentieth century as a ‘crisis of authority’ and calls for definition and distinction across our language for power. Habermas (1976) partly attributes his concept of society’s ‘legitimation crisis’ to the postmodernists’ refusal to agree on a consistent and common understanding of authority and legitimacy. Thus, we see not only the value of but societal need for a coherent (and cohesive) understanding of the nature and functions of authority.

In order to agree on a common definition for ‘authority’, we must first understand its ancient derivation, *auctoritas*; this strategy, however, poses the further problem of comprehending in our modern language this ancient idea and institution. Richardson (1991, 1) expresses the concern that inherited language is problematic for understanding ancient concepts, arguing that “the after-life of these words and symbols tends to obscure the nature of the contexts from which they originated”. Modern English has conflated once-distinguishable Latin terms such as *auctoritas*, *potestas*, *imperium*, *potentia*, *vis*, *ius*, and *numen* into the now-overlapping words ‘authority’, ‘power’, ‘command’, ‘control’, ‘influence’, ‘right’, and, as we will see in some cases, ‘violence’; therefore it is difficult to express in English the significant conceptual differences necessary to understand and distinguish between their Roman counterparts.² For instance, what we would call ‘power’ is distinct from *auctoritas* to the Romans. The modern relationship between ‘power’ and ‘authority’ is, on the most basic level, synonymy, while on the most complex level, authority suggests a sense of ‘legitimising power’.³

¹ Even earlier, Kierkegaard’s *On Authority and Revelation* (1848) addresses the confusion over definitions for ‘authority’ and ‘(il)legitimacy’, and the negative effect this confusion has on society.

² Arendt (1973), 112.

³ Or the legitimate *uses* of power (Weber).

A logical starting point in defining *auctoritas* is to consider its etymology. *Auctoritas* derives from the same root as *augere* and αὐξάνειν, ‘to increase’, which comes from the Proto-Indo-European root *h₂ewg-, expressing increase, enlargement, and escalation.⁴ Galinsky (1996, 14, 28-9) characterises Roman *auctoritas* as an ongoing process of gaining more merit and increasing effort,⁵ which is reflected in the sense of its prehistoric root. Additionally, he writes that both private and public *auctoritas* must be validated constantly, “thus living up to its derivation from *augere*, which means to increase or augment, or simply, to keep working at it” (2012, 9). Arendt (1961, 104-5) argues that because Roman *auctoritas* stems from the founding of Rome, *auctoritas* is gained through preserving and increasing (hence, *augere*) Rome.⁶ The title *Augustus*, which the Senate bestows upon Octavian on January 16, 27 BCE, also shares its root with *augere* and *auctoritas*. Octavian originally wishes to be called *Romulus* as a second founder of Rome, but Munatius Plancus proposes the more original title of *Augustus* to avoid the ‘Romulus’ title’s problematic association with kingship (Dio Cass. 53.16.6-8; Suet. *Aug.* 7); however, the title *Augustus* is also connected to Romulus through Ennius, who writes that Romulus founded the city *augusto augurio* (literally ‘by august augury’, Suet. *Aug.* 7).⁷ Magdelain (1947, 56) suggests that the title *Augustus* symbolises the permanence of Octavian’s *auctoritas* and in this respect serves as protection from his enemies.

This first chapter establishes the definition of *auctoritas* which forms the basis of my thesis. I begin by considering modern (largely post-war) conceptions of authority in order to examine the degree of overlap between our ‘authority’ and Roman *auctoritas*. I then trace the changing nature of *auctoritas* from its earliest usage, while providing a historical context for my study through the shift from Republican *imperium* to Augustan *auctoritas*.

1. Defining Modern Authority

Hayden’s (2001, 23-4) summary of (Western, post-Greco-Roman) authority is separated into and analysed across three periods: premodern, modern, and postmodern. The ‘premodern’ definition begins after the advent of Christianity, and so is centred on the Church, in that all (and only) authority, laws, and institutions sanctioned by the church are considered legitimate, and the eternal law of God is “the ultimate source of authority”. The ‘modern’ conception of authority is based on reason and freedom: Hobbes and Locke consider political authority as a social contract between the artificial institution of the state and the consent of willing and rational citizens, with the

⁴ Quiles and López-Menclero (2011), 417. See Watkins (1995, 8-9, 138) on Indo-European terminology for authority and obligation. The Greek verb αὐξάνειν is especially concerned with increasing power and influence.

⁵ See also: Freudenburg (2014, 108).

⁶ See Chapter 2 on Arendt and foundation stories.

⁷ Freyburger-Galland (1992), 241-5; Levick (2010), 72; Galinsky (2012), 66-7.

authority of the state being constrained by the natural rights to life, liberty, and property. Kant further emphasises the role of freedom in authority, in that “[f]reedom becomes possible when humans subject themselves to the authority of the moral law derived from reason”.⁸ Finally, ‘postmodernism’ tends toward rebuffing “attempts to ground authority on any absolute foundation”, including religion and reason; however, from justifying authority absolutely comes ‘the obligation to obey’. So we see that the fundamental core of postmodernism invites the realisation of Habermas’ ‘legitimation crisis’ and its root in authority. Hayden concludes his analysis by reiterating:

The postmodern crisis of authority’s delegitimation stems from the loss of certitude these norms have suffered throughout the course of the twentieth century, plagued by authoritarianism, genocide, and technological destruction of the environment.

Bourdieu (1991, 192) maintains that authority exists only to the extent that it is perceived and not performed: “It is a power which exists because the person who submits to it believes that it exists.” Thus, the power to originate and perpetuate authority is held completely within the subject and is inherently consensual on the part of the subject. Weber (1978, 215), stressing the condition that authority be legitimate, puts forth a model containing three types of legitimate authority: the traditional, the rational-legal, and the charismatic. He holds that rational-legal authority is the most important kind for modern society, and argues that “an order is legitimate if people believe it to be legitimate”.⁹ Sartre (1960), in contrast, posits that a sovereign’s power is not based on the acceptance of his rule, and any acceptance of his power is an expression of the subject’s internalisation of their powerlessness to refuse the ruler’s will. Similarly, Sennett (1980, 18) maintains that a population does not need to recognise authority as legitimate, but that authority is based on “assurance, superior judgement, the ability to impose discipline, the capacity to inspire fear”.¹⁰ He continues to argue that humans are innately “attracted to strong figures we do not believe to be legitimate” (26) and then identifies the three ‘bonds of rejection’, with which he illustrates that any attempt to *reject* authority is really an attempt to *reinforce* authority because rejection causes those with authority to assert their authority more aggressively (25-40).

However, elements of illegitimacy, coercion through fear, and violence contradict many definitions of authority (including my own here); modern theorists widely distinguish authority from coercion in that authority is recognised willingly and so is legitimate power, while coercion is

⁸ Hayden (2001), 23.

⁹ Kelly (2008), 104. Weber (1978) also considered making democracy a fourth aspect, which “officially based its legitimacy upon the will of the ruled” (205).

¹⁰ This also stands in opposition to Habermas’s (1976) theory that a population must recognise authority.

predicated on force, making it an illegitimate form of power.¹¹ Rather, Arendt (1961, 92) argues that “where force is used, authority has failed,” with ‘force’ including coercion and persuasion as well as violence. In his essay inspired by Montaigne’s conception of *le fondement mystique de leur autorité*,¹² Derrida (1992, 234) alerts us to the confusion inherent in the German word *Gewalt*, often translated into English as ‘violence’; in German, however, *Gewalt* also signifies ‘legitimate power’, ‘justified authority’, and ‘public force’. Arendt (1993, 93) and Wolff (1970, 4) are careful to distinguish authority from power and violence as a process in which the person with authority is trusted by the auditor.

Instead of attempting to solve the problem of confused language, Foucault (1980) intentionally combines the concepts of power and authority further, proposing that authority is a political strategy which exercises power. He argues that the nature of authority is dependent upon the ever-evolving uses and contexts of power, thereby causing any understanding of authority to be based on perpetually unstable variables. Foucault, however, also insists that power requires a degree of freedom in its subjects, and that the exercise of power does not imply a removal of freedom but still aims to influence what the choice will be—at its core, these are the elements of a general definition for authority. The characteristic unwillingness of postmodernists to define (and thus, as we have seen, ‘obey’) authority absolutely is perhaps in part the result of twentieth century authoritarian oppression. Arendt (1961, 97-8), however, proposes that even the concepts of ‘totalitarian’ and ‘authoritarian’ are now confused, which indicates “an older confusion of authority with tyranny and legitimate power with violence”. The source of authority and thus legitimacy in an authoritarian government is external and superior to its own power, “against which their power can be checked.” Arendt refers to Rome as an example of authoritarian government because its authority stems from its foundation as a source of legitimation that is continually external and superior to its current form.

Especially in the years following World War II, we see that fascism and authoritarianism are explicitly influential on theories of power and authority; indeed, in ‘The Subject and Power’, Foucault (2000, 328) identifies fascism and Stalinism as “the two ‘diseases of power’” which fueled contemporary discussions on the nature of power. In a study intended to identify the traits and tendencies of the fascist personality, Adorno et al. (1950) employ the idea of Freudian regression to infantile psycho-social development through the argument that fear of authority is passed down from parents to children on the ‘F scale’, along with attitudes like racism, sexism, hostility to the Other, and superstition. The key to this argument is that people who score high on the F scale are more inclined to possess fascist beliefs and attitudes, with two categories being ‘authoritarian submission’ (the need to conform to authority) and ‘authoritarian aggression’ (the impulse to

¹¹ Weber (1978); Triepel (1938); Arendt (1961); Lincoln (1994), 4-6; Foucault (2000), 121; Agamben (2005), 85.

¹² Montaigne (1962), 1203.

punish people who reject conformity). It has been noted that in postmodern discourse, 'authority' has gained such a negative connotation that even discussion of it has the tendency to inspire hostility,¹³ thus making problematic Weldon's (1946, 1) claim that political philosophy itself aims to find out how the state claims to exercise authority over its citizens.

Engels, too, points in his essay *On Authority* (1872) to the negative connotation of 'authority' in that it is associated with the imposition of one's will upon that of another. He even criticises revolutionary anarchists for being self-contradictory insofar as revolution itself is an act of authority because it is the subordination of one group by another; he argues that without authority and levels of subordination, industry would break down. He also recognises the necessity of absolute authority onboard a ship in a crisis, when the survival of the crew depends upon instant obedience of all to the will of the individual.¹⁴ In a similar vein, Bakunin's essay *What is Authority?* (1882) characterises authority as a natural phenomenon and emphasises the authority of professionals—examples are made of the bootmaker, architect, and engineer. Bakunin argues that authority is not imposed by professionals; rather, they are listened to freely with respect merited by their knowledge, experience, and skill. Bakunin maintains that the advised retains the right to censure and consult several authorities because no authority is infallible and to have absolute faith in any person would be fatal to reason, liberty, and success. The potential fallibility of an authority figure demonstrates the need for constant reinforcement and reciprocation between parties.

Further, Bakunin insists that there is no fixed or constant authority, but a system of the continual exchange of mutual, temporary, and voluntary authority and subordination. Bakunin's emphases on freedom, respect, reason, and mutuality are more consistent with a positive idea of authority, resembling Arendt's definition. Arendt (1961, 106) maintains that authority implies an obedience within which freedom is retained—a relationship not found in Greek writing.¹⁵ Along with this she (1961, 100) adds another element to the crisis of authority:

Liberalism...measures a process of receding freedom, and conservatism measures a process of receding authority; both call the expected end-result totalitarianism...we are in fact confronted with a simultaneous recession of both freedom and authority in the modern world.

If, as I will argue of Roman *auctoritas*, authority requires freedom of will to operate legitimately, this 'recession' of freedom and authority inevitably gives way to violence and illegitimate power—that it, totalitarianism rather than authoritarianism, as it is often mistakenly called by postmodern

¹³ Simon (1980), 13.

¹⁴ See Chapter 4 on the authority of the professional.

¹⁵ She argues (111) that Plato's conception of the afterlife reflects the element of freedom in authority because humans are given a choice as to how they act on Earth.

theorists. So, while Adorno and Bakunin hold that authority and freedom are incompatible, Engels and Sartre reconcile the two by demonstrating that there is freedom in the recognition of authority. Arendt drives this further by arguing that freedom is a necessary element of authority, and that if they both fail, we are left with violence and thus illegitimate power.

2. Cicero on *auctoritas*

In order to understand the meaning of *auctoritas* in the Republic period, I turn now to Cicero. *Auctoritas* in Cicero's texts is broad and multi-faceted; the nature of *auctoritas* varies greatly across his texts, and understanding the function of each usage is dependent upon context. For instance, Cicero might address the institutional *auctoritas* of the Senate with the intention to flatter the senators, while at other times he refers to *auctoritas* in its original legal sense in the Twelve Tables as the right of ownership (*Off.* 1.37),¹⁶ or even to explain the philosophical concept of order (*Marc.* 1.3). While *auctoritas* more generally suggests the right to authorise, in Cicero's writing it takes on additional definitions, such as advice (*Deiot.* 10.29; *Har.* 21.45; *Amic.* 44; *Off.* 1.91) and credibility (*Catil.* 40). The extent and variety of his use of *auctoritas* reflects the versatility and range of the term itself and can give us further insight into the conception of *auctoritas* in the late Republic. Here, I give an overview of the appearance and function of *auctoritas* in Cicero's texts.

A crucial element in the creation and recognition of *auctoritas* is the process of it being built-up over time and inherited: I will continue to refer to this as the accumulative element. It makes sense, then, that Cicero often comments on the authority of fathers and male guardians, the elderly, and especially ancestors. The influence of the ancestors and early Rome is so embedded in later Republican politics and culture that it is often difficult to separate tradition from invention. Explaining the nature of *auctoritas*, Pöschl (1962, 8) writes, "[a]ccording to the Roman point of view it is possible to create something perfect only by building on to something else which has itself grown slowly in the course of history." In this sense, then, tradition is a necessary element of invention. The entrenchment of ancient custom in Roman society points to an institutionalised reverence of the past, and this reverence has been consolidated over time into *auctoritas*. Thus, Cicero's conception of *auctoritas* seems to rely heavily on custom, precedent, and pattern. Even when referring to an individual's personal *auctoritas*, he is really identifying their pattern of behaviour as trustworthy. This is especially useful when he is establishing the credibility of an individual during a legal case or legislative debate.

Because many of his speeches are court cases, Cicero often appeals to the *auctoritas* of judges and the court, from explaining the nature of justice itself (*Off.* 2.34) to warning that cases of bribery will compromise the authority of the court (*Ver.* 1.1.3). Further, he points out that lawyers

¹⁶ Further on the right of ownership: *Caecin.* 19.54, 26.74; *Top.* 4.23; *Har.* 7.14.

themselves hold authority as advisors (*consilium* and *auctoritas* are synonymous at *Q. Rosc.* 18), based on their expert skill (*peritus*, *Q. Rosc.* 18).¹⁷ In the *Pro Murena*, Cicero opposes any consideration of Cato's authority in the courtroom because he argues that it will obscure the details of the case and manipulate the final judgment (28, 32, 38). In the *Pro Sulla*, however, Cicero appeals to his own authority and argues that it is sufficient defense for Sulla's acquittal (2).¹⁸ Goodwin (2001, 39) argues that as a *novus homo*, Cicero tries "to avoid the authority of established leaders" while asserting his own authority as a statesman. In this sense, his *auctoritas* is based on his *dignitas* (*Inv.* 2.166), in that to acquit Sulla (and thus trust Cicero's *auctoritas* in the case) is to show public respect for Cicero.¹⁹ Like *auctoritas*, *dignitas* is acquired and grows, and thus it is a matter of one's *auctoritas* as opposed to that of another (or of the Senate).²⁰

The authority of testimony is based on the credibility of the testifier, and, from credible sources, testimony becomes evidence (*Font.* 7, 10, 11; *Q. Rosc.* 16); just as Mommsen considers authority as existing in the space between command and advice, Cicero places authority in-between a decision and evidence (*Dom.* 28; *Har.* 23). Evidence, especially written evidence such as wills and correspondence, also holds authority within the court because it demonstrates a pattern and suggests historicity, thus lending credibility.²¹ The authority of people, institutions, and evidence is built on regularity, or presumed continued regularity in cases of precedent. Legal precedent is thus also based on historicity, the authority of which Cicero reinforces when he argues that Fonteius followed the example of those before him, just as those after will follow the example of Fonteius (*Font.* 1). Though perhaps simplistic logic, this demonstrates the significance of precedent and custom in Roman law.²²

In addition to the legal sphere, Cicero writes extensively on authority in politics. He differentiates between the types of power attached to various political offices, of which priests, augurs, the pontifex, consuls,²³ pro-consuls, quaestors, and senators (and the Senate itself) hold *auctoritas*. He argues that leaders ought to have *consilium* and *auctoritas*, both of which stem from their political knowledge (*De Rep.* 1.3). In rare instances, he describes the interaction of power between offices; for example, he writes that tribunicial *vis* is granted by the *auctoritas* and *auxilium* ('promotion' and 'assistance'; also derives from *augere*) of the consul (*Mur.* 38). Additionally, Cicero's role in the debate over the *lex Manilia* reveals an interesting relationship between his own

¹⁷ On the authority of lawyers (advocates), see: May (1988), and Berry (1996), 293-4; Steel (2001), 66-7.

¹⁸ See: Kennedy (1972), 100-1; May (1988), 78; Berry (1996); Goodwin (2001), 40-4.

¹⁹ Goodwin (2001), 44.

²⁰ Baldson (1979, 18) defines *auctoritas* as *dignitas* "become dynamic."

²¹ *Q.* 1.2.3.11; *Arc.* 4.9; *Sul.* 14; *Quint.* 23; *Q. Rosc.* 2; *Ver.* 1.1.33, 1.1.56; *Dom.* 2.

²² Canovan (1992), 221: "Like international conventions, laws derive their authority simply from the public commitments that give rise to them."

²³ *Vat.* 7.16; *Planc.* 20; *Sul.* 29; *Rab. Perd.* 8; *Pis.* 4; *Mur.* 38.

power and authority: as a newly-appointed praetor, Cicero has the *potestas* to address the people at the rostrum (*Man.* 24), but his main intention for giving the speech in favour of the law is to gain *auctoritas*, which he reveals by explicitly denying it in his closing remarks (69-71).

Regarding specifically military matters, Cicero claims that a general should possess four qualities: military knowledge, valour, authority, and good fortune (*scientia rei militaris, virtus, auctoritas, felicitas, Man.* 10). Steel (2001, 133-4) points out that despite sharing qualities with *virtus, auctoritas* is made a distinct category here because it refers to Pompey's international reputation, which precedes the *virtus* of his command and actions. Further, she argues (134) that *auctoritas* is distinct from military knowledge because *auctoritas* is not dependent upon *imperium*, as military success is. Cicero also writes that authority enables one to conduct wars and military command, and that a general should have personal authority because the opinions of enemies and allies are crucial. He points out that considering Pompey's accomplishments during the Third Mithridatic War were based on his authority alone, Pompey should accomplish even more when his authority is complemented by *imperium* and the army (*Man.* 15). In the example of Pompey, we see the importance of a general's credibility and record in international relations.

We find a further source of political authority not from practice but theory: Cicero writes that he is persuaded by the *nobilitas* and *auctoritas* of philosophers (*Sen.* 77), especially Plato and the Peripatetics, because although they did not hold office, they studied political theory thoroughly enough to be authoritative.²⁴ The character of Atticus asks Cicero if he follows the authority of philosophers without developing his own opinion, assuming that Cicero is a Skeptic (*Rep.* 1.36; *ND* 1.10). Cicero answers that because the issues are so important (that is, strengthening the foundation of the republic, establishing forces, and providing for the population), he must avoid arguments which have not been carefully examined and considered. Thus, Cicero develops (and in a sense legitimises) his ideal political system based on the ideas of the philosophers: a threefold constitution with consuls acting as the regal power holding *potestas*, the Senate as the aristocratic power holding *auctoritas*, and the popular assemblies and tribunate as the democratic power holding *libertas* (*Rep.* 1.69, 2.57).²⁵ Each branch checks and limits the influence of the other two branches, which is achieved through the interaction of the different forms of power: *potestas, auctoritas*, and *libertas*.

Cicero also writes extensively on the *auctoritas* of the Senate, even going so far as to refer to the authority of the Senate house as a building due the perceived monumentality of both its architecture and function (*Marc.* 3.10).²⁶ Cicero explains that the authority of the Senate is confirmed because they are law-makers, and by statute, senators have been elected previously into

²⁴ Zetzel (1994), 109 n. 12.2.

²⁵ Although, as Wood (1988, 163) points out, the Gracchi reforms and schism between the Optimates and Populares have complicated the system.

²⁶ See Chapter 2 on monumentality and architecture.

magistracies (*Rep.* 3.27-8).²⁷ Logically, then, if they have been elected previously, they have been approved by the people already. So, while the authority of the Senate is based on ancient custom (and is at this point embedded in the Roman culture, *Sest.* 65), the individual senators' authority stems from having been elected officials entrusted with *potestas* by the people. The senators carry the right to authorise and ratify laws as an exercise of (rather than the source of) their *auctoritas*; thus, the *auctoritas* of the Senate also carries elements of *potestas* and *libertas*. Even before they are ratified, however, laws must be worded in such a way that they carry *auctoritas*; certain laws (found at *Rep.* 2.19-22) are composed with language that is not as archaic as in the Twelve Tables yet more antiquated than the language of the common people (2.18). Although the language must be accessible to the citizens, the reference to early Rome here serves to attach authority to the laws by making them seem as if they are traditional like the language in which they are written.

Cicero seems especially ready to refer to the Senate's struggle in retaining their authority. For instance, Cicero argues that the tribunate, created to counteract the consular *imperium* (2.58) during the debt crisis and subsequent secession of 493 BCE, diminished (*diminuerere*, 2.59) the *potentia* and *auctoritas* of the Senate.²⁸ By using their wisdom and own property to help the people, however, the senators' private authority flourishes, which, in turn, re-establishes their public authority (2.59). As with courts and judges, Cicero argues that the Senate loses their *auctoritas* when they become corrupt, and he accuses them of 'selling' their authority (*Pis.* 7, 21, 24, 27; *Mil.* 6.14). Although he claims that he wishes to restore *auctoritas* to the Senate (*Leg. Agr.* 1.27), he was himself accused of destroying the Senate's authority when they recalled him from exile (*Dom.* 2).

Cicero's use of *auctoritas* in his texts encompasses a variety of definitions and contexts. He appeals to or opposes authority according to the requirements of his argument, which becomes apparent when studying the inconsistencies in his identification of authority across individual cases. However, Cicero's protean use of an already ambiguous term need not be problematic; rather, we might see his true aims through his manipulation of the presentation, identification, and perception of authority. Here, I discussed the constitution of authority, especially the element of accumulation, across a range of spheres: legal, political, military, and philosophical. I also addressed the relation of *auctoritas* to *potestas* and *libertas*, and the nature of public and private authority.

²⁷ However, this dynamic only works if the Senate is free from corruption.

²⁸ Zetzel (1994, 217 n. 59.2) argues that *potentia* carries a negative connotation, as it suggests an imbalance of power.

3. Modern Conceptions of Roman *auctoritas*

Next, we move onto modern analyses of *auctoritas* in the Republic and the Principate. Although Grant (1949, 99) suggests that *auctoritas* can only be defined negatively (that is, expressing what it is *not*), I aim to develop a positive definition. Berger (1953, 386-9) defines *auctoritas* generally as a moral rather than legal power rooted in the prestige of an individual who commands obedience and respect from a group by virtue of their amassed personal credibility. In Rome, there are several subtypes of *auctoritas*, including that of the people (*populus*), of the emperor (*princeps*), of the Senate (*senatus, patres*)²⁹ and specific political offices (*praefectus*, etc.), of a father and guardian (*pater, tutor*),³⁰ of authors (*veteres*),³¹ and of certain laws as well as judges and the law in general.

Scholars claim that authority is originally a Roman concept as shown by Dio Cassius' transliteration of the Latin *auctoritas* into αὐκτώριτας (55.3.4) and his subsequent comment on the untranslatability of the word *auctoritas* into Greek: ἐλληνίσαι γὰρ αὐτὸ καθάπαξ ἀδύνατόν ἐστι ('it is impossible to translate *auctoritas* into Greek completely.', 55.3.5).³² I agree with Agamben's (2005, 75) translation of καθάπαξ in its sense of 'once and for all' and as modifying ἐλληνίσαι instead of ἀδύνατόν; these decisions show that the Greeks indeed held a notion of authority, but had several words specifying different types of authority depending on individual contexts.³³ Further, Rosler (2005, 88-90) argues that Aristotle expresses the concept of political authority extensively, and objects to interpretations which require that concept "be conveyed by a single word or expression." So, although the Greeks understood authority in various forms, perhaps the unification of a singular concept of *auctoritas* is of Roman invention.³⁴

As discussed above, Cicero writes of the balance between the people and the Senate: *cum potestas in populo auctoritas in senatu sit* ('power lies with the people, authority with the Senate', *de Leg.* 3.28). Of this dynamic, Syme (1939, 152) argues: "[t]here were two principles of authority, in theory working in harmony, the *libertas* of the People and the *auctoritas* of the Senate." Schmitt (1928, 109) adds that the people also hold *imperium*, which expresses the 'executive power of command' held by magistrates in the city (*domi*) and also by non-magistrates operating outside the city (*imperium militiae*).³⁵ In the Republic, military *imperium* is seen to compromise the *auctoritas* of the Senate and the *libertas* of the people, and thus the military stays outside the boundaries of the

²⁹ Syme (1939), 153: *auctoritas* of the Senate was held specifically by the majority party.

³⁰ See Chapter 5.

³¹ See Chapter 3.

³² Heinze (1925), 56; Arendt (1961), 104. See Freyburger-Galland's (1992) discussion on the passage.

³³ Instead of Freyburger-Galland's (1992, 240) translation: "il est absolument impossible de traduire ce mot en grec", we might render it: "it is impossible to translate this into Greek *absolutely*."

³⁴ Crook (1953, 11 n. 5) writes: "it required a host of Greek words to capture the varying significances of *auctoritas*, and sometimes only a transliteration would do."

³⁵ Heinze (1938), 6, 21-2; Galinsky (2012), 71.

pomerium. During Augustus' rule, *imperium* comes to have a sense of 'a state power' in addition to the specific command of a magistrate.³⁶ Octavian comes to power through the *auctoritas* of others because he has none of his own (Syme 1939, 134, 142): Julius Caesar and Cicero especially back him politically (*Att.* 16.8.1, 16.14.2). From 43 BCE, Octavian gains both *imperium* through legal responsibilities and military command and *potestas* on account of his magistracies,³⁷ and these roles and offices act as the foundation for building his *auctoritas*.

Levick (2010, 71) writes that Octavian's *auctoritas* was made legitimate (in his own provinces, at least) on the basis of his military power (*imperium*). Thus, by the time Octavian declares war on Antony, he has *auctoritas* and an army (Syme 1939, 278). The public revelation of the Donations of Alexandria takes away credibility from Antony in Rome, and within a 'zero-sum game' like the dynamics of the disintegrating triumvirate, this lost credibility transfers to Octavian, who uncovers the details of Antony's will (Dio Cass. 50.3.5, Plut. *Ant.* 58f.). After the Actian War, Octavian becomes censor with Agrippa and directs the Senate by advising some to leave of their own will, though never removing anyone himself (Dio Cass. 52.42.1-4); this is consistent with Mommsen's (1969, 3:1034) explanation that *auctoritas* falls in the area between advice and command. As Levick (2010, 74) writes: "A *princeps* did not exercise official authority to get his way but relied on the influence, *auctoritas*, that his previous achievements had won him." Both Levick (2010, 71, 74) and Syme (1939, 3, 322) claim that Augustus ruled by *potentia* rather than *auctoritas*. *Potentia*, however, negatively connotes aggression,³⁸ while *auctoritas* "is a word loaded with favourable associations and it proclaims the approval of the person who uses it for the form of power that it represents, so it is no wonder that Augustus applied it to his own position."³⁹ Syme (1939, 523) goes so far as to say that *auctoritas* is also a form of *potentia*, while Levick (74) qualifies *potentia* as the authoritarian version of *auctoritas*.⁴⁰

Tacitus writes that there were two opinions about Augustus following his death: first, that he took control of the government during a time in which there was no room for law, that he became sole ruler as a *remedium* for the nation in discord, that he takes the title *princeps* rather than king or dictator, and that his *imperium* was limited only by the ocean and distant rivers (Tac. *Ann.* 1.9).⁴¹ The other side argues that he had been motivated by *cupiditas dominandi* from the beginning, and they criticise that he was young and a private citizen when he raised his army (Tac. *Ann.* 1.10).

³⁶ See Richardson (1991 and 2008) and Laird (1999) for discussions of the different aspects of *imperium*.

³⁷ Brunt and Moore (1967), 40.

³⁸ The sense of *potentia* even changes in Christian writing, like Aquinas' *De Potentia Dei* (1265-6), to express the omnipotence of God.

³⁹ Levick (2010), 13. Cf. Syme (1939), 322, 519.

⁴⁰ However, as we have seen, the postmodern (postwar) concept of 'authority' carries a negative connotation as it is connected with authoritarianism.

⁴¹ Similarly, Vergil writes that Jove ensures that Caesar's *imperium* is limited by Oceanus (*Aen.* 1.286-7).

Augustus, however, considers this latter criticism an achievement, and he begins his *Res Gestae* by celebrating how at only 19 years old, on his own initiative and with his own money he raised an army (*privato consilio et privata impensa*, RG 1). Linderski (1993, 48) writes that “the shadow of the past provided legitimacy for the victor in the Roman Revolution, and for that reason the elusive form of the principate was also its substance,” while Agamben (2005, 82) identifies the principate as “not a magistracy, but an extreme form of *auctoritas*.”

We find in Tacitus a potentially significant but overlooked element which might explain why the elusive nature of the principate’s power was not detrimental to its success: that few were old enough to have experienced the Republic, and so did not know fully the mechanics of the old government (*Ann.* 1.3). Augustus effectively translated the power he gained from the civil wars into a continuous cycle of *auctoritas* and accumulation of various Republican offices which would eventually become inheritable through a line of succession.

As a constantly dynamic process, authority is by nature an incomplete state, and so it requires another action or force to exist. Magdelain (1990, 685-6) writes that *auctoritas* is not sufficient in itself, but rather it implies an action which *auctoritas* validates, and power to which it grants legitimacy, making *auctoritas* not the end but the means to an end which needs another action to actively complete. This action is often the process of reciprocity, in which *auctoritas* is recognised and reinforced by an external party or audience. Galinsky (1996, 28) points out that *auctoritas* “requires the initiative of people other than the *princeps*,” in that the princeps (or anyone who holds authority) is by definition “only the guarantor and approver.” He further emphasises the importance of reciprocity in *auctoritas*, in that *auctoritas* exists only as long as society continues to recognise it (20, 28-9). Agamben (2005, 79) argues that in law, *auctoritas* “is a power that suspends or reactivates law, but is not formally in force as law”; that is, *auctoritas* and law can have a reciprocal relationship in which each reinforces the other, but *auctoritas* alone is not a legal capacity. Further, Gunderson (2000, 7), Lowrie (2009, 279f.), and Galinsky (2012, 70-1) argue for the performative nature of *auctoritas*, suggesting the need for an audience and for a reciprocal relationship between the ruler and subject.⁴² Thus, a major element of creating, recognising, and maintaining *auctoritas* is reciprocity, whereas *potestas* is conferred or assumed.⁴³

Within this reciprocal process which authority requires, Rosler (2005, 140-4) calls the roles of the subject (especially as a group) political obligation and duty, which complement and uphold authority. The former explains the voluntary origin of consenting to political authority, while the latter explains the method by which the subject relates to the authoritative body. Politically, then,

⁴² This is opposed to the ‘static’ nature of *potestas* (Galinsky, 2012, 70). Also see Žižek (2005, 130) on modern authority as performative.

⁴³ In the following chapters, I will explore this more specifically as between the past and present; monuments and viewers; the poet, patron, and audience; the professional and the non-skilled client; and parents and children.

auctoritas is reciprocated in that the Senate or emperor expresses *auctoritas* only as long as the *libertas* and *potestas* of the *populi* allow: that is, if the people no longer recognise the *auctoritas* of a body or leader, the latter's influence is lost. Although the body or individual loses its authority, however, it may still have official power (*potestas* or *imperium*) from holding political office.⁴⁴

Agamben (2005, 79) finds the key to understanding the relationship between *auctoritas* and *potestas/imperium* in the case when *potestas* is suspended. For instance, in 211 BCE when Hannibal approaches Rome, the Senate decrees by virtue of their *auctoritas* that all former dictators, consuls, and censors would have their *imperium* restored until the enemy withdrew (Livy 26.10.9).⁴⁵ Further, when Rome is without a consul or magistrate, the *patres auctores* elect an *interrex* to ensure a continuity of power in order to prevent civil wars and protect the city. During this time, laws are suspended, there are no magistrates or Senate meetings, and the *patres* name the *interrex*, who in turn names his own successor.⁴⁶ Finally, in the case of *hostis indicatio*, a public enemy is declared, and he is deprived of his legal status.⁴⁷ Agamben (2005, 86) argues that *auctoritas* can only be asserted actively (i.e. in an official capacity) when *potestas* or *imperium* is suspended—otherwise, it remains a perceived, passive state.

Postmodernism emphasises the concept of authority as biopolitical: that is, it is entrenched in the individual, which is a view also shared by several scholars of Roman authority.⁴⁸ Heinze (1925, 356=1960, 50) argues that magistracy is an established office, which the individual occupies and provides the source of his power, whereas *auctoritas* originates from, is limited to, and dies with the individual.⁴⁹ As I argue, however, others can appropriate the *auctoritas* of an individual posthumously and thus enhance both parties' authority, in a sense making *auctoritas* heritable.

French and Raven (1959, 165) also find a connection between the office, the individual, and power, meaning that if the legitimate position is lost, the power is lost, and so the individual ought to have a secondary source of power.⁵⁰ Hellegouarc'h (1972, 310) writes that *potestas*

⁴⁴ See below on the biopolitical nature of authority.

⁴⁵ Mommsen (1871), 695-6.

⁴⁶ Magdelain (1990), 359-60.

⁴⁷ Nissen (1877, 105), however, considers this an exercise of *iustitium*, with the suspension of the law, power, and duties. Cicero declares *iustitium* when Marc Antony is marching against Rome (*Phil.* 5.12).

⁴⁸ Hellegouarc'h (1972), 302; Horkheimer (1972); Galinsky (1996), 12; Agamben (2005), 84. This is especially applied to paternal authority and the figure of the father (see Chapter 5).

⁴⁹ Levick (2010), 71: if Augustus' *imperium* disappears, he still retains his *auctoritas*.

⁵⁰ A study by French and Raven (1959, 165) outlines five bases of power: referent (based on credibility and charisma), expert (presumed knowledge and skill, which was later split by Raven [1965], creating the sixth category of informational power), reward (dependent upon the freedom to choose), coercive (compliance and threats), and legitimate (ability to evoke feelings of obligation from a subordinate). The connection between power, the individual, and the office comes under the grouping 'legitimate' power.

disappears with the function (office or duty) to which it is attached, while *auctoritas* remains and grows with the number of posts occupied, which he argues demonstrates the primacy of *auctoritas*.

This biopolitical aspect of *auctoritas* is reflected also in Syme's (1939, 345) argument that Agrippa could never be an equal of Augustus because he lacked Augustus' *auctoritas*, which was dependent upon Augustus as an individual. Dio Cassius (53.17.1) suggests the proto-biopolitical concept that even if Augustus shared his κῆρὸς with two or three people, the government would still be μοναρχία. Augustus solves the problem of his *auctoritas* dying with him by using his own wealth during his rise to power and throughout his rule, thus effectively owning his 'unofficial office', and then creating a dynasty through adoption and the transferral of his duties to associates who will appeal to his *auctoritas* and carry on his rule and property.⁵¹

Agamben (2005, 83-5) also attaches charisma to the biopolitical aspect of authority, and argues that to understand the 'modern phenomena' of the twentieth century fascist leaders, we should look to the *auctoritas principis*. He writes: "The qualities of *Duce* or *Führer* are immediately bound to the physical person and belong to the biopolitical tradition of *auctoritas* and not to the legal tradition of *potestas*".⁵² Schauer (2007, 261 and 265) similarly argues that Aeneas is not the leader of the Trojans on account of *potestas*, but because of his *auctoritas*. In the Homeric tradition, Priam dislikes Aeneas (*Il.* 13.460-1), but the Trojans esteem him as much as Hector (5.467-8) and as a god (11.58), despite his seeming not to hold any office, as in the *Aeneid*. Schauer (265) attributes three sources of *auctoritas* to Aeneas: divine parentage,⁵³ widespread credibility, and the condition of there being no one better.⁵⁴ He also points out that there is no competition for leadership, which is probably due to the fact that there seems to be no Trojan aristocracy present in the party, thus avoiding a power struggle.⁵⁵ Aeneas, as a private citizen who held no office in Troy, is made leader on account of his *auctoritas* rather than *potestas*; he held no *potestas* prior to this and because he does not take up a formal office as leader of the Trojans, we must assume that Aeneas remains a private citizen. As we have seen in Augustus' case, what begins as the *auctoritas* of a private, individual citizen can transform into an official position through a line of succession, emphasising the power of the office increasingly more than the *auctoritas* of the individual.

⁵¹ See Chapter 5. For the adoption aspect and on private wealth, see Severy (2008); for the legal aspect, see Syme (1939), 346.

⁵² Similarly, Linderski (1993, 49) compares Augustus and Stalin, in that Stalin had to remain a comrade within the party just as Augustus had to remain one of the *principes* within the Republic.

⁵³ Caesar's deification similarly contributes to Augustus' *auctoritas*.

⁵⁴ Although this sounds negative, it can be taken positively if we consider him as a proto-*princeps* (266-7).

⁵⁵ Perhaps we might connect this to the greatly lessened nobility following the civil wars, after which Octavian appoints new senators and builds up the patrician class (Dio Cass. 52.42.5).

4. Authority in the *Res Gestae*

Freudenburg (2005, 108) explains that the *Res Gestae* “describes how [Augustus] came to merit, and then continued to earn, re-instantiate and re-perform his august-ness by way of the reverence he displayed in every aspect of his rule”. That is, the inscription establishes what Augustus saw as the establishment, consolidation, and reinforcement of his *auctoritas*.⁵⁶ Thus, it is perhaps the most important piece for understanding Augustus’ *auctoritas* and the changing nature of power in Roman office.

The nature of Augustus’ power and the power of his successors is an incredibly complex topic. Especially confusing to scholars is the extent of his *imperium* in relationship to military command, the *pomerium*, and powers abroad.⁵⁷ However, a survey of the language used in the *Res Gestae* is especially valuable for understanding more fully how Augustus himself understands and employs terminology of power.⁵⁸ Augustus writes that he held *imperium* as a propractor in 43 BCE when he was 19 years old (RG 1) and then again as consul, which he exercised by ordering two *lustra*, in 8 BCE and 14 AD (8). He also attributes *imperium* to the Roman people (preface, 13, 26, 27, twice in 30). Although (or perhaps *because*) he refused (*non recepi*) both the dictatorship (*dictaturam*) in 22 BCE from the Senate and the people and the *annuum et perpetuum consulatum* (5), he was named *imperator* twenty-one times (4). These public *recusationes* were important for Augustus’ continuing rule, and Wallace-Hadrill (1982, 36) goes so far as to write: “The Principate was established by an act of denial (*recusatio*), ritually perpetuated from reign to reign”. Cotton and Yakobson (2002, 195) argue that the *recusationes* are meant to appease the Roman anxiety towards sole rule,⁵⁹ though Augustus has, by his own admission, unsurpassed *auctoritas*, he has to be seen to reject “any office or power which went beyond the limits of republican propriety” (204).⁶⁰

Further, when Augustus is named *imperator* by towns and provinces, he always returned the gold crowns sent to him (RG 21).⁶¹ Additionally, he refers to himself as *princeps* several times (preceded by *me*, 13, 30, 32; head of the Senate for forty years, 7). He also refers to leading men and kings (12, 33) and to his tragic heirs, Gaius and Lucius Caesar, who are named ‘first youths’ by the Roman knights (14). Augustus says that they had also been made consuls-designate when they

⁵⁶ Lange (2009, 8) writes that the RG was “the official ideology of the regime, as it was perceived by Augustus himself”.

⁵⁷ Compare the articles of Ferrary (2001) and Cotton and Yakobson (2002) on this topic.

⁵⁸ Of course, since the *Res Gestae* is dated some 33 years later than the *Aeneid*, we must consider that Augustus’ rule (and perhaps his own conception of his rule) transformed greatly throughout the intervening period.

⁵⁹ Also see Freudenburg (2014, 107) on Augustus’ performances of the *recusatio*.

⁶⁰ “[Augustus] powers were so unrepublican that they had to be repeatedly imposed on a reluctant *princeps* against his will” (204).

⁶¹ Crook (1953, 11) argues that *imperator* is not a constitutional title but “an expression of personal *auctoritas*.”

were fourteen years old by the Senate and people in honour of Augustus (*honoris mei*), so that they would be ensured of their entrance into the magistracy and councils when they came of age (14).

Further, in a speech on January 13, 16 BCE, Augustus calls himself *optimi status auctor*, which, as Magdelain (1947, 57) points out, corresponds to Augustus' transferral of the *res publica* to the people and the Senate described in his *Res Gestae. rem publicam ex mea potestate in senatus populi que Romani arbitrium transtuli* (34). The *potestas* to which he refers is, in this case, *imperium*, which for Augustus, at the time, was consular and military command.⁶² Dio Cassius writes that rather than Augustus transferring power back to the Senate and people, the political power (κράτος) of the Senate and people passed to Augustus because he had become a monarch (53.7.1). In reality, Augustus retains control over the empire because he commands the army and imperial provinces and has access to all of the state finances, since he both uses his own wealth for public programs and oversees the spending of public funds (53.16.1).⁶³ Thus, the *res publica* seems to transfer from Augustus' old type of *potestas* to his new hybrid *potestas-auctoritas*. Indeed, as his *potestas* is granted by the Senate and his *auctoritas* is recognised by both the Senate and the people, the transferral (in a sense) takes place.

By the time he is writing the *Res Gestae* in 14 AD, Augustus has held *tribunicia potestas* for thirty-seven years (4), which Grant (1946, 446-53) and Syme (1939, 336) consider the vehicle of his *auctoritas*. Five times he himself (*ipse*) requests and receives from the Senate a colleague (*conlegam*) to share his official *potestas* (6).⁶⁴ The relationship between Augustus and the Senate seems to be that Augustus proposes a motion by his *tribunicia potestas* (6, twice in 15), and the Senate ratifies it by *senatus consultum* (4, 10, 34). Indeed, he is made *sacrosanctus* and receives lifelong (*quoad viverem*) *tribunicia potestas* by *senatus consultum* itself (10), thus making his person (as tribune) notionally inviolable and pointing again to the biopolitical nature of his authority: this time, however, authority has been conferred upon him officially. Three times the Senate and people consent (*consentibus*) that he be the *solus curator legum et morum* with *summa potestate*, but he receives no magistracy that is contrary to Roman custom (6). *Consensus* appears again in 34: *per consensum universorum potitus rerum omnium* ('having taken possession of all matters by universal consent...'). This reflects the consensual nature of *auctoritas* discussed above, in that his influence is consented to and therefore legitimised.⁶⁵ Augustus also celebrates the potency of his *consilium*, which is an aspect of *auctoritas*: he says that he is made *propraetor* for the purpose of giving his opinions

⁶² Grant (1949), 100.

⁶³ He had previously given governance of the peaceful provinces to the Senate while keeping the warring provinces for himself; Dio Cassius argues that this was so the Senate would not have access to the troops and so could not raise an army without his consent (53.12.2-3).

⁶⁴ Again, his authority will not be threatened by sharing his κῆρὸς (Dio Cass. 53.17.1).

⁶⁵ Levick (2010, 12) maintains that Augustus ruled not "through his power but by consent". Arendt (1973, 110-1) argues that a nation's strength is built on the continuing consent of the population.

(*dicendae sententiae*, 1). Similarly, the military treasury is established (*constitutum est*) on account of his *consilium* (17).⁶⁶

Twice he refers to the *auctoritas* of the Senate (12, 20), and three times to his own *auctoritas* (8, 28, 34). Chapter 34 is rich in power terminology and often referred to in discussions of the difference between *auctoritas* and *potestas*. Especially pertinent to our study is the passage in which he explains the nature of his influence:

Post id tempus **auctoritate** omnibus praestiti, **potestatis** autem nihilo amplius habui quam ceteri qui mihi quoque in magistratu conlegae fuerunt.⁶⁷

After this time, I surpassed all others in **authority**, though I held no more **power** than those who were my colleagues in each magistracy.⁶⁸

In this passage, Augustus claims that while he has no more political power than his colleagues, he exceeds them in authority.⁶⁹ This may be a strategy to minimize the monarchic nature of his rule, but officially it is the case. Berger (1953, 369) argues that here, *auctoritas* means “personal authority, moral and social influence” and stands in opposition to *potestas*, which expresses legal power.⁷⁰ Cooley (2009, 271-2) explains this contrast between *auctoritas* and *potestas* as being consistent with the traditional function of the senate, which “operated only by making recommendations...not by passing legislation”. Chilver (1950, 425), however, maintains that *imperium* and *auctoritas* are not necessarily opposed, but can co-exist or each can even enhance the other. *Auctoritas*, *potestas*, and *imperium* are interrelated aspects, and Crook (1953, 12) writes that “*potestas* is one of the things that gives a man *auctoritas*,” while visually imagining *imperium* as a smaller circle within the larger circle of *auctoritas*. This demonstrates that an understanding of the relationships between sources and systems of power is as important as the distinction between them. Lowrie (2009, 283-4) distinguishes *potestas* and *auctoritas* as being official and unofficial, respectively, as Augustus’ *auctoritas* is extra-constitutional.⁷¹ As I argue later, however, an elegant connection between the official and unofficial spheres is significant for the revolutionary system of Augustan rule.

Mommsen, working from the Greek text, reconstructed 34 to read *post id tempus dignitate*, based on the Greek dative ἀξιώματι. Lowrie (2009, 291) distinguishes the two as the “difference

⁶⁶ He is then made consul and later triumvir for ten years for putting back together (*constituendae*) the Republic (1, 7), which perhaps reflects the aspect of Arendt’s definition of Roman authority in that it was held by those who preserved Roman custom. See Lange’s (2009, 181-190) and Millar’s (2000, 5-7) discussion on *res publica restituta/conservata*.

⁶⁷ See Cooley’s (2009, 272) note on *quoque* here: that Augustus is referring to the consuls who served alongside him.

⁶⁸ Last (1950, 120) criticises Magdelain (1947, 47) for maintaining that *auctoritas* made Augustus the Princeps, as Last argues that *auctoritate* is ablative of respect here, not cause.

⁶⁹ See Rowe (2013, 10) for his argument that *potestas* is being emphasized here – not *auctoritas*.

⁷⁰ This type of *auctoritas* becomes *auctoritas principis*, which is specific to the emperor.

⁷¹ Cf. Ando (2000), 28.

between Augustus' being an authorizing subject and an object produced from the worthiness reflected onto him in the opinion of others". The correction *auctoritate* came from the 1924 publication of the *Monumentum Antiochenum*. The following year, Heinze (1925, 348=1960, 43) admonishes philologists for following Mommsen's authority blindly; it is itself interesting that Heinze recognizes that Mommsen's own authority is detrimental in reconstructing and interpreting the text accurately. Heinze argues that *auctoritas*, and not *dignitas*, is the natural antithesis to *potestas*, the legal power of a magistrate. Thus, we see that *auctoritas* is intangible where *potestas* is tangible (to the extent of constitutional definition).

Levick (2010, 308) argues that Augustus "exploited the indeterminate nature of Latin power terminology, notably the words *princeps* and *auctoritas*, to impose maximum control with minimal exposure." Rather than reveal explicitly that he possesses and exercises the powers of a king or dictator, Augustus instead emphasises his personal influence—his *auctoritas*. He describes how he has accumulated several offices which lend him a variety of customary powers; although he has gained incredible power from holding all of these offices, some of them granted for life, he makes sure to point out that he does not transgress the power of each office. He is able to demonstrate that his official power is entrenched in the legitimate, legal Roman tradition, while his unofficial *auctoritas* is linked to his superior morality and personal credibility.

5. Transferral of Power and Authority

As discussed above, the transferral of power is different from that of authority, in that power remains with the office and is accessed through political appointment, while authority remains with the body and can be heritable. In his dedication to Augustus, Vitruvius compares the transferral of his political allegiance to the transferral of Caesar's power:⁷²

Cum autem concilium caelestium in sedibus immortalitatis eum dedicavisset et imperium parentis in tuam potestatem transtulisset, idem studium meum in eius memoria permanens in te contulit favorem. (Pr. 2)

After the council of the gods confirmed Caesar into the immortal realm and the command of your father transferred into your power, my everlasting fondness in memory of him likewise directed my goodwill to you.

Vitruvius points out explicitly here that Augustus' power is the result of being Caesar's (adopted) son (indicated by *parens*). Indeed, Millar (2000, 3) asserts that the fact that writers (including

⁷² See Chapter 2 on the *auctoritas* of monuments and buildings. Galinsky (2012, 166) writes that Augustus did not often order buildings, which would express *potestas*, but that he advised that they be built and donated towards their completion, demonstrating his *auctoritas*. König (2009) offers insight into a further parallel Vitruvius is suggesting: that between Vitruvius as a professional architect and Augustus as a professional emperor (political and military). See Chapter 4 on professional authority.

Vitruvius) refer to Augustus also as ‘Caesar’ points to the key aspect of continuity in Augustus’ public image. However, what comes under Augustus’ *potestas* by familial inheritance is supposed to be uninheritable: the Roman empire. Rather, Roman political office is supposed to be assigned democratically and not dynastically; thus, we see the conflation of power and authority already taking place. Like Caesar, who serves as consul four times, is granted the official rank of *dictator perpetuo* in 44 BCE, and is *pontifex maximus*, Augustus gains his official power by accumulating and consolidating several political roles and offices, some of which are permanent, combining power and authority and thus making him a ‘professional emperor’. Though Osgood (2006, 389) writes that in the early days following Actium, it would not have appeared that Augustus intends to rule in the long-term, Augustus clearly makes moves to secure his rule under the guise of restoring peace.

This is evident in his dynastic designs. Early on, Augustus “systematically promote[s]” young men in his family in order to consolidate his own power within a system of dynastic succession:⁷³ first Marcellus, then his grandsons, and ultimately Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* 1.3). He adopts his grandsons, Lucius and Gaius, as boys; in RG 14, he says that he gave them official duties so that they would be assured of political offices when they were older. Dio Cassius writes that Augustus names them the successors of his office (διάδοχοι τῆς ἀρχῆς) in order to disperse power and, in doing so, discourage plots against himself.⁷⁴ In 12 AD, Augustus makes Tiberius co-princeps so that in the case of his own death, there would be a seamless handover of power, rather than an *interregnum* or a civil war. In addition, upon Tiberius’ adoption, he is required to adopt Germanicus, making him his eldest son and thus successor, ensuring that there is a line of succession in place to prevent even more conspiracies.⁷⁵ Dio Cassius writes that Augustus assumes the title *imperator* (αὐτοκράτωρ), not only in the sense of the title which was bestowed upon him twenty-one times as an honour, but the hereditary possession of power (κράτος) which had been voted to Caesar and his descendants (52.14.3-4). Thus, the title and privileges of the *imperator* is passed down in the form of a dynasty through adoption, and it becomes a hereditary title for the emperors.

Augustus ensures the inheritance of his official powers by transferring them to his successor Tiberius and by appealing to the Senate to grant Tiberius *tribunicia potestas* (and to renew

⁷³ Rowe (2002), 1. Rowe asserts that Augustus’ intentions for these young men “were universally recognized” (1).

⁷⁴ Dio Cassius argues that this is simply a strategy by which Augustus attempts to avoid conspiracies: he often asks for a colleague to share his own office to split the power, as when he bestows upon Agrippa a share in the supreme power (τὴν αὐταρχίαν, 54.12.2). Augustus also wears a breastplate into the Senate (Dio Cass. 54.12.3).

⁷⁵ After Augustus is officially freed from legal obligation, Marcellus is granted the right to be a senator among the ex-praetors and to run for consulship ten years earlier than was allowed, and Tiberius was allowed to stand for each election five years before the customary age (Dio Cass. 53.28.2-3). On issues of succession, see Bowersock (1984).

it, Tac. *Ann.* 1.10).⁷⁶ However, this transferal is complicated, as Augustus' "honors originated as informal acts", which were then "enshrined in documents", resulting in a merger of the official and non-official.⁷⁷ Following Augustus' death, Tiberius convenes the Senate by virtue of this *tribunicia potestas* to read Augustus' will, which names Tiberius as his heir (Suet. *Tib.* 23, Tac. *Ann.* 1.7). Although the consuls take oaths of allegiance to Tiberius, followed by the Senate, the soldiers, and the people, every action Tiberius wishes to take must be initiated by the consuls to make it seem as though he is following Republican custom (Tac. *Ann.* 1.7). After keeping the Senate in suspense by pretending to be conflicted, Tiberius finally accepts the rule (*recepit imperium*): again, we see that this false display is a political tactic to make it seem to the public that he had been begged to accept *imperium*. Arguably he has already accepted and exercised *principatum* by requesting guards, who embody the strength and symbol of the imperial power (*vis et species dominationis*, *Tib.* 24).⁷⁸

Tiberius gives these orders under the title *imperator*, suggesting further that he is already acting as the emperor before he officially accepts the title (Tac. *Ann.* 1.7). However, Tiberius officially refuses the titles *imperator* and *pater patriae* (Suet. *Tib.* 26.2),⁷⁹ is annoyed when called *dominus*, and only uses *Augustus* in official correspondence, despite it being a hereditary title (Suet. *Tib.* 26-7). Further, he emphasises his subordination to the Senate, reinforces the *maiestas* and *potestas* of the Senate, and refers many cases to the Senate on account of them being the source of his *potestas* (29-30).⁸⁰ Tiberius also forces the Senate to change the phrasing of *auctor* to *suasor*, 'adviser' (27), suggesting that *auctor* and *auctoritas* had come to express a more aggressive sense by this time. The later emperors, however, use *auctoritas* beyond personal influence in order to submit official decisions, demands, and ordinances.⁸¹ Whenever a ten-year period ended, Augustus would be voted another five or ten years, so that he effectively became sole ruler for life.⁸² Dio Cassius writes that this is the reason subsequent emperors, although automatically appointed for life rather than for specified periods, hold celebrations every ten years, as a symbolic renewal of their office by external sanction (53.16.2-3). In order to have the appearance of holding power by law rather than baseless authority, the emperors attach to themselves all customary functions, offices, and

⁷⁶ On evidence that there were laws for bestowing imperial powers, see Ferrary (2001, 152).

⁷⁷ Rowe (2002), 82-3.

⁷⁸ After Augustus makes a speech during which he becomes autocrat (αὐταρχῆσαι), his first act is to double the pay of his guards to twice as much as a normal soldier (Dio Cass. 53.2-10), thus effectively making his security detail an official position.

⁷⁹ Augustus, however, emphasizes this title (RG 35). Freudenburg (2005, 111) calls Tiberius' *recusatio* 'bungled'.

⁸⁰ According to Tacitus, Sallustius Crispus had warned Livia not to let Tiberius weaken the *vim principatus* by referring cases to the Senate too often, with the rationale: *eam condicionem esse imperandi, ut non aliter ratio constet quam si uni reddatur* (*Ann.* 6), emphasizing the benefit of sole rulership.

⁸¹ Berger (1953, 369) points out that *auctoritas* was never legally defined, and so the term was used for increasingly stronger concepts which "assumed sometimes the aspect of [institutional] sovereignty".

⁸² When he adds five years to his *principatus* because his ten years are up, he gives Agrippa tribunicial power for another five years, and although he claims it will be sufficient, he adds another five years for himself as *princeps* (54.12.4-5).

titles except for the dictatorship (53.17.3), an inversion of Augustan strategy. By virtue of these accumulated titles and offices, later emperors can make taxes, take the census, remove and enrol senators and equestrians, declare war, make peace, rule foreigners as well as citizens, supervise moral behaviour, execute knights and senators inside the *pomerium*, and hold all of the privileges that Republican consuls, officials, and priests hold separately (53.17.6-8).

Also significant is the fact that they hold tribunicial power, which gives them the right to veto any measures of another official, and if they suffer abuse, they can punish the accused without a trial (53.17.9-10).⁸³ Dio Cassius argues that emperors retain Republican offices and titles in order to give the impression that the powers and privileges they possess and exercise are customary and therefore legal (53.17.11). However, he points out that the specifically imperial privilege is freedom from the laws (53.18.1), which began with Augustus (53.28.2). Therefore, he argues, emperors are kings in every sense but name, and the titles *Caesar* and *Augustus* hold no power but rather express their political lineage (τὴν τοῦ γένους σφῶν διαδοχὴν) and their honour (τὴν τοῦ ἀξιώματος λαμπρότητα), respectively (53.18.2-3). In this sense, then, *Caesar* and *Augustus* are titles which express and lend *auctoritas* rather than official power to the bearer.

Conclusions

As I have discussed, consistency between ancient and modern conceptions of authority is nearly impossible, as significant societal and linguistic shifts have occurred over time. Thus, it is crucial to understand the functions of authority rather than accept modern definitions without interrogation. As we have seen throughout this chapter, modern language for authority and power is often conflated. In reality, however, authority is much less tangible than *potestas* and *imperium*: it is a complex concept which can be applied to multiple circumstances and used to express several aspects of influence. Through the comparison of several interpretations and examples of authority in my discussion, common traits emerge which explain and thus yield a better understanding of specifically Roman *auctoritas*. Therefore, it is more beneficial to present a coherent definition for authority not in the form of a single sentence, but rather as a list of traits which are evident in contributing to the function of authority across its usages.

First, we must acknowledge that authority is a dynamic process underpinned by consent and reinforced by continuous reciprocity, which is necessary for legitimation. Legitimation must

⁸³ The Senate appoints Augustus tribune and proconsul for life (which he never has to lay down inside the *pomerium* or renew), and gives him greater authority in the imperial provinces than even the governors. Although Augustus and the later emperors do not use the title of tribune, they enjoy the legal privileges in conjunction with their other official powers (53.32.5-6).

come from an external party or force, which can be intangible (e.g. the Roman foundation). Second, authority is created and maintained through accumulation, which brings in the elements of memory, experience, and knowledge. It is not negated by but often originates in and is even enhanced by *potestas* and *imperium*—that is, official power derived from holding magistracies. Often the authoritative individual is perceived to possess charisma and credibility, which contributes to the notion of authority as a biopolitical phenomenon. Although *auctoritas* is attached to an individual's physical body (while *imperium* and *potestas* remain with the office), it can be inherited or transferred to another; in doing this, the authority of the originator may increase, especially posthumously. Finally, as Mommsen argues, authority performs a function somewhere between advice and command—yet it is sought out and obeyed freely by a consenting audience.

In this chapter, I have demonstrated that modern conceptions of authority can be useful for understanding the Roman *auctoritas*. Though we now tend to consider power and authority as being synonymous with one another, I have found that we still possess the capacity to understand Roman *auctoritas* as its key sources and functions are retained by some postmodern theorists. Moreover, I have established the above elements as the key inner workings of authority, and I will refer to them throughout this dissertation in order to recognise, analyse, and evaluate the expressions and functions of authority in the *Aeneid*. The following chapter focuses specifically on the above aspect of accumulation and explores its various interactions with both authority and memory in the *Aeneid*; for this, I incorporate again the work of Arendt (1961) into my discussion.

CHAPTER 2

AUTHORITY AND MEMORY

Psychologists and philosophers identify memory as epistemic, that is, on a basic level memory is knowledge of the past.¹ This knowledge can manifest as individual or collective memory, and in turn memory is consolidated over time into belief, culture, and authority.² Owens (1999, 312-8) argues that beliefs are by necessity based on prior 'evidence', even if this evidence is not consciously remembered: in this way, memory functions to preserve beliefs for which we no longer need consciously considered evidence.³ When memory preserves a belief which is not contradicted by new evidence but rather reinforced, then the belief and thus memory become authoritative—that is, because of their consistency, there is no impetus to doubt the validity of either.

Auctoritas relies on memory of the past, as it is predicated upon the development and recognition of precedent; as I have discussed, this is the reason laws and institutions such as the Senate hold authority. Media, such as oral and written history, visual art, monuments, objects, and epic poetry itself,⁴ can inspire their audience to remember the authority of either an individual or institution. Memory can also be directed to strengthen claims of authority, as I will argue for Augustus and models in the *Aeneid*.

There has been recent interest in Classics in the study of memory, especially in relation to trauma and identity, conceptions of the relationship of time and space, and the formation of both individual and collective identity.⁵ Seider (2013, 60-1) rejects Quint's (1993) view that the past must be forgotten in the *Aeneid*; instead, he rightly treats the past as a tool for understanding the present and future.⁶ While Seider explores the intratextual implications of memory and the emotional effects of memory on certain characters, I specifically concentrate on instances in which

¹ See Bernecker (2010). Although this chapter does not aim to explain the mechanics of memory, I refer to modern theories of memory to illustrate my arguments when useful and appropriate.

² Lotman and Uspensky (1978, 213) argue that culture in general is the codified long-term memory of a community.

³ Although both Descartes (1985, 15, 218-20) and Locke (1975, 533-4, 657-9) are uneasy about relying on memory without holding its corresponding evidence consciously, they agreed that, realistically, we must be able to trust our beliefs without constant conscious justification.

⁴ Nagy (2005) argues that epic poetry is the formalized memorialization of local hero worship. Further, on the function of poetry in general for memorialisation, see Gale (2003), 334-5.

⁵ Wolpert (2002); Loraux (2002); Gowing (2005); Purves (2010); Kennedy (2013).

⁶ Cf. Roediger, et al. (2010), 17; Nairne and Pandeirada (2008): memory evolved in order to understand the present and plan for the future rather than look back on the past. See also Farrell (1997b), 375.

engagement with memory results in an expression of augmented, reinforced, or weakened authority.

This chapter explores the interactions of memory, tradition, and authority in both the *Aeneid* and late-Republican to early Augustan Rome. It is organized into five main sections: first, I outline Arendt's theories on the creation of authority in Rome, and I consider the crisis of memory in the late Republic and its 'solution' in the Principate. Second, I study the creation, recognition, and remembrance of foundation stories as each aspect relates to authority. Third, I analyse objects such as gifts and tokens of kingship with respect to the sources and implications of their authority. Fourth, I examine the role of monumentality and authority in Roman commemoration and also the corpse as a physical tool for remembering. Finally, I address the nature and function of 'forgetting' in the *Aeneid* and Augustan culture. This second chapter grounds my assertion in the first chapter that *auctoritas* is largely based on perceptions of precedent and on accumulation.

1. Arendt and the Crisis of Memory

I begin my discussion of Roman memory and authority with Hannah Arendt. She argues that authority is a key element in the Roman political structure, along with religion and tradition, and that these three aspects, which she terms the 'Roman trinity', form an inter-relational triad which together maintain and perpetuate one another.⁷ That is, authority initially springs from religion or tradition, or a combination of both in the notion of the sacred past, and this authority, in turn, maintains the traditional and religious structures and rituals. Authority and the sacred past are based inherently upon memory, and the dynamics between the three elements are, appropriately, accumulative in nature, in that they are established sequentially. First in the sequence is memory: memory is the method by which humans retain information with which they both contextualise their present and infer their future. Second, tradition is best described by Canovan (1992, 68-9) as being "not equivalent to the past: it is a particular and selective relationship to the past, handing on and reinforcing particular ideas, experiences and structures and suppressing others." The sacred past and memory interact in that tradition is the conditioning of memory in order to create a collective and formalized set of norms, beliefs, and rituals.⁸ These accumulate and consolidate into authority—the basis of which, Arendt argues, is the foundation of Rome.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the Senate traces its authority to the foundation, at which point Romulus establishes both the Senate and the auspices (Cic. *Rep.* 2.17). Canovan (219) writes:

⁷ 'Tradition and the Modern Age' 25; 'What is Authority' 125.

⁸ Nagy (2005) discusses the concept that epic is formalized memory of local heroes.

The source of authority... is to be found in the piety with which the Romans regarded the sacred foundation of their city... and those who had authority were the Senate, who were tied back by tradition to the original founding of Rome, and had the obligation to augment and hand on their inheritance... According to Arendt, therefore, authority was in its origins a political phenomenon derived from a specific political act, the founding of Rome.

Thus, the authority possessed by the Senate is dependent upon the authority of Rome's foundation.⁹ Preserving collective memory of the foundation, therefore, is crucial for preserving the authority of the Senate and so the stability of the Republic. Cicero often expresses concern over the loss of Roman memory (and thus authority) as a threat to the Republic, which demonstrates the significance placed on remembering and commemoration.¹⁰ 'Speaking' as Scipio Africanus, he claims that memory endures as long as commemoration is performed, but that over time, commemoration ceases (*Rep.* 6.23-24.1). Cicero's concern suggests a call for institutionalised commemoration in order to combat the perceived threat to Roman memory and *auctoritas* of ancestors, and thus of ancient institutions, such as the Senate. Elsewhere, Cicero warns outright that if ancient customs lose their authority, Rome will descend into chaos (*Ver.* 2.1.14), and he commends Varro for compiling his *Antiquitates*, which he claims has strengthened the Roman identity by explaining the ancient rationale of Roman laws and institutions (*Acad.* 1.9). In theory this revives the authority of institutions such as the Senate because, as has been argued, recognition and reciprocation are vital aspects of authority.

With the loss of many key political figures in the civil wars, perceptions of power and authority inevitably became uncertain in Rome. With the advent of the Principate, then, it was in Octavian's interest to carefully preserve some aspects of memory and suppress others in order to achieve political and social stability, and thus form new traditions and authority within a familiar Republican framework.¹¹ Octavian claims political legitimacy through 1) the inheritance of Caesar's rule, 2) his military victories (especially at Philippi and Actium), 3) his establishment of the *pax Romana*, 4) his divine descent through *divus Julius* and Venus, and 5) his preservation and augmentation of the empire as a refounder of Rome,¹² which is consistent with Arendt's theory of Roman *auctoritas*. If tradition is indeed the enhancement or suppression of certain public memories, then in order to create and maintain his authority in post-Actium Rome, Octavian must exercise control over perceptions of and relations to the past.

⁹ See Davies (2004, 73-8) on the religious authority of the Senate in Livy.

¹⁰ Zetzel (1994), 31-2; Takács (2009), 30.

¹¹ Terdiman (1993, 19-20) argues for memory's role in the creation and maintenance of power, and Gowing (2005, 2) and Le Goff (1992, 68, 98-100) specify that the basis of power in the Principate was control over memory.

¹² Especially at RG 26-33.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, most of Octavian's enemies are dead, exiled, or cowed after Actium, and soon the number of those who had played significant roles in the civil wars diminishes. Further, throughout his reign, Augustus adds greatly to the size of the population of the empire (though not necessarily 'citizens') through acquiring new territories (RG 3.1-3, 8.2-4, 26-30). Thus it is not only politically advantageous but crucial for Octavian/Augustus to condition the Roman collective memory. Addressing both the memory crisis as the result of the civil wars and the influx of the new population, Augustus includes in his *Res Gestae*:

legibus novi[s] m[e auctore l]atis m[ulta e]xempla maiorum exolescentia iam ex nostro
[saecul]o red[uxi et ipse] multarum rer[um exe]mpla imitanda pos[teris tradidi].
(8.5)

With new laws proposed under my sponsorship, I restored many ancient models of great men, already obsolete by our generation, and I myself offered models of various matters to later generations for imitating.

Whereas the Latin text only hints that Augustus holds himself up as a model of these virtues, the accusative ἐμαυτὸν in the Greek text makes it clearer:

... καὶ αὐτὸς πολλῶν πραγμάτων μείμημα ἐμαυτὸν τοῖς μετέπειτα
παρέδωκα. (8.5)

...and I offered **myself** as a model for various matters to later generations.

That is, Augustus claims that he practices the morals and laws he promotes,¹³ which recalls the biopolitical aspect of authority discussed earlier. By drawing traditional values (*exempla*) and laws into his own persona and asserting them as his domain, Augustus attaches to himself a perpetual cycle of authority, memory, and culture.¹⁴ In doing so, Augustus ensures his authority's permanence by becoming the human embodiment of moral and legal precedent for future generations.

In an effort to establish his public authority, Augustus uses traditional imagery and constructions in part because they were familiar to the Romans.¹⁵ Kleiner (1992, 61) writes that Octavian's early coinage presenting himself as the son of *Divus Julius* "attests to the validity of his claim to power." Augustus depends upon the collective memory in two ways: first, he employs Caesar's numismatic techniques; secondly, he appeals to the public's recent memory of Caesar in

¹³ See Cooley (2009, 144) and Lowrie (2007) on Augustus as role model (*exemplum*). See West (2002, 7) includes *exempla* in his 'Augustan Inventory'.

¹⁴ Livy similarly explains the benefits of historical *exempla* as being *monumenta* of past behaviour and morality (1.pr.10).

¹⁵ On Republican coinage adhering to Greek models until 130 BCE, Meadows and Williams (2001, 38) write: "in the pre-modern world of intrinsic-value coinage familiarity bred acceptability". After this, designs changed often depending upon the person striking the coin as an expression of their power. As we will see in the case of monuments, Augustus' consolidation of political power removes the need (or opportunity) for aristocrats to claim power, and Augustan coinage (like monuments) become uniform yet again: Flower (1996), 333-8.

order to position himself as heir to Caesar's *imperium* and *auctoritas* visually through widely-distributed coinage. Augustus also uses Roman tradition in order to express a clear contrast between himself and Antony; Favro (2005, 241) points out that Augustus "legitimized his architectural projects by adopting a revered, classicizing Greco-Roman style in contrast to overt orientalizing forms".¹⁶ By appealing to traditional models, Romans are able to better conceptualize the power (and ultimately recognise the authority) of Augustus' rhetoric and image.¹⁷ Augustus is skilled in combining new forms with conventions from the mythical past and the Republic in order to affect attitudes toward the past and thus conceptions of the future. By appealing to the Romans' culturally-inherent recognition of ancestral authority, Augustus promotes his own authority based on his politically legitimated rule, which is tied to the foundation of Rome.

2. Foundation Legends

For the Romans, the foundation of the city provides the basis for *auctoritas* which subsequent generations recognise. Arendt argues that Roman foundation myths and the memory of Rome's foundation are the tenets upon which authority within Roman law, morality, and culture are built. That is, Roman authority is legitimised by the memory of the city's foundation, transmitted through stories of figures such as Aeneas and Romulus. Augustus promotes a mythology that he is a descendant of Venus and Aeneas through Caesar, and thus places himself within a royal Trojan lineage. This legitimises his public authority because Aeneas' foundation myth is significant in the Roman collective memory, and he links his characteristics and strengths to those of Aeneas through kinship.¹⁸ Further, through his massive building project, Augustus identifies himself as a refounder of Rome (RG 19-21), establishing a catalyst for accruing greater *auctoritas*.¹⁹

Foundation stories depend on the preservation memory because they provide historical explanations (real or constructed, or a combination) for certain characteristics of a city or population.²⁰ Just as stories of divine birth can foreshadow the characteristics of a god or goddess,²¹ foundation stories can explain (through hindsight) historical events or customs. Foundation stories hold authority both in Roman culture and in the *Aeneid*, which is itself Rome's

¹⁶ On the contrast between Italian/Etruscan and Eastern influence, see Kleiner (1992), 60.

¹⁷ Wallace-Hadrill (1987), 273; Zanker (1988, 79-82); Takács (2009), xxii.

¹⁸ Feeney (1986, 8-9) writes that through the *Aeneid*, Vergil transforms Aeneas from an ambiguous to unambiguous character. This is true in terms of an established, uniform timeline, though not of his actual character.

¹⁹ Zanker (1988); Galinsky (1996); Patterson (2010), 7. Carney (1986): "Every city foundation was in a way an act of re-founding or re-creation because by founding a city the founder—creating order out of chaos—re-did the work of the gods." See also Patterson (8-9) on later appropriations of the Trojan kinship myth.

²⁰ Mac Sweeney (2015, 4) writes that foundation myths have been treated as a kind of historiography.

²¹ E.g. Athena born in full armour becomes a goddess of war.

foundation story for its external audience. Although the narrator claims in the proem that the theme of the *Aeneid* is the founding of Rome (*Aen.* 1.5-7), Rome is not built but only prophesied within the narrative timeline. Rather, the *Aeneid* is a collection of the wandering-stories of Aeneas and the Trojans, which Heinze (1993, 70) describes as a ‘unified’ founding of Rome. Hornsby (1970, 430) argues that the ideal Rome “is more vivid because it remains undescribed”, and that a depiction of the real Rome may be anti-climactic or even ‘disillusioning’. Rather, the focus of the *Aeneid* is the foundation of the foundation of Rome. This quality of temporal remoteness is a key to the authority of foundations. Asking the question ‘Why were the Romans drawn to Aeneas and the Trojan myth?’, Gruen (1992, 31) explains that Troy’s “glorious past lay in remote antiquity, its people no longer extant, its city but a shell of its former self. Troy persisted as a symbol, not a current reality”. Troy’s remoteness and transition to a mere symbol gives anyone with an agenda the ability to mold the Trojan myth to suit their needs. The Trojan myth, then, is especially useful for demonstrating Augustus’ simultaneous breaking and continuity with the distant past.

As Cornell (1995, 80) argues, although the legends of Aeneas and Romulus are not strictly ‘historical’, they are nevertheless crucial for understanding Roman identity. Through the transmission of Rome’s foundation stories, Romans formed ‘surrogate memories’ of the events.²² Fentress and Wickham (1992, 5-6, 8-11) argue that texts are especially able to transmit memory to their audiences. Through descriptions of action, dialogue, and sensory elements, the *Aeneid* instills in its audience surrogate memories of Aeneas’ deeds; by providing these memories, a text can itself become an authoritative version of events as a source of ‘credible’ information.²³

In addition to the proem’s introduction of the foundation of Rome as a major theme of the epic, the *Aeneid* narrates or alludes to a number of foundation stories. The remainder of this section focuses on these foundation stories in the narrative of the *Aeneid*. Among them, Jupiter’s prophecy to Venus first reveals the future establishment of three cities by Aeneas and his descendants:

...moresque viris et moenia ponet,
 tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas,
 ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.
 At puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo
 additur,—Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno,—
 triginta magnos volvendis mensibus orbis
 imperio explebit, regnumque ab sede Lavini
 transferet, et longam multa vi muniet Albam.
 Hic iam ter centum totos regnabitur annos
 gente sub Hectorea, donec regina sacerdos,
 Marte gravis, geminam partu dabit Ilia prolem.
 Inde lupae fulvo nutricis tegmine laetus

²² On the concept of ‘surrogate memory’, see: Burke (1989), 98; Miles (1995), 73-4; Gowing (2005), 10.

²³ On the authority of written texts, see Chapter 3.

Romulus excipiet gentem, et Mavortia condet
moenia, Romanosque suo de nomine dicet. (1.264-77)

He will make laws and walls for his people, until a third year will have seen him reigning Latium, and three winters will have passed since the Rutulians were defeated. But the boy Ascanius, to whom by now the surname Iulus is added (he was Ilus, when the Ilian city stood in control), will fill thirty years with command, and he will move the kingdom of Lavinium from its capital and fortify Alba Longa with great strength. For three hundred entire years this place will be ruled under the race of Hector, until a royal priestess named Ilia, pregnant by Mars, will give birth to twins. Then Romulus will take upon himself a race, delighted in the tawny pelt of his wolf-nurse, and found the walls of Mars, and he will call the Romans by his own name.

This prophecy of several foundations is authoritative in two ways: first, it is divinely sanctioned, since it comes from Jupiter and the 'scrolls of fate'; second, it is based on the collective memory of its external audience's annalistic knowledge and thus authorised by 'history' and national mythology.²⁴ An element of foundation stories is that they explain certain traditions, thereby reinforcing the authority of those traditions: in this passage, the name of the Romans is explained as originating with Romulus. This fact is also authorised intertextually by Livy and Ennius, who both write that the naming of the Romans by Romulus was itself authorised by augury (Liv. 1.6; Suet. *Aug.* 7). Thus we see that there are several levels of authority at work in foundation stories, which manifest here as claims and explanations for foundation, and an interaction with external knowledge and sources.

Aeneas himself establishes three other colonies in the narrative before arriving in Latium. First, the Trojans settle briefly in Thrace:

Terra procul vastis colitur Mauortia campis
(Thracas arant) acri quondam regnata Lycurgo,
hospitium antiquum Troiae sociique penates
dum fortuna fuit. feror huc et litore curvo
moenia prima loco fati ingressus iniquis
Aeneadasque meo nomen de nomine fingo. (3.13-8)

Far away a land of Mars with vast fields is cultivated (the Thracians farm it), once ruled by fierce Lycurgus, an ancient ally of Troy and kindred gods while there was fortune. I came here and on the curved shore built my first walls despite unfavourable omens, and I invented the name Aeneadae from my own name.

Although the reason for settling in Thrace is not made explicit, it is presumably on account of their *hospitium antiquum*. From Aeneas' description of his actions, we begin to see the steps involved

²⁴ See Lee-Stecum (2008) on refugee mythology in the Augustan period.

in establishing a city.²⁵ First, Aeneas ploughs the borders (presumably) himself,²⁶ and then he names the town after himself, just as we have seen above that Romulus will do when he names Rome. Aeneas then performs sacrifice for Venus, Jupiter, and *divis auspicibus coeptorum operum* ('the patron gods of newly undertaken works', 3.19-21).²⁷ Horsfall (2006, 58), noting that this suggests that building has already begun, argues that it is incorrect for Aeneas to already begin building the city before performing rituals to the gods. Indeed, Aeneas later performs ritual for Jupiter before building the camp in Latium, which brings about a positive sign of authorisation from Jupiter sanctioning their settlement (7.133-59). Thus, the earlier failures in city-founding act as foils which underline the legitimacy of the future settlement in Latium.

These failures are signalled by narrative cues. For instance, Dyson (2001) proposes that Aeneas' repeated tendency to reverse or forget ritual often precedes crises in the narrative. In Thrace, after performing his rites too late, Aeneas discovers the gruesome fate of Polydorus. Although Aeneas' incorrect ritual has no hand in Polydorus' fate, perhaps the incorrect ritual functions as a cue in the narrative: here, foreshadowing the failure of the colony. Aeneas flees with the Trojans to Delos, where he begs Apollo for guidance:

da propriam, Thymbraee, domum; da moenia fessis
et genus et mansuram urbem; serva altera Troiae
Pergama, reliquias Danaum atque immitis Achilli.
quem sequimur? quoue ire iubes? ubi ponere sedes? (3.85-8)

Give us our own home, Apollo; give to us weary men walls and a race and an enduring city, and protect the other Trojan citadels, the scraps of the Greeks and harsh Achilles. Whom should we follow? Where do you bid us to go? Where do you bid us to make our homes?

Aeneas emphasises the need for a permanent city (*mansuram urbem*), as well as the ability to establish a race (*genus*). He calls his fellow refugees citadels of Troy (*altera Troiae Pergama*), casting them as the physical remnants of Troy. For the preservation of the remaining Trojans (*reliquias*) and an augmentation to their numbers, the Trojans need a fixed city, and Aeneas relies upon fatedness to ensure and authorise this element of permanence. Apollo responds by telling them to go back where their race began, which Anchises misinterprets to mean Crete. Again, the mistake in interpretation works against the legitimacy of the Cretan city.

The Trojans hear that Crete is abandoned and there are already houses there (*desertaque litora Cretae/ hoste vacare domum sedesque astare relictas*, 3.122-3). On Crete, the Trojans immediately inhabit the abandoned city, and again we see elements of colonisation:

²⁵ The destruction of the city, in contrast, contains the following elements: the gods leave, altars are violated, king is killed, walls are destroyed (*Aen.* 2.298-730).

²⁶ The most important aspect of city-founding, according to Carney (1986), 423, Rykwert (1976), 22-8, and Eliade (1961), 28-52. See Aitken (1956) for the types of ploughs Vergil describes.

²⁷ Servius specifies these gods as Jupiter, Apollo, and Bacchus (*ad Aen.* 3.20).

ergo avidus muros optatae molior urbis
 Pergameamque voco, et laetam cognomine gentem
 hortor amare focos arcemque attollere tectis.
 Iamque fere sicco subductae litore puppes,
 conubiis arvisque novis operata iuventus,
 iura domosque dabam... (3.133-7)

Thus I worked eagerly on the walls of the long-awaited city, and I named it Pergamum and encouraged my people, happy with the name, to love these homes and to build a fortress with roofs. By now the ships were beached together on the dry shore, and the young were occupied with marriage and new farms, and I allotted homes and laws.

Because the city is already established, Aeneas does not have to plough boundaries (perhaps a red flag in itself), but he renames it and urges the Trojans to build new houses as well as inhabiting the existing ones—thus preservation and augmentation. He seems to establish a government by instituting laws, which supports the view that Aeneas is the leader of the Trojans, while Anchises' role is more that of an advisor.²⁸ Again, however, the Trojans suffer calamity, this time with drought and plague, and they must leave yet another colony.²⁹

Later, when Iris appears to the matrons on the beach and attempts to inspire the matrons to halt the voyage, she appeals to their weariness and desire for a permanent city, which echoes Aeneas' earlier plea for permanence:

hic Erycis fines fraterni atque hospes Acestes:
 quis prohibet muros iacere et dare civibus urbem?
 o patria et rapti nequiquam ex hoste penates,
 nullane iam Troiae dicentur moenia? nusquam
 Hectoreos amnis, Xanthum et Simoenta, videbo? (5.630-4)

Here are the borders of brother Eryx and our host Acestes: who stops us from building walls and giving a city to our people? Oh fatherland and gods saved from the enemy in vain, now will no walls be called Troy? Will I never see Hector's rivers—the Xanthus and the Simois?

At pater Aeneas casu concussus acerbo
 nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas
 mutabat versans, Siculisne resideret arvis
 oblitus fatorum, Italasne capesseret oras. (5.700-3)

And father Aeneas, shaken by the hard blow, was moving, turning his great cares in his heart this way and that, whether forgetful of his fate he will settle in tilled Sicily or strive for the Italian shores.

²⁸ See especially Schauer (2007) on the dynamics of Aeneas and Anchises as Trojan leaders.

²⁹ Cf. Armstrong (2002).

By disregarding the prophecies he has received about Italy, Aeneas risks settling yet another unsanctioned and thus illegitimate colony. The vibrancy of his memory of receiving the prophecies has been obscured by his present exhaustion and frustration, and thus the prophecies' authority has ceased to be reinforced sufficiently. The shade of Anchises appears to renew Aeneas' memory and thus the authority of the mission, and he reveals that Jupiter urges the continuance of Aeneas' mission to Italy (5.726-7).

A new colony is established for those who wish to remain behind. We see after the foundation, however, that Venus herself does not approve of this Sicilian colony:

per scelus ecce etiam Troianis matribus actis
exussit foede puppis et classe subegit
amissa socios ignotae linquere terrae. 5.793-5

See how she shamefully set the ships on fire through treachery, with the Trojan mothers having been brought to action, and forced them to strand their comrades in a foreign land with the fleet having been obliterated.

Venus shares with Neptune her concern that Juno is able to intervene with Aeneas' fated voyage and also to diminish the number of Trojan refugees. Venus' concerns should not be an issue, however, as Anchises has previously urged Aeneas to take Nautes' advice (here, *consilium*) and bring only the strongest Trojans to Italy because they will have to fight (5.728-31).³⁰ Thus, those staying behind in Drepanum would not have contributed to Aeneas' mission in Italy.

Before leaving again for Italy with his warriors, Aeneas prepares the new Trojan colony:

interea Aeneas urbem designat aratro
sortiturque domos; hoc Ilium et haec loca Troiam
esse iubet. gaudet regno Troianus Acestes
indicitque forum et patribus dat iura vocatis.
tum vicina astris Erycino in vertice sedes
fundatur Veneri Idaliae, tumuloque sacerdos
ac lucus late sacer additus Anchiseo. (5.755-61)

Meanwhile, Aeneas traced the city with a plough and allotted homes. He ordered that this town be 'Ilium' and this area 'Troy'. Trojan Acestes delighted in rule and appointed a forum and gave rights to the chosen patricians. Then, a shrine to Idalian Venus was founded on the peak of Eryx close to the stars, and a priest and a sacred grove were given to the tomb of Anchises.

Again we see Aeneas plough borders, allocate housing, and name the colony, which combines his duties in founding the previous two colonies. Moreover, Aeneas has previously pledged to honour Anchises with yearly rites in their new city (5.45-60). By building shrines to Venus and Anchises here, he ensures that the remaining Trojans will remember the family's rites. It is the eager Acestes (*gaudet regno*), however, who establishes laws and a senate, which demonstrates the transferral of

³⁰ On Nautes' authority as a prophet, see the next chapter.

leadership of this Trojan colony to Acestes. Acestes holds personal authority in the area (*famaque finitimos et clari nomen Acestae/ excierat*, ‘the fame and glorious name of Acestes drew neighbouring tribes’, 5.106-7). Acestes claims both Trojan lineage from his mother and divine parentage from his father, the river Criniscus (5.38-9).³¹ Acestes is *non immemor* of his Trojan ancestry,³² and this preservation suggests that Troy may be carried on through Acestes as an authoritative leader, acting as a kind of parallel to Rome. This city is authorised by Anchises through prophecy and also by his burial here.

In the *Aeneid*, the convention of heroic burial suggests a relationship between memory, authority, and the physical body. The use of *condere* has two prominent uses in the *Aeneid*: in addition to the sense of ‘to found’, it is frequently used in descriptions of burial. James (1995, 636) argues that a pattern emerges, whereby the appearance of the motif of ‘burying the body’ in the first half of the poem is replaced in the second half with ‘burying the sword’. Both types of burial are heroic in nature: the latter is a heroic action (often inflicted upon another hero), while the former commemorates a dead hero who shares a reciprocal honour with the area in which he is buried—that is, he is honoured in the area, and the area receives honour for possessing the heroic body. For instance, the burial rites and establishment of a cult for Anchises here at Drepanum in a sense authorises Aeneas’ new colony ‘Acesta’. Conversely, I have discussed above a scene in which a Trojan colony built over a corpse is cursed. Aeneas and the Trojans first settle in Thrace, but upon the discovery of Polydorus’ corpse, they find the land is cursed and will not sustain their colony. The (presumably disembodied) voice of Polydorus speaks: *heu fuge crudelis terras, fuge litus avarum* (‘flee these cruel lands, flee the shore of greed’, 3.44). The Trojans take Polydorus’ authoritative advice and flee the land.³³

The *auctoritas* of the dead is represented in Roman culture by monuments and *imagines* yet it is embodied in the physical corpse through memory of their charisma and accomplishments.³⁴ The corpse, then, becomes a powerful symbol which can be wielded by the living. At Caesar’s funeral, Antony appeals to the crowd’s recent memory of Caesar’s *auctoritas* to inspire them into a violent mob by revealing the physical body of murdered Caesar (App. BC 2.147).³⁵ The corpse no longer holds *imperium* or *potestas* because the deceased has lost both, but the *auctoritas* of the deceased remains intact as long as it is remembered.

³¹ There is a tradition that Criniscus is a Trojan himself before he is turned into a river (Lempriere [1788]).

³² See Paschalis (1997), 17.

³³ More on Polydorus’ authority in next chapter.

³⁴ Refer to Chapter 1 on the bio-political nature of *auctoritas*.

³⁵ Gregory (1994), 93-4; Weinstock (1971), 354.

Possession of the corpse means possession of the person's remembered authority, and thus heroic burial is a method for inheriting authority. Heroic burial often 'authorises' a city, such as Orestes' burial in Sparta (Her. 1.67-8); the return of Leonidas' corpse to Sparta (Paus. 3.14.1);³⁶ the transferral of Theseus' body to Athens (Plut. *Cimon* 8, *Theseus* 36); and Ptolemy I's transferral of Alexander's body from Perdiccas in Memphis to the Egyptian capital at Alexandria (Paus. 1.7.1), which Augustus visits after his victory at Actium (Suet. *Aug.* 18; Cass. Dio 51.16.5).³⁷ By literally (or reportedly) building a city on the bones of a hero, a founder associates their city with heroic feats and charisma, and ensures the safety of the citizens as falling under divine or heroic protection. This is especially important in foreign relations; heroic burial and the establishment of a hero cult lend authority to a city based on the collective memory of the hero's own authority and accomplishments. In Republican Rome, there are no official hero cults, though private citizens 'worship' both living and dead Republican heroes. The institution of the hero cult is transformed under Augustus into the imperial cult officially sanctioned by the Senate, which identifies the living emperor and his household as divinely and constitutionally authorised. Augustus creates his own hero cult as the new founder of Rome, which is reinforced after his interment and apotheosis.³⁸

There are instances in the *Aeneid* in which hero cults are established or promised. In the Underworld, the Sibyl promises a hero cult to Palinurus after he begs to be allowed to cross the Styx despite being unburied:

'unde haec, o Palinure, tibi tam dira cupido?
tu Stygias inhumatus aquas amnemque severum
Eumenidum aspicias, ripamve iniussus adibis?
desine fata deum flecti sperare precando,
sed cape dicta memor, duri solacia casus.
nam tua finitimi, longe lateque per urbes
prodigiis acti caelestibus, ossa piabunt
et statuent tumulum et tumulo sollemnia mittent,
aeternumque locus Palinuri nomen habebit.'
his dictis curae emotae pulsusque parumper
corde dolor tristi; gaudet cognomine terra. (6.373-83)

'Where did this terrible wish of yours come from? You, unburied, will see the Stygian waters and the river of the stern Furies - you will approach the river, without command? Stop hoping to soften the decrees of the gods with pleading, but hear and remember these words - comforts of your harsh accident. For your neighbors, through cities far and wide, compelled by divine signals, will appease your bones and

³⁶ Low (2011), 16: "[T]he political and civic business of the classical agora...took place in an environment surrounded by memorials to and relics of Sparta's heroic dead—monuments which recorded, celebrated and encouraged emulation of actions which had enhanced the power and security of the Spartan *polis*."

³⁷ Erskine (2002, 173) argues that Ptolemy "is using Alexander, both as a physical presence and as a memory, in order to appear special in the eyes of others, primarily in the eyes of soldiers but also of his subjects" and "Ptolemy, advertizing himself as the guardian of Alexander's body, could share in Alexander's superhuman charisma" (175). By moving Alexander's body to Alexandria, Ptolemy asserts his claim as Alexander's successor, as the memory, charisma, and authority attached to the body authorises his new capital and thus rule.

³⁸ See Zanker (1988) and Gradel (2002).

erect a mausoleum and dedicate rites to your tomb, and that place will have the permanent name of Palinurus.' With the words his cares were eased, and briefly the pain in his mournful heart was pushed out: he delights in the land with his name.

While Palinurus remains unburied, he does not have the right to travel through the Underworld. His desire to upset the divine hierarchy (*iniussus, fata deum*) perplexes the Sibyl, who uses the future tense (*aspicies* and *adibis*) to point out the absurdity of his wishes. However, the *prodigiis caelestibus* here refer to divine sanctioning of Palinurus' hero cult, in that it is authorised by the gods and so becomes an authoritative landmark. In the establishment of Palinurus' hero cult we see aspects of preservation and augmentation: the preservation of his memory and the augmentation of his fame. So, while Palinurus' journey to the Underworld is hampered by divine power, his memory is preserved by divine authority.

Not all of the burials in the *Aeneid* are necessarily heroic but still hold a sense of honour. Aeneas' nurse Caieta is buried along the voyage, and the area is named after her:³⁹

tu quoque litoribus nostris, Aeneia nutrix,
aeternam moriens famam, Caieta, dedisti;
et nunc servat honos sedem tuus, ossaque nomen
Hesperia in magna, si qua est ea gloria, signat. (7.1-4)

And you, Caieta, the nurse of Aeneas, in dying gave eternal fame to our shores. And now your esteem protects your grave, and name marks your bones in great Hesperia - if that is glory.

Presumably a physical monument expresses the authority which Caieta held, and the narrator claims that it is Caieta's own esteem (*tuus honos*) that preserves her tomb. The claim of being named after and containing the bones of Caieta lends the area her posthumous authority from her (and thus its own) connection to the heroic Aeneas. Caieta has performed a role similar to that of Romulus and Remus' she-wolf nurse,⁴⁰ and as such is celebrated. As Aeneas' nurse, Caieta here acts as a kind of female counterpart to Anchises, in that she performs a motherly role. As we will discuss in a later chapter, maternity is an expression of female *auctoritas*, and thus Caieta presumably holds a type of maternal authority for Aeneas. By naming the city after her, Aeneas expresses his recognition of her maternal-type authority, and the memory of her authority in turn authorises the city in which her body is buried. Thus Caieta and the city "reinforce each other's fame",⁴¹ in a similar way to Palinurus and his city.⁴² Although Caieta's commemoration takes place

³⁹ Modern Gaeta near Naples.

⁴⁰ This is later depicted on Aeneas' shield (8.626f.).

⁴¹ Seider (2013), 137.

⁴² Barchiesi (1979, 8-9) argues that Caieta's recognized burial location 'replaces' Palinurus' burial location which is unknown to the Trojans until the Underworld scene (but ends up being Italy as well). See Burke (1979) on burial rites in the Underworld scene.

in the narrative at the beginning of *Aeneid* 7, at the end of *Aeneid* 6, the narrator tells us that Aeneas and his men are headed for Caieta (6.900-1).⁴³ Presumably, then, the audience already knew the city's foundation and eponym.⁴⁴

Evander's city Pallanteum is founded not upon heroic burial, but a hero cult established to Hercules for killing the monster Cacus, who had been terrorizing the area. Aeneas arrives at Pallanteum as the citizens are holding their annual rites to Hercules in commemoration of the event. One might infer that this annual commemoration of Hercules' feat maintains a sense of security in the population on the grounds that the city has been authorised by Hercules' victory, and is thus safe on account of both heroic and divine favour. The death of Cacus ensures safety for the citizens, and presumably this is when Evander establishes the city of Pallanteum.⁴⁵ Again, this supports Nagy's (2005) argument that epic poetry is local hero worship formalised.

At the end of the *Aeneid*, there is a brief reference to the future of a hero cult for Aeneas himself in Italy:

indigetem Aenean scis ipsa et scire fateris
deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera tolli. (12.794-5)⁴⁶
You yourself know- and you confess that you know- that native Aeneas is bound
for heaven and to be lifted to the stars by the fates.

That Jupiter also presents Aeneas' future deification as common knowledge among the gods perhaps reinforces the authority of the account. However, although Jupiter describes apotheosis here, he does not designate a physical hero cult. The reference to a cult is expounded by Livy, who writes that after Aeneas's death, he is buried on the banks of the Numicius and worshipped as *Iuppiter Indiges* (1.2).⁴⁷ Ovid also includes the apotheosis of Aeneas in the *Metamorphoses*:

lustratum genetrix divino corpus odore
unxit et ambrosia cum dulci nectare mixta
contigit os fecitque deum, quem turba Quirini
nuncupat Indigetem temploque arisque recepit. (14.605-8)

His mother anointed his purified body with divine perfume and wetted his lips with ambrosia mixed with sweet nectar and made him a god, whom the band of Quirinus call Indiges and received into their temple and altars.

⁴³ Seider (2013, 139) explains this as the collusion of time in the narrative with the 'narrating instance'. See his bibliography (2013, 139 n. 54) on apostrophe and time in epic.

⁴⁴ Armstrong (2006), 153 n. 57: though Caieta was called Aeetes Harbour at Ap. Rhod. 4.661 and Lycoph. *Alex.* 1274.

⁴⁵ I discuss this scene further in the next chapter.

⁴⁶ See also Serv. ad *Aen.* 12.794.

⁴⁷ Ogilvie (1965), 41; Weinstock (1971), 10, 19, 292; Kenney (1986), 457; Fishwick (1987), 51-2. See also Gruen (1992, 24-5) on the lack of evidence for the theory that Aeneas was always associated with the figure of *Indiges*.

Ovid uses terminology here which emphasises the physical aspects of Aeneas' deification and predicts his hero cult in Italy.⁴⁸ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, however, specifies that the body of Aeneas is never recovered, which prompts Aeneas' followers to believe in his apotheosis and establish a tomb to him with the inscription: Πατρὸς θεοῦ χθονίου, ὃς ποταμοῦ Νομικίου ῥεῦμα διέπει (1.64). In this particular account, the absence of a body actually enhances the posthumous authority, so much that Aeneas is believed to be deified because of it.

As we saw in Chapter 1, Cicero claims that Romulus creates both the auspices and Senate, upon which the Roman government is based (*Rep.* 2.17), and so the *auctoritas* of both and thus of Rome originates from Romulus and the foundation. Whereas Roman *auctoritas* stems from the foundation of Rome, according to one tradition the *auctoritas* of the patrician class results from Romulus' death. Senators disgruntled by their diminishing political role and power murder and dismember Romulus, and each senator takes away a piece of his body.⁴⁹ Plutarch writes that the people suspected the patricians of wishing to transfer Romulus' power to themselves (τὸ κράτος, *Num.* 2.2),⁵⁰ the division of which Fraschetti (2005, 105) argues is represented by the dismemberment of Romulus' corpse: "[b]y each taking possession of a part of his body, they entered into possession, collectively and severally, of those auspices and that *auctoritas*, as if the body of the founder has been their custodian from the beginning". Their descendants inherit the auspices and *auctoritas*, establishing a stable and closed ruling class legitimised by assumed approval of both the gods and deified Romulus. Moreover, the story of Romulus' apotheosis contributes to his posthumous *auctoritas*, and the possibility that a Roman king can be deified itself attaches *auctoritas* to the kingship.

Both stories of Romulus' disappearance rely on the absence of a body to demonstrate the transferral of *auctoritas*: in the first case, the auspices and thus *auctoritas* held in his material body are divided among the *patres*, who take on the divine *auctoritas* which only Romulus previously holds;⁵¹ and in the second case, the 'evidence' of his apotheosis provides divine authorisation of Roman kingship. Dufallo (2007, 105) argues, Hector's tomb at Buthrotum must be empty (*inania*) in order to authorise Aeneas' mission as the Trojan destiny. Further, Edwards (1996, 65) writes: "Troy and Rome cannot coexist because each depends for its existence on the same divinities, the Penates,

⁴⁸ On this passage, see Galinsky (1975), 244-5.

⁴⁹ *Plut. Rom.* 27.6; *Dion. Hal.* 2.56.4; *Livy* 1.16, 16.4.

⁵⁰ Further, in order to be free of suspicion, the senators have Proculus Julius claim that he saw Romulus ascend, and he is believed on account of his authority as an esteemed man (2.3; also, *Livy* 1.16). On Numerius Atticus' testimony of Julius Caesar's apotheosis, see *Suet. Aug.* 100.7 and *Cass. Dio* 56.46.2. See chapter 3 on authority and deception.

⁵¹ Barton (1997), 34: magistrates later had to perform rituals properly to guarantee their inheritance of this political authority.

the Palladium and Vesta”, so a replica of Troy certainly could not flourish alongside Rome.⁵² Hector comes to Aeneas in a dream and effectively transfers Trojan kingship to Aeneas as guardian of the Penates and rites (2.293); were Hector’s body actually buried in Buthrotum, it could be seen to authorise the new city as heir to Troy through heroic burial. Thus, the absence of Hector’s corpse in Buthrotum is crucial for both the narrative and its larger implications for the future of Rome.

3. Objects

Here I have discussed the corpse as an object with meaning and authority on account of preserved memory. Several other objects in the *Aeneid* hold authority based on memories attached to them. Some objects indicate the possessor’s suitability for leadership (*auctoritas*), which in time can become codified into the right to rule (*imperium* and *potestas*). In the *Aeneid*, objects often seem to provide context and meaning, and thus authority, for the present by identifying aspects such as past owners and locations. For instance, Hector transfers guardianship of the ancient Trojan rites, Vesta’s flame, and the Penates to Aeneas (2.293, 302-3). This represents a tangible transferral of Trojan leadership to Aeneas and providing a link between the Trojan past and Roman future.⁵³

Dido also possesses various items which express her suitability for leadership in Carthage. The first view we have of Carthage’s authority is that it holds Juno’s weapons and chariot (1.16-7). Because Juno keeps her war equipment here, she has designated Carthage as her military base, and in turn, Carthage gains authority from being patronised by Juno.⁵⁴ Two subtle tokens of Dido’s queenship appear during the banquet. First, she possesses plates which display the achievements of her royal and heroic ancestors:

ingens argentum mensis, caelataque in auro
fortia facta patrum, series longissima rerum
per tot ducta viros antiqua ab origine gentis. (1.640-2)

A vast amount of silver on the tables, and the heroic deeds of her forefathers
engraved in gold- a very long story of exploits traced through all the heroes since
the ancient origin of her clan.

Scarth (2007, 71) writes that the plate serves a mnemonic function for remembering Dido’s family history.⁵⁵ Beyond being a mere expression of genealogy, the plate’s decoration places Dido within this royal, heroic lineage. The plate monumentalises the achievements of Dido’s ancestors and the

⁵² In Augustan poetry, Troy must be destroyed for Rome to flourish: *Aen.* 12.826-8; *Hor. Od.* 3.3.57-64; *Prop.* 4.1.87.

⁵³ Smith (2005), 61-70.

⁵⁴ This itself is complicated by the fact that Dido, though she is patronised by Juno, is the first significant “victim if the divine intrigue” (Conte 2007, 34) - besides an unnamed pilot.

⁵⁵ After Yates (1966), 206.

authority which has accumulated over generations. To a Roman audience, the authority of her ancestors reflects directly upon Dido herself, and she becomes the heir to their collective authority. Although this authority should presumably be inherited by Pygmalion, Dido physically possesses the plate, and so claims the honour and authority of her lineage. With its emphasis on lineage, however, the plate reminds us that Dido has no heir of her own; as such she is the end of this royal line, and any authority dies with her.

The second token of queenship is the golden, bejewelled bowl which belonged to Belus from which Dido drinks at the banquet:

hic regina gravem gemmis auroque poposcit
implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes
a Belo soliti. (1.728-30)

The queen called for a libation bowl laden with gems and gold and filled it with wine- which Belus and all of his descendants had done.

Belus' previous ownership of the bowl attaches to it a sense of royal inheritance. These items are crucial for Dido's construction of her royalty in Carthage because they convey the memory of her Tyrian royalty and thus should assert her authority as leader of the new colony. Just as the bowl is *gravis* (physically heavy) with precious gems and gold, so it is *gravis* (weighty and impressive) from its lineage of possession.

When Aeneas and the Trojans approach Latium to sue for peace, they are struck by the *auctoritas* of the Latinus' palace and the Latin traditions and military victories on display:

tectum augustum, ingens, centum sublime columnis
urbe fuit summa, Laurentis regia Pici,
horrendum silvis et religione parentum.
hic sceptrum accipere et primos attollere fascis
regibus omen erat; hoc illis curia templum,
hae sacris sedes epulis; hic ariete caeso
perpetuis soliti patres considerare mensis.
quin etiam veterum effigies ex ordine avorum
antiqua e cedro, Italusque paterque Sabinus
vitisator curvam servans sub imagine falcem,
Saturnusque senex Ianique bifrontis imago
vestibulo astabant, aliique ab origine reges,
Martiaque ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi.
multaque praeterea sacris in postibus arma,
captivi pendentes currus curvaeque secures
et cristae capitum et portarum ingentia claustra
spiculaque clipeique ereptaque rostra carinis. (7.170-86)

The gigantic and sacred roof was the crest of the city, lifted on a hundred columns, the palace of Laurentian Picus, sanctified by its forests and the worship of the

ancestors. It was an omen for kings to receive the sceptre there and to first take up the rods of office. This shrine was their senate, the seat of sacred banquets: here the elders, after a ram was sacrificed, were accustomed to sit down at the long line of tables. Moreover, busts of the old ancestors, carved from ancient cedar, were standing in order in the vestibule - Italus and father Sabinus the vine-planter, depicted as tending a curved sickle, and old Saturn, and the image of double-headed Janus, and all of the kings since the beginning, and soldiers wounded from fighting for their country. In addition, many weapons hung on the sacred doorposts: captured chariots, curved axes, the plumes of helmets, giant bars from city gates, spears, shields, and beaks torn from keels.

The narrator reveals to the external audience the stories behind the images, including commentary on the tokens of Latin kingship and customs of the senate. Although the Trojans are presumably unaware of these stories (as in the case with Aeneas and the shield), the grandeur and history of the palace is clear: no doubt the Trojans are convinced of Latinus' royal legitimacy and authority by *enargeia* alone. The palace is described in terms of being a powerful and ancient symbol; especially its position at the height of the land and the fact that it has been a place of worship for generations contribute to the overall authority of the physical palace. Similarly, the spoils of war hanging from the doorposts demonstrate visually the historical military might of the Latins. The significance of these objects are probably clear to the Trojans; the spoils may be an especially effective decoration for the visiting Trojans, who now understand that there is even more at stake in settling on peace with the militaristic Latins.

The busts of Latinus' ancestors in his palace appear *ex ordine* (7.177), similar to the images on Dido's plate and the display of ancestor masks in a Roman *domus* (Scarth 2008, 90-1, n. 73).⁵⁶ This chronological positioning places Latinus within a recognisable lineage of power, which establishes his own *auctoritas*. The statues in Augustus' forum are also situated in a show of relative authority: Augustus is flanked by both Romulus and Aeneas, positioning Augustus as another founder of Rome. The busts and *elogia* of Republican heroes in the Forum are also reminiscent of both the parade of heroes in the Underworld and the statues in Latinus' palace.⁵⁷

Next in Latinus' palace, a statue of Picus displays three tokens of legitimate rule (7.188): the augur's staff (*lituus*), the robe of state (*trabea*),⁵⁸ and a shield (*ancile*). The shield prompts Servius to list the seven Roman *pignora imperii*: a figure of Cybele; a terracotta chariot; the ashes of Orestes;⁵⁹ Priam's sceptre; Ilione's veil; the Palladium;⁶⁰ and the sacred shields of Numa (*ad Aen.*

⁵⁶ Gregory (1994, 86) comments on the expression and perception of meaning through the juxtaposition of statues.

⁵⁷ On the specifics of the statues and *elogia*, see Sage (1979). On connections to the *Aeneid*, see Frank (1938) and Van Essen (1939), and Rowell's (1941) response to both; more recently, Harrison (2006).

⁵⁸ Servius says that the robe was scarlet and purple (*ad Aen.* 7.188).

⁵⁹ This can be connected with hero cults, as discussed above.

⁶⁰ The Palladium was a wooden image of Minerva, on which the safety of Troy and Rome depended; it is also connected to the Samothracian mysteries and Dardanus and Iasion, ancestors of Aeneas and Palinurus and Iasus, respectively, who are discussed in Chapter 4.

7.188).⁶¹ These *pignora imperii* demonstrate how *auctoritas* derived from the sacred becomes institutionalised, at which point the objects then represent *imperium* based on *auctoritas*, which in turn is based on divine authorisation.

Later on, Latinus refers to his sceptre (among other things) to bind the peace treaty:

nec me vis ulla volentem
avertet, non, si tellurem effundat in undas
diluvis miscens caelumque in Tartara solvat,
ut sceptrum hoc' (dextra sceptrum nam forte gerebat)
'numquam fronde levi fundet virgulta nec umbras,
cum semel in silvis imo de stirpe recisum
matre caret posuitque comas et brachia ferro,
olim arbor, nunc artificis manus aere decoro
inclusit patribusque dedit gestare Latinis.' 12.203-11

'No power will turn me from my wish, not even if the land drifts blending into the sea in a flood and heaven dissolves into hell, just as this sceptre' (for he happened to be holding the sceptre in his hand) 'will never sprout a bush with a smooth branch or shade, once it is separated from its mother, cut from the lowest stem in the forest, and sheds its leaves and branches to a sword: once a tree, now the hands of an artisan wrapped it in decorative bronze and gave it to Latin fathers to hold.'

In the first case, Latinus uses the image of his scepter sprouting leaves to explain that breaking the oath would be equal to breaking natural law. Second, Latinus claims that the scepter was made for *patribus Latinis*, demonstrating that it is another token of hereditary kingship in Latium. Moreover, the scepter was encased in bronze by a craftsman, and the fact that it was commissioned for the king by a professional artisan may give further authority to the scepter as a token of kingship.⁶²

Gifts and Hospitium

Gifts in epic possess history and are thus meaningful, in different ways, to both the recipient and the audience. In their capacity to preserve and express memory, they act as little monuments; although they lack the size and grandeur expected of physical monuments, gifts have the ability to 'monumentalise' by becoming the physical manifestation of something which is otherwise abstract, such as a relationship or an event. By epic convention, gifts are identified by their givers and previous owners, and often the occasion for which they were given.⁶³ This information attaches a history to the object, and so creates a surrogate memory for the audience: through this the audience recognises the object as holding authority. This may provide supplementary information

⁶¹ It fell from heaven during Numa's reign, and ensured the prosperity of Rome.

⁶² On profession, see Chapter 4.

⁶³ Minchin (2001), 101-2. She also argues here that while the items themselves are memorable through their descriptions, they also make the occasion in the narrative memorable.

to the main narrative, create a more complex mythology, and add to the understanding especially of minor or otherwise absent characters. On one hand, gifts can signal deceit, such as the Trojan Horse.⁶⁴ On the other hand, gifts exchanged in epic can be prestigious items with a potential for becoming heirlooms:⁶⁵ this introduces the possibility of the object's continued and increased authority as it attains more owners in the future. As basic elements at work in the function of *auctoritas*, the aspects of increase and augmentation are essential to the maintenance of authority, and so gifting heirlooms contributes to (and facilitates) the transferral and accumulation of authority.

Gift-giving is a major aspect of the practice of *hospitium*. Just as the Greek *xenia* punctuates Odysseus' journey in the *Odyssey*, so instances of *hospitium* both hinder and facilitate Aeneas' voyage in the *Aeneid*. Again, just as obligation and reciprocation are attached to Roman gift-giving, so they are an aspect of Roman *hospitium*.⁶⁶ Like *auctoritas*, *hospitium* is performative in that two parties perform the actions necessary for fulfilling the process. Dido is concerned with performing *hospitium*, which demonstrates to the Trojans that she and her kingdom are cultured and cosmopolitan. This is especially necessary after Ilioneus accuses the Carthaginians of being brutal and isolated, which Dido explains as symptomatic of a young nation.⁶⁷ Dido welcomes the Trojans with ready beneficence, citing their struggles, demonstrating her awareness of international affairs, and offers them her protection and aid. During the banquet, she addresses Jupiter as the divine protector of hospitality, now showing an awareness of their religious customs: *Iuppiter, hospitibus nam te dare iura loquuntur* ('Jove, they say that you make laws about hospitality', 1.731). She expresses her hope that future generations will remember the day happily as the beginning of an alliance (thus a public guest-friendship) between the Trojans and Carthaginians (1.732-3). Rather than being the authoritative basis for a lasting alliance, however, the ultimately violated *hospitium* will function as mythological authority for the conflict between the Romans and Carthaginians.

Dido provides the Trojans with both material and immaterial gifts: she gives them safety and an equal share in her royalty as well as physical gifts like refitting their ships, houses, weapons, and clothes. Aeneas gives her Helen's veil and dress (1.650) and Ilione's sceptre and necklace (1.656), but these gifts tend to undercut rather than reinforce Dido's authority within the narrative from the reader's perspective; rather, they lower her to the status of a royal wife—and a tragic one, at that.⁶⁸ Helen fails as a royal wife at least three times (she leaves Menelaus, attempts to leave Paris, and betrays Deiphobus), and Ilione is the tragic wife of Polymestor, who murders her young

⁶⁴ Moskalew (1990, 277) argues that "the notion of guile and gifts are inextricably linked with the Greeks".

⁶⁵ Minchin (2001), 100-1; Seaford (2004), 152 (on divinely-originated gifts); Lyons (2012), 15.

⁶⁶ On obligation in gift-giving, see Mauss (1996).

⁶⁷ See Akbar-Khan (2002) on Dido as host.

⁶⁸ Further, Lyons (2012, 30) argues that it is dangerous for women to receive jewelry from men who are neither kin nor their husband.

brother Polydorus. Attached to all of these gifts are memories of violated hospitality—first, Helen goes to Troy with Paris when he is Menelaus' guest, and Polydorus' murder by his host, ally, and brother-in-law Polymestor. Just as Dido's plate and bowl are brought during her flight from Tyre, these gifts are salvaged from both Troy and the shipwreck (1.648, 679), perhaps staining them further with tragedy.⁶⁹ Thus, the gifts embody tragic as well as epic memory.

Gibson (1999) wonders what else Aeneas could have given Dido for her *hospitium*, since the Trojans lose many of their material possessions to the shipwreck. Aeneas claims that he could never deny Dido any favour, yet he evades her only request. Dido explicitly tells Aeneas what she considers sufficient repayment: a child (4.327-30). As a counter-offer, Aeneas claims he will remember Dido fondly (4.335-6), which recalls the promise he makes her in their first meeting that he and the Trojans will spread word of her *honos*, *nomen*, and *laudes* throughout the world (1.607-10). The guest-friendship is based on 'generalized reciprocity', in that the host does not expect immediate or equal return (versus a 'balanced reciprocity', which assumes an equal and relatively instant repayment),⁷⁰ so this promise should be sufficient under the conventions of *hospitium*.

That Dido expects reciprocation in the form of a child reinforces her claims to marriage, since the nature of the compensation she proposes is the natural product of marriage. As a proto-Roman host, Dido holds authority because Aeneas is indebted to her as a guest; since it is not a legal interaction, she does not hold legal power. Dido and Aeneas are unequal in circumstance but both have services to exchange—Dido has material wealth and power, while Aeneas has authority and manpower. They form *amicitia* with Dido as the clear patron, in order to establish an alliance, a relationship consisting of an assumed cycle of favours and gifts (*gratia*, *beneficium*, and *munus*).⁷¹ *Amicitia* between Dido and Aeneas seems natural in that it benefits both parties: Dido needs aid to strengthen her city and protect her from marriage to Iarbas or another African king, while Aeneas needs material supplies and a city in which to recuperate after losing Helenus' gifts in the storm.

Their *amicitia* is complicated by romance, however, which may serve to demonstrate Dido's reasoning that a *parvulus Aeneas* would be appropriate compensation rather than *fama*. Dido breaks their bond of *hospitium* when she curses Aeneas, and so their *amicitia* becomes *inimicitia*, which itself is preserved and augmented throughout Roman history.⁷² When Aeneas is leaving Carthage, Dido expresses disgust at his mission, which seems to illustrate Lyons's (2012) hypothesis that ancient marriages suffered from tensions between self-sufficiency and exogamy, since wives are mistrusted

⁶⁹ Lewis (2002, 199) writes that the gift itself is not bad, but the context and characters involved (i.e., how the gift was initially attained, who made it, and previous owners) colour the gift.

⁷⁰ Lyons (2012), 13, after Sahlons (1972), 191-6.

⁷¹ See Williams (2012, 45, 56) on the role of *amicitia* in political alliance.

⁷² According to Ovid (*Fast.* 3.543-656), Aeneas receives Anna after the fall of Carthage, but allows a jealous Lavinia to kick her out again. However, because Dido breaks their *hospitium* prior to this, it is unclear whether he is still bound.

for having divided loyalties between their natal and spousal families. Although Dido is aware of Aeneas' intention to found his own city, she resents him for choosing his loyalty to Troy over his loyalty to Carthage, in a sense casting him as her wife.⁷³ Authority plays a role in his decision in that divine prompting and the promise of Rome holds more authority for him, while he is not as invested in Carthage, despite having some hand in the building program (4.265-7). He still views 'Rome' (or whatever he thinks his future settlement will be at this point) as a continuation of his Trojan identity, which has been built up over centuries of political authority and years of his personal authority. Carthage, on the other hand, is a new city with a new ruler,⁷⁴ and the ties which bind him are new and relatively weak.

A further gender issue in Carthage arises with gift-giving. Because weaving is performed by women in the ancient Mediterranean, textiles are an example of 'gendered gifts'.⁷⁵ The tunic Dido makes for Aeneas (4.261-4) is gendered in that weaving is the traditional role of the wife, and so in making the tunic for Aeneas, Dido performs the wifely function of producing textiles for the family despite being a queen in her own right. Although textiles can be used dangerously by women in ancient poetry, such as for poisoning or suffocation, when exchanged between family members they are especially benign. This might give support to Dido's claim of marriage (on her end), as she gifted Aeneas with Punic clothes she wove herself as a wifely duty rather than with malicious intent. Dido's purple and gold hunting clothes are relics from her royal Tyrian past (4.137), and thus we might read the matching purple and gold clothing Dido makes for Aeneas (4.263) as an effort to cast him as a Carthaginian royal, rather than Trojan or Latin.

We see later in the epic that Aeneas buries Pallas in (we can assume) the same tunic (11.72-5). There are few instances of gift-giving in the Latium scenes apart from the exchange with Latinus (7.261, 7.274-83).⁷⁶ Indeed, if one subscribes to the theory that the earlier part of the *Aeneid* corresponds to the *Odyssey* and the later books to the *Iliad*, one might recognise that the first few books contain many objects which are gifts, which follows the *Odyssey* as concerned with gift-giving as an aspect of *xenia*, whereas the later episodes are more concerned with weapons and armour. For instance, although Evander refers to the gift of the golden bits Anchises had once given him and which he passed on to Pallas, Aeneas makes no gift to Evander.⁷⁷ This absence of gift-giving seems to be consistent with Evander's modest character.⁷⁸

On account of its rarity, then, the appearance of this tunic is striking. The tunic carries the tragic memory of Dido and her ambiguous and failed relationship. The liminality of their

⁷³ On Aeneas as 'wife', see Chapter 5.

⁷⁴ 'Karthago' even means 'New City'.

⁷⁵ See Lyons (2012, 8, 65-7) on gendered gifts and women as agents rather than objects of gift-giving.

⁷⁶ On this exchange as being in accordance with prophecy, see Cairns (1989), 65.

⁷⁷ McGushin (1965), 415.

⁷⁸ McGushin (1965), 416: the *auri sacra fames* (3.57) and *auri amore* (1.349) we find elsewhere are contrasted by Evander's modesty.

relationship is echoed potentially in the ambiguous relationship of Pallas and Aeneas— are they ward/protector, lovers, brothers, or friends? It is unusual that Aeneas gives Pallas a final gift as gendered as a textile, since in both tragic and epic convention, this would be given by a woman. The fact that Aeneas gives Pallas this gift speaks both to the significance of their connection and the final tragedy of Pallas' premature death which we might connect to Dido's suicide.

The gifting of clothes (by a woman) occurs also in the Buthrotum scene. Before Aeneas and his company leave the city, Helenus and Andromache load their ships with gifts, including clothes for Ascanius woven by Andromache. She calls the clothes themselves monuments (*manuum...monimenta mearum*, 3.486), as she hopes they will remind Ascanius of her just as he has reminded her of Astyanax.⁷⁹ Much has been written about Andromache treating Ascanius as a surrogate son, but the episode contains further implications concerning the Trojan royal line. As Hector's son and Priam's grandson, presumably Astyanax would have inherited a royal office and probably even the kingship someday, and his family's accrued authority would have fallen to him. However, just as Hector transfers guardianship of the Penates and thus the leadership of the Trojans to Aeneas, Andromache transfers what would have been Astyanax's inheritance of this leadership and the continuation of Trojan authority to Ascanius by means of the gifts. In a sense, the clothing authorises Ascanius as the heir to the Trojan leadership just as the Penates authorise Aeneas' rule.

4. Monuments

Whereas gifts are objects of private commemoration, public monuments express authority by appealing to certain collective memories and values. As discussed in the previous chapter, Cicero refers to the authority of the Senate house itself (*Marc.* 3.10). The authority of the physical building is a reflection and expression of the authority of the body it houses (in this case, the Senate). In his dedication to Augustus, Vitruvius writes that Augustus' building program will lend *auctoritas* to the existing *imperium* of Rome (*Vitr.* 1.pr.2). That is, the Roman Empire has power, but Rome's physical spaces express its authority. Suetonius records that Augustus finds Rome brick and leaves it marble and thus more durable for the future (*Aug.* 28.3); Vitruvius argues similarly that if the Marian Temple of Honour and Virtue had been built in marble, it would have had more *auctoritas* beyond a mere exhibition of skill (7.pr). Further, Vitruvius maintains that the buildings will correspond to the grandeur of their history and act as a memorial for future generations (1.pr.3).

⁷⁹ Like Hector's 'empty' grave, Ascanius is described as Astyanax's *imago* (3.489).

Meyers (2012, 2) identifies the three distinguishing aspects of monumentality as ‘durability, visibility, and commemoration’.⁸⁰ Often the structural type or design of a monument is an element of its commemorative function. For instance, Augustus’ Mausoleum and Ara Pacis are built in a traditional style, yet the decoration on both emphasises Augustus’ role as refounder of Rome and depicts the expansion of the empire under him.⁸¹ Again, Augustus employs traditional forms to express novel content. Monumentalisation relies on such a blend of tradition and novelty because the function of a monument is to preserve the memory of a commemorated entity or event and to further expand its glory. Horsfall (1988, 43) explains the relationship between monuments and legend as a reciprocal process rooted in increase: “I monumenti sono capaci di stimolare sviluppi in una leggenda e una leggenda può provocare spiegazioni di un monumento.” This is similar to the process of authority, in that preservation, reciprocity, and amplification are key elements of its creation and recognition, and ultimately its survival. In a sense, then, authority is a monumentalisation of charisma, influence, and credibility.

In the *Aeneid*, we find a reversal of this convention in Helenus’ new city of Chaonia. The city, modeled after Troy itself, contains recognisable Trojan landmarks, yet these landmarks and the city itself are ‘little’ (*parva Troia*, 3.349) compared to the original forms.⁸² Even geological features such as the ‘Simois’ is called *falsus* (3.302), and the ‘Xanthus’ river is revealed to be a dry stream (*arens rivus*, 3.350). Helenus copies memorable aspects of Troy to commemorate in his new city. However, just as *auctoritas* connotes a sense of ‘increase’, so monumentalisation requires an element of grandeur in order to be distinguished from simple replication. Chaonia is a diminutive replica of the original Troy, and Helenus relinquishes any claim to inheritance of Troy’s authority.⁸³ Indeed, Bettini (1997, 11) argues that the city copies Troy “in a reduced and degraded form”. Not only do Helenus and Andromache fail to monumentalise Troy by augmenting its memorable aspects, but they make it smaller and less durable. Although there is commemoration in Chaonia, there is neither visibility nor durability, and thus no monumentalisation. There is preservation without augmentation, which results in a failure to carry on Troy’s authority. Aeneas, however, will commemorate Troy in a more “evolved and less literal” fashion.⁸⁴

Vergil suggests that Rome will preserve Trojan and Italian elements and augment them with its own glory. Edwards (1996, 28-30) points out that Roman writers use space to both

⁸⁰ Vitruvius lists the three elements of building as *firmitas* (durability), *utilitas* (functionality), and *venustas* (beauty, 1.3.2).

⁸¹ The *Res Gestae* at the entrance of the Mausoleum, and the Ara Pacis decorated with scenes of the foundations of Rome, the figure of Roma, foreign spoils, and barbarian characters in the parade (Augustus also includes public presentation of barbarians in his triumphs at RG 4.3). Newlands (1995, 24) writes that the Egyptian obelisk contrasts with the Mausoleum and Ara Pacis because it is foreign in form. Although all three are monuments to Augustus’ contributions to expansion of the empire, the Mausoleum and Ara Pacis signify pacification, while the obelisk represents the military subjugation of Egypt, as described in its inscription: *Aegyptio in potestatem populi Romani redacta* (for the subjugation of Egypt under the power of the Roman people).

⁸² See Seider’s (2013, 87 n. 68-9) bibliography on the ‘deadness’ of the city.

⁸³ On the ancient authority of Troy, see Reed (2007), 134-6.

⁸⁴ Seider (2013), 88.

understand and express a relationship between its past and present. Vergil employs elements from the topography of Augustan Rome to explain its foundation.⁸⁵ Evander shows Aeneas his city:

Vix ea dicta, dehinc progressus monstrat et aram
et Carmentalem Romani nomine portam
quam memorant, nymphae priscum Carmentis honorem,
vatis fatidicae, cecinit quae prima futuros
Aeneadas magnos et nobile Pallanteum.
hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulus acer asylum
rettulit, et gelida monstrat sub rupe Lupercal
Parrhasio dictum Panos de more Lycaeï.
nec non et sacri monstrat nemus Argileti
testaturque locum et letum docet hospitibus Argi.
hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem et Capitolia ducit
aurea nunc, olim silvestribus horrida dumis.
iam tum religio pavidos terrebat agrestis
dira loci, iam tum silvam saxumque tremebant. (8.337-50)

Scarcely finishing these words, walking forth he showed them the altar and gate which the Romans memorialise by the name Carmental, an ancient tribute to the nymph Carmentis, the soothsaying prophetess, who first sang the great futures of the Aeneadae and the famous Pallanteum. Then, he shows them a large grove, which fierce Romulus named the Asylum, and the Lupercal beneath an icy cliff, named in the Arcadian tradition of Lycaean Pan. Nor did he not show them the grove of the sacred Argiletum and he bore witness to the place and told them about the death of the house-guest Argus. Next he brings them to the Tarpeian Rock and the Capitol now gold, once overgrown will forest brambles. Even then the ominous holiness of the place would scare the quaking peasants; even then they would tremble before the forest and the cliff.

The narrator's commentary here links Evander's Pallanteum and his contemporary audience's Rome.⁸⁶ While Evander tells Aeneas the stories behind the city's features, so the narrator explains the origin of Roman landmarks. Notably, the narrator endows the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline with even more authority in this description of its origin, as he explains that the temple was built in a place in which people already felt divine power.⁸⁷

In the tour, Vergil idealises the modesty of Pallanteum, using its landmarks and topography to suggest what Edwards (1996, 11-15) calls 'a superior past'. Halbwachs (1992, 48) makes the interesting point that people instinctively places the Golden Age in the past rather than the future because the past is so idealised. If we consider the several prophecies about Augustus and the future of Rome, however, we find that Vergil places a restored Golden Age in the future.

⁸⁵ See Gowing (2005) and Fowler (2000) on memory and Roman monuments and topography. See also Pandey (2014) on specifically Augustan memory.

⁸⁶ Edwards (1996, 42-3) explains that "[t]opography, for the Romans, perhaps played a greater role than chronology in making sense of the past. Past time was conflated and places became vehicles for a kind of non-sequential history..."

⁸⁷ On finding the human head at the base of the Capitoline, see Livy 1.55.5. Giusti (2014, 96) sees a parallel between this scene in Livy and the discovery of the horse head in Carthage. The feeling here on the Capitoline is similar to the overpowering presence of Latinus' palace discussed above: Latinus' palace is described with *horrendus*, while the Capitol is described with *horridus*.

Thus, in the *Aeneid* Vergil both refers to the authority of the past as the basis of Rome and the authority Rome will gain in the future through imperial expansion.

Funerary Monuments

Monuments themselves act as records for the past,⁸⁸ providing the public with authoritative proof for history and also commemoration. Funerary inscriptions are an important aspect of ancient Roman culture and identity because they record history and celebrate the deeds, values, and authority of ancestors.⁸⁹ Pliny writes that monumental inscriptions function as collective memory (NH 2.154), and sometimes the entire eulogy is transcribed directly on the tomb “to be recalled long after the spoken words had been forgotten”.⁹⁰ Ancestor masks, funerary monuments, rituals, and eulogies ensures that the dead are not only remembered but actively and often celebrated.⁹¹

Political theatre also employs methods of memory in public commemoration of the private. Sight is an effective medium for recognising authority, which is why physical and visual expressions of authority are effective. For the Romans, memory often functions visually and thus tangibly in monuments and objects such as ancestor masks. This visual aspect of memory is reflected in ancient thought, which often explains memory through visual metaphors.⁹² Plato and Aristotle compare memory to a block of wax, and perceptions to a seal ring imprinting images into the wax (Plat. *Theaet.* 191c8-e; Arist. *De Mem.* 450a28-32). Further, Cicero compares memory to a painting (*Rep.* 5.2), and the author of the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* often uses images to explain memory, and especially as mnemonic devices (16-18, 21-23).⁹³ Koortbojian (1995, 122-5) describes the significance of ancestor masks and funeral processions in Roman culture. Flower (1996, 110) makes a connection between Anchises explaining to Aeneas the future Roman leaders in the Underworld and a funerary procession, during which a father would explain the Roman heroes and traditions to his son.⁹⁴

For the Romans, commemoration is an expression of power and authority, and families compete in the Republican period to assert their influence visually through massive and elaborate

⁸⁸ Purcell (1989), 165.

⁸⁹ Gowing (2005), 23.

⁹⁰ Carroll (2006), 25.

⁹¹ On ancestor masks, see Gregory (1994), 87; Flower (1996), 118-21; Shumka (2000), 150-88; Carroll (2006), 35-8. On funerary monuments, see Koortbojian (1995); Carroll (2006 and 2011).

⁹² Small (1997), 81-159; Farrell (1997b).

⁹³ Augustine also refers to the visual nature of memory (*Conf.* 10.9-12). Cicero remarks, after Simonides, that because sight is the keenest sense, it is the most effective method of remembering (*de Orat.* 2.87.357), and compares the creation of memory to writing on a wax tablet (2.86.351). Quintilian refers to this approach, as well (*Instit. Orat.* 12.2.19-24). See Scarth (2008, 43-63) on the visual nature of memory in Roman rhetoric.

⁹⁴ On the similarity of Vergil's Underworld scene and a funeral procession, see: Skard (1965); Novara (1987); Bettini (1991), 144-9; Flower (1996); 109-14. Further, see Harrison (2006, 179-83) on Anchises showing this adult son the Show of Heroes as a parallel for the statues of Roman heroes in the Forum of Augustus.

monuments.⁹⁵ However, Augustus' mausoleum overshadows all others due to its massive size and highly visible placement on the Tiber.⁹⁶ Augustus' mausoleum marks an end to "one-upmanship in funerary architecture", and funerary monuments become more uniform and less ostentatious,⁹⁷ which may have been influenced by Augustus' emphasis on uniformity in his overall building program. Carroll (2006, 96) argues that the uniformity in funerary monuments expresses "belonging and being part of the community of peers", which might be reminiscent of Augustus' claim of being first in authority among his peers of equal power (RG 34).

For an individual, the temporal distance between an initial perception and the point of its mental retrieval occurs in the mind through a variety of stimuli. In the public collective memory, however, Trigg (2010, 72) explains: "[t]his gap between experience and recollection is embodied publicly when...the past becomes articulated through the figure of a *monument*." Monuments express this relationship between the past and present through the vehicle of memory, and the word monument (*monumentum*) itself is related to both *monere* and *meminisse*, to remind.⁹⁸ The monument itself, however, does not express a memory or hold authority merely in its materiality, especially since it need not be a physical object; rather, the monument expresses the authority of the collective memory attached to the event commemorated.

Koortbojian (1995, 8-9) argues that mythological decorations on imperial sarcophagi are meaningless in themselves until analysed by the viewer within a funerary context. By nature, the viewer understands that there are similarities rather than differences between the visually-perceived decoration and the remembered body,⁹⁹ but the specific analogies are formed by comparing learned mythology and the experientially- or factually-remembered person.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, a monument only expresses authority when the viewer analyses the images and words displayed by referring to their own factual or experiential memories.¹⁰¹ Again, we find that the past provides context for the present, and again, we find reciprocity in authority: the viewer recognises the authority expressed by the monument, and with that recognition the monument continues to

⁹⁵ Flower (1996), 86; Gregory (1994), 83 (n. 12 for ancient sources and bibliography).

⁹⁶ Carroll (2006), 8, 50. Harrison (2006, 167) notes that the *tumulum...recentem* at *Aen.* 6.874 refers to Augustus' mausoleum, the first interment being that of the recently-deceased Marcellus (Dio 53.30.5).

⁹⁷ Carroll (2006), 96.

⁹⁸ Varr. *LL.*, 6.49. Smith (2005), 92: the Indo-European root *men- also suggests a visual aspect to memory retention.

⁹⁹ Koortbojian (1995), 3-4; Lloyd (1966), 192-3.

¹⁰⁰ See Zanker (2010, 36-55) on methods for 'reading' the mythological images on sarcophagi.

¹⁰¹ See Gregory (1994, 89) on the 'affective' and the 'cognitive' stages of perceiving a symbol: the affective being the specific emotion and intensity of emotion inspired by the perception, while the cognitive draws "on previous knowledge about the object and what it represents". Further, he emphasizes that it is not the symbol itself but the *meaning* of the symbol (which I argue is facilitated by memory) that provokes emotion in the viewer.

reinforce its authority (and perhaps also the authority of its dedicant or occupant) to its audience.¹⁰²

Monuments and foundations can become intertwined, with either a monument commemorating a foundation or a foundation being built upon a monument. Blending aspects of the past and future, the relationship between the foundation and the monument is reciprocal in that one authorises the other. For instance, the temple to Juno at Carthage shows the Tyrians' piety to Juno for facilitating the city's foundation, and we read that Carthage enjoys Juno's favour. Although the murder of Sychaeus and his appearance to Dido both precipitate Dido's flight from Tyre, the founding of Carthage is sanctioned by the ancient treasure (1.358-9) and a divine marker (1.442-4). The latter, the stone horse head, is interpreted as a sign from Juno to establish the city in that spot. Though it is a monument more to the future than the past, the statue requires an active memory of learning the prophecy in order to interpret its meaning in terms of foundation.

Hector's tomb in Greece is a monument not to Buthrotum but to the Trojan past. Just as Andromache keeps a tomb to Hector in Buthrotum, so Dido keeps a tomb to Sychaeus in her palace in Carthage (4.457). These tombs act as sites of memory for the women: to them, their husbands' tombs *are* their cities' foundation. To feel as though their new lives are sanctioned by their dead husbands perhaps lessens the guilt or shame the women suffer from having new relationships. Indeed, Dido's guilt over 'marrying' Aeneas only returns after he leaves her, thus shattering any notion Dido had of their relationship being divinely approved. It is significant, then, that Dido remembers Sychaeus during her breakdown:

praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum
coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,
velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum:
hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis
visa viri... (4.457-61)

In her house there was a marble shrine for her late husband, which she would worship with spectacular rites, wrapped in white fleece and a festive wreath: here she seemed to hear voices and the words of her husband calling...

The imperfect *colebat* here suggests that she 'used to tend' the temple, but since Aeneas' arrival she has neglected it. The shame drives her mad, and she 'hears' Sychaeus' voice. The tomb has become even more monumentalised by Dido, and as the audience, we feel this effect as well.

We might consider also the relief of the Trojan War on Juno's temple in Carthage as a monument in several senses (1.456-93). Viewing the scenes, Aeneas laments his countrymen and audibly groans when he sees Hector's armour, chariot, and commodified body (1.483-6). Both Seider (2013) and Putnam (1998, 4, 10) acknowledge emotional responses from (especially visual)

¹⁰² See Chapter 3 on the authority of the written word.

interactions with memory. In addition to eliciting an emotional reaction from Aeneas based on his memory of the Trojan War, the murals “monumentalize [Juno’s] violence in ways only the reader-viewer, and not the poem’s protagonists, can comprehend”.¹⁰³ Like Aeneas, we ‘see’ here the collective result of Juno’s anger laid out visually in the narrative and through ekphrasis in the narration. Although viewed in a presumably chronological order, all of the images on the mural are visible simultaneously. This could fall under Meyers’s category of ‘visibility’ in monument (above), as the relief presents the events in an aggrandised form.

The durability of the relief as a monument is dependent presumably upon the durability of the temple itself. From the narrator’s description of the temple, it seems rather sturdy:

Hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido
condebat, donis opulentum et numine divae,
aerea cui gradibus surgebant limina, nexaeque
aere trabes, foribus cardo stridebat aenis. (1.446-9)

Here Sidonian Dido was building a huge temple to Juno, rich with gifts and divine power, in which the bronze thresholds were rising from the stairs, and the beams joined by bronze, and the hinge creaking on copper doors.

The narrator does not mention any faults in the architectural integrity of the temple; rather, he emphasises the use of bronze to indicate both its grandeur and its strength, as it is reinforced by bronze. Because the temple houses divine *numen*, we see that it has been doubly authorised by Juno: first, her horse head indicates the site on which Dido builds the temple, and second, that Juno inhabits the temple demonstrates her approval. There is no mention elsewhere in literature as to the fate of this temple after the sack of Carthage by Pygmalion and Iarbas,¹⁰⁴ and so the actual durability of the monument cannot be evaluated.

Although monuments are often physical objects such as tombs, buildings, and sculptures, they can also take the form of legends, history, and poetry, which also offers durability to the preservation of memory.¹⁰⁵ While Vitruvius asserts his own authority as a skilled architect, he admits that architectural texts are not as authoritative as historical works and poetry, which preserve and amplify their subject matter in a way architecture cannot (5.pr).¹⁰⁶ Commemoration contributes to a formalised collective memory in the public, but Seider (2013, 142) suggests that, in the *Aeneid*, “the audience faces a multitude of commemorations that challenges the very possibility of a standardized version of the past”. Because there are so many deaths especially in the second

¹⁰³ Putnam (1998), 4.

¹⁰⁴ It has been suggested, however, that the fictional temple is based on the Temple of Tanit in Carthage (as Tanit is the Carthaginian equivalent of Juno Lucina), which is destroyed by Rome in the Punic Wars: see Benko (2004), 28.

¹⁰⁵ Meyers (2012), 8; Livy, pr. 6, 10.

¹⁰⁶ However, Edwards (1996, 42-3) argues that “[m]onuments...transcended the rigid chronological succession of annalistic records.”

half of the *Aeneid*, the surrogate memories of the characters' deaths may not hold as much significance in the audience as they would if there were fewer deaths commemorated. The audience can receive and react to information, but it is unlikely that they will remember or attach authority to each piece of information. This is especially the case in epic lists and catalogues; Minchin (2001, 73-99) argues that lists and catalogues function performatively to display the skill (and memory) of the poet and add to the sense of urgency in the narrative rather than contributing to the overall narrative progression.¹⁰⁷ The list is not meant to be retained completely; rather, audience members listen for figures with whom they are familiar.¹⁰⁸ Because a major function of the *Aeneid* is linking contemporary Romans to their heroic Trojan and Etruscan ancestors, Vergil's audience searches for familiar names in his catalogue of forces, funeral games commentary, and extensive lists of battles and deaths.

5. Forgetting

Memories contain perceptions and emotions,¹⁰⁹ which consolidate to form opinions and beliefs in the individual; in the public, they form a culture. These beliefs and traditions are sustained through consistent perceptions and new memories, and thus the authority of opinion is reinforced. If memories are not reinforced, they lose their authority, and if present experiences contradict memories, opinions are modified. This does not necessarily mean that the original memories are forgotten; instead, a two-track memory emerges, in which the original memory exists concurrently with the modified memory. Lotman and Uspensky (1978, 216) explain that in this two-track memory, every movement repeals the authority of the previous movement, creating a simultaneous memory of 1) the 'forgotten' material and 2) the new material.¹¹⁰ They continue: "[c]ulture by its very essence is against forgetting. It overcomes forgetting, turning it into one of the mechanisms of memory".

Because the *Aeneid* is an expression of Roman culture, forgetting serves no creative function within it. Indeed, that which Aeneas supposedly 'forgets' is recorded in the *Aeneid* itself, so that the audience might use the past to understand both the internal and external present and future.¹¹¹ Often in the *Aeneid*, we find that characters change their opinions. Quint (1993) argues that this is due to characters 'forgetting' their pasts, and that forgetting is crucial for narrative progress. Most (2001, 162) picks up on this dynamic, though he specifies that the Trojan

¹⁰⁷ Farrell (1997b), 383: for the Romans, memory is performed rather than stored. See also Calame (2008).

¹⁰⁸ Minchin (2001), 97.

¹⁰⁹ Schacter (2001), 9.

¹¹⁰ I wonder if a similar dynamic is present in graffiti over official texts and monuments, in that the original expression of power remains intact yet co-exists with an expression which fundamentally undermines it. See Gregory (1994), 93.

¹¹¹ Gale (2003), 342-4.

‘forgetting’ is focused in the figure of Aeneas, who “must forget his past in order to remember his future”. In this section, however, I propose that the process by which characters’ opinions are modified is not by forgetting but by adapting to ongoing experience.

Far from the ancient conception of memory as an imprint of perception, modern neurobiological and psychological studies have found that memory is a dynamic, ongoing process that requires constant activity and growth in order to function; if activity halts, long-term memory risks erasure.¹¹² This activist or adaptative model of memory is rooted in the work of James (1890), Darwin (1859), Freud (1964), Bartlett (1964, 197-214), and Piaget and Inhelder (1975, 1-26) on the evolution and assimilation of memories according to ongoing experiences. This adaptative model is reflected to an extent in the *Aeneid*, in which ongoing experiences affect opinions and attitudes shaped by memory. The memories do not change, but new experiences modify the authority of those memories, in that the authority is no longer reinforced, and a new opinion is formed. An adaptive model of forgetting, therefore, emerges of necessity.¹¹³

In order to argue this, we should establish the type of forgetting Aeneas experiences. Modern psychology categorises the four main types of forgetting: repression of memory; decay of memory traces; interference with another memory; and the absence of an appropriate memory cue.¹¹⁴ Quint (1993) seems to base his theory of forgetting in the *Aeneid* on repression of memory. As we observe from Aeneas’ Trojan War story to the Carthaginian court, however, Aeneas has not repressed any memories, and he continues to remember prophecies, people, and events throughout the epic. Further, there is no evidence that his memory faculties malfunction biologically. Finally, Aeneas receives a number of memory cues— from several events described in prophecies and, more famously, Pallas’ baldric, which inspires his murder of Turnus. However, some of his memories seem to contradict one another, such as when he mistakenly attributes eating their own tables (7.129) as a prophecy from Anchises rather than a curse from Celaeno.¹¹⁵

Damnatio memoriae illustrates succinctly the modification of memory in Roman culture. A disgraced politician or enemy of the state is literally stricken from the records, and any physical remnant memorialising their existence is modified or destroyed completely.¹¹⁶ By being removed from the collective memory, an individual loses their authority within Roman society. In many instances, although the name is removed, the monument and blatant erasure survive.¹¹⁷ Thus, the

¹¹² Shema, Sacktor, and Dudai (2007); Engel (1999), 6; Loftus and Ketchum (1991), 20.

¹¹³ Roediger, et al. (2010), 17. On adaptation, see: Schulkin (2009).

¹¹⁴ Bernecker (2010), 198 n.9.

¹¹⁵ However, there is debate over whether this inconsistency is intentional or accidental: see O’Hara (2007) for a discussion of inconsistency in the *Aeneid*.

¹¹⁶ Flower (2006) and Carroll (2011). See Gregory (1994, 92 & n. 55, 97 & n. 73) on bans of *imagines maiorum*.

¹¹⁷ See the images in Carroll (2011).

act of striking a name from a monument creates a two-track memory: of that which is removed, and of that which remains.

However, elements of the collective memory can be systematically suppressed for political purposes. Gowing (2005, 2) writes of Rome: “the ability to control and even suppress memory became a crucial component of political authority...the past wholly defined the present, and to forget...the past, at either the level of the individual or of the state, risked the loss of identity and even extinction.” Terdiman (1993) warns of the danger of when a culture feels disconnected from its past, which he terms a ‘memory crisis’. Gowing and Terdiman’s concerns reflect the theory that the mid-20th century suffers a crisis of authority.¹¹⁸ By forgetting the tenets upon which culture and authority are formed, the collective memory experiences neither reinforcement nor a positive modification of values or transferral of authority—just as Aeneas must retain some memory of Troy in order to make sense of his Italian destiny, the past must engage constantly with the present in order to make sense and function effectively.

Aeneas’ progress is dependent upon his Trojan memory because it is how he makes sense of the world, thus his recollection of the past provides understanding of the present and future.¹¹⁹ For instance, the Sibyl communicates her prophecy to Aeneas by using metaphors and imagery familiar to him (6.88-94). The Sibyl refers to Trojan landmarks (the Simois and Xanthus) and aspects of the Trojan War (the Greek camps, Achilles, and Juno) so that her prophecy will hold significance for Aeneas in the present and thus he will remember it more easily when he recognises elements of it in the future.¹²⁰

Characters in the *Aeneid* cannot forget their past completely without jeopardising their future. Aeneas must be prompted by Mercury to remember his mission once he is settled at Carthage (4.265-75). Further, Cupid casts a spell on Dido which makes her forget Sychaeus (1.719-22)—the major force which had kept her from Aeneas and her ultimate ruin. Memories and the effects of memories can be accommodated or changed by external sources of authority. A striking example of this in the *Aeneid* is Juno’s shifting attitude toward the Trojans. The epic begins with Juno brooding over her past injuries at the hands of the Trojans, and the storm she unleashes to compromise the Trojans’ future is the result of her accrued hatred. When Jupiter promises her unsurpassed honour from the Romans in Book 12, Juno is satisfied and no longer interferes in the war. Her once-violent memories seem to mellow when she is promised enduring supplication, and she performs a kind of *clementia*, similar to that which Augustus celebrates in himself (RG).

¹¹⁸ See Chapter 1.

¹¹⁹ Seider (2013, 59-61) compares this process to “constructing a simile, searching for a likeness between past and present to make his future comprehensible”.

¹²⁰ Seider (2013), 31-3. Smith (2005, 61-2) argues that prophecies which combine elements of past, present, and future also serve to provide rationale for Rome’s foundation and existence, and allude to the *auctoritas* and *imperium* of Julius Caesar and Augustus.

Putnam (1998, 72-3) makes the connection between the *memorem iram* of Juno (*Aen.* 1.4) and the *saevi monimenta doloris* ('the spoils commemorating his grief', 12.945) of Aeneas as instances in which memory and anger drive the narrative. Aeneas' discovery of Pallas' baldric on Turnus is an especially troubling instance in which memory and authority intertwine to affect the narrative substantially. In an act reminiscent of Priam, Turnus tells Aeneas to remember his father in order to inspire *clementia* through *pietas*.¹²¹ Incited by the sight of the tragic baldric,¹²² however, Aeneas does not allow his memory to be altered, and he kills Turnus. The baldric engages with memory in three ways: first, the mythological decoration of the Danaids addresses the collective memory of Vergil's audience which is depicted in contemporary culture.¹²³ Second, it compels Aeneas to remember both his promise to Evander and the death of Pallas. Finally, it forms a significant episode in the foundation myth of Rome. Generally, the argument is made that if Aeneas were able to suppress his memories sufficiently in this instant to show *clementia*, the outcome of the epic would be different. This argument shades Aeneas' reaction as irrational and motivated by emotion alone, which makes these lines another example used in pessimistic readings. An alternative approach to this scene, however, may be to consider Aeneas' interaction with the baldric in terms of authority as well as memory. As I have mentioned above, materiality alone does not make an object authoritative; rather, memory of the object's history and significance invokes authority, which requires an external party who remembers this information.¹²⁴ The case here may be that Aeneas, having memories of Evander and Pallas attached to the baldric, considers the baldric as sanctioning Turnus' murder.

Just as Aeneas must either forget or alter his memory in order for Turnus to survive, in the Underworld scene, we find that absolute forgetting is required for the survival of humanity. The only instance of irreversible forgetting in the *Aeneid* is when souls must drink from the Lethe in order to forget their memories of both their mortal life and Elysium in order to be reincarnated.¹²⁵ Otherwise, as Aeneas hypothesises and Anchises admits, if souls retain their memories of mortal suffering, they would not wish to be reincarnated.¹²⁶ The new soul does not recognise authority

¹²¹ On this, see Seider (2013), 187. I cover this passage in Chapter 5, under the section of fathers and sons.

¹²² Seider (2013, 191) refers to this as a 'flash-bulb memory'.

¹²³ On the decoration of the sword-belt and the monumentalisation of the Danaids, see Putnam (1998, 199-201) and Harrison (1998). Seider (2013, 187), I think correctly, argues that the mythological scene on the baldric, although perhaps meaningful to Aeneas in that he is aware of the mythology, is ultimately ineffectual in Aeneas' decision to kill Turnus. The decoration, then, is included for the sake of Vergil's external audience.

¹²⁴ The narrator even recalls the craftsman of the baldric—Clonus, son of Eurytus (10.499).

¹²⁵ Most (2001, 169-70) makes the interesting point that Aeneas may not even remember his visit to the Underworld.

¹²⁶ Seider (2013, 35) points out that the position of *velle* between *incipiant* and *reverti* (6.751) indicates "how a loss of memory leads to a change in attitude and behavior".

because it possesses no memories from which to construct opinions by which they are influenced.¹²⁷

Aeneas, however, seems more disturbed here than in Helenus' *parva Troia*: while he finds comfort in Chaonia, he bristles (*horrescit*, 6.710) at the sight of the souls drinking from the Lethe. Seider (2013, 87) makes an important point about Chaonia that Aeneas "does not leave the past behind here, just a certain mode of interacting with it".¹²⁸ A distinction between memory and remembering is crucial at this point. Rather than strictly 'forgetting', then, Aeneas' relationship to the past might be categorised better as reconditioning. It would be inconsistent for Vergil to demand complete forgetting in the Underworld,¹²⁹ while an understanding of the parade of heroes requires extensive memory of Roman politics, even unsavoury periods and figures, on the part of his audience.¹³⁰ Arendt connects the notion of rebirth in both the *Aeneid* and the Fourth Eclogue with the Romans' cyclical understanding of politics and periods of political stasis.¹³¹ While the foundation of Rome is new, it is informed by existing models of information, which we have seen is central to Augustus' image.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have discussed how the relationship between authority, memory, and monumentalisation functions and is expressed in the *Aeneid*. We have seen that authority and memory interact in different ways: first, memory is instrumental in recognising the accumulation of authority; second, the memory of authority can be transferred posthumously to another (living) person or community. Commemorative objects such as gifts, heirlooms, and tokens of kingship physically commemorate past events, thus functioning like miniature monuments. As I argued, the visual grandeur that is typical of large monuments can be expressed by these smaller objects through techniques such as decoration. For objects as well as monuments, it is crucial that the memory of the event or story is retained along with the physical expression in order for meaning and thus the subject's authority to be preserved. Whereas physical monuments often have limited space for description, the objects and monuments in the *Aeneid* have the benefit of being commemorated in literature.

I also explored the nature of authority within and of foundation stories in the *Aeneid*. Although Arendt identifies the Roman foundation as the basis of Rome's authority, Hardie (2013, 107) goes back further: "Troy and its destruction is the point of origin for Rome, her successive

¹²⁷ However, as I will discuss in the next chapter, the souls of the Roman heroes Aeneas sees hold authority for him through their anticipated glory and contributions to the Republic because they are divinely authorised.

¹²⁸ Contrast with Quint (1982).

¹²⁹ That is, Quint's model (1993).

¹³⁰ On the political implications of the Underworld parade, see Feeney (1986).

¹³¹ *On Revolution*, 210-2, *Life of Mind*, 212-6.

foundations, destructions, and refoundations.” Therefore, Rome’s authority rests (at least partly) on the collective memory of Troy. Just as Aeneas must remember Troy just enough to make sense of his present circumstances and prophecies he receives about the future, it is crucial that the memory of the destruction of Troy and the Trojan flight to Italy remains intact so that the *auctoritas* upon which Rome rests is preserved. The mythological tradition of the Trojan War and Aeneas’ mission lends authority to the founding of Rome as the preservation and further expansion of Trojan might. That is, through tradition and mythology, Rome inherits the authority of Troy.

While this chapter has focused on the implications of the relationship between memory, tradition, and authority for the epic’s narrative and contemporary Roman politics and culture, the following chapter explores the dynamics of preservation and augmentation as found in scenes with speakers, poets, and prophets, as well as the authority of Vergil and his poetic predecessors. The final three chapters depend upon the conclusions I have drawn in this chapter: in Chapters 3 and 4, I discuss credibility as a kind of authority, which is dependent upon the element of accumulation (thus memory) of trust and goodwill; in Chapter 5, I demonstrate that memory plays a role in the family as ancestors are commemorated and values are preserved, and that the survival of dynastic succession depends upon the memory of the preceding authority figures.

CHAPTER 3

AUCTOR-ITAS: POETS, ORATORS, PROPHETS

This chapter builds upon the conclusions I have drawn in the previous two chapters on the aspects of memory and accumulation in creating and maintaining authority. I begin the chapter with a brief discussion of Vergil's own authority as a poet, in which I focus on poetic memory and literary patronage. Next, I explore the authority of characters as speakers in the *Aeneid*. This section especially addresses credibility as a source of a speaker's authority and the impact of authority on the dynamics of character interaction and narrative progression. For this, I include discussions of characters who are poets, narrators, orators, and prophets. A major issue I address is deception in speech and text and its implications both for the narrative and for the *Aeneid* as a written text. In order to limit my scope, I focus on stories, speeches, and prophecies which contribute to my arguments on authority; apostrophes, most greetings and commands, and especially threats are not included in my discussion.¹

1. Poetry

Watkins (1995, 68) writes that the function of the Indo-European poets are to preserve and transmit traditional themes, ideology, and culture, and so he terms them "professionals of the word".² Thus the authority of the professional poet is a blend of their knowledge of the past and their poetic skill in presenting this knowledge; yet again, we see that authority includes elements of preservation and augmentation.³ Roman poets are concerned with memorialising knowledge for future generations and their literary immortality.⁴ Especially under Augustus, the act of writing poetry is figured as a parallel for building the empire. For instance, while Catullus treats expansionism as a destructive (and sexually aggressive) force (11), the Augustan poets characterise empire as a creative force analogous to poetic creation and endurance. Horace writes that his poem will last longer than bronze and will reach higher than the pyramids, and he implicitly claims that he rivals Augustus as builder of Rome, though in verse (*Od.* 3.30). Propertius also describes

¹ See Chapter 1 on violence and persuasion.

² See Chapter 4 on professional authority.

³ Additionally, *auctor* can describe an expert of a subject "or as providing reliable evidence" (OLD, *auctor*).

⁴ Gold (1987), 152; Carroll (2011), 67. For examples of immortality through poetry and the *sphragis*, see: Verg. *G.* 4.562-65; Hor. *Od.* 2.20, 3.30; Ov. *Am.* 1.15, 3.15, *Tr.* 4.10; Prop. 1.22.

himself as a builder, and writes that he builds walls with his 'loyal verses' (4.1.57). Thus the *actor* of a city is equated with the poetic *actor*, both of whom have the inherent responsibility as *actor* to preserve and expand upon existing forms, whether stone or word.

Parry (1936, 358-9) argues that oral poets compose their songs from listening to older singers, and this is similarly true for Vergil: the *Aeneid* is in part a culmination of his extensive knowledge of previous literature. Consistent with our working definition of authority and poetry, the *Aeneid* itself is a product of both memory and innovation. This occurs primarily in two ways: first, earlier authors provided *exempla* for Vergil, and Vergil combines and builds upon these literary conventions to produce his new epic. Second, individual characters in the *Aeneid* are simultaneously composites derived from mythological and literary tradition and Vergilian invention.⁵ Thus, part of Vergil's authority stems from his knowledge of and engagement with earlier authors of various genres, demonstrated through allusion and intertext.

In particular, the influence of Homer on Vergil has been studied since antiquity,⁶ and Pöschl (1962, 8) writes that "Vergil's attachment to Homer is akin to Roman reverence for the *auctoritas* of traditional forms". A key to this authority is temporal distance. Conte (2007, 39) explains that for Vergil, "Homeric poems were a monument...because of his remoteness, Homer is an authority". Again, just as we saw in the previous chapter – that the remoteness of Troy from Rome contributed to its glory – remoteness is an authoritative quality.

The epic genre is considered to have largely fallen out of fashion by the Augustan period due to lack of thematic novelty;⁷ dull, formulaic historical epics and panegyrics cluttered Latin literature just as Republican monuments cluttered the Roman landscape. The period following the civil wars, however, provided an environment of cultural and political flux suited to receive epic themes. Vergil combines several genres and allusions simultaneously to produce a novel composition, creating textual layering which invites several concurrent readings of a single episode. It is not the work of this section, however, to address the numerous examples of *imitatio* in the *Aeneid* or their implications, but rather to demonstrate that Vergil's poetic authority is largely inherited from his literary predecessors through a balance of memory and invention.

In his essay *What is a Classic?*, T. S. Eliot (1945, 11) writes that 'a mature literature' is in part the product of literary history and the work of the writer's predecessors insofar as the writer requires a maturity of language and structure accumulated over time from which to begin. Working within the literary tradition brings its own authority in that it is a recognisable arena within which to produce new literature. A combination of this literary memory and creative novelty makes a new text itself authoritative (a 'classic'); when poets seem only aware of their past,

⁵ See Laird (1993, 2002); Griffin (1986, 2005).

⁶ Don. *Vita Verg.* 21, 44-46, 75f.; Serv. pref., 7.1; Macro. 5.2.6, 5.2.13; Prop. 2.34.66; Quint. 10.1.85, 12.11.26; Juv. 6.436; Sen. *Elder Contr.* 7.1.27; Sen. *Ep.* 108.34; Plin. *Praef.* 22.

⁷ Griffin (2005), 307; Goldberg (1995), 169; Otis (1964, 10-20).

they are 'monotonous', but when they do not demonstrate enough awareness, they are 'eccentric'.⁸ Vergil's poetry is an effective balance of tradition and innovation, with forms recognisable enough that the audience can appreciate the skill of the structure and the creativity of the content.

Another aspect of Vergil's authority is his poetic skill, which he has established through the success his previous poems. As I will discuss here, the fact of Vergil's patronage attests to his poetic skill. Greek and Roman literary patronage derives from a reciprocal poet/patron relationship which is traditional in Indo-European culture.⁹ Greek literary patronage traditionally consists of writers being compensated for celebrating the deeds of their patron. Hellenistic kings especially, who are concerned with legitimising their tenuous power, support court poets to celebrate their rule within a traditional and authoritative poetic framework. In Republican Rome, just as we have seen with the commissioning of monuments, politicians request epics to immortalise their achievements. Cicero asks several poets to write a panegyric on his achievements, including Archias, whom Cicero defends in court.¹⁰ Patronage increasingly takes on a larger element of friendship, *amicitia*, often with the poet becoming a part of the patron's entourage.¹¹

When Vergil begins to write the *Aeneid*, he is already a successful poet, and in the *Georgics*, he announces his next project as a celebration of Augustus:¹²

mox tamen ardentis accingar dicere pugnas
Caesaris et nomen fama tot ferre per annos,
Tithoni prima quot abest ab origine Caesar. (3.46-8)

Soon however I will prepare to tell the fiery battles of Caesar and to bring his name
by report through the years, as many as Caesar is removed from the first birth of
Tithonus.

The *Aeneid* is anticipated eagerly by Augustus, who, it is believed, acts as Vergil's patron during the *Aeneid*'s composition. Horace refers to Augustus' generosity to Vergil in a plea for literary

⁸ Eliot (1945), 13-15.

⁹ Watkins (1995), 70.

¹⁰ Cicero also asks his friend Lucceius not only on account of his literary skill but his authority as a distinguished citizen (*auctoritas clarissimi et spectatissimi viri*, *Fam.* 5.12.7), and claims that whatever Lucceius writes about him will be an authoritative expression of his opinion on Cicero (*auctoritate testimoni*, 5.12.1). Denied by both, Cicero misguidedly attempts to write two encomiastic epics about his life and his consulship, the latter of which is mocked by later writers (*Sen. Brev. Vit.* 5.1; *Juv. Sat.* 10.122-4).

¹¹ Gold (1986) and White (1993). The patron supports the poet with gifts both material, such as money and houses, and immaterial, such as introductions and publicity; in exchange, the poet writes his patron into his poetry either as a character or a dedicatee often performing the role of the Muse. Although there are examples of specific requests for a person's mention in a poem, poetic subjects seem to be largely up to the poets themselves rather than their patrons, although there is evidence from Propertius that Maecenas may suggest themes (2.1.19-36)—although he claims he will write anything (at 3.9), even topics formerly rejected (2.1).

¹² Propertius also announces the *Aeneid*: *qui nunc Aeneae Troiani suscitāt arma* ('who now invokes the arms of Trojan Aeneas', 2.34.63).

patronage (*Epist.* 2.1.245-7),¹³ and Augustus writes to Vergil asking about his progress.¹⁴ It is unclear the extent to which Augustus influences the production of the *Aeneid*,¹⁵ or indeed how much influence any ‘patron’ has on a writer’s work.¹⁶ There is no evidence for Augustus pressuring poets to write about him,¹⁷ and Suetonius (although writing later) recounts only that Augustus fosters (*fovit*) contemporary authors and objects to lesser poets writing about him (*Aug.* 89.3).¹⁸ Augustus’ interest in the poem’s development points to his role as patron: we find evidence of patrons badgering their poets for progress reports. For example, Horace tells Maecenas: *occidis saepe rogando* (‘you are killing me with your constant badgering’, *Ep.* 14.5). Superficially, Horace expresses annoyance with Maecenas for hounding him about finishing the *Epodes*, but by advertising the pressure he receives, Horace claims that his book is worthy of being finished—to the extent that an important man is pressuring him.¹⁹ In reality, this ‘complaint’ acts as promotional material for the book itself, and the authority which the patron lends the poetry he supports is made obvious.²⁰ Similarly, Augustus published the *Aeneid* after Vergil’s death, against Vergil’s final wishes (Plin. *NH* 7.114), and Fantham (1996, 81) suggests that the immediate fame of the *Aeneid* is in part due to Augustus’ authoritative promotion.

In exchange for support and promotion, the poet reinforces the authority of his patron by focusing on heroic achievements, which are immortalised by the “authoritative seal of poetry”.²¹ When the person celebrated does not have enough concrete events to which the poet can refer, emphasis is given to their *potential* for greatness.²² In the *Aeneid*, Vergil notably laments the potential of Marcellus which will remain unrealised due to his early death (6.875-87). Vergil also celebrates Augustus’ naval victory at Actium on Aeneas’ shield, but he seems to emphasise Augustus’ potential, specifically through prophecies of imperial expansion and apotheosis.²³ For example, Anchises describes Augustus in the Underworld:

hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet

¹³ More on Augustus’ generosity to Vergil: Don. *Vita Verg.* 12 Hardie, *Vita Probiana* p.27.14-16 Hardie; Serv. *ad Aen.* 6.861.

¹⁴ On one occasion, Vergil denied Augustus’ request for a copy of the preliminary outline (Macr. *Sat.* 1.24.11).

¹⁵ The extent to which Augustus was involved in originating the *Aeneid* is debated, and both Calpurnius (*Ecl.* 4.158-63) and Donatus (*Vita Verg.* 31 Hardie) claim that Maecenas suggested Aeneas as a theme to Vergil.

¹⁶ See White (1993, 65-71) on the language of literary request.

¹⁷ White (1993, 12) argues: “What is sought from the writer is more the gesture of allegiance than anything specific he has to say, and for that reason little effort is made to dictate the content of his work.”

¹⁸ Macrobius relates a humorous story about a Greek man who often tries to present Augustus with encomia (*Sat.* 2.4.31).

¹⁹ White (1993), 69-70.

²⁰ White (1993, 20) argues that poets use their patrons’ authority to legitimate their own poetry “when they claim to be writing at their behest” (the *carmen iussum*).

²¹ This phrase is from Conte (1986), 42.

²² See Gold (1987) and White (1993) on the celebration of potential achievements when there is a lack of concrete examples.

²³ See Feeney (1986) and Franke (2005) on history and prophecy in the Underworld scene.

saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
 Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos
 proferet imperium. (6.791-5)

Here is the man you have heard so often promised to you: Augustus Caesar, the son of a god, who will bring a golden age back to Latium, the former kingdom of Saturn, and he will bring Roman rule beyond Garamantia and India.

Augustus sets up trade routes with India after his conquest of Egypt in 30 BCE,²⁴ but Vergil pushes Augustus' imperial expansion far beyond India. Like Jupiter, Vergil seems to give Augustus *imperium sine fine* ('limitless rule', 1.279).

Servius argues that Vergil specifically writes the *Aeneid* to celebrate Augustus (1.4.10),²⁵ but this seems to be a 'conventional and apolitical' interpretation.²⁶ White (1993, 96-109) argues that the political interpretation of Augustus' patronage is anachronistic and the product not of classical scholarship but later political projections.²⁷ Although encomiastic, it need not be a politically partisan text commissioned for Augustus' 'propaganda machine'.²⁸ Indeed, it is doubtful that Augustus so lacks praise in poetic form that he forces Vergil to translate his still unclear politics into poetry; as we have seen, Augustus is offered encomia often, and he could choose any to celebrate his achievements.²⁹ Rather, the evidence points to Augustus attaching himself to a skilled poet's work on a theme which interests him. We might also consider both the creative and promotional attractiveness of Augustus as a poetic theme. The Principate, a period of upheaval and innovation, seems to be an ideal environment for a poet and the princeps an appealing subject for both poets and their audiences. Although the narrator designates the Muses as the source of his inspiration according to epic convention, it seems that Augustus is Vergil's inspiration for the *Aeneid*.³⁰

White (1993, 20) argues that the patron and then the emperor take the place of the Muse as inspiration in Latin poetry, which marks the departure from the way the Muses are employed in Greek poetry. In the *Georgics*, Vergil claims that he will bring the Muses to Italy:

primus ego in patriam mecum, modo vita supersit

²⁴ Strabo 2.5.12; Cass. Dio *Hist. Rom.* 54.9.

²⁵ Servius finds allusions to Augustus at: 1.292-4, 3.274-80, 3.501, 4.234, 5.45, 5.556, 5.568, 6.69, 6.612, 6.230, 7.170, 7.606, 7.762, 8.361, 8.686, 8.721-8. Compare also Donatus (pr. G. 1.2.20-1)

²⁶ White (1993), 101.

²⁷ Indeed, he argues that the political interpretations in Le Bossu's *Treatise of the Epic Poem* (written in 1675 under Louis XIV) influenced subsequent readings of Vergil due to its 'unrivaled authority'.

²⁸ Syme (1939) took this line, but Zanker (1988, 3) notably rejected the idea.

²⁹ Further, he is a writer himself and on occasion shares his pieces, including an autobiography, with a small audience (Suet. *Aug.* 85.1). He might, however, wish to avoid Cicero's mistake in writing his own, un-authoritative panegyric.

³⁰ See Sharrock (2002).

Aonio rediens deducam vertice Musas...

(3.10-11)³¹

If my life continues, I will be first to lead the Muses returning them from the Aonian peak back to my country.

This implies adaptation in order to suit Latin poetry while retaining traditional, recognisable aspects of their characterisation. The Muses' traditional authority comes from both their divine parentage (Mnemosyne³² and Zeus) and their knowledge of mythology and the divine. The Muses supply this information to the poet and are thus one source of poetic authority.³³ In order to access this poetic authority, a narrator invokes the Muses. In the *Aeneid*, the Muses take on a metapoetic role, in that Vergil uses them to engage self-consciously in allusion to earlier poetic conventions.³⁴ With each poetic appearance, however, their own authority as characters is reinforced by the poems they 'authorise'.³⁵ Yet again, we see the element of reciprocity at work in authority: as long as the Muses are employed to authorise a text, so they remain authoritative figures of literary convention. Although Vergil bases the Muses of the *Aeneid* on the conventions of previous, especially Homeric, literature, he uses a different method of invocation. Homer places the Muse in the first lines of both the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*:

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ Πηληϊάδεω Ἀχιλῆος

(Il. 1.1)

Sing, goddess, the anger of Achilles, son of Peleus...

Ἄνδρα μοι ἔννεπε, Μοῦσα, πολύτροπον, ὃς μάλα πολλὰ
πλάγχθη

(Od. 1.1-2)

Tell me, Muse, about the wily man who wandered far and wide...

The prominence of the Muse's position demonstrates her significance in providing the inspiration (and information) for the following story.

The *Aeneid* narrator, however, does not invoke the Muse until line 8, after introducing the epic's themes himself:

Arma virumque cano, Troiae qui primus ab oris
Italiam, fato profugus, Laviniaque venit
litora, multum ille et terris iactatus et alto
vi superum saevae memorem Iunonis ob iram;
multa quoque et bello passus, dum conderet urbem,
inferretque deos Latio, genus unde Latinum,
Albanique patres, atque altae moenia Romae.

³¹ See Hinds (1998), 53-6 on the implications of Vergil's appropriation of these lines from Lucretius about Ennius.

³² See Watkins (1995), 68, on the root *mnab₂, meaning to remember and hand down.

³³ Calame (1995), 77; Spentzou (2002), 3. On poetry as a gift from the Muses: Hes. *Theog.* 22.-34.

³⁴ Laird (2002), 126.

³⁵ Laird (2002), 137.

Musa, mihi causas memora, quo numine laeso,
quidve dolens, regina deum tot volvere casus
insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores
impulerit.

(1.1-11)

I sing of arms and the man who first came from the land of Troy to Italy, a fugitive by fate, and arrived on the Lavinian shores. He was constantly harassed on land and sea by the power of the gods for the unforgetting anger of cruel Juno, and he endured much in war until he founded a city and brought his gods to Latium. From there sprang the Latin race, the Alban forefathers, and Rome's high walls. Muse, remind me- what was the cause? What was the injury to her divine power? What so pained the queen of the gods to cause a man famous for his piety to undergo so many misfortunes and drive him to suffer so many hardships?

Homer's narrator(s) uses the imperatives ἄειδε and ἔννεπε, while Aeneas' narrator establishes himself as the subject of the first-person *cano*. Scafoglio (2006, 8) writes that the *Aeneid* narrator is singular in that he "emphasises his own role as narrator, and the conventional figure of the Muse is given a subsidiary position as the keeper and inspirer of memory". This demonstrates a key difference in the relationship between the Homeric narrator and Muse, and that of the *Aeneid* narrator and Muse. Thus, we see that the Homeric narrator takes on a more passive role, while the *Aeneid* narrator suggests that he is active in crafting the song.³⁶ Scafoglio (9-11) further attributes the complexity and creativity of the *Aeneid* proem to a mixture of Homeric models for invocation and those of the cyclic epics.³⁷

After introducing the theme of the *Aeneid*, which is Aeneas' mission to Italy, the narrator tells the Muse to remind him (*memora*) specifically about the reasons behind Juno's anger. Homer, however, gives his Muse in the *Odyssey* the freedom to direct the story as she wishes:

τῶν ἀμόθεν γε, θεά, θύγατερ Διός, εἰπὲ καὶ ἡμῖν. (Od. 1.10)

Goddess, daughter of Zeus, tell us these things beginning wherever you want.

Similarly, in the *Iliad*, the only guidance given to the Muse beyond a general theme is the point at which she should begin her story:

ἐξ οὗ δὴ τὰ πρῶτα διαστήτην ἐρίσαντε
Ἀτρεΐδης τε ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ δῖος Ἀχιλλεύς. (Il. 1.6-7)

Sing from when the son of Atreus, that king of men, and godlike Achilles, quarrelling, parted ways.

³⁶ See Laird (2003) on the nature of the *Aeneid* poet.

³⁷ Scafoglio focuses on the *Ilias parva*, but the *Thebaid* and the *Epigoni* also begin with invocations to the Muse.

The Muse appears to be a story-telling tool of the narrator in the *Aeneid* rather than the narrator being the mouthpiece of the Muse, as was the relationship in Homeric epic.³⁸

Vergil seems to follow the model of Apollonius Rhodius more closely. The *Argonautica* begins:

Ἀρχόμενος σέο, Φοῖβε, παλαιγενέων κλέα φωτῶν
μνήσομαι, οἳ Πόντοιο κατὰ στόμα καὶ διὰ πέτρας
Κυανέας βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνη Πελῖαιο
χρύσειον μετὰ κῶας ἐύζυγον ἤλασαν Ἀργώ. (1.1-4)

Taking my start from you, Phoebus, I will call to mind the glories of the ancient men, who, by the command of King Pelias, sailed the well-benched Argo down into the mouth of the Black Sea and through the Cyanean rocks in search of the golden fleece.

Morrison (2007, 287) immediately recognises a departure from the Archaic invocations, as Apollonius begins with a statement instead of an imperative. The narrator begins by representing himself as a story-teller independent of any reliance upon the Muses, but he clearly has a relationship with Apollo. Although Berkowitz (2004, 53-62) points out that the narrator is naming Apollo as the primary audience here, Albis (1996, 8) suggests that the narrator invokes Apollo in order to grant his own performance/narration authority.³⁹ Apollo seems to be serving a dual purpose in that he is the narrator's primary audience, which then authorises the story for the external audience. Using the first person verb (μνήσομαι), the narrator implies that he directs the story himself, and later we see that he uses mental effort (4.3) to construct the story far beyond Homeric precedent.⁴⁰

He invokes the Muses twice more—at the beginning of Books 3 and 4, when he admits that he is losing control.⁴¹ Hunter (1993, 105) comments that “[t]he brash, ‘modern’ self-confidence of the opening proem now retreats for safety to an archaic dependence upon the Muse’. The *Aeneid* narrator, although consulting the Muses, retains the self-confidence of the proem, and in fact his confidence grows throughout the epic—only explicitly consulting them for specific historical information. This need for specific information from the Muse has Homeric and Apollonian models (*Aen.* 7.641-6, *Arg.* 1.20-2, *Il.* 2.484-93). Nelis (2001, 306) maintains that this convention “is emblematic of the process of remembering old versions of many stories”. This

³⁸ It can be argued that in the entirety of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* combined, the narrator only speaks 12 lines, as the rest comes from the Muse.

³⁹ Albis (1996, 10) makes interesting points about authority and performance: “The idea of performance is intimated because an invocation acknowledges the presence of an audience: a poet invokes his deity not just for assistance but to grant authority to his performance so that his audience should accept it”.

⁴⁰ Hunter (1993), 106.

⁴¹ On the Muses in the *Argonautica*, see: Hunter (1987, 134); Feeney (1991, 90-1); Albis (1996); Berkowitz (2004, 62-96).

perhaps demonstrates the need for divine authorisation of ancient knowledge, and thus all catalogues are prefaced with an invocation to the Muses.⁴²

Ennius seems to be the first Latin poet to invoke the *Musae* rather than the *Camenae* (after Livius Andronicus and Naevius):

Musae, quae pedibus magnum pulsatis Olympum... (*Ann.* 1.1)

Muses, who [dance] on great Olympus with beating feet...

Varro records a further invocation to the Muses in Ennius: *Musas quas memorant nosce nos esse Camena[s]...* ('...learn that the Muses who recount [tales], are our *Camenae*...', *LL* 7.26). Skutsch (1985, 144, 649) suggests that because Ennius is adopting the Greek poetic form, he invokes the Muses, as "he must have considered [the *Camenae*] greatly inferior to the Muses as goddesses of poetry."⁴³ Along with *vates*, the Saturnian line, and *carmen* (replaced by *poeta*, hexameter, and *poema*), so the *Camenae* are replaced by the Muses, who hold more authority from Greek literary convention.⁴⁴ Ennius draws the Muses' authority from Greek poetry, perhaps in order to lend authority to Latin poetry. Although Vergil resurrects *carmen* and *vates*, he retains Ennius' adoption of the Muses, thus reinforcing his earlier claim to bring the Muses to Italy.⁴⁵

It is necessary at this point to consider the relationship between the historical author, the Muse, the narrator, and the audience. The historical author (here, Vergil) writes the narrator, who invokes the Muse. The Muse as a character directs information to the narrator,⁴⁶ who either supplies the information to the audience directly or uses a secondary narrator. Of course, the only parties involved in reality are the historical author and the audience, but the use of secondary and tertiary (and even quaternary) story-tellers, such as the Muse and narrators, creates further distance between the historical author and their narrative and characters. This distance allows the audience to perceive the characters as independent of the author, though the historical author (Vergil) is the ultimate authority, as he is the only one "who knows the whole story he is telling".⁴⁷

In the *Aeneid*, the authority of the mythological or historical figure upon which a character is based reinforces the authority created for the character within the narrative. In the Greek epic cycle, Aeneas is esteemed and authoritative in Troy on account of his divine birth, military skill,

⁴² Also see Nelis (2001, 224) on Vergil and Apollonius using the Muses (and Vergil further using Apollonian references) to introduce and authorise marvelous stories.

⁴³ Skutsch on Varro *LL* 7.25.

⁴⁴ On Pythagorean influences, see Skutsch (1985, 144-6).

⁴⁵ Buchheit (1963), 24f., 113-8.

⁴⁶ Laird (2002, 133) compares the Muse to Bakhtin's (1986, 126) concept of the 'superaddressee': "the author...presupposes a higher superaddressee...whose absolutely just responsive understanding is presumed, either in some metaphysical distance or in distant historical time".

⁴⁷ Conte (2007, 51). Conte explains this as *sympatheia*, which he argues "upholds the *Aeneid*'s epic mission".

heroism and piety.⁴⁸ Vergil appropriates this traditional (and thus itself authoritative) characterisation of Aeneas and is able to invent further attributes and situations for him because he begins with an authoritative portrait of Aeneas' own authoritative character. Moreover, consistent with the reciprocal nature of authority, the authority written for the character can enhance the authority of the historical or mythological figure. Hector, an already authoritative figure in Homeric epic, gains more authority when he comes to Aeneas in a dream, revealing to him the prophecy of Italy and transferring to him the leadership of Troy. Hector's authority has increased on account of his death,⁴⁹ his divine knowledge,⁵⁰ and, as we have discussed, the transferral of rule, which demonstrates that he has the authority to do so. Thus, the traditional portrayal of the character and the invented qualities and actions of the same character reinforce each other's authority.

Of all of the authoritative characters in the *Aeneid*, perhaps the most subtle is the narrator. The unnamed narrator is simultaneously distinct from and an agent of the author. The *Aeneid* narrator's credibility and thus authority stems from his capacity for all-encompassing knowledge of information which the characters themselves do not possess—one effect of this is that the narrator is third-person omniscient and is not Aeneas himself or another character in the story.⁵¹ The narrator engages with knowledge at each of Pöschl's (1962, 23-4) three levels of reality (the cosmos, mythology, and history), but what are the sources of his knowledge? Unlike Homer's *Iliad* narrator, who asks the Muse to tell the story through him, Vergil's narrator specifically asks the Muse to remind him of Juno's anger. It is unclear whether the information about the origin of the Latin race and Rome is known to the narrator independent of the Muse, or whether the Muse also brings this information to him.

With the development of historical prose, authority comes from the historian himself and his informers rather than the Muse.⁵² Herodotus refers to himself in the third person, positioning himself (and his written sources) as the authority for all historical knowledge therein.⁵³ Choerilus

⁴⁸ Erskine (2001, 145) posits several hypotheses for the adoption of the Trojan myth in Roman culture, including "a desire to be part of the Greek world and yet simultaneously distinct" and "maybe the attraction lay in in Aineias' piety". Gruen (1992, 22), however, admits that even the Roman attraction to the figure of Aeneas does not prove that he was considered a founder-hero.

⁴⁹ See Chapter 2 on posthumous authority and authority of ancestors.

⁵⁰ The authority of prophets and prophecy is discussed below.

⁵¹ For instance, although Dido's letter to Aeneas in Ovid's *Heroides* engages intertextually with the *Aeneid*, its narrative is remarkably different because Dido's knowledge of events is specific to her own perceptions and the information she receives. In the *Aeneid*, she laments that Aeneas did not give her a child, but in the *Heroides* she claims that she might be pregnant. Her claim points to two narrative possibilities: either she possesses information that the narrator and characters of the *Aeneid* lack (that although not *certain*, pregnancy is still possible), or she is exaggerating or outright lying in order to manipulate Aeneas and achieve her own ends. The language of the *Aeneid* is ambiguous enough that Ovid can remain consistent with the *Aeneid* while also adding another layer.

⁵² According to Marincola (1997, 1), the authority of the historian comes from the fact that the audience finds him "persuasive and believable". Further, he argues that the audience must 'assent' to the authority of the historian (xi) – this reciprocity, as we have seen, is also present in the recognition of political authority.

⁵³ Calame (1995), 79; Spentzou (2002), 7.

of Samos, a court poet of the Macedonian king Archelaus (413-399 BCE), is said to have originated the historical epic genre with a lost epic on the Persian Wars, explaining that mythological themes has been exhausted.⁵⁴ The Romans adopt the Greek method of including extensive information about recent history within mythological epics. Eliot (1945, 19-20) argues that the Romans are exceptionally aware of world history, which contributes to their ‘maturity of mind’, a key element of ‘mature literature’. Drawing comparisons between the histories of two or more cultures adds an element of novelty to literary structure and content.⁵⁵ So, the construction of these first lines might suggest that while the Muse traditionally supplies the narrator with divine and mythological information, the *Aeneid* narrator himself possesses knowledge of history.

The *Aeneid* narrator’s knowledge of Rome’s history is contrasted especially with Aeneas’ own ignorance. Throughout the entire epic, Aeneas is confused by vague prophecy and shown images he does not understand.⁵⁶ Knowledge of the future is often expressed in prophecies through the voices of specific characters rather than the narrator. However, the narrator explains the images on the shield in full regarding their historical significance, whereas Aeneas marvels at the shield without understanding; although characters tell Roman history through prophecy, the narrator foretells history through ekphrasis. The narrator also describes the murals on Juno’s temple in Carthage through ekphrasis. The significance of the images is known all too well to Aeneas, but perhaps not to the commissioner of the murals—Dido, who asks Aeneas to explain everything at the banquet (1.750-756). Once Dido asks Aeneas to recount the Trojan War and the past seven years of his voyage, he becomes a secondary narrator within the *Aeneid* for two entire books. As a narrator himself now, Aeneas must establish his own credibility as a speaker/author which transcends (yet is rooted in) his current personal authority.

2. Stories and Speeches

Although he expresses his reluctance to remember his trials, Aeneas agrees to tell the story:

infandum, regina, iubes renovare dolorem,
Troianas ut opes et lamentabile regnum
eruerint Danaï, quaeque ipse miserrima vidi
et quorum pars magna fui. quis talia fando
Myrmidonum Dolopumve aut duri miles Ulixi
temperet a lacrimis? et iam nox umida caelo
praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos.
sed si tantus amor casus cognoscere nostros

⁵⁴ On Roman historical epics, see Goldberg (1995), 162-5.

⁵⁵ See Galinsky (2005) on the *Aeneid* as world literature.

⁵⁶ See O’Hara (1990) on Aeneas’ understanding of prophecy.

et breviter Troiae supremum audire laborem,
 quamquam animus meminisse horret luctuque refugit,
 incipiam. (2.3-13)⁵⁷

Queen, you bid me to renew my unspeakable pain, how the Greeks ripped up the power and mournful kingdom of Troy, the worst of which I saw myself and a large part of which I was. Describing these events, which Myrmidon, Dolopian, or soldier of harsh Ulysses would abstain from tears? And now humid night falls from the heavens and the setting stars persuade us to sleep. But if there is such desire to know our destruction and briefly hear the great toil of Troy, I will begin, though my mind shudders to remember and shrinks back from grief.

First, Aeneas uses the word *iubes*, emphasising Dido's desire to hear the story. Reminiscent of language describing literary patronage, this word in a sense promotes the following story because it demonstrates that Dido requests it. Just as literary patrons promote and thus lend authority to the work of their poets, Dido promotes Aeneas' performance by publicly requesting it. Aeneas' powerful reluctance itself holds promotional value; even the sound of these lines inspires emotion.⁵⁸ Just as Sinon arouses the curiosity of his Trojan audience,⁵⁹ so Aeneas' emotion builds up interest for his upcoming story, which he even claims is *infandum*, and he suggests that it will inspire tears in his audience (*quis...temperet a lacrimis*). Dido is clearly more entertained by his story than concerned for his emotional state because she has him tell the same story again the following night (4.77-9).

Aeneas builds his authority as a story-teller by claiming that he is a lead character in the story. The use of Aeneas as first-person narrator is explained by Heinze (1993, 3) as creating a 'unity' from an otherwise "jumbled sequence of unconnected scenes". Aeneas' first-hand experience also functions as *autopsy*, which creates a sense of vividness in the audience (*enargeia*); this vividness contributes to recognising a story as true and authoritative.⁶⁰ Since he is a main character in each situation, each action happens to him or on account of him, and so his own perception and understanding of the events forms the most authoritative account of any character. As suggested by the 'engrossed' audience (*intentis omnibus*, 3.716), Aeneas has a talent for story-telling, which may serve as a parallel for Vergil's own literary skill. So, Aeneas' authority as a narrator stems from his primary experience, his heroic status, and his bardic skill.

I will address here the issue of unreliable narration. In the oral tradition, inconsistencies stem from the poet's method of composition—automatic recitation of common elements sometimes begins the groundwork for ultimately abandoned details or story-lines.⁶¹ Because the

⁵⁷ Modeled after *Od.* 7.241-243 and 9.12-15.

⁵⁸ Highet (1972, 277): "This is a powerful opening to his narrative, like ten slow heavy minor chords ushering in a tragic symphony".

⁵⁹ Discussed below.

⁶⁰ See Lausberg (1998) and Webb (2009) on *enargeia* and persuasiveness in rhetoric and literature. Its Roman equivalent is *evidentia* (Quint. *Inst.* 4.2.63-4). See Lowrie (2009, 157-9) on the authority of *enargeia*.

⁶¹ Hansen (1972), after Lord (1960).

Aeneid is a written text, however, oral composition is not an issue, and so we must look for alternative reasoning behind inconsistency. Since antiquity, scholars have assumed that Virgil simply died before fixing his mistakes, including inconsistencies and unfinished lines.⁶² O'Hara (1990, 2007), however, argues that inconsistency in prophecy is an intentional narrative tool used to allude to variants in tradition or indicate deception.⁶³ The issue at hand in relation to authority is whether these intentional inconsistencies affect the narrators' and speakers' credibility, and whether there is evidence of an 'unreliable narrator': that is, a narrator intentionally written to diverge from the implied author.⁶⁴ A narrator may be written as 'unreliable' for numerous reasons, such as to suggest the narrator's madness, to obscure truth from the audience, or, rather than being a mere surrogate for the author, to undermine the superficial intentions of the author.

In addition to inconsistencies, ambiguity of terms and mixed allusions contribute to multiple readings. For instance, since Servius, Aeneas' credibility as a narrator has been called into question because while he is looking at the mural, the narrator comments that Aeneas sees himself *permixtum* with the Greek officers. Servius remarks on the ambiguity of the word *permixtum* (*ad Aen.* 1.488), which carries a range of meanings, including mingling, copulating, and fighting. Generally, to indicate fighting, it should be accompanied by a word for battle or a weapon; however, this is not the case here, prompting some to wonder if Aeneas is colluding with the Greeks.⁶⁵

Turnus later seems to refer to this story when he calls Aeneas *desertor Asiae* (12.15), which can either mean a deserter or a traitor.⁶⁶ The Rutulian Venulus, however, reports that Diomedes tells him that both Hector and Aeneas alone stall the Greeks (11.288-290). He is also reported as saying that both Hector and Aeneas are brave and renowned for their military skill, but that Aeneas is more pious (*hic pietate prior*, 11.291-2). Ultimately, this report comes in the form of tertiary narration (first the *Aeneid* narrator, then Venulus, and finally Diomedes), and so relies upon the credibility of three speakers. At least the credibility of Venulus should be questioned, since he falsely reports to Diomedes that Aeneas is already positioning himself as king (8.9-14).

Unreliability in narrators may lead to inconsistent perceptions of Vergil as an author. Whether the characters reinforce or undermine the author is a complex issue not without its own

⁶² Aulus Gellius, 10.16.11 (quoting Julius Hyginus).

⁶³ He supports this (2007, 83-5) in part by referring to inconsistencies in Vergil's *Georgics*, which he calls a "control" for studying them in the *Aeneid*. Characters being affected by prophecy, see O'Hara (1993).

⁶⁴ Though it is perhaps reflective of the historical author, Vergil.

⁶⁵ Galinsky (1969), 46-52; Ahl (1989); Thomas (2001), 80, 109-10; O'Hara (2007), 87-88; Giusti (2014), 98.

⁶⁶ On this, see: Thomas (2001) 71-3; O'Hara (2007) 87; Tarrant (2012) 90.

pitfalls, as it inevitably descends into optimistic/pessimistic readings.⁶⁷ In order to avoid an extreme reading either way, it might be suggested that the audience can perceive both the *Aeneid* narrator and Aeneas as narrator as containing several warring characteristics, setting apparent credibility against glimpses of unreliability in order to allow for multiple readings simultaneously.⁶⁸ The distance which the author has written between himself and the various levels of narrative may protect the author from charges of unreliability: as has been discussed, perception lies with the audience, so the perception of the author's absence is crucial here. Now that deceptive narration has been discussed, we turn our attention to the construction of deceptive characters and how their authority is created, reinforced, or undermined.

Deception itself does not undermine someone's authority, but rather being *perceived* as being deceptive can threaten authority. Evidence of deception is unnecessary: suspicion, which falls in the middle of the truth spectrum, is enough to damage credibility, regardless of whether the speaker is lying or honest. As discussed in Chapter 1, authority is performative by nature in that it requires an audience to exist; if an audience no longer recognizes a person as credible, their authority is threatened. While perceived deception can destroy someone's authority, however, a deceiver can create and maintain their own authority as long as they remain outwardly credible. In the *Aeneid*, we find several examples of deceptive speakers who build their authority through various methods.

Venus is the agent of one of the first instances of deception by a speaker in the narrative.⁶⁹ She appears to Aeneas in the middle of the forest in Carthage disguised as a young, local huntress (*virginis os habitumque gerens*, 1.315) in order to tell him about Dido. Physical appearance is a significant aspect of authority; according to psychologists and sociologists, people trust more those whom they perceive as physically attractive.⁷⁰ Aeneas is obviously attracted to the disguise because he comments on her divine beauty and he asks if she is a goddess (1.327-9). Venus, however, lies outright, providing evidence to support her disguise and especially emphasising the Tyrian origins of her clothing and gear (1.336-7). Venus even fabricates biographical details for her character, such as: she has a sister (1.321-2) and her parents taught her augury (1.390-2). It is interesting that although Venus lies to him about herself, Aeneas tells her the truth about his background and mission (1.372-385). This is a reversal from Ulysses, who lies to a disguised Athena in the Homeric scene upon which this scene is based (*Od.* 13.216-55).⁷¹ Perhaps the truth serves his purposes better than a lie –or because he is *pious Aeneas*.

⁶⁷ Just as inconsistencies in the Homeric epics provide evidence for both sides of the Analyst/Unitarian debate, so they provide fuel for the pro-/anti-Augustan debate.

⁶⁸ Conte (1986, 74) argues that Vergil was most effective when he used multiple layers of meaning.

⁶⁹ The first deception is Aeneas pretending to be positive for his men (1.198-207).

⁷⁰ Cialdini (1984).

⁷¹ It is also based on the Nausicaa episode of *Odyssey* 6.

Venus uses a combination of physical disguise and verbal deception in order to lend credibility to the story she tells Aeneas and relate to him the history of the area. Before she sheds her disguise and reveals her true form, however, Aeneas has no reason to mistrust her or doubt her plausibility: as we have discussed, credibility (*ethos*) lies largely with the perceiving party. When she exposes her divine form, she also exposes herself to potential suspicion for the remaining narrative. Although Aeneas expresses his desire that she communicate with him in her true form (*Aen.* 1.408-9), he does not seem to consider her an unreliable narrator and instead follows her directions into the city without question. The fact that Venus is both his mother and a goddess may prove more authoritative than the speech of a young, local huntress, and so her disguise and back-story were unnecessary for building authority. Rather, she seems to enjoy inspiring false credulity in her son as a joke. However, as Fuhrer (72) points out, Aeneas is far from *pious* here: he flirts with a girl (or at least the image of one) and then swears at his goddess-mother. She explains that the incongruity between the expectations of the behaviour of *pious Aeneas* the epic hero and the reality of his “normal human behavior” is what makes this scene humorous to the reader.

Another instance of seemingly unnecessary disguise is when Iris appears to the Trojan women disguised as Beroe of Rhoeteum:

fit Beroe, Tmarii coniunx longaeva Dorycli,
cui genus et quondam nomen natique fuissent. (5.620-1)

She became Beroe, the elderly wife of Doryclus of Tmaros, who had been noble in birth and once had sons and a famous name.

The few details revealed about Beroe point to her being an authoritative woman in the Trojan company: she is elderly, well-known, of noble birth, and a wife and mother. Iris chooses to appear as Beroe presumably on account of Beroe’s authority, making her form an effective tool for Iris to address the women. As an agent of Juno, Iris tries to convince the Trojan women to set fire to the ships and thus prevent the mission from reaching Italy. She uses several arguments to incite the women to action: first, she appeals to their weariness and suggests that the voyage is doomed (5.5.623-634); then, she claims that Cassandra came to her in a dream telling them to settle in Sicily and burn the ships (5.635-9); and finally, she says that Neptune will authorise their task by supplying them with torches and courage (5.639-640). While Iris uses the first point and the mention of Cassandra to appeal to the matrons’ emotions, she uses the second two points as evidence to lend her claims credibility.

It is odd that Iris chooses Cassandra and Neptune to support her own credibility, as the Trojans never believe Cassandra's prophecies and Neptune helps the Greeks destroy Troy. In Book 3, however, we find evidence that the Trojans now believe Cassandra's prophecies: after the Penates correct Anchises' interpretation of Apollo's prophecy directing them to Italy, Anchises says that Cassandra had predicted the same back when no one believed her (3.181-7).⁷² Moreover, Neptune aids the Trojans after the storm (1.142-6), and he promises Venus that he will continue to help them on their voyage (5.800-815). So, perhaps these are credible (albeit false) sources, but they are clearly not enough to convince the matrons.

After her speech, Iris (as Beroe) throws a torch at the ships, to the horror of the women (5.641-4) because none of her strategies are working. Pyrgo, the eldest woman present and the former royal nurse, expresses her suspicion that Beroe is really a goddess in disguise, using the evidence of 'Beroe's' divine features and the fact that she has just seen the real Beroe, who is sick (5.644-52).⁷³ The matrons, however, are still *ambiguae* (5.655): they want to settle, yet they consider their fated kingdom in Italy (5.654-6). Iris immediately reveals her true form and flies away, leaving a rainbow in the clouds and chaos on the ground (5.657-63). Her epiphany is sufficient impetus for the women to burn the ships, but they seem to do it out of fear rather than free will: *tum vero attonitae monstris actaeque furore/ conclamant* ('they are terrified by the omens and frenzied they shriek', 5.659-60). Indeed, Ascanius recognizes that they are confused (5.670-3), and we read later that the matrons feel shame (*piget*, 5.678) and regain their senses: *excussaue pectore Iuno est* ('and they cast out Juno from their heart', 5.679), suggesting that they are divinely possessed rather than acting consciously.⁷⁴ Venus supports this when she tells Neptune that Juno compels (*subegit*, 5.794) the women to burn the ships.

Until the epiphany, the matrons possess free will and thus are able to recognise authority, but because they do not act upon the authority of 'Beroe' even after Pyrgo tells them it is a goddess in disguise, Iris uses her *numen* and the violence of her epiphany to influence the women. What, then, is the function of Iris' initial disguise? Is it simply because Iris enjoys making mischief (*haud ignara nocendi*, 5.618), and a sudden epiphany was her plan all along? Or is it more desirable for the gods that mortals act of their free will rather than through fear or divinely-inspired frenzy?⁷⁵ Juno may prefer that the women act freely upon authoritative advice because it would be

⁷² Anchises might not be aware specifically of Apollo's curse, since he immediately follows this line with *cedamus Phoebos et moniti meliora sequamur* (3.188). Aeneas, however, seems to know by the time he tells his story to Dido: *tunc etiam fati aperit Cassandra futuris/ ora dei iussu non umquam credita Teucris* ('though Cassandra used to reveal the future from her lips, by the will of the god she was never believed by the Trojans', 2.246-7). Is the cause of this shift her death or the destruction of Troy?

⁷³ Servius (*ad Aen.* 5.646) writes that rather than dissuading the Trojan women, Pyrgo is actually trying to persuade them to obey Iris: *non est dissuasio, ut quidam putant, sed magis hortatur persuadendo numinis auctoritate*. Highet (1972, 310 n.18), however, categorises this as an explanation, arguing "[a] persuasion might have been more effective."

⁷⁴ Serv. *ad Aen.* 5.679.

⁷⁵ Perhaps related to: *Hec nihil inuitis fas quemquam fidere divi* (2.402).

more devastating to Aeneas if his people no longer believe in the mission. After the decision is made to leave colonists behind with Acestes, the narrator says that the matrons *ire volunt omnemque fugae perferre laborem* ('they wished to leave and undergo all the suffering of exile', 5.769), suggesting that although Iris and Juno had inspired *furor* in the Trojan women with divine violence, they do not inspire enough authority to inform the women's lasting opinions.

In addition to physical appearance, emotion can be an aspect of both the performative nature of authority and the perceptual nature of credibility. We see this in the Sinon episode, which Aeneas narrates. During his narration, Aeneas includes a running commentary which explains how Sinon establishes credibility with the Trojans and also points out instances in which the Trojans should detect Sinon's deception. This commentary is especially valuable because it demonstrates the mechanics of forming credibility from the audience's perspective. In reality, we are the external audience reading a secondary narrator (Aeneas) telling a story to an internal audience (the Carthaginians) about a tertiary narrator (Sinon) who is telling a story to a second-level internal audience (the Trojans);⁷⁶ a commentary which connects the two stories provides valuable insight into both the mechanics and perceptions of Sinon's speech.

This commentary, while in one sense valuable for deeper understanding of the episode, may indicate unreliable narration, as Aeneas' retelling could be affected by his own hindsight. My argument against his unreliability in this case is that a large portion of his audience is Trojan and thus witnessed the same events, which would discourage Aeneas from exaggerating or lying outright as doing either might damage his credibility among the Trojans.⁷⁷ Further, Aeneas includes in his story points at which he is also tricked, and he even recalls that each time the horse stops as it was brought into the city, the Trojans can hear the Greeks' weapons clatter but ignore it (2.242-3). A major difference between Aeneas and Sinon as narrators is that Aeneas' audience already finds him credible and authoritative, yet Sinon's audience starts out hostile, and so Sinon must build his credibility in order to facilitate his deception about the wooden horse.

Sinon's deception begins even before his character first appears. The Trojans argue among themselves about the Trojan horse, unaware that the Greeks' plot depends upon this uncertainty and tension, similar to the *ambiguae* women in Book 5:

primusque Thymoetes
duci intra muros hortatur et arce locari,
sive dolo seu iam Troiae sic fata ferebant.
at Capys, et quorum melior sententia menti,
aut pelago Danaum insidias suspectaque dona

⁷⁶ Sinon also includes words from a quarternary narrator, the priest Eurypylus, who reports what he had heard from Apollo's oracle (2.114-9).

⁷⁷ Attendees are Trojans (1.699-700) and Phoenicians (1.707-8); Dido toasts to their mixing (1.731-5).

praecipitare iubent subiectisque urere flammis,
aut terebrare cavas uteri et temptare latebras.
scinditur incertum studia in contraria vulgus. (2.32-9)

Thymoetes first urged us to bring it inside the walls and place it in the citadel- either his deceit or the fate of Troy was so carrying him. But Capys and those with greater sense of mind begged us to cast the treacherous and suspicious gifts of the Greeks into the sea and to burn it in the flames, or to drill into the hollow of its flank and test its hiding places. The divided mob was split into opposing factions.

Aeneas refers to Thymoetes' guile, which suggests that Thymoetes is at least suspected of plotting with the Greeks out of bitterness over Priam having had his wife and son killed in place of Paris. Surely this suspicion is the product of hindsight, since as a suspected traitor Thymoetes would not be part of the debate; thus, Thymoetes may hold authority as an elder unsuspected of treachery.

Aeneas remembers the mob as *incertum* and as taking opposite positions. This situation recalls the statesman simile of Book 1 in that an authoritative moderator is required to calm the crowd.⁷⁸ Laocoön attempts to fill this role, though we see him, *ardens*, running down the hill toward the Trojans with his entourage (1.40-1), which is a quite different image from that of the composed statesman.⁷⁹ Laocoön presents the logical yet frenzied argument that the horse is a siege machine, referring to the famous guile of Ulysses and the Greeks, and then he throws a spear into the horse's stomach (1.42-53). Even if this chaotic presentation does not dissuade the Trojans, Laocoön's credibility is immediately threatened by the carefully crafted story of Sinon, who possesses more information about the horse and also appeals to the Trojans' pity and their hatred of the Greeks. Laocoön's credibility is fully undermined when the sea serpent kills him and his two sons, as the Trojans consider this a sign that Laocoön was wrong about the horse (2.229-231). Indeed, Heinze (19923, 6) argues that this scene would be "comprehensible to any reader who believed in divine signs" – above all, Vergil's contemporary Roman audience.

Rather than being a true omen, of course, the serpent is yet another ploy to persuade the Trojans to accept the horse; the serpent is presumably sent by Minerva, since it retreats to her altar (1.225-7).⁸⁰ Even before she sends the serpent, Minerva's close involvement in the Greek plot is evident throughout the entire deception. First, Aeneas says that Minerva inspires the construction of the Trojan Horse: *instar montis equum divina Palladis arte/ aedificant* ('they build an image of a horse from wood with the divine skill of Athena', 2.15-6). Sinon then refers to Minerva in order to authorise his speech and gain credibility with his Trojan audience. He uses her divine anger as support for his false claims, and the main lie upon which all other lies depend is that Minerva is angry at the Greeks for stealing the Palladium. In addition to helping design the horse, surely she

⁷⁸ The simile is discussed in Chapter 4.

⁷⁹ See Heinze (1993, 10) on the 'excitement' of this scene.

⁸⁰ *Tritonidis arcem* – Athena was a foster daughter of Triton, whose daughter Pallas was killed by Athena. Athena made the Palladium in Pallas' image (and took 'Pallas' as an epithet); it is perhaps appropriate that she is referred to by her foster-father here, since the 'crime' upon which this episode is predicated is the theft of the Palladium.

inspired Ulysses' construction of Sinon's lie; Minerva and Ulysses himself appear in the lie most often, which leads one to surmise that they are behind its design.

Sinon, however, is the first vehicle of deception in order to give credibility to the wooden horse, and he must perform authority in order for the Trojans to recognise him as a credible source himself. He initially begins his lie with a brief lament:

'heu, quae nunc tellus,' inquit, 'quae me aequora possunt
accipere? aut quid iam misero mihi denique restat,
cui neque apud Danaos usquam locus, et super ipsi
Dardanidae infensi poenas cum sanguine poscunt?' (2.69-72)

'Oh, what land, what sea can take me now?' he cried. 'I am ruined and there is nothing left for me- there is no place for me among the Greeks, and besides that, the hostile Trojans themselves seek payment with my blood!'

Here, Sinon manipulates the Trojans' expectations: they expect the Greek prisoner to be hostile and fight against them, yet Sinon is hopeless and claims to be without a nation. Aeneas says that with these words, the Trojans' arguments and rage are calmed (2.73-4), much like the mob in the simile of the statesman in Book 1, when the speaker causes the mob to fall silent and listen (1.151-2). Sinon accomplishes what Laocoön should by calming the Trojans and making them want to listen to him.

Sinon avoids the Trojans' suspicion and simultaneously builds his credibility by addressing the subject of deception himself at the beginning of his story:

'Cuncta equidem tibi, rex, fuerit quodcumque, fatebor
vera,' inquit; 'neque me Argolica de gente negabo.
hoc primum; nec, si miserum Fortuna Sinonem
finxit, vanum etiam mendacemque improba finget.' (2.77-80)
'My king, whatever happens, everything I will tell you is true,' he said. 'I will not deny that I am born of Argos. This is first. If wicked Fortune made Sinon wretched, she will not make him false and a liar.'

He claims that everything he says is true, yet the only absolutely true element in this statement is that he is Greek, and even this is introduced with a double negative. We do not even have evidence that 'Sinon' is this man's actual name, since there is no other character previously referred to in literature as 'Sinon'.⁸¹ In order to begin building his credibility, Sinon depicts fate as an malevolent force (*improba*) that inspires deceptive speech (*vanum* and *mendacem*). Sinon presents himself as resisting the pressures of his fate, which are to lie and deceive. So, following Sinon's

⁸¹ The much later Ps.-Apollodorus *Bib.* E5.15-19 names him. Austin (1964, 59): "[n]ote Sinon's sidelong way of introducing his name." Moreover, 'Sinon' might be considered a 'speaking name', as it means 'pest' in Greek, from the verb σίνωμαι, 'to harm'.

logic, the Trojans might consider him fundamentally good and truthful, and, in addition, strong in character as he is able to resist fate's divine influence.

Continuing his story, Sinon refers obliquely to the well-known story of Ulysses and Palamedes (*haud ignota loquor*, 2.91), saying only that Ulysses' grudge (*invidia*, 2.90) sends Palamedes to the Underworld. This refers to Palamedes exposing that Ulysses pretends to be mad in order to avoid going to Troy; in order to prove that Ulysses is lying, Palamedes puts Telemachus in front of Ulysses' plough, and when Ulysses stops ploughing, demonstrating his sanity, he is sent to war.⁸² As revenge Ulysses puts gold and a letter from Priam in Palamedes' tent to frame him for treason, and Palamedes is stoned to death by Ulysses and Diomedes. Sinon uses the fame of this story to authorise his own story. He accomplishes this by not attempting to modify the traditional narrative but rather adding a kind of (invented) sequel outlining his own trials after Palamedes' death. In this way, Sinon inherits authority from the Palamedes story, thus contributing to his credibility before the Trojans.

There are two aspects of his Palamedes story which are inconsistent with tradition, however, including the claim that Palamedes' father is Belus, the father of Danaus and Aegyptus, when his father is traditionally Nauplius (2.82). Further, in order to manufacture sympathy for Palamedes, Sinon claims that Palamedes is killed for protesting against the Trojan War (2.84). The traditional story, however, depends entirely upon Palamedes forcing Ulysses to fight in the war, which incites Ulysses to seek revenge in the first place.⁸³ These two subtle changes to Palamedes' characterisation do not affect the narrative structure of the authoritative version of the story, but they affect Sinon's credibility.

In addition to presenting his patron as a sympathetic character, Sinon appeals to the Trojans' hatred of the Greeks most by demonising Ulysses, who again is probably the author of Sinon's story and thus is Sinon's actual patron. Indeed, Lycophron claims that Sinon is Ulysses' cousin (*Alex.* 344), which suggests that a hidden connection between Ulysses and Sinon is understood since the 3rd century BCE. Ulysses chooses to present Sinon as the attendant of Palamedes, who, as discussed above, is renowned for being a victim of Ulysses himself. Heinze (1993, 6-7) makes the connection between Sinon's role in the *Aeneid* and Ulysses' own role in Euripides' *Philoctetes*, in which they both identify themselves as Greeks who sacked Troy and claim to have been mistreated by the Greeks, namely by Palamedes. Vergil amalgamates Sinon and Ulysses, and in a sense, Sinon seems to have been further trained by Ulysses.

Ulysses uses the fame of the Palamedes story to give Sinon credibility by providing Sinon with a believable reason to hate Ulysses (*fas odisse viros*, 'it is right that I hate those men', 2.158) and swear revenge, and thus for Ulysses to hate Sinon in return and conspire against him in the story

⁸² *Cypria*; Hyg. *Fab.* 95; Plin. *HN* 35.129; Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.81.

⁸³ There is no tradition for Palamedes' pacifism: Austin (1964), 60.

(2.90-9). By composing a convincing series of events and motivations, Ulysses gives credibility to the enmity between himself and Sinon. Sinon's credibility is strengthened by contrast with his constant references to Ulysses' deceit, for which he is apparently famous among the Trojans (or at least Laocoön, 2.44). First, he calls Ulysses *pellacis* (2.90), which Servius writes holds a sense of possessing the ability to persuade (ad *Aen.* 2.90), presumably referring to Ulysses framing Palamedes as a traitor. Next, Sinon says that Ulysses accuses him of various crimes (*criminibus novis*, 2.98) and spreads rumours about him (*voces ambiguas*, 2.98-9) in order to gain support through intrigue in his plot against Sinon (*quaerere conscius arma*, 2.99). Here, *consciis* suggests that Ulysses is aware of his lies and thus is actively plotting against Sinon. Further, Servius (ad *Aen.* 2.99) argues that *arma* refers to 'intrigues', such as using the prophecy and Calchas as tools in his conspiracy.

Sinon breaks his narration off here, telling the Trojans to kill him already, which he follows with: *hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atridae* ('Ulysses would wish for this, and the sons of Atreus would pay for it', 2.104). Sinon appeals to the Trojans' desire to know about the dynamics of their enemy, and indeed Aeneas admits that this piqued the Trojans' curiosity even more:

Tum vero ardemus scitari et quaerere causas,
ignari scelerum tantorum artisque Pelasgae. (2.105-6)

Indeed we burn to know and learn why- we were ignorant of the guile and skills of the Greeks.

At this point in his own story, Aeneas uses the first-person plural *ardemus*, including himself as a victim of Sinon's deception. Further, Aeneas claims that the Trojans did not know the extent of the Greeks' proficiency for deceit and cruelty, although Sinon's own narrative clearly demonstrates that capacity; the juxtaposition of these two lines seems to be commentary as the result of Aeneas' hindsight. The Trojans, however, are gripped by Sinon's narrative of intrigue among the Greek army, and they seem to consider Sinon's presentation of himself credible.⁸⁴ Presumably at the Trojans' insistence, then, Sinon continues, and he shakes with feigned emotion (*pavicans et ficto pectore*, 2.107).

Sinon says that the oracle demands a human sacrifice in order for the Greeks to return home, just as they sacrifice Iphigenia to depart for Troy. Again, his claim depends upon the Trojans knowing the story to which he is referring, as recognition of the reference lends credibility to his claims. He suggests here that Ulysses uses violence against Calchas in order to influence him to name Sinon as the victim (2.122-4, 126-9). Sinon claims that many of the Greeks knew about Ulysses' scheme and *taciti ventura videbant* ('silent they saw what was to come', 2.125): that is, they

⁸⁴ Austin (1964), 67: *tum vero* "marks a crisis...and well shows the mounting excitement of the Trojans at this point, so carefully chosen by Sinon."

knew that Sinon would be named as the sacrifice. However, he says that everyone is relieved that it was not himself who would be killed, and so they allow Sinon to be condemned (2.130-1). He ends his own story by detailing his escape and lamenting that his family will be punished for it in Greece.

Priam immediately has Sinon's manacles removed (2.146-7), which demonstrates the level of credibility Sinon develops so far from his story. Priam, however, specifically asks Sinon to tell him the truth about the function of the wooden horse (*mihique haec edissere vera roganti*, 2.148-151). Aeneas comments again here on Sinon's physical deception in his performance: that Sinon lifts his newly freed arms not as a true suppliant but *dolis instructus et arte Pelasga* ('trained in Greek deceit and skill', 2.152). Sinon emphasises the bond he is breaking with Greece in order to tell the Trojans their secrets and makes Priam swear that he will honour his promise to protect Sinon in exchange for Sinon revealing true information (2.156-161).⁸⁵ Yet again, Sinon is building the expectation and credibility of the details he will reveal. Before the Trojans even hear what he says, they already believe it is worth hearing and thus already consider it credible. Of course, however, the information Sinon shares is false: he tells them that *impius* Diomedes and *inventor* Ulysses stole the Palladium, which curses the Greek army and causes them to start losing the war (2.162-175). He claims that the wooden horse is repayment to Athena for desecrating the Palladium, and that it is meant to ensure that the Greeks will win when they return to Troy. Sinon uses a kind of reverse psychology in order to convince the Trojans to move the horse into the city by claiming that the horse was built so large specifically so it could not fit inside the gates, since whichever side possesses the horse will triumph over the other. He finishes the speech by saying that if the Trojans keep the horse in the city, then their grandchildren will invade Greece; this undoubtedly appeals to the Trojans' wish for vengeance against the Greeks, blinding them to the weaknesses in Sinon's logic.

Sinon's speech contains several inconsistencies in which he contradicts earlier elements of his own story. For instance, he claims that he was sent to Troy as a young boy (*primis ab annis*, 2.87), yet he also claims to have children back in Greece, who might die because he escaped (2.138-140).⁸⁶ In addition, the timeline of and reasons behind the building of the horse, his own condemnation, and the Greeks' departure is muddled. Sinon's speech is illogical and his fundamental inconsistencies should threaten his credibility, but as Austin (1964, 61) points out, "Sinon was not concerned with consistency so long as the Trojans did not notice inconsistency." Again, although the speaker performs in a way to appear credible, the audience ultimately decides the speaker's credibility. If the audience does not perceive unreliable elements, due to features such

⁸⁵ The conditional *maneat...si vera feram, si magnam rependam* (2.160-1) here allows for the possibility of nullification.

⁸⁶ Additionally, in epic, credibility is established initially by naming the father and other ancestors, so it is odd that Sinon never names his own father despite referring to him twice. Sinon claims his father was poor, but Lycophron wrote that his father was Sisyphus (*Alex.* 344-5).

as *pathos* or curiosity as we see in this scene, the speaker's credibility is not threatened. Aeneas concludes his report on Sinon's speech by admitting:

talibus insidiis periurique arte Sinonis
credita res, captique dolis lacrimisque coactis
quos neque Tydides nec Larisaeus Achilles,
non anni domuere decem, non mille carinae. (2.195-8)

The thing was believed on account of such tricks and the skill of oath-breaking Sinon, and we were taken by the lies and contrived tears, we whom neither Diomedes, nor Achilles, nor ten years of war, nor a thousand ships broke.

Aeneas says that Sinon's lies and skill (*periurique arte*) lend credibility (*credita [est]*) to the claims he makes to the Trojans. Further, Aeneas' contrast between Sinon's tears and the violence of war demonstrates the power of rhetoric and speech. Heinze (1993, 8) identifies the 'noblest qualities' that Sinon uses to characterise himself as: steadfastness, honesty, poverty, loyalty, suffering, pacifism, *pietas*, and *religio*; all of these characteristics would provoke an emotional response in both the internal Trojan audience and the external Roman audience, even though the latter knows that they are lies. The construction and 'weaving together' of Sinon's lies (*versare dolos*, 2.62) along with his emotional and captivating performance demonstrate both the process of creating authority and the dynamics of the relationship between a speaker and their audience. The Sinon episode is especially illuminating for this purpose, as the authority created here is based on deception. We are able to read the break-down of Sinon's authority as Aeneas' commentary undermines Sinon's authority even before Aeneas introduces the character by name.

Elements of the Sinon episode and his story are repeated later in the story of the deserted Greek soldier Achaemenides, whom the Trojans come across starved, filthy, and terrified while they are on the Cyclopes' island in Sicily (3.590-9). Achaemenides runs out of the forest towards the Trojans despite a slight hesitation (3.396-8) and immediately begs them:

per sidera testor,
per superos atque hoc caeli spirabile lumen,
tollite me, Teucri. quascumque abducite terras:
hoc sat erit. scio me Danais e classibus unum
et bello Iliacos fateor petiisse penatis.
pro quo, si sceleris tanta est iniuria nostri,
spargite me in fluctus vastoque immergite ponto;
si pereo, hominum manibus periisse iuvabit. (3.599-606)

I invoke the stars, the gods, and this vital light of the sky, take me along, Trojans. Bring me to any land: this will be enough. I know that I was one among the Greek fleet and I confess that I attacked your Trojan gods. For this, if there is such great injustice in my sin, scatter me into the waves and drown me in the vast sea; if I die, it will be pleasing to die at the hands of humans.

Like Sinon, Achaemenides asks the Trojans either to forgive him or kill him, and he later repeats this sentiment to close his story: *vos animam hanc potius quocumque absumite leto* ('take my spirit in any death possible', 3.654). Again, like Sinon, Achaemenides gains credibility by claiming that he does not care about his fate, thus quashing any suspicion that he is attempting to persuade his audience.⁸⁷ Further, just as Priam accepts Sinon (2.146-7), so Anchises accepts Achaemenides even before he says anything substantial about his past (3.610-1). Achaemenides also says that he comes from a poor family and so was taken to war by Ulysses (3.613-5), similar to Sinon's claims that he was also *pauper* and sent to war as Palamedes' page (2.86-7).⁸⁸ This element so closely resembles the story of Sinon that one wonders if Ulysses composed Sinon's lie with elements of Achaemenides' biography.

Although these similarities should alert a careful reader to the possibility of deceptive speech, Achaemenides seems more credible than Sinon to the audience for several reasons. First, this episode and his story are still part of Aeneas' narrative performed for the Carthaginians. Unlike in the Sinon episode, Aeneas includes very little commentary, and the few additions he makes only support Achaemenides' claim. Moreover, the Trojans' first sight of him starving, filthy, and wearing tattered clothing cannot be falsified (3.590-4); the signs of being worn down over time are themselves authoritative evidence for his story. Indeed, Vergil very rarely includes detailed descriptions of a person's appearance, and so it is significant that he writes (and Aeneas narrates) such a description of Achaemenides.⁸⁹ Further, Achaemenides' brief hesitation seems natural, and that he still runs to the enemy Trojans in his desperation is indicative of his true state (3.596-8); Sinon, on the other hand, seems unusually calm despite his emotional narrative, and Aeneas describes him as *fidens animi* (2.61) upon his capture by enemy Trojans.

Unlike Sinon, Achaemenides does not deny his ongoing allegiance to the Greeks, especially Ulysses, and he does not present himself as a victim in order to appeal to the Trojans' hatred of the Greeks or to inspire pity. Achaemenides immediately admits that he fought in the Trojan War and was active in the Sack of Troy (3.602-3, 613-5),⁹⁰ and he claims that he was left behind by accident rather than out of Ulysses' cruelty (3.616-8). Achaemenides also admits that Ulysses' men drew straws to decide who would perform each task rather than constructing an image of a conspiracy (3.634), and he celebrates the fact that they avenged their comrades whom the Cyclops had eaten (3.638). An especially significant aspect is that throughout his story, Achaemenides still

⁸⁷ Horsfall (2006, 418): "[a]t least such dismemberment would be at human hands and not followed by cannibal consumption."

⁸⁸ Austin (1964, 61) maintains that Achaemenides is being truthful here unlike Sinon. See Nelis (2001, 51-7) on Achaemenides' story and its modelling of the Phineus scene in the *Argonautica*.

⁸⁹ The subsequent description of the Cyclops is also unusually detailed for Vergil (3.655-665). Perhaps this is due to the Homeric influence of the episode, and thus detailed descriptions are influenced by Homer as well?

⁹⁰ Horsfall (2006, 415, 417) argues that these lines are instances of *deprecatio* as a rhetorical strategy to indicate the ongoing presence of immediate danger.

presents the Greeks as his friends and even Ulysses as a hero (3.628-9). The fact that Achaemenides does not follow Sinon in condemning his Greek comrades is more credible to the audience,⁹¹ who have already experienced Sinon's deceptive speech.

A final element which supports Achaemenides' credibility is that the Trojans themselves witness the Cyclopes first-hand. Before encountering Achaemenides, the Trojans spend a terrifying night in the forest on the island experiencing inhuman horrors and disembodied noises (3.583-4). Further, although Polyphemus first appears as a pitiable figure, blind and walking with a cane with his beloved sheep in tow (3.655-661),⁹² he soon attacks the Trojan ship (3.666-674). Having now accepted Achaemenides on board, the Trojans see all of the Cyclopes run down and line up on the beach as they escape from the island (3.675-681). This provides authoritative evidence that is consistent with Achaemenides' story and the episode's Homeric antecedent. It does not seem that Achaemenides is putting on an act; rather, he appears to be exactly who he claims, which is a tortured man who wants to escape the Cyclopes' island even at the cost of death.⁹³ It is significant that at this point in his story Aeneas does not provide commentary as he did during the Sinon episode, which may be some of the strongest support for Achaemenides' credibility.⁹⁴

I turn now to a brief episode in the Underworld in which deception has affected speech and authority. The ferryman Charon is suspicious of Aeneas and the Sibyl because he is deceived by several mortals who, after persuading him to ferry them across the rivers of the Underworld, committed crimes in the Underworld. Charon says:

quisquis es, armatus qui nostra ad flumina tendis,
 fare age, quid venias, iam istinc et comprime gressum.
 umbrarum hic locus est, somni noctisque soporae:
 corpora viva nefas Stygia vectare carina.
 nec vero Alciden me sum laetatus euntem
 accepisse lacu, nec Thesea Pirithoumque,
 dis quamquam geniti atque invicti viribus essent.
 Tartareum ille manu custodem in vincla petivit
 ipsius a solio regis traxitque trementem;
 hi dominam Ditis thalamo deducere adorti.

(6.388-397)

Whoever you are, you who proceeds to our river, come now, halt and explain yourself, why you have come, and where you have come from. This is the place of shadows, dreams, and drowsy night. It is a sin to convey living bodies across the

⁹¹ Or three, in this case (two internal and one external).

⁹² See Horsfall (2006, 442-3) on Vergil's *pathos* in this scene.

⁹³ Although there is no further mention of Achaemenides in the *Aeneid*, Ovid includes in the *Metamorphoses* a scene in which Achaemenides reunites with Macareus at the site of Caieta's tomb (14.152-222). Achaemenides expresses his gratitude to Aeneas and the Trojans and claims that the ship is now more a home to him than Ithaca.

⁹⁴ Horsfall (2006, 414 ad 596): "by the time Aen. tells Dido of the episode, there has been sufficient talk between him and the castaway for Aen. to be able very credibly to present some of the details for Achaem.'s history."

Styx in my boat. Indeed I was not happy to take Hercules across the lake, nor Theseus and Pirithous, though both were sons of gods and unconquered in strength. Hercules sought to put the guardian of hell in chains with his hand and dragged him trembling from beneath the king's own throne. The others assaulted the queen to take her from the bed of Dis.

First, Charon brings Hercules, who overpowers and kidnaps Cerberus as one of his Twelve Labours. Charon's brief narration inspires sympathy for the dog by calling him *custos*⁹⁵ and saying he is *tremens* when Hercules drags him (*traxit*) out from under his master's chair, presenting what is traditionally considered to be a heroic feat as an act of cruelty. In addition, he says that Theseus and Pirithous attempt to kidnap Proserpina from Dis to be Theseus' wife, calling Proserpina *domina* in order to indicate the severity of the attempted crime and even his personal concern in the attempt as her subject. The Sibyl claims that they will not repeat these specific offences and proceeds to build Aeneas' credibility by claiming that he is famous for his piety and military skill (*pietate insignis et armis*, 6.399-404).

Although Charon tells Aeneas and the Sibyl to explain (presumably with words) why they are in the Underworld (*fare...quid venias*, 6.389), the Sibyl's verbal response seems to build insufficient credibility. Instead, she shows Charon the golden bough in order to prove their divine authorisation to be there:

'si te nulla movet tantae pietatis imago,
at ramum hunc' (aperit ramum qui veste latebat)
'agnoscas.' tumida ex ira tum corda residunt.
nec plura his. ille admirans venerabile donum
fatalis virgae longo post tempore visum
caeruleam advertit puppim ripaeque propinquat. (6.405-610)

'If the sight of such piety does not move you, you at least might recognise this branch' - she reveals the branch which she was hiding in her robe. His swelling anger left his heart. Neither spoke. Admiring the holy gift of the fated branch- seen a long time ago - he turned the dark ship and drew close to the banks.

Mortals' words do not hold authority with Charon because he does not recognise the credibility of any mortal based on his own experience of being deceived. So, the Sibyl supplements her verbal image of Aeneas' *pietas* with the physical image of the bough, and it is interesting that the appearance of the bough itself inspires silence (*nec plura his*). Charon recognises the authority expressed by the physical bough because he understands its divine significance, and his memory of the *venerabile donum* is enough to make him forget (at least temporarily) about his reservations concerning mortals. As discussed in Chapter 2, objects can inspire trust in a person because they

⁹⁵ Although *custos* can mean the negative 'jailor' as well as the positive 'protector', when referring to a dog (even one who is three-headed), it indicates a guard-dog. Cerberus appears docile again after he eats the drugged honey cake the Sibyl has thrown to him (6.417-423). However, this seems to directly contradict her previous claims that they will not interfere with Cerberus' barking (*licet ingens ianitor antro/ aeternum latrans excanguis terreat umbras*, 6.400-1) because he immediately falls asleep and so stops barking.

function to remind the recipient or viewer of the authority it represents; the golden bough functions in this capacity here.

Verbal stories, however, can act as authoritative evidence in support of a claim made by a secondary narrator. For instance, the Trojans come across Evander and his people performing rites, about which Evander explains:

non haec sollemnia nobis,
has ex more dapes, hanc tanti numinis aram
vana superstitio veterumque ignara deorum
imposuit: saevis, hospes Troiane, periclis
servati facimus meritosque novamus honores. (8.185-9)

These yearly rites of ours, these feasts from tradition, this altar to a great divine power were not imposed by empty superstition and ignorance of the old gods. Trojan guest, saved from terrible perils we make and renew deserving honours.

Evander denies that these rites are based on their ignorance of the old gods but are rather based on their indebtedness to a new god (Hercules). This recalls somewhat Latinus' earlier assurance to the Trojans that if they sail to Latium by accident, they are safe among the Latins:

neve ignorete Latinos
Saturni gentem haud vinco nec legibus aequam,
sponte sua veterisque dei se more tenentem. (7.202-4)

Understand that the Latins, the clan of Saturn, are just, not by constraint or laws, but by their own free will and holding themselves to the custom of their old gods.

Here, Latinus supports his claim by referring to the Latins' adherence to their religious tradition, which he presents as being more authoritative than their laws; we see this especially in the word *sponte*, which satisfies the condition of free will crucial for recognising authority, as discussed earlier. Latinus' claim of ancient tradition demonstrates the basis for the authority of the Latins' religious rites and thus Latinus' government. Evander's city is new, and he is himself an expatriate;⁹⁶ he is the opposite of Latinus, whose ancestral right to his rule is emphasised often.⁹⁷ When Evander tells Aeneas that the religious rites in Pallanteum have been established relatively recently, he risks Aeneas not recognising their religious authority. So, Evander must build authority for the rites, which he accomplishes through narrative.

Evander tells Aeneas the story of the fight between Cacus and Hercules (8.190-275) in order to establish for Aeneas the credibility of the rites they are performing; he may hope that

⁹⁶ See Papaïoannou's (2003) article on Evander's role as city-founder.

⁹⁷ See Chapter 2 on tokens of kingship.

Aeneas might come to respect or even observe the rites himself. He includes himself among the audience witnessing the fight (*nobis*, 8.200, *nostri... videre... oculis*, 8.222-3) in order to give credibility to the story, which of course is giving credibility to the rites. His descriptions are detailed to suggest that he observes them first-hand. Again, *autopsy* is employed in order to inspire *enargeia* in the audience and thus recognition for the authority of the story.

For instance, Evander describes how, when Hercules exposes the cave to sunlight, Cacus howls like never before (*insueta rudentem*, 8.248). The adverbial *insueta* suggests that Evander (or if not Evander, then whoever initially reports it to him) is able to distinguish this specific howl from Cacus' previous howls; this knowledge requires primary sensory perception and thus presence in the area both at the time of the fight and some time before that. Additionally, Evander recalls that Cacus belches a cloud of smoke, that it is *mirabile dictu*, and he describes how this smoke blocks out the view of Hercules from the crowd's sight (*prospectum eripiens oculis*, 8.252-8). The immediacy and sensory nature of his descriptions suggests that they are inspired by memories of perception and thus are Evander's personal experiences.

After his story, Evander says that Potitius first establishes the rites (*primus auctor*, 8.269);⁹⁸ Potitius presumably belongs to the generation before the Trojan War, so Evander could be a young man at the time the story takes place. Evander also claims that Hercules has visited his house before (8.362-3), which reinforces his connection to the hero. Later on, the narrator refers to this relationship when Pallas prays to Hercules, who laments being unable to help due to the gods' neutrality. As we saw in Sinon's story, although the timeline connecting the Cacus story, the establishment of the rites, and Hercules' visit to Evander's house is hazy, Evander presents his stories credibly and so any potential inconsistencies are overlooked by the audience. In Livy's similar version of the story, the historian explicitly comments that Evander rules more by authority than official power (*Evander...auctoritate magis quam imperio regebat loca*, 1.7)—like Aeneas, Romulus, and Augustus.⁹⁹ Livy also claims that this tradition was the only foreign rite adopted by Romulus on account of its emphasis on the memorialisation of heroic feats, which Romulus wishes for himself (1.7).

In addition to the Hercules stories, Evander makes other claims about gods in the area to Aeneas. For instance, he claims that the area was first settled by Saturn, who had recently escaped Olympus, referring to it as his hiding place and thus giving the people the name 'Latins' (8.319-323). Further, he claims that Saturn gives his name to the Saturnia fort and Janus gives his name to the Janiculum (8.357-8). Evander also says that some god (*quis deus incertum est*, 8.351-2) lives in the forest, and he reports:

⁹⁸ Cf. Livy (1.7).

⁹⁹ Lowrie (2009, 170) compares Evander's *auctoritas* to that of Aeneas and Augustus.

Arcades ipsum
credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem
aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret. (8.352-4)

The Arcadians believe that they have seen Jove himself, often shaking his dusky aegis with his right hand and stirring the clouds.

This claim is especially powerful, as Jupiter not only visits the area but also performs his divine duties there; the aegis is shown to be the physical guarantor of his will. With these claims, Evander attempts to build credibility for a young, melting-pot nation to the visiting Trojans. The relatively new annual rites to Hercules bind together the various tribes of the area, and by building the credibility of these rites, Evander is establishing religious authority for his nation. Further, by mentioning that all generations are involved in the worship (*minores*, 8.268), Evander suggests that this will continue to be a tradition for future descendants.

Another example of a character using a story in order to support his argument is Diomedes declining to ally with Latinus against Aeneas and the Trojans. His response is transmitted by the ambassador Venulus, who begins his report by naming his source as the man to whom Troy surrendered (11.243-5). Diomedes (through Venulus) responds to the Latins' request for an alliance by referring to the tragic fates of several Greek leaders as a result of going to war with Troy. Just as Aeneas begins his story to the Carthaginians by claiming that even a Greek would weep for him (2.6-8), Diomedes says that Priam would weep for the Greeks over the stories of their failed returns (8.255-9). Instead of going into detail, Diomedes refers briefly to each story, suggesting that the fame of these stories has (or should have) already reached the Latins and thus the credibility of each is already established, removing the need for Diomedes to tell them in full. Indeed, these stories should also be familiar to the external audience, as they are appropriated from earlier epic and tragedy, and so do not need explanation. A brief mention here of each story is enough for both the internal and external audience to refer to the earlier, fuller stories.

Diomedes refers also to his own suffering: displacement from Calydon, being separated from his wife, and having to remember his comrades turning into birds. Although he explains that this last misfortune is the result of wounding Venus in battle (11.275-7), referring to the same scene in the *Iliad* (5.334-342), the metamorphosis of his comrades may be a Vergilian invention. He claims that he is induced by insanity to wound Venus (*demens*, 11.276), although in the *Iliad* he is instructed by Athena to wound Aphrodite because she is weak.¹⁰⁰ Diomedes also refuses to fight because he has no reason to fight the Trojans again, and he does not wish to repeat the Trojan War or his subsequent struggles (11.278-284.).

¹⁰⁰ Diomedes actively hunts Aphrodite down, and after wounding her, tells her to stay off the battlefield in *Iliad* 5. Perhaps his claim of being *demens* is commentary with the benefit of hindsight.

This introduces his account of Aeneas. Diomedes shifts from explaining the specific reasons he will not fight the Trojans again to reasons that the Latins should not fight them. Instead, he tells them to bring the bribes they are offering him to Aeneas instead to make peace (11.281-2); the fact that he is turning down gifts for the Latins' benefit at his own disadvantage lends credibility to his following claims about Aeneas. Diomedes also asserts his authority regarding knowledge of Aeneas' fighting skills, saying: *experto credite quantus/in clipeum adsurgat, quo turbine torqueat hastam* ('trust my knowledge of how tall he stands above his shield, of the strength with which he hurls his javelin', 11.283-4). Again we see *autopsy* at work, as Diomedes bases his authority in this matter on the fact that he has first-hand experience with Aeneas, which he describes visually.¹⁰¹ After Latinus hears the report from Diomedes, he prepares to make a peace treaty with Aeneas (11.301-35); clearly, Diomedes' credibility makes his counsel sufficiently authoritative for Latinus.

In these instances, stories seem to adopt elements of oratory insofar as they establish 'evidence' to support each narrator's claim. That there is an established narrative regarding a subject lends a historical sense to the evidence, which, as discussed in the previous chapters, contributes to the authority of a claim. Additionally, the status of the narrator (here, two kings and an ambassador) offers authority to the evidence, which consequently authorises the original claim.¹⁰²

Oratory

Next, I discuss the dynamics of authoritative speech and performance in oratorical speeches in the *Aeneid*. Oratory is one method of performing authority: the speaker must demonstrate their own authority in order to give credence to their argument.¹⁰³ Thus, by analysing instances in which characters employ oratory and rhetoric, we may identify methods of creating authority. Additionally, we can understand the relationship between the speaker and their audience by examining how (or whether) the audience recognises the authority of the speaker.

We have seen from his various speeches that Aeneas himself is an effective orator. After the storm, for instance, he soothes the minds of his suffering comrades:

o socii—neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum—
o passi graviores, dabit deus his quoque finem.
vos et Scyllaeam rabiem penitusque sonantis
accestis scopulos, vos et Cyclopea saxa

¹⁰¹ See Hardie (2012, 141) on Diomedes' use of ocular and physical evidence.

¹⁰² This is consistent with aspects of legal oratory and authority in a courtroom especially described by Cicero (see Chapter 1).

¹⁰³ Connolly (2007).

experti: revocate animos, maestumque timorem
 mittite: forsan et haec olim meminisse iuvabit.
 per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
 tendimus in Latium; sedes ubi fata quietas
 ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.
 durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis. (1.198-207)

Oh, friends - we were not ignorant of terrible things before - oh you who have suffered worse, god will give us an end to these things as well. You approached the raging Scylla and the deep resounding cliffs, and you saw the Cyclop's rocks. Revive your spirits, and release gloomy fear: perhaps someday it will be pleasing to remember these things. Through many misfortunes and so many crises we strive for Latium, where fate shows a peaceful capital: there the rightful kingdom of Troy will rise again. Endure, and protect yourselves for the following events.

Despite his inner despair (1.208-9), Aeneas feigns positivity for the sake of his comrades' morale and encourages them with oratory. Although I agree with Highet (1972, 48) that speeches in the *Aeneid* are generally "outbursts of emotion—soliloquies, threats, and entreaties", this little *cohortatio*¹⁰⁴ seems to engage with the three aspects of rhetoric defined by Aristotle (*Ars Rhet.* 2): *logos* (reason), *pathos* (emotion), and *ethos* (credibility). Aeneas appeals to *logos* by reasoning that they have suffered worse (*passi graviora*) and survived, so that they will be able to cope through these trials. Rather than appeal to their negative emotions, he juxtaposes their recent fear of the Scylla and Cyclops with the suggestion that one day it might please them to remember their voyage. *Ethos* largely lies with the audience, since, as we have discussed, credibility depends upon the perception of the audience. Aeneas, however, enhances any existing credibility by identifying himself within the group as a cohesive unit (using *sumus* rather than *estis*), and by referring to the fated nature of the mission. Aeneas embodies the three aspects of *ethos* (wisdom, virtue, and goodwill), and the Trojans relax and eat afterwards, demonstrating the effectiveness of his mini-speech and thus his authority as a speaker.

His next speech is his introduction at Dido's palace, which follows Ilioneus' diplomatic address to Dido.¹⁰⁵ All we know about Ilioneus is that he is either the eldest (male) or highest-ranking Trojan present in the delegation, as expressed by the ambiguous term *maximus* (1.521). Ilioneus appeals to Dido for aid in Carthage, and although he employs the three Aristotelian *pisteis*, he emphasises *ethos* for not only himself as a speaker but the entire company because they are strangers to Dido. In order to establish their credibility, he simply names them as Trojans (1.524); as we see later, the name 'Trojan' is enough for Pallas to offer Aeneas hospitality (*percussus nomine*, 8.121-3).¹⁰⁶ Later, Ilioneus claims Aeneas as their leader, and he builds Aeneas' credibility by

¹⁰⁴ As classified in Highet's (1972, 291) invaluable appendices.

¹⁰⁵ I discuss Ilioneus' later address to Latinus in the section on prophecy.

¹⁰⁶ Additionally, as we have seen, Aeneas tries to impress the young huntress (Venus in disguise) (1.375-6).

asserting that he is incomparably *iustus* (1.544) and that no one is *maior* in war (1.545). If from this portrait Dido considers Aeneas a credible figure, the Trojans will benefit from Aeneas' authority by association. Finally, Ilioneus claims kinship with *clarus* Acestes (1.555) of Sicily just across the sea and so presumably known to Dido. Indeed she affirms knowledge of Troy, Aeneas, and Acestes in her response (1.565-570), and so with the *ethos* of the Trojans established, Dido offers hospitality, citizenship, and even co-rule to them on account of their reputation and authority.

After Aeneas bursts from his cloud with Achates, he supplements Ilioneus' appeal with a brief speech expressing gratitude to Dido and warns her that he can only repay her with fame. Because we are concerned here with authority, the mechanics of his speech are not significant for our purposes. Rather, the performance of his speech demonstrates aspects of authority, similar to the performative authority Venus gives to her story about Dido as discussed above. Before Dido sees Aeneas, Venus enhances his beauty, and he appears *deo similis* (1.589). Indeed, later, Dido tells Anna:

quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!
credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum. (4.11-2)

His face and stride, and how strong he is in his heart and arms! Indeed I believe, in
no empty faith, that he is the son of gods.

She claims that her trust is not without grounds, demonstrating that appearance and stories (his own, Ilioneus', and from *fama*) are sufficient grounds for belief of Aeneas' divine parentage.

Later in Book 4, however, we find Dido violently questioning Aeneas' credibility after a flurry of silence, rumour, and then speech.¹⁰⁷ After Mercury rouses Aeneas to embark for Italy, Aeneas initially decides to make preparations secretly and wait to tell the *reginam furentem* (4.283) when he has found the right words and the right time (4.293-4). *Fama*, however, tells Dido about Aeneas' journey first (4.298-9), and Dido confronts Aeneas. Aeneas defends himself by referring to the fated nature of his journey and its divine authorisation by Apollo and Jupiter (4.345-361). Dido immediately responds: *nec tibi diva parens generis* ('nor do you have divine parentage', 4.365). She attacks his claim to divine birth, upon which his credibility has been constructed for Dido, as I discuss above.

Dido expresses further skepticism regarding the fated nature of his mission, which he used as his reason for leaving only a few lines earlier:

nunc augur Apollo,
nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso
interpres divum fert horrida iussa per auras.
scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos
sollicitat. (4.376-9)

¹⁰⁷ See Dyer (1989) on *fama* here. Also on *fama*, see Hejduk (2009), Hardie (2012), and Syson (2013).

Now the prophet Apollo, now the Lycian oracles, and now a divine messenger brings harsh orders through the breeze, sent by Jove himself. Surely this is drudgery for the gods, that such cares disturb their peace.

Whereas Aeneas refers to several sources of divine authorisation in order to assert the authority of his mission, Dido subverts his own method by suggesting that too many legitimising reasons actually diminish credibility. By using *nunc* several times, she demonstrates the apparent absurdity of his claims; we might paraphrase these lines as: “first it was Apollo, then it was the Lycian oracles, and now Jupiter? Who next?” She seals her attack by sarcastically pitying the gods’ participation in the *labor*, which recalls both the narrator questioning the scope of divine anger (1.11) and Iarbas’ own doubts about the credibility of myths (4.217-8). With this speech, Dido attempts to undercut Aeneas’ claims of divine authorisation and thus his credibility.

I turn now to a much later example of a debate in which the speaker of the rebuttal undermines or manipulates the recognised authority of the initial speaker: the scene in which Latinus’ war council meets to discuss the war with Aeneas. After Diomedes declines to join the alliance, Latinus decides to follow his authoritative advice and strike a peace accord with Aeneas in order to avoid war. This introduces a supportive speech by Drances followed by a counterblast from Turnus.¹⁰⁸ Drances agrees with Aeneas to a twelve-day hiatus in the war so that both sides could cremate their dead, and so he has experience negotiating with Aeneas on issues of war. In his speech to the war council, Drances argues in support of offering the Trojans a treaty, and he attempts to alienate Turnus from his audience (both internal and external). This speech is modeled after three speeches in the *Iliad*: first, his attack on Turnus parallels Thersites’ attack on Agamemnon and Achilles (2.225-242); second, his advice that Lavinia be married to Aeneas (*Aen.* 11.352-7) recalls Antenor’s advice to return Helen (*Il.* 7.348-353); and finally, that he tells Turnus to fight Aeneas in single combat (*Aen.* 11.374-5) recalls Hector shaming Paris into single combat with Menelaus (*Il.* 3.39-57).¹⁰⁹ Thus, Drances’ speech itself is the product of poetic memory and authority.¹¹⁰

To introduce Drances’ speech, the narrator describes aspects of Drances’ authority, his weakness, and his motivation for giving the speech—all three of which we find are ultimately interconnected:

¹⁰⁸ See Heinze (1993, 327) on the arrangement of their exchange.

¹⁰⁹ Highet (1972, 249) argues that the difference in this instance is that Drances appeals to Turnus’ pride, while Hector admonishes Paris with shame.

¹¹⁰ Highet (1972, 249-251): “[t]he Drances episode shows how Vergil borrowed from Homer, what he omitted, and what he changed...in taking over the Thersites episode, Vergil has made it more dignified, more intellectual, and more effectively incorporated into the poem.”

tum Drances idem infensus, quem gloria Turni
 obliqua invidia stimulisque agitabat amaris,
 largus opum et lingua melior, sed frigida bello
 dextera, consiliis habitus non futilis auctor,
 seditione potens (genus huic materna superbum
 nobilitas dabat, incertum de patre ferebat),
 surgit et his onerat dictis atque aggerat iras...

(*Aen.* 11.336-342)

Then Drances rises, still enraged, whom the glory of Turnus was agitating with secret envy and bitter stings. He was abundant in wealth and even better with speech, but a cold hand in war. Considered to be a trustworthy advisor in counsel, and powerful in quarrels, his mother's distinguished family gave him nobility, though he bore the uncertainty about his father's origin. He rises and overwhelms with these words and builds up anger.

Although the narrator writes that Drances is an eloquent (*lingua melior*) and authoritative counselor (*consiliis...auctor*), he also portrays him as a political firebrand (*seditione potens*) who aggravates people with his words (*surgit...iras*).¹¹¹ This is the opposite of the dynamics discussed in the statesman simile: there, the statesman turns the crowd's *seditio* into peace, but here, Drances is the source of *seditio*.

Drances' *seditio* in this instance refers to his attack on Turnus. The narrator says that Drances is hostile (*infensus*) to Turnus out of envy for Turnus' fame in war (*gloria*); while Drances is a skilled orator, and indeed is referred to as an *auctor* in the sphere of oratory, he lacks Turnus' military skill (*frigida bello dextera*). We see the relationship between his authority, his insecurity, and his envy: Drances' authority as an orator is contrasted against his lack of military skill, and his insecurity is projected onto Turnus in the form of envy, which fuels his hostile speech. The narrator has commented previously that Drances is hostile to Turnus (*infensus*, 11.122), and indeed, Drances' speeches seem to parallel Cicero's attacks on Antony in the *Philippics*. Both his exchange with Aeneas and his debate with Turnus in the war council appear to cast the elderly senator Drances as a Cicero figure.¹¹² By modeling Drances on a famous contemporary orator (and one so concerned with authority), Vergil emphasises the significance of oratory and authority in both the characterisation of Drances and also his role in the narrative.

In his rebuttal, Turnus uses Drances' own oratorical authority against him by contrasting Drances as a man of words and himself as a man of action. This contrast, as we have already seen, is a source of insecurity for Drances. Turnus argues that Drances' type of oratory is incongruous with wartime debates:

larga quidem semper, Drance, tibi copia fandi
 tum cum bella manus poscunt, patribusque vocatis
 primus ades. sed non replenda est curia verbis,
 quae tuto tibi magna volant, dum distinet hostem

¹¹¹ His oratorical method of 'building up anger' uses the verb *aggere*, which reminds one of *augere*.

¹¹² See McDermott (1980) on this comparison.

agger murorum nec inundant sanguine fossae.
 proinde tona eloquio (solitum tibi) meque timoris
 argue tu, Drance, quando tot stragis acervos
 Teucrorum tua dextra dedit, passimque tropaeis
 insignis agros.

(11.378-386)

Drances, it is true that you always have more than enough to say when war demands hands, and you arrive first when the senate is called together. You ought not fill the courtroom with words, which fly so freely in your safety, while the rampart walls keep the enemy back and the trenches are not filled with blood. Drances, thunder on in your eloquence (which is usual for you) and charge me with cowardice, when your hand has dealt as many heaps of dead Trojans, and the fields are scattered with your splendid trophies.

Although Turnus admits the power of Drances' rhetoric for recruiting soldiers, he points out Drances' hypocrisy in being uninvolved in the actual war while concurrently giving speeches about it. For instance, while the narrator uses *aggere* above to describe Drances' oratorical method, Turnus here uses *agger* in the military sense of a rampart, which further contrasts the spheres of oratory and war. Turnus argues that Drances is interfering negatively with the Latins' strategy because he is giving advice based on his own fear rather than tactical knowledge, which ultimately threatens the Latin army: *proinde omnia magno/ ne cessa turbare metu* ('do not cease from inciting everyone with your great fear', 11.400-1). By revealing Drances' lack of knowledge about the current state of battle and military strategy in general, Turnus removes relevancy from the only skill of Drances evident in the narrative. If Drances' audience (here, the war council) perceives that he lacks accurate understanding, his speeches about the war are without authority or credibility.

Turnus also argues against Drances' earlier charges of violence (11.346, 348, 354, and 357), and he concludes his attack on Drances by accusing Drances of pretending to be physically afraid of him:

vel cum se pavidum contra mea iurgia fingit,
 artificis scelus, et formidine crimen acerbat.

(11.406-7)

And during quarrels against me he feigns trembling, a crime of the master craftsman, and he augments his accusation with 'terror'.

Turnus says that when he argues with Drances, Drances pretends to tremble in fear (*pavidum*), which recalls Sinon shaking falsely (*pavitans*) during his story. Considering the descriptions we have read of both Drances and Turnus, if Drances in fact trembles, it is most likely out of genuine fear. Indeed, Highet (1972, 61) argues that Drances flinches when Turnus moves his sword-arm (*dextra hac*, 11.408-9), which is a threatening motion.¹¹³ Turnus, however, claims that this display of fear is an oratorical strategy Drances uses to give credence to his accusations against Turnus. By claiming

¹¹³ Especially compared to Drances' *frigida bello dextera* (11.338-9) discussed above.

that Drances is feigning his fear of Turnus, Turnus attempts to invite recognition for his authority rather than power or violence. Moreover, he supports his authority by giving evidence of his undefeated record of fighting and by claiming that he is the equal of his ancestors (11.440-2).¹¹⁴ In this way, Turnus hopes to rival Drances' authority as an orator.

In a later discussion between Turnus and Latinus regarding the future of the war, Turnus combines both his military violence and authority by proposing that he will fight Aeneas in single combat. Latinus' response, however, is informed by the prophecy of Aeneas' arrival and marriage to Lavinia— or Latinus, the authority of the divine prophecy (and familial duty)¹¹⁵ outweighs that of speech.

3. Prophecy

The final section of this chapter is a discussion of the dynamics of authority in prophecy, including oracles, augury, and omens. In order to analyse the function of authority in prophecy, I consider several aspects of the process: the divine source; the method of transmission; and the interpretation. Also significant is the method of transmission within the text: prophecy appears in the *Aeneid* either as direct speech in the primary narrative, or remembered in a character's dialogue. In this section, I begin with a discussion of written prophecy. After this, I present my analyses in order of the episodes discussed.

Watkins (1995, 91) emphasises the power of exact words in Indo-European culture, in which poets also serve as priests and prophets. This evokes the Latin *vates*, meaning both 'prophet' and 'poet'.¹¹⁶ The word *vates* acquires a negative connotation as more of a 'soothsayer' and fell into disuse by Ennius' time, but later it seems to be adopted collectively by the Augustan poets beginning with Vergil. In the *Eclogues*, Vergil uses *vates* to mean a poet who is more skilled than a singer, thus suggesting that a *vates* composes his or her song in addition to performing it (7.28, 9.33-4). In the *Georgics*, however, *vates* appears only to indicate prophets and priests (3.491, 4.387, 4.392, 4.450). In the *Aeneid*, Vergil primarily uses *vates* for a prophet, a priest, or a priestess (also called *sacerdos*),¹¹⁷ but the narrator also uses *vates* to refer to himself: *tu vatem, tu, diva, mone* ('goddess, lead your poet-priest', 7.41). Considering that this line follows soon after Book 6, in which *vates*

¹¹⁴ Although Drances challenges this (11.374-5).

¹¹⁵ Discussed in Chapter 5.

¹¹⁶ Similar to the Sanskrit *ṛṣi* and Old Irish *fáith*. See Newman (1967) on the (changing) nature of the *vates*.

¹¹⁷ Named: 2.122 (Calchas); 3.187; 5.636 (Cassandra); 3.246, 3.712 (Celaeno); 3.358, 3.463, 3.712 (Helenus); 3.443, 4.56, 6.65, 78, 82, 125, 161, 189, 211, 259, 372, 398, 415, 419, 562, (the Sibyl); 6.12 (Apollo); 6.669 (*optime vates*, Musaeus: poet, priest, and prophet); 7.435, 442 (Allecto disguised as Calybe, priestess of Juno); 8.340 (Carmentis); 11.774 (Chloereus). Unnamed: 4.65, 4.464, 5.524, 6.662 (Apollo's priests), 7.68 (Latinus' augur), 8.627.

recurs the most often at sixteen usages, and that *vates* is not used again in the *Aeneid* to indicate a poet, we might consider that the narrator is positioning himself as a ‘divinely inspired poet’.¹¹⁸

So, can we consider the narrator a prophet figure? In the *Georgics*, Vergil explains why the *vates* holds authority:

novit namque omnia vates,
quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox ventura trahantur. (4.392-3)

For the prophet knows everything—what is, what has been, what will happen soon.

Similar to our earlier discussion on the authority of the narrator, the source of the prophet’s authority is knowledge. Specifically, Vergil writes that the seer has knowledge about the past, present, and future. Again, this is similar to the knowledge of the narrator, who, because he is third-person omniscient, also possesses information about the past, present, and future, and about the divine as well as mortal realms. In terms of authority, then, the narrator might be considered a sort of *vates* character. As discussed above, the Muse functions as a source of divine inspiration and authorises the poet’s knowledge. Hunter (1993, 91) argues that in the *Argonautica*, Phineus’s opening speech (2.209-11) “rework[s] the proem of the epic...to establish the prophet’s omniscience”; thus, the figure of the prophet inherits the authority of the Muse.¹¹⁹

Sharrock (2002, 212) suggest that prophet characters in the *Aeneid* stand in for Vergil and represent him in the narrative. Indeed, the violence with which the Sibyl receives her prophecy might be read as an allegory for the tortured relationship some poets have with poetry itself.¹²⁰ Again, we might consider the relationship between the Muse and the writer-narrator (as distinct from the oral poet) as a model for receiving prophecy and so also explore the potential implications of writing prophecy rather than speaking it.

I begin my discussion of prophecy with the issue of written prophecy versus spoken prophecy. As discussed previously, Cicero often refers to the authority of written documents as sources of evidence in court.¹²¹ Like monuments, written records such as letters and diary entries provide physical evidence of what has come before;¹²² Lowrie (2009, 281) writes that both monuments and texts “produce authority for their writers by creating representations in the moment and across time”. Further, Jaeger (1990, 139-75) argues that writing can be used to “record and define the city’s meaning”, much like a nation’s constitution. Prophecies, however,

¹¹⁸ Winkler (1987), 657.

¹¹⁹ However, Hunter (1993, 92-4) points out that Phineus will be punished due to “lack of prudence” for revealing too much to mortals, as Zeus wants mortals to lack complete awareness of divine matters (*Arg.* 2.314-6).

¹²⁰ Louise Bogan often employed this theme in her poetry, in which she would cast herself as a prophetess.

¹²¹ See Chapter 1.

¹²² See Chapter 2 on monuments.

like written records, are open to interpretation by those consulting the evidence. Here I discuss the complications which arise from written prophecy in the *Aeneid*.

The first scene in which a prophecy is suggested as being written is when Venus confronts Jupiter about the storm off Libya.¹²³ Venus accuses Jupiter of breaking his promise to help the Trojans find a new land to settle. Jupiter initially assures her that Aeneas' destiny is fixed and that he will not change his mind (*neque me sententia vertit*, 1.260). In order to convince her further, Jupiter says:

fabor enim, quando haec te cura remordet,
longius et volvens fatorum arcana movebo. (1.261-2)

Since this worry torments you, I will speak at length and I will unroll the secret scroll of the fates.

Jupiter refers to a scroll (suggested by *volvens*) which contains a fixed description of future destiny. Although the scroll functions in the same way as historical records in that it provides written, and thus authoritative, evidence of events. Jupiter uses the scroll in order to support his claim to Venus that Aeneas' destiny is ensured.

Later in the war council scene on Olympus, however, we find that the nature of destiny is not as immovable as Jupiter previously claims in Book 1. After Juno and Venus debate about the causes of the war (especially due to divine intervention) and their desired outcomes, Jupiter decides to remain neutral and allow the fates the freedom to decide the outcome themselves: *rex Iuppiter omnibus idem./ fata viam invenient* ('King Jupiter is the same in all matters; the fates will find their own way', 10.112-3). This statement seems to be logically incompatible with the original concept of the scroll of fate; the fact that destiny is written in a document suggests that it cannot be changed.¹²⁴ Indeed, the 'scroll of fate' is adopted later by Ovid, who presents fate as a plaque of bronze and iron like the Twelve Tables rather than a scroll of papyrus (*Met.* 15.807-15), making destiny even more fixed.¹²⁵ In the *Aeneid*, however, we now have two distinct and seemingly contradictory views on the reliability and thus authority of fate as a written document.

The authority of the scroll of fate may be associated with the *imperium* of Jupiter himself. In the war council, we see that Jupiter's earlier command that Italy and Troy not be allowed to fight has been disobeyed: *abnueram bello Italiam concurrere Teucris* ('I had forbidden Italy to oppose Troy in war', *Aen.* 10.8). He uses the verb *abnuere*, meaning to disapprove with a nod.¹²⁶ The nod (*nutus*) physically authorises his command. After the debate and his declaration of neutrality, he nods again:

¹²³ On the scroll of fate, see: Fowler (1989) and (1997), 261; Smith (1994), 50; Barchiesi (2001), 131; Gladhill (2012).

¹²⁴ See Feeney on Jupiter's inability to change fate, see Feeney (1991), 144-6.

¹²⁵ On Ovid and the materiality of fate, see Gladhill (2012). See Feeney (1991, 129-87) on the *fatorum arcana*.

¹²⁶ OLD: *abnuo*.

Stygii per flumina fratris,
per pice torrentis atraque voragine ripas
adnuit et totum **nutu** tremefecit Olympum. (10.113-5)

He nodded, swearing on the rivers of his infernal brother, on the banks rushing with pitch
and the black whirlpool: he shook all of Olympus with his nod.

His command is authorised again by a nod (*adnuere*),¹²⁷ and the whole of Olympus ‘shaking’ demonstrates the reach of Jupiter’s command. These lines are repeated verbatim in his promise to Cybele to change the ships into Nereids (9.104-6), on which he follows through, demonstrating the strength of *adnuere*. Again, however, even his command after the war debate is largely ignored, as Venus, Juno, and Juturna all interfere in the battle.¹²⁸ Jupiter later strikes a new compromise with Juno regarding the assimilation of the Trojans into Latin culture, and Juno herself authorises his pact by agreeing with a nod (*adnu*it *his*, 12.841). *Adnuere* is also used earlier in Venus’ confrontation speech (1.250), when she reminds Jupiter that he had previously promised Aeneas a future apotheosis. Thus, the *nutus* with which Jupiter authorises his commands is effective in varying degrees. I would argue that Jupiter’s *nutus* is a manifestation of his *auctoritas* rather than his *imperium* precisely because it is not always followed, thus demonstrating the free will of the gods.

The other episode I will discuss which contains written prophecy is Helenus’ advice to Aeneas regarding the Cumaean Sibyl. In his spoken prophecy to Aeneas, Helenus advises Aeneas to request that the Sibyl tell him her prophecies rather than write them:

huc ubi delatus Cumaeam accesseris urbem
divinosque lacus et Averno sonantia silvis,
insanam vatem aspicias, quae rupe sub ima
fata canit foliisque notas et nomina mandat.
quaecumque in foliis descripsit carmina virgo
digerit in numerum atque antro seclusa relinquit:
illa manent immota locis neque ab ordine cedunt.
verum eadem, verso tenuis cum cardine ventus
impulit et teneras turbavit ianua frondes,
numquam deinde cavo volitantia prendere saxo
nec revocare situs aut iungere carmina curat:
inconsulti abeunt sedemque odere Sibyllae.
hic tibi ne qua morae fuerint dispendia tanti,
quamvis increpitent socii et vi cursus in altum
vela vocet, possisque sinus implere secundos,
quin adeas vatem precibusque oracula poscas
ipsa canat vocemque volens atque ora resolvat. (3.441-457)

¹²⁷ Servius (*ad Aen.* 10.8) writes that *abnuere* prohibits, while *adnuere* grants consent. Ascanius uses *adnuere* in a prayer to Jupiter to bless his arrow (9.625), and Jupiter answers with authorisation (9.630-4). Further, Apollo authorizes Arruns’ prayer to kill Camilla (*adnu*it *oranti*, 11.797), and Aeneas prays for victory (12.187).

¹²⁸ As mentioned previously, Hercules seems to be the only god who does not interfere even when he is called upon by Pallas (10.460-473).

When you have arrived, carried here to the city of Cumae and the sacred lakes and the resounding forests of Avernus, you will see the frenzied priestess, who sings the future from the depths of the cliff and she delivers signs and names on leaves. Whatever verses the virgin writes on the leaves she arranges in order and leaves them shut inside her cave. They stay there unmoving in their places and they remain in order. But then when a hinge turns and a light breeze blows through the door and disturbs the delicate leaves, she does not care to chase the fluttering pages through the cave, nor does she fix the order or put the lines back together. People leave without answers, and they hate the house of the Sibyl. Do not let the thought of such delay weigh on you, no matter how much your comrades complain and your journey calls your sails to the sea with force, and you are able to fill your sails with following winds. You will approach the priestess and ask for your future with pleas that she herself sing and that she lets loose her willing voice and mouth.

The transmission of the Sibyl's oracular process is straightforward: she receives her knowledge from Apollo, which she writes down in verse on leaves and arranges in order. The interpretation of the verses, however, becomes complicated because any disturbance to the leaves remains uncorrected, and so people seeking the Sibyl's counsel leave disappointed and frustrated by the confused verses. As we have discussed, authority is a reciprocal process which relies as much upon the audience as it does on the performer. Thus, it is difficult to imagine how the Sibyl maintains her prophetic authority or stays in the oracle business at all, as her filing system and model of service are remarkably inefficient.

We find that the interpretation is as significant an element in prophecy as transmission. Because the leaves can be confused by any movement, interpretation is nearly impossible, and therefore the audience cannot perceive the Sibyl's credibility first-hand but only through her reputation as a prophetess.¹²⁹ By having the Sibyl speak the prophecy, Aeneas will hear it in chronological order and thus understand it better than a collection of jumbled scraps. So, Aeneas requests that the Sibyl chant the verses to him: *ipsa canas oro* ('that you might sing it yourself', 6.76).

Here, I turn my attention to scenes involving spoken or narrated prophecy, beginning in Book 2. The first prophetic scene is that of Hector appearing to Aeneas in a dream, alerting him to Troy's destruction and designating him as the protector of Troy's rites and Penates in their new land. Hector is credible to both Aeneas and the external audience because he possesses knowledge of the current situation in Troy, which Aeneas, being asleep, does not possess. The external audience possesses knowledge of the Fall of Troy from the poetic tradition, and so they know that Hector is credible. The fact that Aeneas does not recognise Hector in his mutilated form also lends credibility to the specter because he is not a figment of Aeneas' imagination, as Aeneas would have had to possess an existing memory of Hector's mutilated appearance in order to generate this image. We see this again later in the Underworld, when Aeneas approaches Deiphobus bearing the

¹²⁹ Kennedy (2013, 57) argues that the examples of the scroll of fate and the Sibyl's leaves demonstrate "[t]he stable, ideal order, the full knowledge of past and future, is disrupted by 'movement' of any kind."

signs of his mutilation, of which Aeneas had been previously unaware (6.494-9). Now that Hector is dead, he presumably has access to divine knowledge. Thus, the credibility of Hector's ghost is established and the information he gives Aeneas is considered authoritative by both Aeneas and the reader.

Creusa similarly gains posthumous divine knowledge after she is killed on the flight from Troy. When Aeneas returns to the city to find her, her ghost appears to him larger than life (*nota maior imago*, 2.773), indicative of her new authority as an attendant of Cybele (2.788). She expands upon Hector's prophecy, explaining that it is by divine will that she must be left behind (2.777-9), as future Rome depends upon a new dynastic marriage; so Creusa's death is predestined and divinely authorised. Her prophecy itself is thus authoritative, as she now has divine knowledge and she is explaining the greater reason for her death.¹³⁰

Sailing aimlessly except for Creusa's hint to sail west (*terram Hesperiam*, 2.781), the Trojans first land on Thrace. This begins a string of prophetic messages indicating where they should settle, and complications arise when the prophecies are misinterpreted by Anchises. The Trojans later land on Delos, the kingdom of King Anius, son and priest of Apollo. Apollo himself speaks to the Trojans (*vox fertur ad auris*, 3.93), telling them to seek out their primeval motherland (*antiquam exquirite matrem*, 3.96). The prophecy, however, is vague, and Anchises decides that Apollo is speaking of Crete, where Anchises believes that the Trojan race originated from Teucer. He says that many of the Trojan religious traditions were brought by Teucer to Troy from Crete, including Cybele, the Corybants, her rites, and tamed lions (3.108-13). As the source of the prophecy is Apollo himself and his divine authority is not questioned, we must explore the authority of the interpretation. Here, both Aeneas as narrator and Anchises (as narrated by Aeneas) say that in order to interpret the oracle, Anchises refers to his memories of stories of Trojan history (*veterum... virorum*, 3.103; *si rite audita recordor*, 3.107). Thus the credibility of his interpretation is rooted in the authority of ancient Trojan tradition, which should stand as solid evidence.¹³¹

After living on Crete for about a year, however, the Trojans realize that it is uninhabitable due to plague and drought, and Anchises urges that they sail back to Delos to receive another prophecy from Apollo. Before they can consult Apollo again, the Penates appear to Aeneas in a dream, claiming that Anchises' interpretation was incorrect, and they advise him to sail instead to Hesperia, which demonstrates how specific Creusa's original prophecy was (*Hesperiam*, 2.781). Rather, the Penates tell Aeneas to settle in the land of Dardanus instead of the land of Teucer.

¹³⁰ See Nugent's (1999) discussion of women's absence and presence in the *Aeneid*.

¹³¹ The external audience, of course, knows that this interpretation is incorrect.

Aeneas attests to the credibility of the Penates, denying that he dreams them up himself. He recounts evidence such as their faces and decorations, and he claims that he was covered in sweat from seeing them (3.173-5).

Aeneas learns the true interpretation of Apollo's prophecy. Anchises is not factually incorrect in his interpretation, as Teucer's daughter Batea marries Dardanus, and so Teucer is an ancestor of the Trojans. The Penates, however, reveal that the Trojans descend from two lines: first, that of Teucer and Dardanus, and second, that of Iasion, Dardanus' brother. The Penates explain that Anchises and Aeneas are descendants of Iasius rather than of Dardanus: *hinc Dardanus ortus/ Iasiusque pater, genus a quo principe nostrum* (3.168). Aeneas says:

agnovit prolem ambiguam geminosque parentis,
seque novo veterum deceptum errore locorum. (3.180-1)

He recognized the uncertain lineage and double ancestry, and that he was deceived by a new mistake about our ancestral homes.

So, Anchises was either unaware or forgetful of the Trojans' double origins. This scene demonstrates the significance of access to prior knowledge in the interpretation of prophecies.

At this point, Anchises remembers that Cassandra used to tell the Trojans that they were destined for a western kingdom, which she specifically named *Italia* (3.185). As discussed earlier, we see that by this time, the Trojans consider Cassandra a credible source of prophecy. It is interesting that Anchises concludes by commanding the Trojans to trust Apollo (3.188), since it was Apollo's curse that causes the Trojans to disregard Cassandra's prophecies in the first place.

Helenus, Cassandra's twin brother, shares her gift of prophetic vision but is not similarly cursed with incredibility. Aeneas asks Helenus to reveal through his prophetic skills the dangers that he and his comrades will face on their voyage and give advice on avoiding them (3.359-368). Helenus says that he will share what he can, but warns: *prohibent nam cetera Parcae/scire Helenum farique vetat Saturnia Iuno* ('the fates prevent me from knowing the rest, and Juno forbids me to speak', 3.379-380). Helenus' revelations are dependent upon the willingness of the gods, and thus we might assume that those prophecies he is allowed to disclose are authorised by the gods. Ultimately, Helenus confirms that the fate of their voyage has been authorised by Jupiter (3.375-6). He emphasises that the Trojans must pray to Juno and offer her gifts so that she will allow them to leave Sicily for Italy (3.435-40).¹³² He supports this particular claim by staking his prophetic skills on its validity: *si qua est Heleno prudentia vati,/ si qua fides, animum si veris implet Apollo* ('if there is knowledge in the prophet Helenus, and if there is confidence, and if Apollo inspires my soul with

¹³² Palinurus tells Aeneas: *non, si mihi Iuppiter auctor/ spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo* ('even if guarantor Jupiter promised me, I would not hope to reach Italy in this weather'). So, Venus must make a deal with Neptune for safe passage in exchange for Palinurus' life. When the Trojans finally sacrifice to Juno (the sow), the Tiber stays smooth throughout the night (8.84-9).

truth...’, 3.433-4). In this way, Helenus both emphasises the significance of the step and asserts his own authority as a skilled prophet.¹³³

Helenus also interprets for Aeneas the prophecy of Celaeno in which she said that the Trojans will eat their tables. Celaeno’s original words seemed to lie somewhere between prophecy and curse:

accipite ergo animis atque haec mea figite dicta,
quae Phoebus pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo
praedixit, vobis Furiarum ego maxima pando.
Italiam cursu petitis ventisque vocatis:
ibitis Italiam portusque intrare licebit.
sed non ante datam cingetis moenibus urbem
quam vos dira fames nostraeque iniuria caedis
ambesas subigat malis absumere mensas. (3.250-7)

So accept in your souls and fix my words which the omnipotent father foretold to Phoebus, and which Phoebus Apollo told to me: I, the greatest of the Furies, unfold it for you. You seek the way to Italy and call on the winds. You will arrive in Italy and it will be permitted for you to enter its ports, but you will not surround the given city with your walls until great hunger and the injury of striking us drives you to consume your tables chewed by your teeth.

Celaeno demonstrates her own prophetic credibility on account of her being *maxima Furiarum*, similar to Juno’s assertion that she is first among goddesses when she refers to her own (lack of) authority (1.46-8). Celaeno claims that the prophecy comes directly from Apollo, yet she presents their punishment as a direct result of their crimes against the Harpies, thus causing her words to resemble a curse. Helenus later explains, however, that it will not unfold as violently as Celaeno had presented it as long as Aeneas follows fate and asks for Apollo’s help (3.395). His advice to follow the path of fate (*fata viam*) is set against the potential for divine intervention, and moreover by the guarantor of the prophecy. Indeed the prophecy manifests in an unexpectedly innocuous form— that of wordplay by Ascanius: *heus, etiam mensas consumimus* (‘hey, we are eating our tables!’, 7.116).

In Book 4, we find another example of a prophecy/curse which ultimately does not affect the Trojan mission negatively. As Aeneas’ crew sails away from Carthage, Dido outlines the terms for an extended curse against him and the Trojans, which she summarises: *pugnent ipsique nepotesque* (4.629). Dido authorises her curse with her specifically formulated words sealed by her own blood: *haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo* (‘I pledge this, and I pour out my final cry with my blood’, 4.621). She calls on the Sun, Juno, Hecate, the Furies, and her own death demons to undertake and so authorise her curse (*accipite...advertite...audite*, 4.607-612). Thus, Dido’s curse is

¹³³ See the next chapter on profession and authority.

potentially authorised by two sources: the gods whom she invokes and her own articulation of words which construct the curse. Her curse seems to prove largely effective: from history, we know that the Punic Wars arise from tension between Carthage and Rome; from the text, we know that Aeneas will die only three years after the Latin War (1.265-6), and, as discussed earlier, he may remain unburied (*inhumatas*, 4.620), as one tradition holds that his body is not found. Somewhere between speech and prophecy, curses receive power from “ritualized articulation”.¹³⁴

Anchises’ death, in contrast, seems to be authorised by a visual divine omen in Book 5. During the funeral games for Anchises, Aeneas holds an archery contest in which the contestants must shoot a dove tied to the mast with a piece of rope. After Mnestheus hits the rope with his arrow, detaching the bird from the mast, Eurytion aims at the bird while it is flying away. He prays to his brother, Pandarus, who first breaks the truce in the *Iliad* by shooting Menelaus (*Aen.* 5.495-7; *Il.* 4), in order to guarantee his shot, and he succeeds in shooting down the bird. Acestes, having lost the opportunity to compete, releases a stray (yet skillfully shot) arrow into the sky:

hic oculis subitum obicitur magnoque futurum
augurio monstrum; docuit post exitus ingens
seraque terrifici cecinerunt omina vates. (5.522-4)

And this wonder appeared before their eyes, which will be a great omen. In later days, a great event demonstrated it, and awestruck prophets sang about the future omens.

Aeneas awards Acestes prizes to celebrate the omen, which Aeneas believes is evidence that Jupiter has marked Acestes for honors (5.534-5).

Another example of a visual omen in the *Aeneid* is the golden bough that Aeneas must find in order to enter the Underworld (6.136-144). The Sibyl says that if fate authorises Aeneas to enter the Underworld, the bough will fall into his hands—otherwise, it will not budge (6.145-8). While looking for the bough, Aeneas notices his mother’s doves. He prays to Venus to reveal the bough to him, and when the doves lead him to it, he is able to pluck it from the tree (6.210-1), thus sanctioning his trip to the Underworld.

Once Aeneas reaches the Underworld, the Sibyl brings him to Elysium, where they first approach a group of prophets:¹³⁵

quique pii vates et Phoebæ digna locuti,
inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artis
quique sui memores aliquos fecere merendo. (6.662-4)

¹³⁴ Pillinger (2012, 41): “Witches are not mouthpieces of the gods; they repeat, selectively and relentlessly, the version of future events that suits them.” Pliny writes that witches use *carmina* to influence the gods (*HN* 28.20).

¹³⁵ Cf. Horsfall (2013) and Malamud (1998).

And those pious poets and singers worthy of Phoebus, and inventors who improved life through their arts, and those who made others remembering of them through being deserving.

Again, we find the dynamics of authority at work, most obviously the aspects of memory and increase here, although it is described as *dignitas* rather than *auctoritas*. Further, the Sibyl singles Musaeus out on account of his personal authority: he is described as the tallest in the group by far (6.667-8),¹³⁶ and the Sibyl addresses him as *optime vates* (6.669).

Musaeus directs Aeneas over the ridge to Anchises, who is observing his descendants and their future accomplishments (6.679-83). Aeneas is overwhelmed by the activity in Elysium and wants to know how things work. Anchises imparts his knowledge on the dynamics of the Underworld and also on the nature of the universe (6.724-751), which recalls Iopas' song about the natural world performed in Dido's court (1.740-6). Anchises' knowledge about these matters comes from his status as an inhabitant of Elysium; his divine knowledge in death is similar to that of Hector and Cresua as discussed above. Those in Elysium, including Anchises, are capable of increasing their authority in death because they have access to seemingly unlimited and divine knowledge of the world, similar to the knowledge of our omniscient narrator.

Anchises describes to Aeneas the future achievements of their fated Roman descendants (6.756-886). Although the stories he shares are prophecy to Aeneas, they are legends, recent history, and prophecy to Vergil's external, contemporary audience. To them, the Romulus legend is the ancient past (6.777-80); the death of Marcellus is recent history (6.860-86); and Augustus' world domination and apotheosis are predicted here (6.791-805). Anchises' new, unlimited knowledge about the past, present, and future pushes his authority in life as both a Trojan prince and *paterfamilias* to a nearly divine status and thus more than compensates for the mistakes he made during the voyage. Aeneas clearly recognises Anchises' authority, since he is inspired by the stories and accepts Anchises' advice on how to endure or avoid the upcoming struggles in Latium (6.888-892).

Before Aeneas and the Trojans land in Latium, Latinus receives several omens and prophecies regarding his arrival and integration with the Latins; these omens are consistent with the prophecy set out by Creusa regarding a new dynastic marriage in Italy. First, Latinus' augur interprets a swarm of bees as indicative of foreigners coming to invade Latinus' city (7.68-70).¹³⁷ This is followed by the omen of Lavinia's hair and clothing catching fire (7.72-8.); it is reported that prophets interpret this omen to mean that Lavinia is destined for glory (*inlustrem fama*, 7.79),

¹³⁶ This parallels Creusa's increased height (and authority) in death, as discussed above.

¹³⁷ Bees are a symbol of refugees or colonists; see Paschalis (1997, 120-1) on the semantic relationship between bees, Rumour, ships, and flight.

but that the people will suffer a great war (7.80). Latinus immediately seeks the oracle of his father, the seer Faunus. The narrator reports that all of the Italian tribes seek prophecies from him (7.81-6); this demonstrates the extent of his authority. After sacrificing sheep and performing the necessary rituals, Latinus receives his prophecy:

ne pete conubiis natam sociare Latinis,
o mea progenies, thalamis neu crede paratis;
externi venient generi, qui sanguine nostrum
nomen in astra ferant, quorumque a stirpe nepotes
omnia sub pedibus, qua sol utrumque recurrens
aspicit Oceanum, vertique regique videbunt. (7.96-101)

My child, do not seek to unite your daughter with the Latins in marriage, and do not believe the marriage arranged. Foreigners will arrive into your race, who will bear our name to the stars with intermarriage, and the descendents of whom will see everything, where the revolving sun sees both oceans, be turned and ruled beneath their feet.

Yet again, we see an image of expanding the empire similar to the one which the narrator uses to describe the future deeds of Augustus.¹³⁸ Omens are put into a context that Latinus can understand: rather than invading Latium, the foreigner will integrate with the Latins through marriage to Lavinia, and this alliance will increase the glory of the Latin race. Just as Helenus calms Aeneas about the 'eating tables' prophecy, Faunus also reassures Latinus about the augur's initial negative interpretation of the bee swarm.

Receiving this prophecy, Latinus spreads the report throughout Italy. Latinus is affected deeply by the prophecy, and he considers it authoritative. The narrator comments that even Ilioneus' speech, which is of comparable oratorical skill and authority to the speech discussed above, does not move Latinus as much as the prophecy (*veteris Fauni voluit sub pectore sortem*, 7.254), thus suggesting the superiority of divine authority to human authority, or at least limitations to human authority. Latinus reveals the prophecy to the Trojans (7.268-73), and he guarantees his promises to them based on the prophecy itself: *di nostra incepta secudent/ auguriumque suum* ('may the gods favour our undertakings and Faunus' prophecy', 7.259-60). Latinus' promises are soon broken by the divine intervention by Juno and her agent Allecto, on account of which the omens and prophecies become meaningless in the face of chaos:

ilicet infandum cuncti contra omina bellum,
contra fata deum perverso numine poscunt. (7.583-4)

With corrupted will, everyone immediately sought abominable war against the omens and the decrees of the gods.

¹³⁸ See above on this.

We see a crisis of authority, as violence counteracts the authority of the prophecy, and the *numen* of Juno subverts the legitimate rule of Latinus, who gives up control of the government.¹³⁹

After the Trojans are attacked by the Latins, they retreat to their camp on the river. While Aeneas sleeps on the riverbank, an old man appears to him and tells him that the site of his city will be marked by a sow with thirty piglets. He reveals that Ascanius will rule for thirty years (repeating Jupiter's prophecy in Book 1), and he advises Aeneas how to proceed. Although Tiberinus initially asserts his credibility with *haud incerta cano* ('I by no means sing doubts', 8.49), he finally reveals that he is the personification of the Tiber, for which Aeneas has been searching. Thus, Tiberinus' prophecy holds even more authority for Aeneas because Aeneas has prior knowledge of the Tiber as his ultimate destination. Tiberinus tells Aeneas to go to Evander for an alliance.

Evander already knows about the arrival of Aeneas from two sources: first, he claims that his mother, the nymph Carmenta, was the first to prophesy the glory of the descendants of Pallas and Aeneas (7.340-1). Livy claims that Carmenta precedes the Sibyl's arrival in Italy (1.7), revealing that Carmenta is a more ancient and thus potentially more authoritative source of prophecy than even the Sibyl. Second, Evander refers to another prophecy which designates a foreigner as the legitimate leader of the Tuscan army:

o Maeoniae delecta iuventus,
flos veterum virtusque virum, quos iustus in hostem
fert dolor et merita accendit Mezentius ira,
nulli fas Italo tantam subiungere gentem:
externos optate duces. (8.499-503)

Oh, chosen sons of Lydia, flower and courage of our ancient race, whom righteous anger brings to the enemy and whom Mezentius kindles with deserving anger! No one in Italy can subdue such a great clan. Choose foreigners as your generals.

The Tuscan army stands ready to rebel against the tyranny of Mezentius, but, as Evander says: *retinet longaeuus haruspex/ fata canens* ('an old augur singing fate holds them back', 8.498-9). Because the Tuscans have not found their predestined leader, their campaign against Mezentius remains unauthorised by fate. Evander, however, believes that Aeneas is the foreigner described in this prophecy based on his age and lineage (8.511-3), and that his appearance in Italy divinely authorises the Tuscans' rebellion.

My final discussion is a brief analysis of the prophecies included on the Shield of Aeneas, through which we see Aeneas' distinct lack of knowledge about specific future events. Again, we read here the narration of a prophecy which is depicted visually, and even the arrival of the

¹³⁹ See Chapter 4 for a fuller discussion of this scene.

weapons is signaled visually with a flash of lightning (8.523-6). The shield features several episodes from Roman history, with the focal point being the Battle of Actium (8.671-713). The narrator suggests that Vulcan has knowledge of prophetic sources in order to design the images on the shield:

illic res Italas Romanorumque triumphos
haud vatum ignarus venturique inscius aevi
fecerat ignipotens, illic genus omne futurae
stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella. (8.626-9)

On it the god of fire had etched Italian events and Roman triumphs, by no means ignorant of the prophets nor unaware of the future to come; there was every generation of the future stock by Ascanius and the wars they will fight in order.

We see from these lines that Vulcan has knowledge of Rome's future, and the source of his information seems to be a combination of other prophets (*vatum*) and his own divine knowledge (*venturi aevi*). He presents the images in chronological order (*in ordine*) as if constructing a narrative, as we have seen on Dido's bowl and Latinus' statues. Although Aeneas admires the pictures, he is unaware of the stories behind them (8.730); however, because Aeneas considers his Italian destiny authoritative after receiving a multitude of prophecies and omens, he shoulders the shield, carrying both the images and fate of his descendants (*attollens umero famamque et fata nepotum*, 8.731), into battle without question.¹⁴⁰

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have explored the relationship between authorship and authority, which largely depends upon the establishment and maintenance of credibility for both the author and their sources. I have also discussed the role of the audience, both internal and external, in recognising this credibility. This dynamic demonstrates the 'performative' nature of authority, and in many instances a character is speaking in a literally performative setting—especially story-tellers, reporters, and prophets. The audience's perception of a speaker's credibility (or non-credibility) has mixed implications for the narrative, as do the issues of reliability and deception. Hindsight appears as a device for exposing past deception in speech, especially as we saw in the case of Sinon. A story-teller can provide commentary concerning a deceitful speaker in a past event, though the speaker had been perceived as reliable at the time of the event. Through this pairing of original narration and commentary with the benefit of hindsight, the story-teller is able to alert his audience to the presence of unreliability and show the speaker's methods for building false

¹⁴⁰ For more on the shield, see Chapter 5.

credibility. Reliability also arises as an issue in the distinction between written text and spoken word in both poetry and prophecy.

The accumulation of credibility is crucial for a speaker to establish their authority. We have seen that credibility and authority can come from a range of sources, such as personal morality and charisma, claiming divine support, *autopsy* and *enargeia*, and referring to other authoritative models and sources. In this chapter, I have also touched briefly upon the notion of poetic, prophetic, and rhetorical skill as aspects of professional authority. This leads us to the next chapter, which discusses the authority of skill and expertise.

CHAPTER 4

PROFESSIONAL AUTHORITY

In Plato's *Gorgias*, Callicles suddenly exclaims to Socrates:

τοὺς θεοὺς, ἀτεχνῶς γε ἀεὶ σκυτέας τε καὶ κναφέας καὶ μαγείρους λέγων καὶ
ιατροὺς οὐδὲν παύη, ὥς περὶ τούτων ἡμῖν ὄντα τὸν λόγον. (491a)

By god, you simply cannot stop bringing up cobblers, fullers, cooks, and doctors—as
if we were *really* talking about them!

Callicles explicitly acknowledges Socrates' frequent usage of professionals as metaphors for political figures in his discourse.¹ This is an unusual instance in Platonic dialogue, in that his characters generally do not realise or rather simply ignore the fact that they are engaging in analogical discourse. The reader is aware of the use of metaphor, and perhaps takes this usage for granted as a common element of the Socratic method. Callicles' accusation that Socrates over-employs this analogy, however, disrupts the reader, who has likely become accustomed to Socrates' use of metaphor without questioning it as a device. Callicles forces us to wonder: why *does* Socrates/Plato so frequently use profession as a metaphor for the political? What is the basis of this comparison?

As I mentioned in Chapter 1, the Greeks have no single word that is equivalent to Roman *auctoritas*. Rather, Greek writers use metaphors and models which express authority to the audience, and in this dissertation I argue the same of Vergil. Plato's comparison of professionals and political leaders is based on the authority of profession, and so this chapter begins with a discussion of how authority functions in profession and expertise, along with a study of the role of foresight as a skill which signals (and reinforces and expresses) authority in the *Aeneid*. Next, I examine how professional authority functions in Plato's comparison and its role in the narrative. Plato's Socrates refers to several professions in his analogies, but this chapter is concerned specifically with the charioteer, the pilot, and the doctor. Grouping together these professions is common in ancient Greek philosophy. Vergil would have been familiar with Plato's grouping together of the farmer, charioteer, pilot, and doctor, and it is in this that I root my argument for Vergil actively literalising Plato's professional/political metaphor in the *Aeneid*. I examine instances in which and the methods by which Vergil adopts and adapts Greek political metaphor involving

¹ Brock (2013, 71) points out "Plato's fondness for craft analogies to describe the practice of philosophical statecraft".

profession and transforms it into characters who are professionals, whose skills and expertise are appropriated by Aeneas and his family, acting as stand-ins for the imperial family.

In this chapter, I argue that charioteers, helmsmen, and doctors hold authority in the *Aeneid* because they are skilled professionals. I focus on Palinurus, Aeneas' pilot, and Iapyx, his physician, as professionals because they are two of the few skilled workers who are named. I explore their shared genealogy through Dardanus' brother, Iasion, an agricultural deity: all three of these roles (pilot, physician, and farmer) are professions often found together in Plato's metaphors. I discuss the ways in which Vergil adopts chariots and reins as symbols of political authority, on the basis that these items function as emblems of professional authority. In this connection, I address his engagement with the traditional imagery of 'the ship of state' in order to present helmsmen both as the maritime counterparts of charioteers, holding equal authority, and as a metaphor for statesmen, after Cicero and Plato. For instance, Vergil portrays both Aeneas and Augustus as possessing exceptional leadership skills through the activities of charioteering and piloting.

I also demonstrate Vergil's expression of the transferral of authority through the explicit passing down of chariots and the helm, and that certain parts of the narrative rely on the dropping or maintaining of reins and the helm. This is a departure from Homer, and I compare and contrast Vergil's treatment and presentation of charioteering (and the charioteer), piloting (and the pilot), and healing (and the physician). For instance, how are chariots used in battle and how do charioteers drive and fight? Second, does Odysseus' pilot engage as actively in decision-making as Palinurus, and what does this suggest about Odysseus and Aeneas as captains? How does the background and role of Menelaus' physician, Machaon (and his physician brother, Podilarius), son of Asclepius, differ from those of Iapyx, and what is the significance of these differences?

1. *Prudentia, sapientia, auctoritas*

In Republican Rome, professionals and tradesmen were disdained by the upper classes as bring negative and even dangerous.² Joshel (1992, 63-4) writes that doctors and teachers were especially stereotyped as being dangerous; indeed, she argues these professions were feared because of the power they had to affect their patient and student, and that their "stereotypicality...points to a degree of control that these individuals had or were imagined to have had" (86).

Under Augustus, however, we see the Roman landscape changing to include a professional class, which reinforces Augustus' position. Wallace-Hadrill (1997, 22) writes: "[t]he Augustan restoration was possible because Augustus understood the change, and used the specialist authority of the experts to reinforce his own political and social authority". This social and

² D'Arms (1981, 7); Joshel (1993, 63).

economic change reroutes authority from the Senate to professionals,³ and the emphasis on professional knowledge creates a new elite class which rivals the nobility “and retains ultimate authority for the ruler”.⁴ Thus, we see the establishment of a professional class and the value of expert knowledge as contributing significantly to Augustus’ authority. In the *Aeneid*, similarly, there is great value placed on professional knowledge, especially in the characterisation of Palinurus and Iapyx.

It is important to begin by clarifying my definition of ‘professional’: it would be unhelpful and inappropriate to apply our modern sense of ‘paid professional’ to the characters. Rather, for the purposes of the chapter, ‘professional’ indicates someone who possesses a set of specialised skills developed over time and through experience, and who holds innate authority by possessing this expert knowledge which amateurs lack yet on which they rely. For instance, Plato describes a scenario of sailors arguing over which of them would take over as the pilot, despite none of them possessing the expert skills to do so—he uses this as a metaphor for unqualified men scrambling to become ruler (*Rep.* 6.488a7-489a6).

The pilot, charioteer, doctor, and shepherd/farmer are often grouped together (in different combinations) in metaphors for politicians or generals.⁵ Cicero uses the metaphor of the diseased/healthy state (*aegrotae rei publicae...salus rei publicae*, *Div. Caec.* 21) and the healer of state (*consulari medicina ad salutem reduceret*, *Red. Pop.* 6.15; *Catil.* 1.31). Cicero also uses the metaphor of the ship of state when describing navigating the seas of politics, *ex rei publicae tempestate* (‘according to the weather of the state’, *Balb.* 27.61).⁶ Further, he combines the two spheres of medicine and navigation in his speech to the Senate following his return (*Red. Sen.* 16-17). He uses the metaphor of the doctor and pilot (*Rep.* 1.62, *Inv.* 1.58) as *rector* in order to illustrate his preference for a sole ruler.⁷ Metaphors of the professional focus on the individual, and the more concentrated a source of authority is desired, the more appropriate this imagery is.⁸ Thus, professions such as piloting, charioteering, and medicine are useful for demonstrating the superior authority of a sole ruler.

Ovid also groups together areas of expertise in a passage combining the characters Palinurus, Automedon, and Podiliarius:⁹

³ Wallace-Hadrill (2008).

⁴ Wallace-Hadrill (2005), 58.

⁵ Plat. *Lg.* 905e-6a, *Plt.* 297e7-11, *Stat.* 261d-296e, *Rep.* 1.346b, 3.389c, 6.489b; Xen. *Anab.* 5.8.18-20 (also includes fathers); Arist. *Pol.* 3.1282a; Hipp. *On Ancient Medicine* 9; Celsus, Pr. 3.

⁶ See May (1980) on the ship of state in the *Pro Sestio*.

⁷ Zarecki (2014), 89-91.

⁸ See Brock (2013) on implications of tyranny and monarchy in imagery of helmsmen and doctors.

⁹ And, as we have seen, he is the brother of Menelaus’ physician, Machaon.

Fluctibus in mediis nauem, Palinure, relinquis?
 Ne fuge, neque tua sit minor arte fides.
 Numquid Achilleos inter fera proelia fidi
 deseruit leuitas Automedontis equos?
 Quem semel excepit, numquam Podalirius aegro
 promissam medicae non tulit artis opem. (Tr. 5.6.7-12)

Palinurus, do you abandon ship in mid-ocean? Don't go—may your loyalty not be less than your skill. Did the fickleness of trusty Automedon desert Achilles' horses in the midst of fierce battle? Once he accepted a case, Podalirius always brought the promised labor of his medical skill to the sick.

Ovid associates dependability with skill in the areas of charioteering, piloting, and medicine—that is, the more skilled someone is, the more credible they are perceived to be. He equates professionalism with superior trustworthiness and reliability, which further contributes to the conception of professionals as holding superior authority. In two more passages, he uses charioteering and piloting as examples of specialist expertise:

Arte citae veloce rates remoque moventur,
 Arte leves currus: arte regendus amor.
 Curribus Automedon lentisque erat aptus habenis,
 Tiphys in Haemonia puppe magister erat:
 Me Venus artificem tenero praefecit Amori;
 Tiphys et Automedon dicar Amoris ego. (Ars Am. 1.3-8)
 With skill swift ships glide with sail and oar, with skill chariots are swift: likewise, Love must be ruled by skill. Automedon was skilled with chariots and limber reins, and Tiphys was the pilot of the Argo: likewise, Venus appointed me the master for tender love. Thus, I declare that I am the Tiphys and Automedon of Love.

Quantus apud Danaos Podalirius arte medendi,
 Aeacides dextra, pectore Nestor erat,
 Quantus erat Calchas extis, Telamonius armis,
 Automedon curru, tantus amator ego.
 Me vatem celebrate, viri, mihi dicite laudes,
 Cantetur toto nomen in orbe meum. (2.735-40)

As great as Podalirius was among the Greeks with his skill for healing, Achilles with his sword, Nestor with his wisdom, Calchas with his divination, Ajax with arms, Automedon with the chariot, so great am I as a lover. Celebrate me as a poet, men, speak my praises, so that my name is sung around the world.

Again he refers to the *ars* (skill) involved in charioteering and piloting, and here he adds *amor* to the list, as it too is subordinate to *ars* (*regendus*). He refers to himself as the ultimate craftsman of love (*artificem*), and he points out that his authority is recognised and therefore legitimised by Venus herself (*praefecit*), whose divine domain is *amor*. Thus Ovid the narrator asserts himself as the

amorous counterpart to Tiphys and Automedon and the mortal counterpart to Venus, thereby establishing his authority to his audience in a didactic capacity.¹⁰

The issue of a poet's expertise is raised in Plato's *Ion*, in which Socrates questions Ion's expert knowledge of a variety of professions contained in Homer, including those of charioteers, doctors, and pilots (537a-540c). Moreover, while Hesiod claims that he won a tripod in a competition in Chalcis for the games of Amphidamas (*WD* 654-9) on account of his poetic skill, he admits that he is not an expert in seafaring, despite singing about it as a theme: οὔτε τι ναυτιλίας σεσοφισμένος οὔτε τι νηῶν (649).¹¹ Like Ion, Hesiod concludes that his technical knowledge comes from divine inspiration from the Muses (661-3).¹² Thus, we see the difference between the skill of the poet as a singer and their knowledge of their themes. In Ovid's *Art Amatoria* (above), however, he claims expert (although not professional, presumably) knowledge of his topic: *amor*.

Similarly, in Plato's *Theages*, Socrates claims that his only true skill is in erotic matters (128b). This comes after he identifies the wisdom (σοφία) possessed by the navigator, charioteer, physician, and farmer as being specific to their individual professions (123b-124a):¹³ he uses these examples to identify the nature of a politician's skill. In the *Republic*, however, steersmanship is classified instead as a τέχνη (1.341d, 2.360e, 6.488b-d). In Plato's other treatises, steersmanship falls under the lower of two categories of craft along with medicine and agriculture (*Phileb.* 56b), and physicians and pilots are compared in terms of their shared professional contribution, which he claims is βοήθεια ('assistance', *Epin.* 976a). The ability to aid, I argue here, comes from professional knowledge and foresight: that is, knowing the method and outcomes of the aid one will perform.

Cicero connects the diseased state with lack of foresight when he argues that Greece became diseased (*vitium*) on account of its maritime nature (*Rep.* 2.9), but claims that Romulus, foreseeing (*divinasse...videatur*) his city's future, builds Rome on a river, thus giving it the benefits and none of the dangers of maritime cities (2.10). Cicero further commends the prudence (*sapientia*) of Romulus and the following kings in designing the city's fortification system (2.11). Cicero uses several words to express the use of foresight, but ascribes to *providentia* the elements of memory, understanding, and foresight (*de Inv.* 2.160). The main Latin words for

¹⁰ In the *Remedia Amoris*, Ovid refers to himself (the poet) as a doctor curing his audience, and he compares himself to Podalirius (311-2).

¹¹ Indeed, he claims that the only experience he has of ships is when he sails to this competition at Calchis (τόσσον τοι νηῶν γε πεπειρημαι πολυγόμφων, 'that is all the knowledge I have of ships and seafaring', 660).

¹² See Chapter 3 on the issue of the *Aeneid* narrator's knowledge and divine inspiration.

¹³ In the *Epinomis*, however, he argues that steersmen do not have 'wisdom', but rather a mixture of experience and natural instinct (976b-c).

foresight/forethought are *providentia*, *prudentia*, and *sapientia*, and so the consistency of the traits of Cicero's ideal *rector* (*prudentia*, *sapientia*, and *auctoritas*) is striking.¹⁴

Although *providentia* is absent from the *Aeneid* (like *auctoritas*), Servius uses the verb *providere* in his commentary. First, he writes that *metuens* is synonymous with *providens* and *cavens* to explain how Jupiter demonstrated foresight in keeping the winds jailed (ad *Aen.* 1.61). In this instance, Jupiter's fear of disaster shows his possession of forethought. Neptune also demonstrates foresight, as suggested by *prospiciens*, when he surveys the sea (ad *Aen.* 1.126). Neptune is aware of what the sea *should* look like, and he uses this prior knowledge and past experience to evaluate the exceptional existence of an unplanned storm. In both cases, foresight is an observable characteristic of authority, and, in a sense, these expressions of foresight show that Jupiter and Neptune are skilled in their divine responsibilities.¹⁵

A later characterisation of Aeneas brings up these same issues of responsibility, foresight, and professionalism. Servius refers to Aeneas' foresight in his role as *optimus armis* in Book 9: *peritus armorum, dux egregius, qui et futura provideret* ('an expert of war, a distinguished general, who also foresees what will happen', ad *Aen.* 9.39). This description portrays Aeneas as a military strategist and therefore justifies his professional authority as the Trojan general. On this scene, Williams (1973, 280, n. 40f.) writes:

Notice the emphasis on forethought and military care of Aeneas: it is the basic feature of the concept of Roman leadership that the general should act not as a brilliant individual in the heroic style, but as one responsible for those under his command. Contrast the 'heroic' style behaviour of the wild, impetuous Aeneas of Book 2.¹⁶

As discussed earlier, an important condition of having authority is the understanding that one has a responsibility to one's recognising audience. Aeneas' strategy fulfils this condition because it demonstrates both his awareness of the abilities, limitations, and needs of his soldiers, and his responsibility for providing them with commands as their general. Thus, strategy acts as the execution of foresight in a military capacity and demonstrates Aeneas' military expertise.

While Aeneas is absent on a diplomatic mission, Iulus is *de facto* leader of the remaining Trojans, and in the narrative he has just taken responsibility for the care of Euryalus' mother in case of Euryalus' death. The narrator describes Iulus here as having the *animum curamque* of an older man, which, with the terms appearing together, suggests 'foresight' (*Aen.* 9.310).¹⁷ Again, we see the meeting of responsibility, expertise, and foresight. The pairing of terms to indicate foresight occurs earlier in the *Aeneid* as an expression of Apollo's authoritative qualities and the

¹⁴ See Zarecki (2014, 91) on this triad.

¹⁵ Henry (1989, 68) also describes Hector as possessing *prudentia*.

¹⁶ In contrast, Servius argues that *repente* suggests that the Greek deception was executed too quickly *provideri et vitari* ('to be foreseen and avoided', ad *Aen.* 2.465) by the Trojans, pointing out the absence of foresight.

¹⁷ Servius compares the imperative *consule* to *provide* ('keep a look out', ad *Aen.* 9.322) in Nisus' and Euryalus' night raid, just lines after this description of Iulus.

transferral of this authority to the Sibyl. In Book 6, the narrator describes the Sibyl: *magnam cui mentem animumque/Delius inspirat vates aperitque futura* ('into whom the Delian prophet breathes his great mind and spirit and lays open the future', 6.11-2). *Mens* and *animus* parallel *futura*, suggesting that Apollo's will is synonymous with the prophecies expressed by the Sibyl. I have discussed in the previous chapter the line: *si qua est Heleno prudentia vati,/ si qua fides, animum si veris implet Apollo* ('if there is knowledge in the prophet Helenus, and if there is confidence, and if Apollo inspires my soul with truth...', 3.433-4). The use of *prudentia* here combines a sense of expert knowledge and foreknowledge—the capacity to receive and transmit foreknowledge is the main skill of a prophet.

A further condition of professional authority is the expert's ability to articulate the reasons behind their decisions or advice:¹⁸ this again fulfils the responsibility an authority figure has toward their audience as a form of professional accountability. Professional responsibility is apparent in the *Aeneid*, specifically the scene in which Palinurus advises Aeneas against continuing through the storm:

'heu quianam tanti cinxerunt aethera nimbi?
quidve, pater Neptune, paras?' sic deinde locutus
colligere arma iubet validisque incumbere remis,
obliquatque sinus in ventum ac talia fatur:
'magnanime Aenea, non, si mihi Iuppiter auctor
spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere caelo.
mutati transversa fremunt et vespere ab atro
consurgunt venti, atque in nubem cogitur aer.
nec nos obniti contra nec tendere tantum
sufficimus. superat quoniam Fortuna, sequamur,
quoque vocat vertamus iter. nec litora longe
fida reor fraterna Erycis portusque Sicanos,
si modo rite memor servata remetior astra.'

(5.13-25)

'Hey, why have such clouds filled the sky? Father Neptune, what are you preparing?' Saying this, he then orders them to fasten the masts and to lean on the heavy oars, and he turns the sail against the wind and says this: 'Great Aeneas, not even if Jupiter the originator promised me, I would not hope to reach Italy in this weather. The changed winds are roaring against us and rise from the dark west, and the air is building into a storm. We are not able to resist against it or to oppose it enough. Since Fortune overcomes us, we should follow her, and we should turn our course wherever she says. I think that the friendly shores of brotherly Eryx and the Sicilian harbor are not far away—if I plot out remembering correctly the stars I observed.'

Although Palinurus identifies Jupiter and Fortuna as potential divine forces behind the adverse weather, he recognises the conditions himself and explains his advice using his technical

¹⁸ Annas (2006), 287.

knowledge of navigation. Palinurus fulfils his duty as an authoritative professional by supporting his advice with expert reasoning.¹⁹

In this scene, we see that Palinurus' expertise manifests specifically as having foresight in navigation, which is based on past experience and learning. On the skill of the pilot, Zarecki (2014, 89) explains:

The practical knowledge which the *gubernator* gains from his past experiences allows him to remain calm and steer the ship safely through the danger. Yet a good helmsman can often avoid the storm completely. By recognizing the signs of an approaching storm, that is, by both possessing and utilizing his particular type of *sapientia*, the *gubernator* can gauge the level of danger for himself and his ship, and make the appropriate decisions to ensure safety.²⁰

That Palinurus also suggests an alternative to sailing through the storm (to land on Sicily) demonstrates his awareness of the area and its inhabitants and, perhaps more importantly, his ability to 'remain calm' and re-evaluate his options in the midst of an unexpected situation. This ability is informed by previous experience and thus accumulates into the capacity for foresight. Thus, foresight is a crucial skill of the professional insofar as they must have enough knowledge and experience to anticipate potentialities and influence the outcome: this, I argue, is what distinguishes the professional from the amateur and thus is the source of their authority.

In this episode, Cairns (1989, 59) claims that Aeneas, "through his royal foresight", decides to head for Sicily rather than risk poor weather on the course to Italy. However, as we have discussed it is Palinurus who foresees the storm ahead and counsels Aeneas to land in Sicily. Aeneas agrees to this plan, yet he adds that he has foreseen these storms for some time (*iamdudum*, 5.26-7). Whether he actually anticipates the storms or merely *claims* to anticipate them, Aeneas fails to plan for avoiding the storm, while Palinurus takes control and develops a solution. Aeneas seems to be in a sort of leadership limbo between the deaths of Anchises and Palinurus (two possible parallels for Caesar). Perhaps hosting the funeral games proves his leadership skills, demonstrating that he no longer needs Palinurus. Indeed, before he even alerts Aeneas, Palinurus has turned the sails and ordered the men to take in the rigging and lean on their oars (5.14-6). This scene gives the audience a sense of the extent to which Palinurus holds authority on the ship, as he independently makes decisions for the entire ship based on his skills and experience as a pilot. Thus, it is not 'royal foresight' but professional foresight which guides Palinurus' successful decisions and, in turn, reinforces his authority on the ship.

Through Palinurus' *πρόνοια* and authority, the Trojans land safely on Sicily, and Aeneas hosts the funeral games. Additionally, the burning of the ships results in Aeneas allowing some of

¹⁹ As discussed above, this is what Ion is unable to do, according to Plato.

²⁰ His discussion here is based on Cicero (*Rep.* 1.11, 62).

the company to remain with Acestes as a colony.²¹ This exclusion of the weaker members of the party is required for Aeneas to settle successfully in Latium. Nautes and Anchises' shade advise Aeneas to leave behind the sea-weary and weak with Acestes (5.709-30). Anchises warns Aeneas of the upcoming Latin War and the danger of including the weaker members of the party, and he summons Aeneas to the Underworld to see their future descendants and understand the significance of the Trojans' mission.²² The narrative requires Palinurus to voice his concern about the storm so that Aeneas may replace his band of jaded settlers with a fighting force that can assert their presence in Italy.

Cairns (1989, 20) lists *πρόνοια* (*providentia*), or foresight, as an aspect of "the good king stereotype", a list he compiles on aspects of (especially) Hellenistic ideals of kingship which are relevant to the *Aeneid*.²³ In his own discussion of *πρόνοια*, Farber (1979, 506) writes: "[f]orethought was expected of the Hellenistic kings and Xenophon takes it as a matter of course that anyone in a position of authority or ownership will need to exercise forethought for his charges." I argue that *πρόνοια* can be attributed to at least two other professions in the *Aeneid*:²⁴ the navigator and the physician. It is *πρόνοια* that lends authority to these professions because through their training, pilots and doctors develop the foresight required to perform their duties at a skill-level beyond that of an amateur.²⁵ Occupations such as those of navigation, medicine, and farming require *καιρός* (opportune timing) as well as *πρόνοια*, the former of which is dependent on the latter.²⁶ Ovid refers to *καιρός* within a professional capacity:

Illa leget tempus (medici quoque tempora servant)
 Quo facilis dominae mens sit et apta capi.
 Mens erit apta capi tum, cum laetissima rerum
 Ut seges in pingui luxuriabit humo. (Ars Am. 1.357)

She will appoint the time (as doctors similarly pay attention to the time), at which her mistress' mind is ready and fit for seduction. Her mind will be fit for seduction when she is at her most luxuriant, just as a crop abounds in a fertile field.

²¹ On Aeneas' colonizing, see Horsfall (1989).

²² Otis (1963), 279. Additionally, Anchises' urging to choose the bravest and strongest of the party implies that the Romans descend from these 'best of the Trojans'—an element of forming the foundation legend.

²³ After Farber (1979, 506), Schubart (1937, 8), and Murray (1967, 353). Murray argues that in order for a people to prosper, their king must possess both *πρόνοια* and *εὐεργεσία* (beneficence).

²⁴ I do not include the gods in this argument because the nature of their divinity presupposes the possession of *πρόνοια*.

²⁵ Alexander receives divine foresight through two separate dreams with the cures for Ptolemy (Diod. 17.103.4-8) and Krateros (Plut. *Alex.* 41.3).

²⁶ Allan (2005, 130) provides the example of Hermes and the tortoise (*Hymn. Hom. Herm.*) to illustrate *καιρός*: "In one and the same instant, Hermes is able to both foresee and actualize his vision, converting the tortoise from a 'chance' find into a guarantee of success." Thus, we find that a significant element of *καιρός* is *πρόνοια*.

This passage equates sexual opportunity with the recognition of *καιρός* (*tempus...quo facilis...apta*), which is shown to be required of both the physician and the farmer.²⁷

Allan (2005, 126) points out that Homer and Hesiod reserve *καιρός* for ‘decidedly male’ professions, like those of “the farmer-merchant and the warrior”. Within the ‘warrior’ category are the charioteer and his maritime counterpart, the helmsman, both of whom must rely on *πρόνοια* even more than bodily strength to avoid obstacles and find opportunities.²⁸ For instance, Nestor advises his son on strategy:

ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ σὺ φίλος μῆτιν ἐμβάλλεο θυμῷ
 παντοίην, ἵνα μὴ σε παρεκπροφύγησιν ἄεθλα.
 μήτι τοι δρυτόμος μέγ’ ἀμείνων ἢ ἐβίηφι:
 μήτι δ’ αὖτε κυβερνήτης ἐνὶ οἴνοπι πόντῳ
 νῆα θοὴν ἰθύνει ἐρεχθομένην ἀνέμοισι:
 μήτι δ’ ἡνίοχος περιγίγνεται ἡνίοχοιο. (Il. 23.313-8)

Listen, son: use all of the skill you possess, so that prizes don’t elude you. The better woodcutter has more skill than strength; on the wine-dark sea, buffeted by the wind, the pilot steers his quick ship with skill; and one charioteer is superior to another charioteer because of his skill.

Nagy (1979, 47) argues that this opposition between *βίη* and *μήτις* indicates the superior nature of *μήτις* as a tool for competition. Horace similarly distinguishes power from wisdom: *vis consili expers mole ruit sua* (‘power without wisdom falls to ruin under its own weight’, *Od.* 3.4). However, *μήτις* inherently relies on *πρόνοια* because in order to manoeuvre or deceive (*μήτις*), one must be able to anticipate the thoughts and actions of one’s opponent (*πρόνοια*). Although Homer uses the word *μήτις* instead of *πρόνοια*,²⁹ the mechanics of the opposition in Nestor’s speech suggest that the charioteer and helmsman must possess *πρόνοια* in order to enact *μήτις* successfully.

2. The Chariot of State

Vergil first uses the chariot of state metaphor in the *Georgics* to describe the spread of civil war throughout the empire and thus the hope that Octavian can bring it under control:

vicinae ruptis inter se legibus urbes
 arma ferunt; saevit toto Mars impius orbe,
 ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigae,

²⁷ See Hollis (1977).

²⁸ Plato compares a mad lover to an unruly horse that finally gives in to its charioteer’s foresight (*Phaed.* 254e).

²⁹ Homer uses *μήτις* 98 times in the *Iliad* and 76 in the *Odyssey*, but does not use *πρόνοια* once. Zeus is described as having especial *μήτις* (Il. 13.345-56, 15.162-6), and Athena, Odysseus’ patron goddess, is called *Πρόνοια Ἀθηνᾶ*, Athena of Forethought, at Delphi (D. 25.34; Diod. 11.14; Parth. 25; Paus. 10.8.6; Plu. 2.825b; Jul. Or. 4.149b) and Delos (Macr. *Sat.* 1.17.55; Aristid. 1.97; Jul. Or. 37(2).26). It is interesting that Metis (personified) is Athena’s mother, as *μήτις* and *πρόνοια* are closely-related concepts.

addunt in spatia, et frustra retinacula tendens
fertur equis auriga neque audit currus habenas. (1.510-4)

Neighbouring cities take up arms, breaking treaties between them. Impious Mars rages across the globe, just as when chariots burst from their gates and enter onto the race course, and, grasping the reins in vain, the charioteer is carried away by the horses, and the chariot does not heed the reins.

The out-of-control chariot of state represents the inability of a statesman to resist the violence of war, and Servius suggests that this charioteer should be identified as Octavian (ad G. 1.512).³⁰ The imagery of a political leader as physically guiding a vehicle is an Indo-European convention.³¹ West (2007, 420) explains the etymological and conceptual connection most succinctly:

The king...was by etymology a 'rector', one who made things go straight. Sometimes he was described in metaphorical terms as a charioteer or as the helmsman of a ship, that is, as one who guides a moving conveyance on the right course.

Watkins (2001, 7-9) maintains that Vedic, Hittite, and Germanic words for charioteering and kingship are related. Plato similarly equates technical guidance and governance (*Rep.* 9.590d-1e) and describes Zeus as the 'pilot of gods and men' (*Symp.* 197b). West (2007, 413) writes: "[t]here is a clear semantic connection between making things straight, drawing straight boundaries, guiding something in a straight line, and governing justly and efficiently."³² Thus, we see clearly in etymology and practice the relationship between physical and conceptual senses of guidance. In this section, I explore how charioteering and political leadership are conflated or compared in the *Aeneid*, and what this relationship tells us about authority.

Chariots in Homer

There are Homeric precedents for the significance of chariots in the *Aeneid*. The appearance of chariots in the *Iliad* largely falls under a series of general battle motifs outlined by West (2011, 260), including: killing both occupants of a chariot as a heroic feat (5.580, 11.748-9); missing the warrior on the chariot and instead killing the charioteer (8.119-22, 8.311, 16.463, 16.736, 17.609); the

³⁰ Vergil includes chariot similes elsewhere in the *Georgics* (2.541-2, 3.103-22, 291-3). On the issue of whether G. 3.103f. is referring to the chariot of state or poetry, see: Gale (2000), 11-15; Nappa (2005), 116-24; Meban (2008); Nelis (2008); Lowrie (2009), 150-7; Miller (2009), 2-6. However, as Gale (2003, 328-33) points out, the chariot of poetry can parallel and thus provide perspective on the nature or condition of the chariot of the state, especially as the princeps and poet seem to be linked several times in the *Georgics*. On the chariot of poetry in general, see Citroni (1984); Gale (2003), 329 (esp. n. 17); Lovatt (2005).

³¹ Wilhelm (1982 and 1983-4) discusses the imagery of the chariot, ship, and plough; later in the chapter, I will add medicine to this group as a metaphorical 'vehicle'.

³² This is reminiscent of Aeneas ploughing out the borders for his new colonies; see Chapter 2 and later in this chapter on ploughing out borders as a leader's duty.

charioteer is killed after the warrior (5.580); and when either the warrior or charioteer is killed, the other tries to flee unsuccessfully (5.20-4, 5.580-7, 11.145-7, 20.487-9). These motifs and scenes, however, do not demonstrate the extent to which Homer uses chariots to express authority within the narrative.

We know Agamemnon has a chariot because he tells his charioteer to keep his vehicle close while he mobilises the troops (4.226-30). Although this convention of keeping the chariot close is used when a warrior thinks he will need to make a quick retreat (13.385, 536, 657, 16.506),³³ the narrator explains the real reason that Agamemnon's is kept close: ὁπότε κέν μιν/ γυῖα λάβῃ κάματος πολέας διὰ κοιρανέοντα ('just in case his many labours seize his limbs while he is commanding', 4.229-30).³⁴ This is a rather unheroic picture of Agamemnon, and consistent with Achilles' previous allegations regarding his lack of heroism and thus military authority (1.148-244). Achilles refuses to recognise Agamemnon's command (1.295-6), and he claims that Agamemnon possesses neither hindsight nor foresight (πρόσω καὶ ὀπίσω, 1.343), thus putting the Greek forces in danger.³⁵

We see Odysseus repeat Achilles' opinions in response to Agamemnon's attempt at 'mobilising' him here in Book 4. During Agamemnon's rounds, the Greeks have been responsive to his commands and thus reinforce his military authority. However, it is clear that by the time he reaches Odysseus, Agamemnon has become too confident because he misguidedly attempts to shame Odysseus for not mobilising his troops sooner; this prompts Odysseus to reveal that he, like Achilles, does not recognise Agamemnon's authority as a military commander:

Ἀτρεΐδῃ ποῖόν σε ἔπος φύγεν ἕρκος ὀδόντων;
 πῶς δὴ φῆς πολέμοιο μεθιέμεν ὁππότε Ἀχαιοὶ
 Τρωσὶν ἐφ' ἵπποδάμοισιν ἐγείρομεν ὄξυν Ἄρηα;
 ὄψαι αἶ κ' ἐθέλησθα καὶ αἶ κέν τοι τὰ μεμήλη
 Τηλεμάχοιο φίλον πατέρα προμάχοισι μιγέντα
 Τρώων ἵπποδάμων· σὺ δὲ ταῦτ' ἀνεμώλια βάζεις. (4.350-5)

Son of Atreus, what are these words escaping the fences of your mouth? Are you saying that *we* give up when the Achaeans meet the horse-taming Trojans in impassioned battle? Watch, if you wish and care, the beloved father of Telemachus fight against the horse-taming Trojans: you speak words of wind.

Odysseus contrasts his own active role in battle against Agamemnon's only contribution of mere words, which he also devalues as lacking substance (and thus authority). In only 6 lines, Odysseus reiterates Achilles' protests in Book 1, and the brevity of this passage contributes to its effectiveness. Agamemnon, however, shrugs off this outright rejection of his authority and apologises to Odysseus (4.358-63). In this exchange we see that Odysseus and Agamemnon are in

³³ Chariots also appear at need at 8.104, 22.396-400; failure to find a chariot at 11.338-42.

³⁴ On this scene, see Kirk (1985), who argues that it is meant to be humorous.

³⁵ See p. 124 on the development of Aeneas' military foresight.

accordance, as Agamemnon claims (4.360-1)—though perhaps their agreement is on how tenuous Agamemnon’s authority truly is. Thus Agamemnon’s use of his chariot as a mobile bed rather than for military purposes is suggestive of his weakened authority at this point in the narrative.³⁶

Agamemnon’s Trojan counterpart, Priam, although elderly, engages in battle by taking the reins while Antenor fights (3.261). The ransom of Hector, however, is a more sophisticated glimpse into the dynamics and limitations of Priam’s authority when we view the scene by the movements of the vehicle. First, after Priam tells his living sons they should have been the ones to die, in fear of either his authority or his violence, the princes prepare his travelling chariot (ἄμαξαν) which he drives to the Achaean camp (24.265-280): in the chariot he moves from a place where he has the greatest authority to a place where he has none. At the river, Hermes appears (24.349), climbs on to Priam’s wagon, and drives it himself:

ἦ καὶ ἀναΐξας ἐριούνιος ἄρμα καὶ ἵππους
καρπαλίμως μάλιστα καὶ ἡνία λάξετο χερσίν,
ἐν δ’ ἔπνευσ’ ἵπποισι καὶ ἡμιόνοις μένος ἦϋ. (24.440)

And having lept up onto the chariot behind the horses, the Helper swiftly seizes the whips and reins in his hands, and he blows great strength into the horses and mules.

Although Hermes treats Priam with respect, this shift in drivers marks the beginning of Priam’s diminishing authority, which is non-existent in the Achaean camp, and especially so in Achilles’ tent. His authority diminishes even further in the *Aeneid*, as will be discussed later.

By contrast, Nestor’s authority as a charioteer does not diminish in old age. Nestor initially earns his authority through his skill as a charioteer, and later he becomes an authority to others on strategy: κελεύσω βουλῇ καὶ μύθοισι (‘I urge them on with my advice and words’, 4.322-3). He combines these roles while considering the strategic placement of chariots on the battlefield (4.297-309),³⁷ and he fights as well. In battle, Nestor begins with two chariot horses and a trace horse, but the trace horse is cut away after being hit (8.87; this also occurs at 16.148, 467). He then joins Diomedes’ chariot, and together they reverse Hector’s charge and instead charge Hector’s chariot themselves (8.109-10). Considering Nestor’s skill as a charioteer, then, it is no surprise that Nestor’s son, Antilochus, who is the first to kill an enemy (4.457), competes in the chariot race. As discussed above, before his son’s race, Nestor gives him advice about the skill of charioteers

³⁶ Agamemnon, however, is later shown actively fighting in battle (11.15-46, 99f).

³⁷ Lorimer (1950, 324), Kirk (1985, 153, 362), and West (2011, 145) maintain that chariots in battle would have been arcane even by the time of the Trojan War (by the Geometric Period, they were used primarily for ceremony) and, in addition, not suited for siege warfare.

(23.306-25). Again, his advice is heeded because of his authority as both skilled charioteer and trusted counsellor, and to an extent, as Antilochus' own father.³⁸

Chariots in the Aeneid

There are not as many chariots mentioned in the *Aeneid* as there are in Homer. Heinze (1993, 159) attributes this to the practical fact that the Trojans would not have brought chariots with them on their journey, and he also suggests (160) that Vergil is able to use chariots as a powerful image in certain scenes "by restricting the use of chariots by others". Most often, chariot scenes end in dramatic deaths.

The *Aeneid* is bookended with scenes featuring catastrophic charioteers. The first chariot we see is featured on Dido's Trojan War mural: Troilus is dragged behind his own chariot, having been killed by Achilles and entangled in his harness (1.477).³⁹ This image recalls Achilles dragging Hector's corpse behind his chariot (1.486, 2.273).⁴⁰ Following a sequence of charioteering catastrophes during the Latin War (10.575-87; 12.372; 12.532), Turnus rounds out the narrative with charioteering complications of his own. Although he has charioteers for his horses (12.85), Turnus is shown driving his chariot himself in anger (*manibus molitur habenas*, 12.327). Juturna, however, topples Metiscus and takes up his form and the reins (12.469-71). During his rage, Turnus' anger is itself referred to with charioteering terminology: *irarumque omnis effundit habenas* ('and he frees the reins of his anger', 12.499). Still, though, Turnus has some control over the driving because he grabs the reins to stop the chariot and hear the cries coming from the city (12.622-4). Juturna continues to help Turnus as his charioteer (12.737, 784), but in the final battle, Turnus tries to find her in order to flee (12.918), but she has been expelled from the field from Juno.

Charioteering in the *Aeneid*, however, does not always signal catastrophe. There are two instances in which chariots are being prepared by heroes' sons as indicating the coming war: Hercules' son Aventinus (7.655-69) and Agamemnon's son Halaesus (7.723-5). Earlier, Anchises interprets a herd of horses as an omen of the war in Italy, but he clarifies:

sed tamen idem olim curru succedere sueti
quadripedes et frena iugo concordia ferre:
spes et pacis. (3.541-3)

But these same horses will one day be used to being yoked to the chariot and to bear the bridles in a pair in harmony: there is hope of peace, too.

³⁸ Again, authority in the father-son relationship will be discussed in Chapter 4.

³⁹ For more on the tradition of Troilus, see: Williams (1960) 145-8.

⁴⁰ Achilles' own chariot is referred to again at 1.468.

The chariot to which Anchises is referring anticipates a future political alliance, as the horses in the chariot must learn to work together. Not coincidentally, then, Latinus later gives Aeneas a chariot as a token of alliance:

absenti Aeneae currum geminosque iugalis
semine ab aetherio spirantis naribus ignem,
illorum de gente patri quos daedala Circe
supposita de matre nothos furata creavit. (7.280-3)

To absent Aeneas he gave a chariot and twin yoked horses of divine breeding, snorting fire from their nostrils, the descendants of the stolen breed of her father whom cunning Circe bred as mixed stock from a mortal mother.

Here, the 'twin horses' mark the fulfilment Anchises' prophecy above. Most striking in this description of the horses is the identification of their genealogy, which is linked also to the genealogy of Latinus through Sol. This emphasis on Latinus' ancestry makes it clear that the political alliance is also a domestic alliance, as Latinus is bringing Aeneas into his family. This is also foreshadowed by the mixed breeding of the horses. Aeneas is effectively inheriting Latin rule along with the horses and chariot.

I have touched upon the inheritance of heirlooms as signifying political succession in Chapter 2, but specifically chariot-related items as indicative of political alliance is found elsewhere. Evander tells Aeneas that Anchises had given him a pair of golden bits (*frena bina aurea*, 8.168), which Pallas has already inherited. This is immediately followed by Evander's pledge of alliance: *ergo et quam petitis iuncta est mihi foedere dextra* ('so my hand you seek is joined in alliance', 8.169). This repeats his memory of clasping hands with Anchises years earlier (*dextrae coniungere dextram*, 8.164). Thus, we see that alliance (like *hospitium*) are inheritable, as expressed visually here with the transferal of the golden bits.

The image of chariots as representing peace and alliance soon turns sour when Aeneas says:

urbem hodie, causam belli, regna ipsa Latini,
ni frenum accipere et victi parere fatentur,
eruem et aequa solo fumantia culmina ponam. (12.567-9)

Today I will uproot the city, the cause of this war, Latinus' capital itself, and bring the smoking rooftops level with ground, if they do not agree to accept our bridle and submit, defeated.

The same bridle which Anchises claims will unite the two populations has transformed into a yoke of defeat and a symbol of oppression. Aeneas presents the alliance as punishment for the Latins. Similarly we see the use of a literal chariot as punishment on the shield: the king of Alba Longa,

Mettus Fufetius is pulled apart by chariots for treason (6.642).⁴¹ His punishment to be torn apart appears to represent his torn allegiances.⁴²

Divine Chariots

In the *Iliad*, gods are depicted as flying without chariots, but we see them used by goddesses: Hera and Athena prepare their chariots (5.719-77); Athena throws Sthenelus from Diomedes' chariot and takes his place (5.835); and Aphrodite borrows Ares' chariot (5.363). Conversely, Venus is one of the few divinities who is never shown to have a chariot in the *Aeneid*, but flies instead. Juno keeps her weapons and chariot in Carthage (1.17), demonstrating the significance of Carthage as Juno's military base and perhaps also the centre of her power.

We also see Aeneas pray to Cybele with lions yoked to her chariot (3.113, 10.253), which recalls a passage in the *Eclogues* claiming that Daphnis first teaches men to yoke Armenian tigers to chariots (5.29-31). These images combine the themes of imperialism and mastery over nature. There is a connection also with games, which manifest as chariot races or gladiatorial *munera* which bring in exotic animals to be slaughtered. Similarly, Bacchus as a charioteer and conqueror is explicitly linked to Augustus as conqueror, and we are told that Augustus will surpass even Bacchus (6.804). Again, we can connect this to the same passage from the *Eclogues*, in which Daphnis-Caesar is compared to Bacchus.

Although Latinus drops the metaphorical reins of state at the outbreak of war (discussed below), he later drives a literal chariot to discuss war terms with Aeneas:

Interea reges ingenti mole Latinus
quadriiugo vehitur curru (cui tempora circum
aurati bis sex radii fulgentia cingunt,
Solis avi specimen), bigis it Turnus in albis,
bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro. (12.161-5)

Meanwhile the kings come out in a great crowd: Latinus is carried by a four-horse chariot, and twelve golden beams wreath his shining temples, a symbol of his grandfather, the Sun. Turnus arrives on two white horses, brandishing in his hand two spears with broad heads.

The adoption of Sol's crown here perhaps also says something about Latinus' chariot, since Sol is inextricably linked with the chariot of the sun. In the *Metamorphoses*, Phaethon asks Sol for the *ius* to drive his chariot for a day in order to prove that they are father and son (2.48). Sol, however, warns his son that only Sol himself has the capability to rein in the horses:

non tamen ignifero quisquam consistere in axe

⁴¹ Livy 1.28.10-11.

⁴² For a treatment of this complex scene, see Gurval (1995), 220-3.

me valet excepto; vasti quoque rector Olympi,
 qui fera terribili iaculatur fulmina dextra,
 non agat hos currus: et quid Iove maius habemus? 2.59-62

No one is capable of standing on the chariot of fire except for me; even the ruler of great Olympus, who hurls fierce thunderbolts from his frightful hand, cannot drive this team—and what do we have that is greater than Jupiter?

Sol is not talking about official *imperium* here but skill and capability, and it is clear that his position as sun god is based on his special expertise rather than office. Even though Sol is the most skilled individual in existence at driving the horses, they are still difficult (*cervixque repugnat habenis*, ‘their necks resist the reins’, 2.86-7), so he gives Phaethon advice about how to rein them in (2.126-9). On the course, however, Phaethon freezes because he does not know what to do (2.191-2), and so he drops the reins (*lora remisit*, 2.200). Again, it is not so only brute strength but also knowledge and experience (suggested by *ignarus*) that is needed here. The link between parentage and professional skill is made clear here, as Phaethon believes that mastering his father’s skill will prove his lineage.⁴³ Thus, Latinus’ adoption of solar imagery (the sun crown and the chariot) represents his inheritance of authority, and skill of charioteering and thus kingship, from Sol.

We see a similar family connection with chariots when Aeneas sees his Trojan ancestors in the Underworld:

arma procul currusque virum miratur inanis;
 stant terra defixae hastae passimque soluti
 per campum pascuntur equi. quae gratia currum
 armorumque fuit vivis, quae cura nitentis
 pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos. (6.651-5)

He marvels from a distance at the phantom weapons and chariots of the men; their spears stay stuck in the ground and their untied horses graze all through the field. What pleasure there was of chariots and weapons in life, whatever care for attending their shining horses, follows them underground.

That the ancestors still tend to their chariots in the Underworld suggests that being suited to charioteering and kingship is a character trait tied to identity. Again the familial linkage (and the posthumous depiction of their continuing interest) serves as an expression of the biopolitical aspect of authority.

⁴³ Paternal grief is also a major theme in this passage (2.381-400). Although Phaethon fails, however, it is chalked up to the exceptional unwieldiness of the horses: Jupiter himself is unwilling to take up the role (*officium*, 2.385) despite Sol’s threats of quitting (2.381-400).

A demonstration of the loss of authority expressed with charioteering imagery is Latinus' surrender of the reins of state (*habenas rerum*) at the outbreak of the Latin War (7.600). In order to analyse the implications for authority in this scene, I explore the relationship between the statesman simile of Book 1 and the storm simile of Book 7. I propose that by identifying consistent and inconsistent features in the two scenes, we can gain further insight into the mechanics and breakdown of authority. I order my discussion on the basis of character parallels: first, the statesman and Galaesus; second, Juno's agents, Aeolus and Allecto; and finally, the kings, Neptune and Latinus. I focus on the relationship between violence and authority and how this relationship is expressed largely through imagery borrowed from charioteering.

Neptune calming the storm at sea is compared to a statesman appeasing a violent mob;⁴⁴ these aspects are inverted in Book 7, when the violent mob is compared to a storm at sea.⁴⁵ It is described as follows:

aeraque fulgent
sole lacessita et lucem sub nubila iactant:
fluctus uti primo coepit cum albescere vento,
paulatim sese tollit mare et altius undas
erigit, inde imo consurgit ad aethera fundo. (7.526-30)

Bronze armour glittered, struck by the sun, and scattered the light beneath the clouds—just as when a wave begins to whiten at the first breeze, it rises a little from the sea and lifts the waves higher, until it heaves from the lowest seabed to the sky.

As Hardie (1986, 300) argues, Neptune calms the storm “not directly to aid Aeneas but in order to put down supernatural insubordination”. Several elements of the mob crisis in Book 7 parallel those in the statesman metaphor of Book 1. For instance, the role of rage in supplying weapons in Book 1 (*furor arma ministrat*, 1.150) is expanded upon in Book 7: *quod cuique repertum/ rimanti telum ira facit* (‘whatever object was found, rage made it into a weapon’, 7.507-8).

I argue that the statesman in Book 1 also has a counterpart (albeit an unsuccessful one) in Book 7. Galaesus, a wealthy Italian landowner of great authority, is among the first to fall in the skirmish:⁴⁶

⁴⁴ On the statesman simile, see especially: Sarkissian (1985); Hardie (1986), 176-180; Harrison (1988); Galinsky (1996), 20-1; Sandin (2000); Hardie (2012), 72-3

⁴⁵ On the inversion of the ‘moral’ and ‘physical’ spheres in these similes, see von Albrecht (1999), 130.

⁴⁶ Galaesus is also the name of a stream in Calabria which feeds the famous Tarentine wool-producing sheep: Verg. *G.* 4.126; Hor. *Od.* 2.6.10; Prop. 2.34.67; Stat. *Silv.* 3.3.

corpora multa virum circa seniorque Galaesus,
dum paci medium se offert, iustissimus unus
qui fuit Ausoniisque olim ditissimus arvis. (7.535-7)

Many bodies of men were around, and the elderly Galaesus, who stepped in the middle for peace—who at one time was the single most just and wealthy man in Italy.

Galaesus holds authority based on his age, his moral standing, and his wealth. The act of advocating for peace positions Galaesus as the counterpart of the unnamed statesman in Book 1. It is not, however, enough to combat the violence Allecto has incited, as opposed to the violence of the winds in the statesman simile of Book 1. Indeed, we see here the statesman simile in practice, but in practice the model of the statesman's authority as appeasing mob violence does not hold up to the theory: even the most authoritative man in Italy is not able to perform this role successfully. The failure of the statesman's authority in practice may comment on the nature of violence, in that it is directly opposed to authority. When considering the two scenes together, we expect Galaesus to calm the mob just as the statesman was able to, but the incongruity of the expectation and 'reality' result in *pathos*.⁴⁷

A common feature of the two scenes is the use of charioteering imagery, which I propose is a re-literalisation of the 'chariot of state' metaphor: that is, it is the narrative manifestation of a metaphor which, in turn, is modeled after a tangible object (chariot) and an observable or performable event (charioteering). Charioteering imagery can be symbolic of both expert skill and divine skill. For instance, when Iris as Beroe burns the ships, the raging fire is referred to as *Volcanus habenis* ('the reins of Vulcan', 5.662), indicating that fire falls within Vulcan's dominion because he uses it in his divine craft of smithing.

Also in the Introduction, I discussed charioteering imagery in the scene of Aeolus and the winds. His Book 7 counterpart (as an agent of Juno) is Allecto, whose skills Juno refers to as her *proprium laborem* ('her own set of skills', 7.331), which suggests that Allecto has expertise—but expertise in what? Aeolus' 'profession'—or 'domain', as he has been afforded certain divine benefits since his appointment (1.78-80)—is mastery over the winds, yet Allecto's 'domain' might be better described as an 'impulse' or 'effect': fury. Her methods, like those of Aeolus, are described with charioteering imagery, though her physical tools are snakes and poison. First, Allecto's use of metaphorical reins on Amata is suggested when Amata is compared to a spinning top driven by a rein (*actus habena*, 7.380).⁴⁸ Next, she impels Turnus to action, with her snakes

⁴⁷ After Conte's (2007, 169) formula for *pathos*.

⁴⁸ Additionally, the imagery of reins is used to represent the madness of grief the Latins display when they are forced to watch their children killed outside the city gates (11.889). Perhaps this indicates the Latins giving up control over their own minds. On charioteering imagery to describe psychological and emotional processes, see Gale (2003), 329 n. 17.

described as whips:⁴⁹ *geminos erexit crinibus anguis, verberaque insonuit* ('she plucked two serpents from her hair, and she cracked her whips', 7.450-1).⁵⁰ Allecto's 'reins' and 'whips' are used for goading others into action through fury. Rather than using the 'reins of state' to maintain political stability, Allecto uses her reins of fury in a skilled capacity to disrupt public affairs in order to make way for war. Thus, she seems to be a kind of expert warmonger.

A primary difference between the two scenes is the agents' ability to justify their actions and thus demonstrate their autonomy and authority as 'professionals'. As discussed earlier, a condition of professional authority is that the professional must be able to explain their methods and opinions. Allecto explains to Juno how she accomplishes her professional task: that is, she 'spatters the Trojans with Italian blood' (*Ausonio respersi sanguine Teucros*, 7.547). She also suggests methods by which she can continue the campaign: namely, with *rumores*, in order to draw neighbouring towns into the battle (7.547-51). Aeolus, on the other hand, has no such justification for his actions. Instead, he acts as an agent of Juno's will in order to ensure her continued patronage and her bribe (marriage to a nymph). Like a corrupt politician, Aeolus abuses his professional authority and political office in order to cater to a lobbyist while simultaneously exposing his lack of autonomy. Perhaps in part because the storm is indeed unjustified, Neptune successfully asserts his own authority to the winds, thus countermanding Aeolus' official *imperium* and stopping him (and, by association, Juno) short of actually killing the Trojans. Although Allecto and Aeolus are both acting as agents of Juno, Allecto clearly uses her professional skill and expertise, while Aeolus only uses his official power and actually acts in contradiction to his professional skill, which is the ability to know when to rein in the winds.

Juno herself, however, picks up the 'reins of *furor*' from Allecto when she announces: *ego, si qua super fortuna laborum est, ipsa regam* ('I will direct matters myself, whatever results from your labours', 7.559-60). Charioteering is suggested by *rego* in its sense of 'maintaining the course', and the reflexive strengthening of *ego* by *ipsa* emphasizes Juno's agency. Juno then compounds her role as warmonger with that of what should be the legitimate role of military leader by opening the gates of war. Here she appropriates Latinus' traditional role, making the war even more illegitimate.

Neptune and Latinus (as rulers) are both described with charioteering imagery as well, thus further signalling their roles as each other's counterparts in the two similes. As discussed in the Introduction, Neptune literally drives a chariot (1.147-56). Later, Latinus, Neptune's counterpart in

⁴⁹ The sources of Turnus' authority are described as follows: *bunc decus egregium formae movet atque iuventae, / bunc atavi reges, bunc claris dextera factis* ('his extraordinary beauty and youth moves some, his royal heritage others, and his skill in warfare still others', 7.473-4). His beauty and youth stand in opposition to Allecto's disguise of the elderly Calybe, whom Turnus insults her despite her age and status as a priestess of Juno (*Iunonis anus templique sacerdos*, 7.419).

⁵⁰ On Allecto's snakes as whips, see Davis (1965), 11.

the second simile, drops the reins of state completely, revealing that he is an incompetent ‘charioteer of state’:

verum ubi nulla datur caecum exsuperare potestas
consilium, et saevae nutu Iunonis eunt res,
multa deos aurasque pater testatus inanis
‘frangimur heu fati’ inquit ‘ferimurque procella!
ipsi has sacrilego pendetis sanguine poenas,
o miseri. te, Turne, nefas, te triste manebit
supplicium, votisque deos venerabere seris.
nam mihi parta quies, omnisque in limine portus
funere felici spoliis.’ nec plura locutus
saepsit se tectis rerumque reliquit habenas. (7.591-600)

Since no power is really given to overcome the unknown plan, and things proceed on the nod of cruel Juno, and calling many times on gods and empty air, Father Latinus says, ‘We are dashed to pieces by fate and struck by a tempest! Oh poor people, you will pay these penalties with your own profane blood. You, Turnus, a grim punishment will await you, and you will worship the gods with belated vows. For my part is repose, and at the doorway of the harbor, I am denied happiness in death.’ Speaking no more he closed himself in his chambers and dropped the reins of state.

This passage features language suggesting both a failed charioteer and a failed pilot: *reliquit rerum habenas* corresponds to the out-of-control chariot of state, and *ferimur procella* refers to the out-of-control ship of state. Whereas Neptune is able to calm the sea, thus demonstrating his expertise and command over it, and is also a skilled charioteer, Latinus fails at both. Aeneas is able to take over the helm after Palinurus’ death, thus taking further responsibility for his citizens,⁵¹ and he does so skillfully:

sic fatur lacrimans, clasque immittit habenas
et tandem Euboicis Cumarum adlabitur oris. (6.1-2)

So Aeneas speaks, weeping, and gives the ships free rein, and glides to the Euboean shores of Cumae.

Aeneas is shown to be in control of the ship, since he appropriately gives the ship free rein (*habeas*), and the ship glides to shore rather than crashing.⁵²

The verb *do* (1.63) in Neptune’s scene suggests a conscious and controlled ‘allowing’ (a sense of ‘sanctioning’) based on Neptune’s trust in his horses, which presumably they have accumulated over time by being trustworthy. Latinus’ *reliquo* (7.600), however, carries a negative connotation of ‘abandoning’ or ‘forsaking’: rather than trusting the situation to resolve itself (as *do*

⁵¹ On the Trojan ship as a kind of floating city, see my discussion below on the *Chimaera*.

⁵² I discuss shipwrecks later.

would have suggested), here Latinus does not trust his own ability to resolve the situation.⁵³ The anxiety of his position in the conflict forces him to retreat to non-political, domestic space, where he is not king and barely *paterfamilias* anymore.⁵⁴ He stands in stark contrast even to Priam, who clings to his authority until his death, though treated by the narrator (and Hecuba) as a pathetic elderly man (2.507-11, 544-6).

In comparing the two mob and storm similes, a pattern of authority emerges: a skilled party described with charioteering imagery acts as an agent of Juno (Aeolus and Allecto); this party uses the tools of his or her domain (the winds and *furor*, respectively), which creates a chaotic situation (storm and war) and is then compared to the sphere of its inverse (war and storm). Here, at the point of inversion, the similes branch into two wildly different outcomes: first, in Book 1, the statesman as arbiter of peace succeeds, whereas Galaesus fails in Book 7 and is even among the first killed. Second, Neptune as the king of the realm asserts his authority in Book 1, while Latinus as king of the realm gives up his authority and retreats to domestic space.

Galaesus stands in as the failed counterpart of the statesman; Latinus is the failed counterpart of Neptune. Aeolus, however, is the slightly less effective counterpart of Allecto, which points to the main difference between the two scenes as being the effectiveness of Juno's agent, who drives each situation. In the first simile, Aeolus' professional (yet un-autonomous) command is undermined by Neptune's authority; in the second simile, Allecto is so skilled in her capacity as a professional warmonger that she undermines the authority of otherwise influential men—namely Galaesus, the statesman's counterpart. There are several dichotomies at work in these two similes, and I have shown here that by reading these parallels together (linked by charioteering imagery and storm/mob similes), we are afforded a glimpse into the nature of authority and violence in the *Aeneid*.

In this section, we have seen in the *Aeneid* a variety of uses for charioteers and chariots as objects, metaphors, and imagery. Next, I turn to the charioteer's maritime counterpart, the pilot, and the role of the pilot in the 'ship of state' metaphor.

3. The Ship of State

From 1651 to 1778, the Navigation Acts provides a presence for the British government within the American colonies. Enforced by colonial governors, the Acts effectively run the American colonies as a naval fleet, and accordingly the image of an independent America as a singular Ship

⁵³ On the ineffectiveness of Latinus as king, see Pomathios (1987), 58-66.

⁵⁴ This will be discussed further in Chapter 5.

of State appears in political rhetoric and literature and has been sustained to the present.⁵⁵ Considering the degree to which the classical world influences the American Founding Fathers, it is not surprising that the chariot/ship metaphor for authority naturally finds its way into their rhetoric. For example, Jefferson often refers to the ship of state in his correspondence and speeches.⁵⁶ In his *Vita Washingtonii*, published in 1835, Francis Glass uses the imagery of Washington taking up the reins or helm several times (1.1, 15.27, 16.21, 19.1, 20.9, and of Bonaparte and the French people: 23.58). In one instance, Glass uses the reins and helm together:

Cum rerum habenas et moderamen sumpsisset Washingtonius Civitatum Americanarum status adeo infirmus omnibus videbatur, ut multi, rationem rempublicam gubernandi novam non diu duraturam esse, crederent. (15)

When Washington took up the reins and rudder of state, the position of the American state was perceived by all as being so weak that many believed that the new way of steering would not last long.

This passage demonstrates a continued acknowledgement that the authority of the reins and helm are equal, and thus charioteers and pilots are each other's counterparts in their respective spheres.⁵⁷

Plato uses the 'ship of state' metaphor in the *Republic* especially to illustrate the behaviour of men who are not fit for office yet clamour for the opportunity (6.488a7-489b). He writes of the true pilot (who, incidentally is shown not actively seeking out the helm):

(d)...τοῦ δὲ ἀληθινοῦ κυβερνήτου περί μηδ' ἐπαῖοντες, ὅτι ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ ὥρων καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστρων καὶ πνευμάτων καὶ πάντων τῶν τῇ τέχνῃ προσηκόντων, εἰ μέλλει τῷ ὄντι νεὼς ἀρχικὸς ἔσεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει (e) ἔάντε τινες βούλωνται ἔάντε μή, μήτε τέχνην τούτου μήτε μελέτην οἰόμενοι δυνατόν εἶναι λαβεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβερνητικὴν. (6.488d-e)

...and not understanding that the true pilot must give his attention to the year, the season, the heavens, the stars, the winds, and everything relating to his skill—if he is meant to be the ruler of the ship. And how he will take the helm, whether or not anyone wishes it, nor do they believe that he can master this craft and its practice along with that of navigation.

Interestingly, Plato also brings up the issue of consent (ἔάντε τινες βούλωνται ἔάντε μή), saying that the true pilot must pilot no matter what. However, he seems to amend this when he goes on to say: πάντα τὸν ἄρχεσθαι δεόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ ἄρχειν δυναμένου ('everyone requiring to be ruled (must go) to one who is able to rule', 6.489c). Thus consent and capability are two major conditions for piloting and ruling. Consent, as we have discussed, is a major aspect of authority in

⁵⁵ See Thompson (2001).

⁵⁶ For scholarship on Jefferson's use of the ship of state in his writing, see Miller (2003).

⁵⁷ On charioteers and pilots as parallels, see Citroni (1984) and Brock (2013), 96-7 n. 22. Davis (1965), 3: similar terminology for charioteering and piloting points further to their equation.

general, insofar as the audience must consent to the authority figure in order for authority to be reinforced and maintained: otherwise, the result is tyranny and violence. Keyt (2006, 201) explains:

On a normal ship the steersman's authority derives from his knowledge of steersmanship; he does not use a book of rules, since his own knowledge of seafaring is superior to anything that can be learned from such a rule-book; and he rules, insofar as he is a steersman, not in his own interest, but in that of his ship and his sailors. Similarly, the authority of the rulers of Plato's ideal city is based on their knowledge of the political art; they rule without law; and they rule, insofar as they are rulers, not in their own interest, but in that of their subjects.

The notion that the ideal ruler would rule without law (*potestas* or *imperium*) illustrates the superiority of authority as an ideal force, and I propose that it is the elements of responsibility and consent which make it so.

As mentioned above, part of the element of responsibility is having full knowledge of one's craft. Plato emphasises both practical and theoretical knowledge: the sailors have no practical training, and the reference to astronomy demonstrates the need for theoretical knowledge.⁵⁸ Together, the practical and theoretical aspects contribute to foresight, with which the pilot (and politician) make informed and expert decisions. Similarly, in his *Republic*, Cicero uses the figure of the pilot to explain that foresight and knowledge is required of the *rector* (*sapiens...peritus...rector...gubernator*, 2.51).⁵⁹

Also mentioned above, metaphors of the chariot of state or healer of state are suitable for describing the benefits of a sole ruler, and it is the case with the ship of state as well, as the focus is the individual pilot.⁶⁰ The 'pilot of state' is used as a metaphor for individual politicians because the relationship between authority figure and audience is similar in both cases. Brock (2013, 57) explains their similarities in terms of authority: "the statesman knows where to go and how to get there, and a sensible demos will entrust itself to him, hence the fact that in Plato's imagery the helmsman is aligned with the doctor, as another representative of the knowledgeable expert whose authority is justified by skill". Thus, the common source of their authority is credibility which comes from their professional expertise. He continues (2013, 86): "the submission of a ship's crew to the authority of the helmsman in view of his expertise and skill would have been an appealing model for the authority of a leader over his followers or over the wider community of a polis".

We find a potentially helpful illustration of Plato's incompetent sailors in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which emphasises both the technical knowledge and professional authority of a pilot. Acoetes the pilot 'inherits' his father's profession as fisherman (*successor et heres*, 3.587) and builds upon it by learning navigation so that he can expand the craft (3.590-4). Here we see

⁵⁸ Hardie (1986, 68) explains: "Knowledge of the *cosmos* leads to power over its detailed workings. In later periods it is understanding rather than physical power that is sought".

⁵⁹ Livy also uses the pilot of state metaphor (2.27, 4.14.2, 24.8.12-3).

⁶⁰ Brock (2013), 54-67.

connections of ancestral profession, technical knowledge, and foresight, along with the aspects of preservation and augmentation: Acoetes preserves his inheritance of *aqua* (3.589) and augments it with knowledge of navigation. When Acoetes' crew kidnaps the disguised Bacchus, he orders that the men release the god, asserting: *pars hic mihi maxima iuris* ('I have the greatest authority here', *Met.* 3.620). The crew revolts and Aethalion takes his place at the helm, saying: *te scilicet omnis in uno/ nostra salus posita est* ('you think that the safety of all depends upon you alone', 3.645-6). Their subsequent transformation shows both divine punishment and the consequences of ignoring professional authority. Acoetes' foresight and knowledge of navigation is accompanied by his recognition of the disguised god and foresight that punishment could follow misconduct.

Pilots in the Odyssey

As we have discussed, chariots in the *Iliad* can be used to indicate the authority of a character. In the *Odyssey*, however, the charioteer's counterpart is the pilot, as it is more suited to the maritime setting. Thus, it is the pilot who holds professional authority in the *Odyssey* just as the charioteer holds authority in the *Iliad*.⁶¹ Vergil similarly equates charioteers and pilots in the *Aeneid* by exchanging the chariot race in the *Iliad* for a ship race in the funeral games for Anchises and also by emphasising the role of the pilot Palinurus beyond his Homeric models, as discussed below.

In the Charybdis and Scylla episode, Odysseus orders his pilot to stay close the ship, lest the entire fleet be sucked into Charybdis (12.219-21). Although there is a pilot, Odysseus gives the commands for steering. Just prior to this order, Odysseus heartens his crew with a mini-speech reminding them that they survived Polyphemus' cave (12.206-15). This is recalled by Aeneas' speech after the storm, in which Aeneas encourages his men to stay hopeful by reminding them that they have survived the Cyclops, Charybdis, and Scylla. Just as Odysseus fails to mention that he is sacrificing six comrades to Scylla so that the crew will continue to row (*Od.* 12.223-5), Aeneas hides his own fear and reluctance from his men (*Aen.* 1.208-9).⁶²

In order to keep their men actively serving, Odysseus and Aeneas both conceal the true extent of their concern. Unlike Odysseus, however, Aeneas does not decide that Palinurus will be sacrificed; rather, Venus strikes a deal with Neptune to ensure a safe voyage. Odysseus, on the

⁶¹ Conversely, the Phaeacians, a naval power favoured by the gods, have neither helmsmen nor rudders for their ships because their ships are guided by the gods (8.557-62). However, the epithet commonly used for the Phaeacians is *φιληρέτμοι* ('oar-loving', 5.386, 8.96, 386, 535, 11.349, 13.36), suggesting that they at least use oars for rowing. This epithet is used also for the Taphians in the *Telemachy* (1.181, 419).

⁶² Compare the scene following the passage of the Clashing Rocks in the *Argonautica* in which the pilot Tiphys, and not Jason, is the source of encouragement (2.611-8): Hunter (1993), 44-5.

other hand, is told explicitly that he will lose six men, thus making the following a conscious sacrifice by Odysseus:

αὐτοῦ δ' εἰνὶ θύρῃσι κατήσθιε κεκληγῶτας
χεῖρας ἐμοὶ ὀρέγοντας ἐν αἰνῇ δηιοτῆτι. (*Od.* 12.256-7)

At her doors she devoured them screaming and stretching their hands out to me in their dreadful death throes.

This description is reminiscent of the scene in Polyphemus' cave, in which Odysseus accepts the gruesome sacrifice of two comrades at a time in order to plan and execute the others' escape. Odysseus therefore has a track-record of sacrificing some for the rest, so much so that, in the end, he is the only comrade left alive. He may be an exceptional individual hero because he receives both glory and a homecoming, but he fails as a leader because, despite his efforts, none of his men return home.⁶³ Many of his men are killed because he fails to stop them from eating Helios' cattle (11.110-7, 12.131-41), which occurs just after the Charybdis/Scylla episode.

Elements of the Cattle of the Sun episode are contained in the story Odysseus tells to Eumaeus, as is the fact that this character is the only comrade to receive a successful homecoming: Zeus takes away his comrades' *nostoi* (12.415-9), which contains the same elements of Castor's story (14.305-9), a Cretan general who embarks on a voyage to Egypt after the Trojan War (14.199-248). The beginning of the voyage is smooth, and Odysseus remarks:

ἐβδομάτῃ δ' ἀναβάντες ἀπὸ Κρήτης εὐρείης
ἐπλέομεν Βορέῃ ἀνέμῳ ἀκραεῖ καλῷ
ῥηϊδίως, ὥς εἴ τε κατὰ ῥόον· οὐδέ τις οὖν μοι
νηῶν πημάνθη, ἀλλ' ἀσκηθέες καὶ ἄνουσοι
ἤμεθα, τὰς δ' ἄνεμός τε κυβερνῆταί τ' ἴθυνον. (*Od.* 14.252-6)

On the seventh day we sailed from broad Crete with a fair north-wind behind us, as if floating along a stream: my ships came to no harm, and unscathed and healthy we sat idle while the wind and the pilots steered.

Here we see that in fair weather, the pilot is allowed to steer without orders. However, during storms, Odysseus gives commands on his own, without input from the pilot. This dynamic shifts in the *Aeneid*, in that the pilot gains more authority in his capacity as an expert.

⁶³ Although he says explicitly that he desires for his men to receive *nostos*: 1.5 (ἀρνύμενος ἥν τε ψυχὴν καὶ νόστον ἐταίρων); 9.94-104: commands his men not to eat the lotus in order that they do not forget their *nostos*; 19.273-4 disguised Odysseus tells Penelope that he heard Odysseus had lost his comrades and ship because they ate the Cattle of the Sun; 23.251-3 says he went to Underworld to ask about the *nostoi* of his men and himself.

The storm which opens the *Aeneid* is in part modelled after the above scene in the *Odyssey*.⁶⁴ The *Aeneid* storm provides two examples of helmsman: the Lycian and Orontes' pilot.⁶⁵ Aeneas does not take over the helm until the end of Book 5, following the death of Palinurus. Palinurus' death parallels the death of Odysseus' unnamed helmsman, who is thrown overboard ('like a diver') after the mast cracks his head open (12.413). Odysseus and Aeneas both seem to have prior knowledge of piloting and navigation because they are able to take up the helm after losing their respective pilots.

In the *Aeneid*, we find a variety of piloting successes and failures during the funeral games for Anchises. The funeral games feature a ship race in place of a chariot race, though it is described as being even more intense than a chariot race:

non tam praecipites biuugo certamine campum
corripuere ruuntque effusi carcere currus,
nec sic immissis aurigae undantia lora
concussere iugis pronique in verbera pendent. (5.144-7)

They are not as quick when they take to the field in a chariot race and rush onto the track, bursting from the gate, nor when the charioteers shake the waving reins of their loosened team and bending over lean into the lash.

The narrator names the ships' captains as ancestors of certain aristocratic Roman families (5.116-23). O'Hara (1996, 108-9) maintains that the explanation of family histories and names contributes to the larger aetiological aims of the poem: "for the poem is itself an *aetion* for the Roman state and people".⁶⁶ Thus, explaining the origins of certain names lends authority to (or explains the loss of authority over time) those families, as well as using knowledge of the families to explain the actions or qualities of the characters themselves. For instance, Sergestus and his descendant Catiline share the same impetuosity, and Sergestus' shipwreck foreshadows Catiline's future political downfall.⁶⁷

Similarly, Gyas, the captain of the *Chimaera*, questions the strategy of his pilot Menoetes despite still being in the lead halfway through (*princeps victor*, 5.160):⁶⁸

'quo tantum mihi dexter abis? huc derige cursum;
litus ama et laeva stringat sine palmula cautes;

⁶⁴ Quint (1993), 87; O'Hara (2007), 92.

⁶⁵ Nicoll (1988, 466) proposes that this foreshadows the sacrifice of Palinurus (one for/of the many), despite the event itself lacking a sense of 'sacrifice'.

⁶⁶ Cf. Wiseman (1974); Lovatt (2005), 172.

⁶⁷ Cf. Muse (2007), 591-7.

⁶⁸ See Delvigo (2001) on this scene.

altum alii teneant.' dixit; sed caeca Menoetes
 saxa timens proram pelagi detorquet ad undas.
 'quo diversus abis?' iterum 'pete saxa, Menoete!' (5.162-6)

Gyas says: 'Why are you going so far to the right? Steer the course this way: hug the shore and let it lightly graze the rocks on the portside without the oar —let the others keep to the deep.' But Menoetes, fearing hidden rocks, turns the prow toward the waves of the sea. 'Where are you going? Head for the rocks, Menoetes!' he says again.

Menoetes refuses to attempt this hasty manoeuvre, as his professional foresight (*timens*) makes him consider the danger the rocks may pose to the ship.⁶⁹ Thus Gyas throws Menoetes overboard and takes over the helm of the gigantic *Chimaera*, fulfilling the roles of both admiral and pilot (*ipse gubernaculo rector subit, ipse magister*, 5.176), though poorly. It is not a coincidence that the *Chimaera* is called a floating city (*urbis opus*),⁷⁰ as it subsequently falls behind without its true pilot, recalling Plato's doomed ship of state. As Gyas is throwing Menoetes out, the narrator comments that Gyas is *oblitus decorisque sui sociumque salutis* ('forgetful of his own dignity and the safety of his people', 5.174). Gyas therefore not only fails as pilot of state, but also as healer of state (from *salutis*), and by forgetting his responsibility towards his subjects he risks his authority, thus becoming a tyrant.

The narrator also blames the ship's failure on the loss of Menoetes (*cedit, quoniam spoliata magistro est*, 5.224), but Schauer (2007, 204) argues that the problem is more Gyas' inability to take over due to his lack of expertise. Indeed, as we will discuss, Aeneas is capable of taking up the helm successfully after the death of Palinurus. Although there is no loss of life in the ship race, Menoetes' 'sacrifice' foreshadows Palinurus' fate.⁷¹

Palinurus

A major reason that Aeneas holds the funeral games in the first place is because the Trojans meet adverse weather. As discussed above, Palinurus advises against continuing to Italy in the storm, and Aeneas decides to visit his father's grave. Immisch (1897, 1295) calls Palinurus 'der klassische Steuermann', just as Automedon is the archetypal charioteer, and Misenus the archetypal trumpeter.⁷² Palinurus, however, appears first in the *Aeneid*.⁷³

⁶⁹ It turns out Menoetes was correct, as we see Sergestus is shipwrecked on rocks after attempting the same manoeuvre, while Mnesteus uses his oars and heads for the open water (5.202-12).

⁷⁰ See Henry (2013, repr. 1889) 45-8, who disputes Servius' assertion that *urbis opus* describes the size (*ita magna, urbem putares*, ad *Aen.* 5.119): rather, Henry argues that it refers to the functions of the ship, in the sense of 'a little city'.

⁷¹ Genovese (1975), 24; Putnam (1962), 213.

⁷² Misenus perishes at 6.174, the last of the Trojan company to die at sea. Vergil writes in the Underworld episode that both Palinurus and Misenus both will have capes named after them.

⁷³ Also Mart. 3.78; Ov. *Tr.* 5.6.7; Ov. *Ib.* 594; Hor. *Od.* 3.4. See Ambrose (1980, 451-2) for discussion and bibliography on possible earlier models for Palinurus. Norden (1926), 229: there is an earlier tradition of Palinurus being the name for stock helmsmen (based on CIL VI. 23730).

West (2011, 164) suggests that the Homeric convention of charioteers falling out of their vehicles should be read as ‘comic’ (*Il.* 5.587-8, 6.43, 16.742), and perhaps this is the case with the image of Palinurus falling from the stern (*Aen.* 5.857-60, 6.339, 6.353-4) and the description of the unnamed helmsman being thrown from the ship during the storm (1.115-6). The Trojans certainly laugh when the elderly Menoetes is thrown from the helm during the boat race and coughs up seawater (5.181-2). Along with the potential for comedy, however, Palinurus’ death also holds a sense of tragedy, which is due in part to the perception that he did not fail in his role as helmsman but was murdered by Somnus or the natives as a sacrifice for the birth of Rome. Indeed, the narrator calls Palinurus *insonti* (‘guiltless’, 5.841). Palinurus’ innocence is remarked upon as contrasting with Elpenor’s ‘moral failings’: Elpenor’s death, a model for Palinurus’ death, is presented as his own fault, since he is described as a mediocre warrior and is drunk when he falls off Circe’s roof (*Od.* 9-10).⁷⁴

Another model for Palinurus and his death is Phrontis, Menelaus’ helmsman, who is killed by Apollo’s arrows off the coast of Cape Sunium (*Od.* 3.278-83). Pausanias refers to Polygnotus’ painting of Phrontis (Paus. 10.25.2f).⁷⁵ Burgess (2003, 37) comments on his size relative to that of the sailors on the plaque: “the greater size of the helmsman suggests he is of special significance.” The plaque was found at Sounion, at the supposed cult-site of Phrontis’ death, which may have been a cult-site since 700 BCE.⁷⁶ Phrontis may have already been associated with sailing even before Homer as a protector of sailors: Phrontis means ‘care’, and his father, Onetor, means ‘bearer of help’.⁷⁷ The genealogical aspect of divine protection is also evident in the case of Palinurus and Iasus, as I argue in the final section.

However, yet another model for Palinurus, Menelaus’ pilot, Phrontis, dies peacefully from disease (*Od.* 3.278-85), and Williams (1960, 199) links this disease with the hypnosis practised on Palinurus. Tiphys, the Argonauts’ pilot, also dies from illness (*Arg.* 2.851-63); however, as Hunter (1993, 45) notes, while Tiphys does not die at his post, and so “his death has no causal link or accidental connection to his special skill”,⁷⁸ Phrontis and Palinurus both die at the rudder.

The manner of Palinurus’ death is debated extensively in large part because the two stories of his death are inconsistent (*Aen.* 5.841, 6.337-71).⁷⁹ When considering Palinurus’ own story about

⁷⁴ Lossau (1980), 106; Brenk (1988), 781.

⁷⁵ Phrontis. Plaque fragment. Athens, National Archaeological Museum 14935.

⁷⁶ Picard (1940); Abramson (1979); Kearns (1989), 41-2, 131, 205; Schefold (1993), 151; Antonaccio (1995), 166-9; Burgess (2001), 37-8; Currie (2005), 53.

⁷⁷ Kearns (1989), 42; Currie (2005), 54.

⁷⁸ Tiphys is replaced by Ancaeus, son of Poseidon (1.186), who is also a skilled pilot (2.866-98). Thus, Ancaeus’ authority to take over the helm is shown to be due to both technical knowledge and divine parentage—and of Poseidon, no less!

⁷⁹ O’Hara (2007), 92; Quint (1993), 87; Zetzel (1989), 274-6: on the limitations of knowledge in the Underworld.

his death at the hands of the natives, parallels emerge between his murder and the murder of Caesar by the senators. For instance, the appearance of swords/daggers as the murder weapons features in both stories. Plutarch's depiction of Caesar's murder is reminiscent of a hunting scene, in which the hunters circle a weak or wounded animal:

διελαυνόμενος ὥσπερ θηρίον ἐνειλεῖτο ταῖς πάντων χερσὶν ἅπαντας γὰρ ἔδει
κατάρξασθαι καὶ γεύσασθαι τοῦ φόνου. (Plut. *Caes.* 66.2)

Driven here and there, just as a wild animal is entangled by everyone's hands, for all must sacrifice and taste of the slaughter.

Plutarch refers to Caesar as a wild beast- a description we might compare with the sympathetic (if not pitiable) Palinurus, weak and wet from three days as a castaway and no match for armed natives. Further, Cassius' inspired violence could be compared to the roles of Venus and Neptune in Palinurus' death either at the hands of Somnus or the natives. Contrasting the two versions, there is a distinct lack of violence in the Somnus-version of Palinurus' death,⁸⁰ while the other is completely violent. Brenk (1988, 78) finds a parallel for Palinurus' resistance to Somnus in the plucking of the Golden Bough (6.210-1), "where resistance hints at partial violation of nature and the divine".

In the Underworld, Palinurus comments that the natives killed him *praedamque ignara putasset* ('ignorantly thinking me a prize', 6.361). Although he does not expand on this remark further, it is clear that the natives hold a certain expectation which is left unfulfilled by killing him.⁸¹ We see this in Caesar's murderers, as well; the conspirators expect to become heroes of the Republic like Brutus and his men after their expulsion of the Tarquins, but are disappointed when they are forced first into their homes and then out of the city.

In this second version of his death, Palinurus' swim is modelled on Odysseus swimming to Phaeacia;⁸² though whereas Palinurus is consciously sabotaged by the gods, Odysseus receives divine aid from Leucothea and Athena.⁸³ Brenk (1984, 781) comments that this especially makes little sense considering that Odysseus has offended Poseidon by blinding his son the Cyclops, while Palinurus has always shown respect for Neptune's domain. It is not Neptune, however, who comes to Odysseus' aid (and he actually sends another wave), but rather the once-mortal Leucothea, who tells Odysseus to abandon his raft and swim. It is interesting that Odysseus does not accept her divine advice fully, but uses his μήτις and foresight to come up with a plan (5.356-

⁸⁰ Brenk (1988), 72.

⁸¹ Brenk (1988), 70: Diodoros' account of the shipwreck follows the scene of treachery by the gatekeeper of Thermae—though the natives are depicted as greedy and cruel like those who kill Palinurus (*Aen.* 6.359-61), it is the natives themselves who are killed like Palinurus.

⁸² Diodoros records that in 253 BCE, there is another shipwreck, this time off Capo Palinuro, of a Roman fleet returning from Panormos (23.19), a parallel of how Palinurus dies coming from Sicily to Italy. On shipwrecks off Capo Palinuro, see McKay (1967), 5.

⁸³ Brenk (1984), 780 and (1988), 71.

64). He remembers seeing that Phaeacia is quite far away (and that he has been tricked by the gods before), and so he decides to stay on the raft as long as possible and then swim: ὧδ' ἔρξω, δοκέει δέ μοι εἶναι ἄριστον ('this is what I will do and what seems best to me', 5.360). Although the pilot of a simple raft instead of an entire ship, Odysseus demonstrates that he thinks like a pilot by considering all of the various factors involved.

This is similar to Palinurus' resistance when Somnus tells him to relax at the helm, to which Palinurus replies:

'mene salis placidi vultum fluctusque quietos
ignorare iubes? mene huic confidere monstro?
Aenean credam (quid enim?) fallacibus auris
et caeli totiens deceptus fraude sereni?
talìa dicta dabat, clavumque adfixus et haerens
nusquam amittebat oculosque sub astra tenebat. (Aen. 5.848-53)

'You want me to mistake the surface of the placid sea and calm waves? Do you want me to trust this monster? Should I entrust Aeneas to the false winds, though I have been so often deceived by the fraud of a serene sky?' He said this, and holding fast and clinging to the helm never left it, and he held his gaze on the stars.

Palinurus' refusal to take his eyes off the stars (*vix attolens lumina...oculos tenebat*) recalls Odysseus' sleepless star-gazing (*Od.* 5.271), and his reservations also parallel those of Odysseus: both use navigational skill and past experiences to inform their decisions. Palinurus is so skilled and has such foresight, then, that Somnus is forced to drug him instead.⁸⁴ Nicoll (1988, 464-5) argues: "Palinurus...is by profession a follower of *Fortuna*...[h]e therefore places a degree of reliance on what is essentially untrustworthy." Palinurus himself refers to his knowledge (from *ignorare*) of the deceptiveness of the sea and winds (*fallacibus...deceptus...fraude*), which contrasts with the present image of the trustworthy and steadfast Palinurus remaining at the helm. Palinurus possesses foresight and so does not rely entirely on fate: because he has experience or at least knowledge of a wide range of maritime conditions and routes, he can anticipate the results of his decisions and advice. Indeed, we see that the only untrustworthy element in Palinurus' story is the deception of Somnus in his bringing on his death—or the unlucky helm (*forte*, 6.349), as he claims in the Underworld.

⁸⁴ Hunter (1993, 183) links the "soporific bough which Sleep shakes over" Palinurus with the "juniper spray with which Medea sprinkles her drugs over the Colchian dragon's eyes" at *Arg.* 4.156-8.

Putnam (1962, 205) recognises that Palinurus's death does not further the narrative, which leaves us to question the function of this scene. Brenk (1988, 788) comments that a ship losing oars and its steersman is a convention of scenes in which a hero is approaching the Underworld, and thus Palinurus' death signals the Underworld scene in Book 6.⁸⁵ Narratologically, there is no reason for Palinurus to die other than to transfer the helm to Aeneas. I propose that Vergil includes the detail of the sacrifice in order to replace the Palinurus/Anchises/Caesar figure so that Aeneas' piloting skills can be displayed.⁸⁶

After the death of Palinurus, Aeneas takes up the position of helmsman himself:

...pater amisso fluitantem errare magistro
sensit, et ipse ratem nocturnis rexit in undis... (5.867-8)

Father Aeneas realised that the ship was drifting with a missing pilot, and he himself guided it through the night waves.

Nicoll (1988, 467-8), as part of his interesting discussion of the parallelism between Palinurus and Remus as the 'brothers' who die and go to the Underworld rather than being lifted to the stars,⁸⁷ argues that, like Romulus and Remus, "[Palinurus and Aeneas] too in a sense are twins – Palinurus representing a side of Aeneas' character which must be discarded before he can achieve his goal, and performing a function which will briefly be taken over by Aeneas himself on the last stage of the sea voyage to Italy."⁸⁸ However, a more convincing argument is that Aeneas' *dependence* on Palinurus specifically must be discarded, considering that Aeneas pilots until Book 10, which is longer (in terms of the narrative structure) than Palinurus was the pilot of Aeneas' ship. Aeneas fully commits to taking on the role of Palinurus himself for several books rather than allocating the responsibility to another crew member.

I agree with Schauer (2007, 204) that we should presume that Aeneas maintains the helm for the rest of the voyage—"albeit commanding an apparently rudderless ship".⁸⁹ Putnam (1962, 227) writes:

In his headlong plunge Palinurus not only leaves the fleet without a guide, he renders the ship useless by pulling the helm along with him. So when Aeneas assumes Palinurus' role, it is over a ship which is incapable of control. In his death and in his

⁸⁵ Clark (1979, 160) gives the following examples: Gilgamesh discards his paddle, Circe tells Odysseus that he does not need a pilot (10.505); Tiphys' death in the *Argonautica* (2.851-63); and the fact that Charon's boat has no oars (Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1072).

⁸⁶ Ambrose (1980, 545-6) argues that Palinurus exchanges his *nostos* for that of the Trojans, 'the one for the many'. By contrast, as we have discussed, Odysseus exchanges the *nostoi* of the many for his own.

⁸⁷ After Skutsch (1968 & 1985).

⁸⁸ Segal (1965, 649), on the other hand, views Palinurus' fate in Italy as representing the possibility of failure for the Trojans in Italy.

⁸⁹ Nicoll (1988), 468.

disfigurement of the ship, Palinurus demonstrates that there is no need either for helmsmen or for the ship he navigates.

However, at the beginning of Book 6, Aeneas is shown to have complete control of the ship without any evidence of divine aid, and later, Aeneas is shown guiding the rudder (10.215-8), suggesting that another rudder has been fashioned (if it is not simply a Vergilian inconsistency). McKay (1988, 3) thus describes Aeneas the pilot as “a veritable Augustus guiding the Ship of State through troublous seas”. Indeed, the image of Aeneas guiding the ship following the death of Palinurus recalls and contrasts with the out-of-control chariot in *Georgics* 1, as discussed above.

Another possible connection to Augustus here is the fact that Palinurus has just been called *princeps*:

princeps ante omnis densum Palinurus agebat
agmen; ad hunc alii cursum contendere iussi. (*Aen.* 5.833-4)

Palinurus, before all, led the close band; the others were ordered to follow on this course.

As we saw earlier, Gyas is called *princeps* indicating his leading position in the ship race before he falls behind due to his expulsion of the true pilot. Palinurus here is called *princeps* as he is the leader of both the ship and the convoy, and by inheriting the helm successfully, Aeneas presumably also inherits this position as *princeps*. Thus, Aeneas appears as *princeps* and pilot of state.⁹⁰

Aeneas' refusal to reallocate the task to another crew member brings us to question Aeneas' qualifications for physically taking the helm. Before he becomes the pilot himself, Aeneas commands the twenty ship Trojan fleet (5.1, 5.833), and he later leads the thirty ship Etruscan fleet during the Latin War (10.163-214). We can assume that he oversees the initial ship-building on Mount Ida, and in a completely sea-bound journey, any power and authority are tied up in naval command.

Prior to the deaths of Anchises and Palinurus, it is difficult to determine which character(s) hold authority in the ship, what kind of authority this is, and how it manifests. Schauer (2007, 202-3) writes that the allocation of responsibility is indeed unclear: “[w]ährend in der *Odyssee* nur Odysseus den Aufbruch befiehlt, geben neben Aeneas auch Anchises und Palinurus den Befehl zur Abfahrt”. For example, although Palinurus gives the initial signal to row (3.519), Aeneas gives specific commands (3.289, 4.573), as does Anchises (3.266, 588). Further, as the commander of the fleet, Aeneas is ultimately responsible for the route. However, the route depends largely on prophecy throughout, which falls under the jurisdiction of Anchises. Again, though, while

⁹⁰ See Feldherr (1995) on the connection between the *Aeneid* 5 and Augustus' self-presentation in games.

Anchises plays this significant role in the interpretation of the oracle and the intended destination, Aeneas asks the prompting questions and gives the commands for the route.

Schauer (2007, 203) makes the interesting point that the relationship of Palinurus and Aeneas is not based on commands, but on conversations between two experts, in which we also participate as the audience: “[h]ier werden also keine Befehle erteilt, sondern die beiderseitige Sachkompetenz steht im Vordergrund, mit der Kommandant und Steuermann gemeinsam entscheiden”. Earlier in the chapter, I comment on this ‘joint decision’ to land in Sicily: this interaction is completely un-Homeric, as Odysseus has no similar conversations with his own helmsman, who remains otherwise anonymous.⁹¹ Schauer (203) views this scene as Aeneas taking Palinurus’ advice by engaging in shared knowledge (thus, *die beiderseitige Sachkompetenz*, above), but giving the order himself to turn the course: thus Palinurus has *auctoritas*, while Aeneas has *imperium*. With Palinurus’ death, however, Aeneas attaches the *auctoritas* of Palinurus’ role as pilot (*princeps*) to his own *imperium* as general of the Trojans, so that it becomes one position. Aeneas very literally becomes the ‘pilot of state’ here because his entire nation is contained in these ships.

In the Latin War, in addition to his role as naval commander, Aeneas again takes the helm (10.215-8).⁹² This time of a ship which has a figurehead of Mount Ida and is decorated with Cybele’s Phrygian lions (10.156-62). This recalls the image of Cybele being pulled in her chariot by lions, thus casting the ship as a sea-chariot and Aeneas as its charioteer, perhaps foreshadowing his military triumph in Latium. The Catalogue of Ships demonstrates the manpower and military authority of Aeneas’ forces, and it also shows the many smaller forces are under Aeneas’ command, which recall regional governors who answer to Augustus. However, not all of the allied ships land smoothly: Tarchon, like Sergestus in the ship race, wrecks his boat upon landing (5.202-22).⁹³ The reckless helmsmen, Tarchon and Sergestus, act as foils for Aeneas in the narrative: in this case, they foreshadow their respective descendants, the Tarquins and Catiline.⁹⁴

Just as there are instances of failed charioteers in the *Aeneid*, there are also instances of both literal and metaphorical *naufragia* (shipwrecks). Scenes of lost pilots and *naufragia* can also be used to describe political crises. Plutarch describes the effects of civil war in Rome as follows:

οἰκτρότατον δὲ τὸ θέαμα τῆς πόλεως ἦν, ἐπιφερομένου τοσούτου χειμῶνος, ὥσπερ νεῶς ὑπὸ κυβερνητῶν ἀπαγορευόντων πρὸς τὸ συντυχὸν ἐκπεσεῖν κομιζομένης.
(*Caes.* 34.2)

⁹¹ Schauer (2007), 203 n. 500. For discussions on the relationship and roles of the magister and pilot, see Moschetti (1964) and Guarino (1965).

⁹² Williams (1960) ad 10.287; Quinn (1968), 219; Pomathios (1987), 55.

⁹³ Tarchon sends legates to deliver the crown and rods of kingship to Evander, but Evander is too old and tells Aeneas to take the kingship (8.505), signalling their alliance. Earlier tradition has Aeneas allied with Tarchon and Tyrrhenis: Hellan. F84 (=Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 1.72.2); Lyc. *Alex.* 1242-3.

⁹⁴ Muse (2007), 605: “The nautical follies of Sergestus and Tarchon are adumbrations of traits that will emerge catastrophically when their villainous descendants wreck the ship of state.”

But worst was the sight of the city, with such a storm having born down, carried like a ship abandoned by its helmsman to smash against anything in its path.

While the Augustan poets often use shipwreck imagery to describe their difficulties with poetry or personal sufferings,⁹⁵ they also use it to relay this sense of political catastrophe. Ingleheart (2006, 89-91) proposes that we read the ineffective *rector* in Ovid's *Tristia* (1.3) as Augustus misguiding Rome. In one interpretation, Horace's ship of state poem expresses a similarly bleak view of the government's health (*Od.* 1.14).⁹⁶

Muse (2007, 587) argues that Tarchon's shipwreck-entrance is meant partly to demonstrate 'how not to' be a leader, contrasting Aeneas' 'how-to', positive example of leadership. If Tarchon is understood to be an ancestor of the Tarquins,⁹⁷ perhaps the sharp contrast in leadership qualities between Tarchon and Aeneas acts to distance Aeneas (Augustus) from the stigma of the Tarquins and kingship itself, thus avoiding the identification of Aeneas as a 'Roman king'. Muse (2007, 600 n. 59) goes on to comment: "[i]t is remarkable that Virgil leaves Tarchon without any clear home city—Aeneas meets him near Caere." This is significant information in itself, however: Livy writes that Lucius Tarquinius Superbus and his sons are exiled to Caere after the overthrow of Roman monarchy in 509 BC (1.60.2). Perhaps the Tarquins' involvement with Rome begins in the city where it will ultimately end.

In the *Iliad*, we see that Aeneas has no claim to the throne. In the *Aeneid*, when he is fleeing the city and is concerned solely with the safety of his family, he does not intend to become the leader of the Trojans. Rather, as we have discussed elsewhere, the refugees flock around him independent of any claim to power or assertion of authority by Aeneas himself. Thus, the Trojans effectively 'hire' Aeneas to be their king based on his skills and reputation, making him a professional ruler. By taking the helm after Palinurus' death, Aeneas both demonstrates his *pronoia* and ability to lead and symbolically incorporates authority of the profession of pilot within his 'professionally' royal authority.

⁹⁵ Especially Ov. *Ars. Am.* 1.771-2, *Tr.* 1.1.85-6. On the battered ship as a metaphor for Ovid in exile, see La Penna (1957), and Ingleheart (2006), 85.

⁹⁶ For the alternative reading, see Knorr (2006), who argues that Horace is referring here to an older prostitute caught between two clients (because it is positioned between two poems about love triangles).

⁹⁷ Muse (2007, 600) argues that although there is no apparent (direct) ancestry between Tarchon and the Tarquins, except perhaps through Tanaquil, "[t]he name is arguably more important than the lineage... That Tarchon would have suggested Tarquin to a Roman ear is beyond doubt."

Imagery of piloting and charioteering appears often in the imagery of Octavian/Augustus. The theme of charioteering is significant in Octavian's early imagery, as it is symbolic of his role as Caesar's avenger. By positioning himself in this way, Octavian creates a symbolic continuum between them (enhanced by his inheritance and adoption outlined in Caesar's will) which facilitates the transferral of Caesar's power and authority to himself. In 2 BCE, the Senate erects a statue of Augustus as a charioteer in a *quadriga* outside the Temple of Mars Ultor during the dedication of the Forum of Augustus (RG 24, 35).⁹⁸ Also to mark the dedication of the Forum, Augustus stages a massive *naumachia* recreating the Battle of Salamis,⁹⁹ modelled after Julius Caesar's *naumachia* on the occasion of his quadruple triumph in 46 BCE.¹⁰⁰ Augustus' *naumachia* depicting the struggle of Eastern versus Roman forces recalls the Battle of Actium, "the victory that created the Principate".¹⁰¹

Zanker (1988, 84) writes that artists and authors similarly used the Actian victory (and thus the establishment of Augustan rule) as a model "whenever they wanted to celebrate subsequent victories". In celebration of Augustus' naval victories at Actium and the earlier Naulochus,¹⁰² trophies, rudders, and anchors feature together prominently on *denarii* from 29-27 BCE,¹⁰³ and Augustan artwork and literature adopts nautical themes.¹⁰⁴ As discussed in Chapter 2, referring to previous events or figures as a way of instating or strengthening authority depends upon interactions of memory, precedent, and accumulation. In the *Aeneid*, however, Vergil manipulates time through the use of prophecy,¹⁰⁵ and in this way he manages to use the 'future' victory of Actium as a way of sanctioning Aeneas' victory against the Latins in the narrative. Vulcan depicts Augustus on the shield as commanding the fleet during the Battle of Actium against Cleopatra's defeated naval forces (8.671-713),¹⁰⁶ and by bringing this shield into battle, Aeneas is supported by the authority of the future glory of Rome. Moreover, by referring to the Battle of Actium as an authoritative model for Aeneas' victory, Augustus' own authority is also reinforced, as it symbolises the origin of the Principate and is thus the basis of Augustan authority.

⁹⁸ This is also the occasion on which Augustus is named *pater patriae*: see Chapter 5. On the forum, see especially Zanker (1988) and Geiger (2008).

⁹⁹ RG 23; Suet. *Aug.* 43.1; Cass. Dio, 55.10.7-8; Tac. *Ann.* 12.56; Vell. Pat. 2.100.2; Mart. *Spect.* 34.

¹⁰⁰ Suet. *Jul.* 39.4; Cass. Dio 43.23.4; App. *Civil Wars*, 2.102; Plut. *Caes.* 55.4.

¹⁰¹ Zanker (1988), 84.

¹⁰² Gurval (1995) argues that we should not assume that nautical imagery celebrates Actium alone.

¹⁰³ RIC I, Aug. 265A and 265B.

¹⁰⁴ Zanker (1988), 82-4. Augustus is also associated with Neptune in the *Georgics* (1.29-31) and in art and coinage: Wilhelm (1983-4), 76-7; Sandin (2000), 191-2.

¹⁰⁵ See Chapter 3 on prophecy.

¹⁰⁶ Though in reality, Agrippa was admiral during the battle.

4. Navigation, Medicine, and Astrology

This section addresses the metaphor of the ‘healer of state’ and the appropriation of both Iapyx’s and Apollo’s role as healer, by both Venus in the *Aeneid* and Augustus. Just as Aeneas takes on Palinurus’ role as helmsman, so Venus appropriates the role as physician. In turn, these two roles are conflated in Augustus as a ‘healer of the state’ after Actium. It should be made clear that besides an overt association with Apollo being common in Augustan imagery and literature, there is no evidence that Augustus generated or promoted the image of himself as ‘healer of the state’;¹⁰⁷ however, Wickkiser (2005) points out that other writers cast him in this role.¹⁰⁸ In this section I also provide background on the figure of Iasion, an agricultural god and ancestor of both Palinurus and Iapyx, and analyse the significance of their shared patronymic *Iasides* as it relates to political metaphor and literal professional authority within the realms of navigation, medicine, and agriculture. Finally, I explore Augustus’ use of astrology in legitimising his rule.

Healer of State

In addition to using the charioteer and pilot as models, Plato uses the physician in his metaphors for political expertise. He goes further with this imagery to comment on the ‘health’ of the state.¹⁰⁹ Brock (2013, 71) writes: “Plato’s medical imagery is based on two basic concepts: the idea of health or dysfunction within an organic unity, and the equation of those in political authority with doctors”. Conversely, we also see Greek medical writing explicitly compare the body to political systems, especially in the use of *monarchia* in medical language.¹¹⁰ For instance, Alcmaeon (B4) holds that the *monarchia* of any single element in the body causes illness, and in Hippocrates, the metaphor of an individual rising in power is used for illness (*Aer.* 12).

Like the pilot of state and the ship of state, the metaphor of the ‘healer of state’ is a Greek convention adopted by Roman Republican writers. In his *Pro Milone*, Cicero suggests that Pompey should be the healer of diseased Rome (68).¹¹¹ Livy seems to be the only extant Augustan writer who explicitly uses the diseased state metaphor of contemporary Rome (*vitia...remedia...salubre*,

¹⁰⁷ Wickkiser (2005, 271 n. 22) argues against the theories that Augustus did not want to associate himself with Caesar’s enemies, and that he was too sickly himself for the image of healer of state to be taken seriously.

¹⁰⁸ For instance, we find a seemingly problematic passage in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, in which Jupiter refers to himself as the healer of state, yet claims that humankind must be destroyed (1.188-91). Wickkiser (2005, 285 n. 82) proposes that in this model, Jupiter represents Augustus, the Roman people collectively represent the gods, and the ‘human race’ are enemies of Rome: this then indirectly casts Augustus in the role of healer of the state.

¹⁰⁹ Especially see Brock (2013, 69-82) on uses of ‘disease of state’ and the ‘healer of state’ in Greek rhetoric.

¹¹⁰ For more on the connection between medicine and the state, see Brock (2013), 9-10.

¹¹¹ For surveys of Cicero’s medical metaphors, see: Wickkiser (2005), 268-9 and Fantham (1972), p. 16 n. 8.

1.pr.9-10),¹¹² despite its popularity in both the Republican and later Imperial periods.¹¹³ Pliny, however, writes that Gaius Valgius Rufus, a contemporary of Horace and Maecenas, dedicates a book on healing herbs to Augustus and wishes that Augustus' sovereign power (*potissimum*) should heal all human ailments (NH 25.4). Dio Cassius also writes that at Augustus' funeral, Tiberius describes him as a doctor of the formerly diseased Roman state:

ἀλλ' ὥσπερ τις ἰατρὸς ἀγαθὸς σῶμα νενοσηκὸς παραλαβὼν καὶ ἐξιασάμενος,
ἀπέδωκε πάντα ὑμῖν ὑγιᾶ ποιήσας. (Dio 56.39.2)

Like some great doctor attending to a sick body and curing it completely, he undertook the role of making you all healthy.

Thus, although Augustus apparently did not cast himself as the healer of state, the metaphor is still used by other writers about him, and 'healer of state' becomes a common imperial metaphor, especially for Vespasian.¹¹⁴ Again, because Augustus is sole ruler, the model of a professional who works alone is appropriate in a metaphor for individual authority.¹¹⁵

Epic Physicians

The major healing scene in the *Aeneid* is modeled after the wounding of Menelaus in the *Iliad* and his subsequent medical treatment. Menelaus knows about battlefield wounds because he is a warrior and thus presumably an expert in receiving wounds: he is able to judge that the arrow missed his major organs and so is not fatal (οὐκ ἐν καιρίῳ ὅξυ πάγη βέλος, 4.185).¹¹⁶ Agamemnon recognises this as well (4.151-2), but knows that medicine must be applied and so calls for Machaon, a son of Asclepius (4.194, 250) and one of the camp's physicians (4.190-4). The narrator describes the healing process:

ὁ δ' ἐν μέσσοισι παρίστατο ἰσόθεος φῶς,
αὐτίκα δ' ἐκ ζωστήρος ἀρηρότος ἔλκεν οἰστόν.
τοῦ δ' ἐξελκομένοιο πάλιν ἄγεν ὀξέες ὄγκοι.
...
αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ ἴδεν ἔλκος ὃθ' ἔμπεσε πικρὸς οἰστός,
αἶμ' ἐκμυζήσας ἐπ' ἄρ' ἥπια φάρμακα εἰδὼς
πάσσε, τὰ οἷ ποτε πατρὶ φίλα φρονέων πόρε Χείρων. (4.212-4, 217-9)

Godlike Machaon stood in the middle of the circle, and immediately removed the arrow from his joined belt. The sharp barbs broke as they were drawn out. Once he saw the wound where the sharp arrow had pierced, he drained the blood and skillfully applied soothing herbs, which wise Cheiron had given to his father.

¹¹² On Augustus as healer of state, see Levick (2010), 207.

¹¹³ Wickkiser (2005), 269-70. For examples of Livy's (and Sallust's) usage, see Skard (1961).

¹¹⁴ Wickkiser (2005), 270.

¹¹⁵ Lowrie (2009, 337) calls medicine (like law) an authoritative profession.

¹¹⁶ Note the adjectival form of καιρός used here to mean 'mortally'.

Machaon's ability to assess the wound and begin treatment immediately (αὐτίκα) demonstrates his professional skill, and the use of εἰδῶς shows that it is his technical skill that sets him apart from non-physicians. Machaon is Asclepius' son, but he heals with seemingly mortal skills (surgery and pain relieving herbs), thus placing emphasis on technical rather than magical healing. So, although his divine parentage (from a healing deity, no less) contributes to his authority as a physician, he clearly has technical training as well.

Machaon has a brother, Podalirius, who is a physician as well;¹¹⁷ in addition to being physicians, Machaon and Podalirius are generals, and together they command soldiers from Tricca, Ithome, and Oechalia (2.729-33). Thus, Eurypylus later asks Patroclus to heal him because Podalirius is fighting in the battle and Machaon is wounded and in need of treatment himself (11.828-36).¹¹⁸ Like Menelaus and Agamemnon, Eurypylus clearly has knowledge of battlefield wound treatment because he knows the steps in healing:

μηροῦ δ' ἔκταμ' οἷστόν, ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δ' αἷμα κελαινὸν
νίζ' ὕδατι λιαρῶ, ἐπὶ δ' ἥπια φάρμακα πάσσε
ἐσθλά... (11.829-31)

Cut the arrow out of my thigh, and wash away the dark blood with warm water, and sprinkle soothing drugs around the wound.

Indeed, Patroclus follows his directions exactly with success: τὸ μὲν ἔλκος ἐτέρσετο, παύσατο δ' αἷμα ('so the wound dried up, and the blood clotted', 11.844-8). Because Eurypylus has knowledge of the steps, it is clearly the technical skill of surgery and herblore (and perhaps also access to these herbs) which Patroclus possesses more than his patient.

Eurypylus also reports that Patroclus learns his medical skill from Achilles, who learns it from Cheiron (11.831-2; Ael. *NA* 2.18; Ps.-Hyg. *Astr.* 2.38).¹¹⁹ In the *Argonautica*, Cheiron is largely the source of medical knowledge, having tutored all of the heroes and gods' children in medicine. In addition to tutoring Achilles, Cheiron raises Aristaeus, the son of Cyrene and Apollo, and along with the Muses trains him in medicine and prophecy (2.500-12). Pindar also writes that Cheiron raises both Jason and Asclepius, though he only has Asclepius learn medicine (τὸν φαρμάκων δίδαξε μαλακόχειρα νόμον, *N.* 53-5). Apollo's role as healing god is emphasised in the *Argonautica*

¹¹⁷ In the *Aeneid*, a character also named Podalirius is killed by a sacrificial axe (*Aen.* 12.309-10). Hawkins (2004, 82-3) argues that this figure is meant to evoke the Homeric physician Podalirius, as the Vergilian Podalirius is killed just before Aeneas' healing scene. Although the Homeric Podalirius does not have a medical scene in the *Iliad*, Apollodorus writes that Podalirius heals Philoctetes, who goes on to kill Paris and end the Trojan War (*Epit.* 5.8).

¹¹⁸ Paris shoots Machaon in the shoulder with an arrow (*Il.* 11.506-20).

¹¹⁹ Achilles was raised by Cheiron: Ap. Rhod. *Arg.* 1.553-9, 4.811-3; Hes. fr. 68; Pind. *P.* 6.19, *N.* 3.43; Ps.-Ap. *Bib.* 3.172; Plat. *Rep.* 391c; Paus. 3.18.10-6.

(2.701-12),¹²⁰ and so it follows that his sons are all raised and tutored by Cheiron in medicine. Thus, Cheiron, along with Apollo, is one of the main authority figures in medicine, and so healers trained by him inherit authority as well.

The technical healing known by the heroes in the *Argonautica* is contrasted by Medea's magical use of drugs: τὰ μὲν ἐσθλά, τὰ δὲ ῥαιστήρι' ('some for healing, some for killing', 3.803). The distinction between healing by magic and technical medicine is made again in the *Argonautica* in one of the final scenes: Mopsus steps on a poisonous snake, and the narrator comments that the poison works so quickly that even Paean Apollo cannot heal him (4.1508-12). This reference to Apollo as healing deity combined with the fact that Mopsus is a prophet trained by Apollo himself (1.65-6) "calls attention to Apollo's absence",¹²¹ and even Medea flees the scene (4.1520-1). Rather, Mopsus himself is the only one who attempts to examine the gore, though he dies soon after from the poison (4.1522-36). The narrator's (and thus Apollonius') own knowledge of how poison works here is presumably influenced by advances in contemporary Hellenistic medicine.¹²²

The difference between magic and technical medicine is also addressed in the *Aeneid*. In the catalogue of Latin forces, Vergil names the healing priest Umbro:

quin et Marruvia venit de gente sacerdos
fronde super galeam et felici comptus oliva
Archippi regis missu, fortissimus Umbro,
vipereo generi et graviter spirantibus hydrys
spargere qui somnos cantuque manuque solebat,
mulcebatque iras et morsus arte levabat.
sed non Dardaniae medicari cuspidis ictum
evaluit neque eum iuvare in vulnera cantus
somniaferi et Marsis quaesitae montibus herbae.
te nemus Angitia, vitrea te Fucinus unda,
te liquidi flevere lacus. (7.750-60)

And there came a priest of Marruvian descent, sent by King Archippus, adorned with a leafy garland on top of his helmet and a lucky olive branch: bravest Umbro, who with spells and touch was able to cast sleep on the race of viper and water snakes that breathe poison, and he soothed their anger and cured their bites with his skill. But he did not have the power to heal the wound of the Dardan spear, nor could his sleepy songs or the herbs found in the Marsian mountains help him against wounds. Umbro, for you the grove of Angitia, the glassy wave of Fucinus, the clear pools, all wept.¹²³

Snakebites are distinguished from wounds sustained in battle, in that the former requires magical healing while the latter requires technical medicine. On the difference in wounds, Putnam (1995,

¹²⁰ *Hom. Hymn Ap.* 517.

¹²¹ Albis (1996), 115.

¹²² Hawkins (2004, 81) points out that "Homeric poetry is rooted in the Pre-Hippocratic world of ritual healing and incantations, while Virgil drew upon the vast encyclopaedic taxonomies of Hellenistic medicine and technology": clearly, this can also be said of Apollonius.

¹²³ Parry (1963) explains Vergil's sympathetic presentation of the Marsi/Marruvians: "To Virgil, this people represented the original Italian stock. His feeling for them had something in common with what Americans have felt for the American Indian." See also Mack (1999), 130.

121-2) explains: “[t]he injuries which men inflict upon each other are of a different order...[h]uman wrath...[is] of a different order than the menace of animals”. That Umbro cannot heal human-inflicted wounds makes it clear that he will not be able to be healed when he is wounded by Aeneas (10.544-5). Indeed, Umbro’s Homeric parallel is Ennomos, who is an augur but cannot escape death (*Il.* 2.858-61),¹²⁴ and so the sense of a profession being insufficient for saving its practitioner is the common element in their stories.

Servius writes that the Angitia mentioned here is to be identified as Medea, whom the Marsi call Arigitia when she and Jason travel to Italy (ad *Aen.* 7.750).¹²⁵ He also claims that Medea first teach the Marsi how to charm snakes, which provides an authoritative origin for Umbro’s knowledge of magical healing. Medea is associated with snakes because she is able to charm the Calchian Dragon which guarded the Golden Fleece using an incantation, prayers, juniper, and a potion (*Arg.* 4.145-61).¹²⁶ Medea’s snake-charming skills are similarly mentioned, as a matter of rumour, by Ovid’s Hypsipyle in her letter to Jason: Hypsipyle reports that Medea soothed (*mulcet*) the serpent with an incantation and a sleeping potion (*Ov. Her.* 89).¹²⁷ Thus, Medea’s ability to *mulcere* snakes is potentially the (recognisable) origin of Umbro’s healing capabilities.

Putnam (1995, 132, n. 8) also connects the use of *mulcere* in the description of Umbro with its earlier usage in the *Aeneid* to describe the statesman’s ability to soothe the mob (*Aen.* 1.153). The statesman can calm human anger, while Umbro can only calm animal anger. Taking into account also Putnam’s (1995, 132 n. 3) assertion that the war in Italy contributes to a sense of ‘bestialization’ in the poem,¹²⁸ this dynamic may help to explain why the ideal statesman is able to calm the mob in Book 1, while his manifestation in the poem, Galaesus, is unable to soothe his mob: men have become more animalistic and thus are now incapable of being soothed as human men.¹²⁹ These animalistic men possess human weapons, however, and thus inflict human wounds, which Umbro is not able to treat. It is perhaps fitting that Umbro is killed by Aeneas himself

¹²⁴ This is noted by most commentaries, and also: Parry (1963), 109; Fraenkel (1945); Putnam (1995), 127. In terms of ‘threnody’, however, Putnam (1995, 127-31) connects Umbro with Nireus.

¹²⁵ Solinus (whose source is Gnaeus Gellius, 2.28-30) writes that Medea and Antigia are separate figures, but agrees that Medea’s son by Jason ruled the Marsi. Nelis (2001, 307): “These lines describe exactly those magical powers which enabled Medea to overcome the serpent guarding the fleece”.

¹²⁶ Also, her chariot is drawn by the Drakones: Eur. *Med.* 1320-2; Ps.-Ap. *Bib.* 1.146; Diod. 4.50.6; Ps.-Hyg. *Fab.* 26-7; Ov. *Met.* 7.217, 350.

¹²⁷ Knox (1995, 191 ad 6.98) notes that the plural *anguis* here leaves open the possibility that Medea charmed multiple snakes.

¹²⁸ “Umbro’s incantations, which maintained their authority over what is already brutish, will have no effect against a stronger bestialization now taking place on Italian soil.” Indeed, the usage of animal-themed similes increases after Book 7.

¹²⁹ On humans and animals in the *Georgics*, Gale (2003, 328-9) writes: “human beings, like the crops, trees, and animals that are the overt subject of Virgil’s poem, are unruly and subject to violent passions; they need to be governed with a firm hand in order to prevent these destructive passions from wreaking havoc”.

during his rage, in which Aeneas famously shows no piety toward authority figures.¹³⁰ As Putnam (1995, 121) writes: “[n]either Umbro’s authority as a shaman nor the emblem of peace that he sports as a crest will save him”. Thus, we see that Galaesus’ is not able to ‘heal’ the incipient war in Latium (despite his authority) any more than Umbro is able to heal himself despite his professional skill.

Lesky (1970, 190-1) links Umbro and the next figure in the catalogue, Virbius, son of Hippolytus, through the theme of magical healing. Like Umbro, Virbius is associated with medicine, though not a healer himself. Vergil’s version of Hippolytus’ resurrection indicates a more technical healing through the use of Apollo’s medical herbs (*Paeoniis herbis*, 7.769), yet healing here is also combined with the magical element of Diana’s love (*amore Dianae*). It is unclear who treats Hippolytus personally, but Jupiter banishes Asclepius to the Underworld for introducing the power of medical knowledge to mortals: *ipse repertorem medicinae talis et artis* (‘himself the inventor of such skill and medicine’, 7.772). Here, technical medical knowledge and divine healing are shown being used in conjunction, and we see a similar dynamic in the combined efforts of Iapyx and Venus to heal Aeneas.

A blend of Homeric and Apollonian physicians, Iapyx is described as being a physician with both technical training and divine patronage:

iamque aderat Phoebos ante alios dilectus Iapyx
 Iasides, acri quondam cui captus amore
 ipse suas artis, sua munera, laetus Apollo
 augurium citharamque dabat celerisque sagittas.
 ille, ut depositi proferret fata parentis,
 scire potestates herbarum usumque medendi
 maluit et mutas agitare inglorius artis. (Aen. 12.391-7)

Now approached the dearest before all others to Apollo, Iapyx, son of Iasion: at one time Apollo, seized by passionate love for him, happily offered his own skills, his duties: augury and the lyre and swift arrows. Iapyx, that he might put off the fate of his dying father, preferred to learn the powers of herbs and the employment of healing, and to practice the silent arts without fame.

Iapyx is a remarkable figure because, unlike Machaon and Podalirius, who are kings and generals as well as healers, he is a dedicated professional physician. His reluctance to be famous (*inglorius*), recalls the true pilot of Plato’s *Republic*: while the sailors clamour to be navigator, the true pilot hangs back. Rather than fame, the focus for Iapyx is knowledge, as he wants to know how medicine works and how to use it (*potestates...usum*). Another focus is the reason behind choosing medicine—to cure his dying father—which demonstrates that Iapyx understands the responsibility a professional has towards their client. It is interesting that although Machaon is a king in his own

¹³⁰ His treatment of the priest and fathers and sons during his rampage is discussed elsewhere.

right and thus reputable enough to be Menelaus' physician (a sort of *archiatros*), Iapyx has no corresponding claim to nobility except his reputed descent from Iasion.¹³¹ While Machaon's professional authority is reinforced by his nobility and divine (medical) parentage, Iapyx's authority as a physician seems to come mainly from his professional credentials.

In this description his moral fortitude and medical skill are established. It is odd, then, that the only scene featuring Iapyx shows him struggling in vain to cure Aeneas:

ille retorto
Paeonium in morem senior succinctus amictu
multa manu medica Phoebique potentibus herbis
nequiquam trepidat, nequiquam spicula dextra
sollicitat prensatque tenaci forcipe ferrum.
nulla viam Fortuna regit, nihil auctor Apollo
subvenit... (12.400-6)

The old man, with his robe rolled up in Paeonian fashion, equipped with his surgeon's hands and the powerful herbs of Apollo, bustles about in vain; he works at the arrow with his hand and tugs at the iron with tightened pincers, also in vain. Fortune does not guide his path, nor does his patron Apollo intervene.

We see an instance of simultaneously guiding and ruling expressed by *regit*, neither of which Fortuna chooses to do for Iapyx.¹³² The power of the medicine (*potentibus herbis*) and Iapyx's medical skill (*manu medica*) are contrasted with the repeated *nequiquam*. Just as we saw in the *Argonautica*, the absence of Apollo is also clear here, and perhaps more so as the narrator remarks upon it explicitly. Apollo presumably stays out of the battle in accordance with Jupiter's command: however, as we know, Venus does not let issues of divine disapproval prevent her from interfering.

As discussed in Chapter 3, Jupiter has already promised that he will uphold Aeneas' glorious fate, and so Venus' interference here is not completely inappropriate. Thus, Venus becomes Iapyx's new *auctor* in medicine:

hic Venus indigno nati concussa dolore
dictamnum genetrix Cretaea carpit ab Ida,
puberibus caulem foliis et flore comantem
purpureo; non illa feris incognita capris
gramina, cum tergo volucres haesere sagittae.
hoc Venus obscuro faciem circumdata nimbo

¹³¹ Machaon and Iapyx both have direct relationships with Apollo; however, the nature of these relationships are quite different. While Iapyx is loved by Apollo and in this way has acquired his medical training (12.391-2), Machaon is Apollo's grandson through Asclepius, who is taken by Apollo from his dead mother to learn medicine from Cheiron, the discoverer of herbs and drugs (Pind. *Pyth.* 3.5-7, 3.40-53; Pliny *NH* 196-7; *Orphic Lithica* 11). Diodorus, however, writes that Apollo trains Asclepius in medicine (5.74.6).

¹³² We have seen Fortuna similarly abandon Palinurus along the route to Italy (5.22). However, while Fortuna is simply absent here, she actively hinders Palinurus.

detulit, hoc fusum labris splendentibus amnem
 inficit occulte medicans, spargitque salubris
 ambrosiae sucos et odoriferam panaceam.
 fovit ea vulnus lympa longaevus Iapyx
 ignorans... (12.411-21)

Mother Venus, shaken by her son's undue pain plucks dittany from Cretan Ida, a plant with downy leaves and covered in purple flowers; these herbs are not unknown to the wild goats, when winged arrows stick into their body. This Venus brought down, cloaking her face in a veiling cloud, and secretly healing she treats the water poured in a shining basin, and she sprinkles a potion of healing ambrosia and fragrant panacea. Elderly Iapyx unknowingly bathed the wound with this liquid...

In these passages (12.391-7, 400-6, 411-21), Vergil contrasts the knowledge and ignorance of Iapyx (*scire...ignorans*), the latter of which is the result of Venus' disguises (*obscurum nimbo...occulte*). The second passage describes Venus' own technical knowledge of medicine, as she is shown mixing components together to make a potion.¹³³

In terms of the technical skill involved, it is interesting that Iapyx knows that he did not cure Aeneas:

non haec humanis opibus, non arte magistra
 proveniunt, neque te, Aenea, mea dextra servat:
 maior agit deus atque opera ad maiora remittit. (12.427-9)

These things were not done by human feats, nor by my professional skill, nor did my hand heal you, Aeneas: a greater god did this and returns you for greater deeds.

Iapyx seems unconcerned that his professional authority as a physician might be threatened,¹³⁴ and this is justified in part by his knowledge that it is not the measures he takes which heal Aeneas. Indeed, this is consistent with the condition that a professional can justify their actions: here, Iapyx is aware of the limitations of his craft and thus recognises divine intervention.¹³⁵ His authority does not seem to diminish at all just because he does not personally heal Aeneas; the soldiers still jump to follow his orders and prepare Aeneas for re-entry into the battle (12.425-6).

In considering the implications of the Iapyx/Venus episode in the larger context and narrative, the question which comes to mind is: why is Iapyx denied his role and replaced by Venus as healer? Vergil could have written Iapyx as possessing and administering the Cretan dittany himself without any contribution from Venus; whether Iapyx or Venus heals Aeneas, ultimately he will be healed. As in the case of Palinurus' death, the narrative structure is not

¹³³ Whereas Venus appropriates the role of physician by using divine potions to affect the outcome of the war, Allecto perverts the role of physician by using divine poison as an agent of Juno.

¹³⁴ Ambrose (1980, 456) contrasts this with Palinurus in an interesting departure from the commonly-held assumption that 6.348 is another line vitiated by Vergil's inconsistency: "Palinurus, keen to preserve his professional self-esteem, boasts that *no* god had a hand in his destruction..." See also: Herzog-Hauser (1949, 142) and Dorey (1956, 119-22).

¹³⁵ Brock (2013, 72), however, writes: "[w]hen the patient is expected to seek out the doctor and submit himself to him, he must not necessarily expect to have his treatment explained".

affected by which character acts. Thus, as we turned to the significance of Aeneas as helmsman, so we might turn to the implications the switch has for the characterisation and potentially political significance of Venus as the healing agent here.

I focus now on the figure of Venus Medica.¹³⁶ Venus becomes known in Rome as healer after Pompey dedicates medical-botanical treatises to her in 55.¹³⁷ Even before this, however, she is considered a healing goddess in Oropus (alongside Athena and the daughters of Asclepius) and Rhodes (with Apollo and Asclepius), and on Crete she is associated with Antheia the flower-goddess (Hsch. 5105.1).¹³⁸ Thus the use of Cretan dittany takes on larger significance as the tools of Venus' domain in her capacity as a healing goddess. Hawkins (2004, 78 n. 4) comments on the appearance of technical (as opposed to 'divine', and thus hands-off) healing and also connects the roles of Venus Medica and Venus Genetrix, describing her overall character "as a powerful healer and a symbol of Augustan control over Greek *technai* and *paideia*". This distinction of Venus' role as a technical skill is illuminating, as it places emphasis on the aspect of medical knowledge where unexplained divine powers can be employed otherwise. Moreover, the association of technical skill with maternal *auctoritas* is absent in the rest of the *Aeneid*: we see that Venus must commission (by dubious means) Vulcan to forge the armour for Aeneas, as it is *his* technical skill.¹³⁹ Venus' dependence on Vulcan for his skill here, then, parallels the reliance of the 'client' on the professional. The healing scene, however, alludes to her respective technical skill as a medical divinity: perhaps it is the tradition of Venus Medica which reinforces her expert authority as healer.

Apollo, however, is generally the primary Roman healing deity, and, as we have seen, Apollo is the source of Iapyx's medical skill (*Aen.* 12.391-7). Apollo also frequently appears in Octavian/Augustus' imagery: Suetonius writes that Octavian claims Apollo as his father (*Aug.* 94.4), and Propertius calls Apollo Octavian's guardian and the force behind the Roman victory at Actium (4.6).¹⁴⁰ Augustus is said to have dressed as Apollo at a banquet of the twelve gods (*Suet. Aug.* 94.4), further strengthening his association with the god. Macrobius writes that the Vestal Virgins sang Apollo Medicus and Apollo Paean (a god assimilated to Apollo), and that Apollo (as the sun) gives constant health (*salubritas perpetua*, *Sat.* 1.17.13-5). Livy records that in 433 BCE a temple is vowed to Apollo to rid the city of a plague (4.25.3), and then dedicates in 431 BC in the Apollinare (4.29.7, 3.63.7). This becomes the Temple to Apollo Medicus in 179 BCE (40.51.6), and

¹³⁶ Chapter 4 of Hawkins's (2006) dissertation discusses the figure of Venus Medica.

¹³⁷ Kuttner (1999), 346; Hawkins (2004), 91.

¹³⁸ Willetts (1977), 209; Hawkins (2004), 90.

¹³⁹ More on family relations between Aeneas, Venus, and Vulcan in Chapter 5.

¹⁴⁰ Hence his epithet Actiacus Apollo.

is then rebuilt and dedicated on Augustus' birthday (CIL 1.330) by Sosius,¹⁴¹ who fights on the side of Antony in the Battle of Actium and is subsequently pardoned by Augustus.¹⁴² Wickkiser (2005, 280) writes: "[t]he temple where Apollo was worshipped specifically as healer thus contained Augustan ideological touches. Augustus in effect appropriated Apollo Medicus, and thereby acquired his own associations with healing." The Temple to Apollo on the Palatine was the second in Rome,¹⁴³ and the imagery on the temple celebrates Augustus' naval victories.¹⁴⁴

Apollo is also identified as a healing deity, especially by the Augustan poets.¹⁴⁵ Ovid concludes his *Metamorphoses* with stories about Apollo, Asclepius, Caesar, and Augustus, thereby suggesting not only familial ties, but also associations through skill.¹⁴⁶ Asclepius appears as a 'healer of state' when, in the form of a serpent, he rests on the mast of the ship in order to decide where to establish his healing cult (15.726-8, 737-8). This combination of directing the ship as its pilot and arriving to heal the city positions Asclepius as 'healer of state'.

Ovid's narrator goes on to connect Apollo and Asclepius with Caesar and Augustus, claiming that Caesar's greatest contribution to the state is being Augustus' father (15.750-1). Further, the aspect of augmentation comes into play yet again: *natiue videns bene facta fatetur/ esse suis maiora et vinci gaudet ab illo* ('seeing the good works of his son Caesar admits that they are greater than his own, and he is pleased to be surpassed by him', 5.850-1). Yet again, we see the dynamic of the younger generation surpassing the exploits of the older generation as strengthening the authority of both generations. Just as it is promised in the *Aeneid* that Augustus will surpass Bacchus, so he will also surpass Caesar. Therefore, as both Bacchus and Caesar are divine, Augustus' future apotheosis is guaranteed, which gives him divine authority as a mortal, and Ovid casts him as a sort of divine healer of state.

As we have seen, Homeric and Hellenistic epic physicians are noble (and sometimes kings in their own right), while Iapyx seems somewhat servile (despite being a descendant of Iasion and professionally trained by Apollo). This perhaps reflects the inferior status of doctors in Rome, who tend to be slaves or foreigners, as Rome imports medical knowledge and practice. Indeed, it has been proposed that Iapyx himself may be Cretan and neither Trojan nor Italian.¹⁴⁷ Along with professionalising the army, however, Augustus professionalises military doctors, categorising them

¹⁴¹ Wickkiser (2005), 279.

¹⁴² Vell. Pat. 2.86.2; Dio 51.2.4, 56.38.2.

¹⁴³ Thuc. 1.29; Cass. Dio 50.12, 51.1; Suet. *Aug.* 18; Ascon. *In tog. cand.* 90.

¹⁴⁴ Wickkiser (2005, 277, ns. 49 and 50) argues specifically for Actium, although Gurval (2005), again, warns against isolating Actium and Naulichos.

¹⁴⁵ Wickkiser (2005), 280-9.

¹⁴⁶ Wickkiser (2005), 287.

¹⁴⁷ Saunders (1940, 545) wonders if both Iapyx and Palinurus joined the Trojans at Crete.

by skill and salary,¹⁴⁸ and he confers *dignitas equestris* on all physicians both public and private. Suetonius records that during time of scarcity, he expels all foreigners except for teachers, doctors, and a number of household slaves (*Aug.* 42.3), which demonstrates the value of doctors in the Principate. These steps contribute to raising the status of physicians and the medical field in the Roman Empire. Moreover, Augustus' physician, Antonius Musa, gains fame after curing Augustus of a life-threatening illness.¹⁴⁹ He becomes so respected that the Senate dedicates a statue to him near a statue of Asclepius (Suet. *Aug.* 59), and his brother Euphorbus is made physician to King Juba II of Numidia, a client king and friend of Augustus.¹⁵⁰ This combined fraternal/professional link of Antonius and Euphorbus (like Machaon and Podalirius) demonstrates the ancient association of family with profession, and the capacity for family members' skill to reinforce the authority of their relatives. In the next section, I discuss the patrilineal link between Palinurus and Iapyx and explore potential implications it holds for an association between professional skill and authority through the domain(s) of their shared ancestor.

Iasion and Astronomy

Palinurus and Iapyx are both called *Iasides* (*Aen.* 3.167, 12.391), indicating that they are sons or descendants of Iasion.¹⁵¹ This ancestry, however, is controversial: for instance, does *Iasides* refer to their common father or an ancestor? Further, are Palinurus and Iapyx brothers, distant cousins, or completely unrelated?¹⁵² There is surprisingly limited scholarship on this issue considering that this Iasion is likely the Samothracian Cabiros,¹⁵³ agricultural god, and brother of Dardanus, Aeneas' ancestor. Regardless of the degree of their familial relationship, if Palinurus and Iapyx are related, I argue that, being two of the few professionals in the entire epic, they should be connected by their professional status.¹⁵⁴ I will explore the nature of their relationship as professionals rather than

¹⁴⁸ *Milites medici*, *optio valetudinarii* (hospital administrator), *medici vulnerarii* (surgeon), *noscomi* (male nurse not in army), *medici castrorum*, *medici ordinarii* (lowest ranking), *medicus duplicarius* (double pay grade), *medicus legionis*, *medicus cohortis*, *medici alarum* (cavalry), *medici triremis* (ships).

¹⁴⁹ Plin. *NH* 19.38; Suet. *Aug.* 79; Cass. Dio 53.30.3.

¹⁵⁰ Plin. *NH* 25.38.

¹⁵¹ Alternate forms of this name are Iasus/Iasos and Iasius/Iasios. Additionally, this figure is associated with a certain Eëtion: Burkert (1985, 284) uses these names interchangeably, but 'Iasion' is used more often and, more importantly for my argument, by Vergil.

¹⁵² Although Macrobius is unsure of the familial relationship between Palinurus and Iapyx (*Sat.* 5.15.12), Lee (1979, 97) and Hunt (1973, 49) assume that they are probably brothers. On the other hand, Immisch (1902, 1300) maintains that Iapyx is far too old to be Palinurus' brother; this argument is unconvincing, however, because Iasion becomes immortal and so can have children of many ages.

¹⁵³ Vergil has Iasion's family come from Corythus.

¹⁵⁴ Hesiod often connects the natures and functions of mythological characters based on family relationships, especially of personifications (cit.).

family members, but the significance of their familial tie provides the motivation and perhaps support for any findings.

Cairns groups together the following under the heading 'shepherd': "doctor, steersman, 'leader of the flock'".¹⁵⁵ These are reflected in the familial and professional trinity of Iapyx, the physician, Palinurus, the pilot, and Iasion, the agricultural deity. Iasion's three-fold nature also covers these areas: as a Samothracian Cabiros, he is associated with sailors in distress; his name relates to medicine, deriving from *iasthai*, 'to heal'; and finally, he is an agricultural god associated with Demeter and Triptolemus. These three areas depend upon foresight as the skill by which authority is gained and reinforced.¹⁵⁶

I begin with the aspect of agriculture because the characterisation of Iasion evokes agricultural imagery through his craft and relationships. Agriculture is a significant theme in the *Aeneid* as well as in Augustan imagery and policy. In the *Georgics*, Vergil writes that the civil wars rob Rome of its farmers and remove honour from farming (1.506-8). Horace claims that Augustus restores farms after the war (*o colendi semper et culti*, *Od.* 4.15.4-5), identifying Augustus as a kind of 'cultivator of state'. With the end of the war, people can turn back to professions such as agriculture instead of soldiering (which, as mentioned, is professionalised after the wars as well). Thus, after the civil wars, agriculture is an important issue in Rome.

First, I will discuss the figure of Iasion as agricultural deity. There are several kings in the epic tradition with whom several scholars conflate Dardanus' brother, but Iasion and Dardanus are agreed to be the sons of Zeus and Electra, Atlas' daughter, and the brothers of Harmonia.¹⁵⁷ Diodorus writes that Zeus notices Dardanus' own success and wishes for his other son to receive honours as well. Thus, he initiates Iasion into the Samothracian mystery cult and teaches him to initiate others (5.48.4), including Cadmus, who falls in love with Iasion's sister, Harmonia (5.48.5). At Harmonia's wedding to Cadmus, Demeter seduces Iasion in a plough furrow,¹⁵⁸ and they have two children: Plutus and Philomelus, who are also agricultural deities. Plutus is the god of wealth, or, as Diodorus explains, he represents the wealth of corn (5.49.4), recalling Demeter's gift of corn to Iasion at Harmonia's wedding (5.49.1). Philomelus, receiving no wealth from his brother, supports himself by ploughing his own fields. Impressed by Philomelus' ingenuity, Demeter makes

¹⁵⁵ Cairns (1989, 20). See also the chapter: 'Shepherd of the People': in Haubold (2000), 17-20.

¹⁵⁶ Foresight in astronomy can manifest as forecasting, especially found in almanacs (*parapegmata*). We have evidence of almanacs written by Geminus, Eudoxos, and Euktemon, as well as Pliny the Elder's agricultural almanac (*HN* 18.247, 310). Ancient almanacs combine expert knowledge of astronomy, agriculture, and navigation in order to predict conditions for farming and merchant shipping.

¹⁵⁷ *Aen.* 3.167; *Serv. ad Aen.* 3.167; *Il.* 20.215; *Diod.* 5.48. 2-5; *Dion. Hal. Ant. Rom.* 1.61; *Strab.* 7 fr. 50; *Apollodor.* 3.12.1; *Conon* 21; *Scymn.* 681-9; *Ov. Am.* 3.10.25; *Hellanicus FGrH* 4 F 23; *Schol. ad Od.* 5.125; *Schol. ad Apoll. Rhod.* 1.916-8 [*Athenikon* 546]; *Schol. cod. Paris. ad Apollon. Rh.* 1.97.

¹⁵⁸ *Diod.* 5.49.1; *Theoc.* 3.50; *Od.* 5.125-9; *Hes. Theog.* 969. Interestingly, Calypso says that she found Odysseus alone at the helm after comparing their affair to that of Iasion and Demeter (*Od.* 5.129-32), combining navigation imagery with that of agriculture.

him into the constellation Boötes, and his plough becomes Ursa Major.¹⁵⁹ Zeus later electrocutes Iasion for his relationship with Demeter, and after Iasion's death and apotheosis, Dardanus and Iasion's wife and son, Cybele and Corybas, move Cybele's rites to Phrygia (5.49.2).¹⁶⁰ It is unclear whether Palinurus and Iapyx are descended from either Corybas or Philomelus' son, Parios (or both),¹⁶¹ who is said to have founded Parion, a town in Mysia (just beside Troy) on the Hellespont, later to be ruled by Lysimachos in the Hellenistic Period, the Attalids, and then the Romans.

In addition to being an agricultural god, Iasion becomes one of the Samothracian Cabiri,¹⁶² who are considered to be saviours of men in danger (5.49.5-6), and especially sailors.¹⁶³ Although ancient sources most often name the Dioscuri as the stars in Gemini, which is invoked by distressed sailors and castaways for rescue in the form of St. Elmo's Fire, Hyginus writes that some think the constellation Gemini represents the Cabiri Triptolemus and Iasion (*Poet. Astr.* 2.22).¹⁶⁴ Diodorus explains that the traditional connection between Gemini, sailors, and the Dioscuri comes from the story that, during a storm, Orpheus appeals to the Samothracian Cabiri,¹⁶⁵ who calm the winds and send two stars to hover over the heads of the Dioscuri (4.43.1). Additionally, Diodorus attributes the success of the Argonauts to their initiation into the Samothracian mysteries because after their initiation, the Cabiri appear to them during times of danger (5.49.5-6).

We find in the figure of Iasion a connection between the areas of navigation, medicine, and astronomy. The god Aristaeus is also connected with astronomy, medicine, and farming. Servius writes that Hesiod calls him *Apollinem Pastorem* (Serv. G. 1.14), a figure who shares characteristics with Aristaeus and Apollo in Theocritus (*Idyll* 25) and Callimachus (*Hymn to Apollo* 47). As mentioned earlier, Apollo impregnates Cyrene and sends Aristaeus to be raised by Cheiron

¹⁵⁹ Hyg. *Poet. Astr.* 2.4.

¹⁶⁰ Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.61) maintains that Iasion never marries, and he and Dardanus move to Samothrace after Arcadia floods. Further, he writes that Zeus kills Iasion for merely *wishing* to sleep with Demeter. In another tradition, Servius argues that Dardanus himself kills Iasion (*ad Aen.* 3.168; Burkert 458 n. 49), and Hyginus writes that he is killed by his horses (*Fab.* 250). Ovid, on the other hand, writes that he lives into old age with Demeter, who wishes that she can prevent him from ageing (*Met.* 9.421-5).

¹⁶¹ Not to be confused with Paros of Parrhasia, who established Paros as an Arcadian colony in Asia Minor (Heracleides, *De Rebus Publicis* 8).

¹⁶² Diod. 5.47.5-6; Hellanicus *FGH* 4 F23; Seeliger (1990), 61. Athenikon writes that both Iasion and Dardanus were Cabiri (Schol. cod. Paris. *ad Apollon. Rh.* 1.97).

¹⁶³ See Burkert (1985) on the roles of the Cabiri.

¹⁶⁴ Triptolemus is associated with agriculture, as well, and has a story similar to that of Iasion, which includes a rather intimate connection to Demeter, being initiated and becoming an initiator into a mystery cult, and being immortalised after his murder. When searching for Persephone, Demeter teaches agriculture to Triptolemus, whom she is nursing as a favour to his father, Celeus, and he is initiated into the Eleusian mysteries. When Triptolemus tries to teach the Scythians agriculture, their king Lyncus kills Triptolemus, whom Demeter turns into an immortal lynx (*Hymn. Hom. Dem.*).

¹⁶⁵ Diodorus writes here that Orpheus is the only Argonaut to be initiated into the mysteries (4.43.1), but he contradicts himself when he claims that Jason, the Dioscuri, and Heracles are initiated along with Orpheus (5.49.6). In epic tradition, however, all of the Argonauts are initiated (Apoll. Rh. 1.915-21; Val. Flacc. *Arg.* 2.432-42).

(*Arg.* 2.508-10); Aristaeus is trained in healing and becomes the Muses' shepherd (511-5). He goes to Ceos in order to cure the people of the plague (λοιμός, 519) brought upon them by Sirius, the dogstar, for which they can find no cure (ἄκος, 517). Thus, we find another example in which these three areas are connected.

The combination of these areas in such figures as Iasion and Aristaeus, and the familial link between Palinurus and Iapyx, points to their relationship in terms of shared knowledge: for instance, they all require knowledge of the natural world. Similarly, Vitruvius maintains that architects must have knowledge of a variety of disciplines, including medicine and astronomy (1.1.3).

Technical Knowledge

Quintilian argues that students should learn *astronomia* to understand poets (*Orat. Instr.* 1.4.4); for instance, we find that similar astrological themes are significant especially for the Augustan poets.¹⁶⁶ In the *Aeneid* itself, Iopas' song in Carthage is concerned largely with astronomical and natural themes (1.740-6). Cicero uses professions which require several types of knowledge (the pilot uses astronomy and the doctor uses physical science)¹⁶⁷ in order to argue that politicians should have knowledge of several areas, especially political theory (*Rep.* 5.5). That is, theoretical knowledge is required to supplement the technical knowledge. Presumably he adopts this from Plato's *Republic*, in which Plato writes that a good pilot must be trained to know the stars: in fact, he calls them 'sky-gazers' (μετεωρολόεσχα, 6.489c). Schauer (2007, 204-5) also emphasises the pilot's required knowledge of astronomy: "ein Steuermann muss nicht nur wetter-, sondern auch sternenkundig sein".

Palinurus is also shown stargazing twice: first, on the voyage across the Adriatic (3.515-7), and again, just before Somnus drugs him (5.852-3, 6.338-40). The first scene is the most illustrative of his knowledge and method:

haud segnis strato surgit Palinurus et omnis
 explorat ventos atque auribus aera captat;
 sidera cuncta notat tacito labentia caelo,
 Arcturum pluviasque Hyadas geminosque Triones,
 armatumque auro circumspicit Oriona.
 postquam cuncta videt caelo constare sereno,
 dat clarum e puppi signum... (3.513-9)

Palinurus rises from his bed by no means lazy and tests the winds and hunts the air with his ears. He marks all of the stars passing across the silent sky: Arcturus, and rainy

¹⁶⁶ Barton (1995a), 48-9; Gee (2000); Green (2014).

¹⁶⁷ Cicero also begins his *Republic* with astronomical themes, thus already linking piloting/astronomy and politics (1.15-34). Here, Cicero is drawing upon the work of Aratus, whose *Phaenomena* Cicero translates; Aratus is also an influence for *Georgics* 1 (Gee, 2000, 126).

Hyades, and the twin Bears, and he observes Orion armed with gold. Once he sees that everything is right in the clear sky, he gives a loud signal from the stern.

It has been pointed out that Palinurus he is not specifically navigating: using those stars would take him east and the men are asleep and thus not rowing, so he is forecasting.¹⁶⁸ Palinurus is the first to rise, and then he wakes the others when he decides that they should begin rowing (3.519), demonstrating the authority he has on the ship.¹⁶⁹

The scenes of Palinurus star-gazing have been connected with the *Odyssey* since at least Macrobius (*Sat.* 5.11.10-3).¹⁷⁰

αὐτὰρ ὁ πηδαλίῳ ἰθύνετο τεχνήντως
ἥμενος, οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος ἐπὶ βλεφάροισιν ἔπιπτεν
Πληιάδας τ' ἐσορᾶντι καὶ ὄψε δύνοντα Βοώτην
Ἄρκτον θ', ἣν καὶ ἄμαξαν ἐπὶ κλησὶν καλέουσιν,
ἥ τ' αὐτοῦ στρέφεται καὶ τ' Ὠρίωνα δοκεύει,
οἷη δ' ἄμμορός ἐστι λοετρῶν Ὠκεανοῖο. (5.270-5)

Odysseus, skilled in the oar, steers with the raft. Sleep does not fall upon his eyelids, gazing upon the Pleiades and late-setting Bootes, and the Great Bear, which they also call the Wain, and spins in place and watches Orion, which never bathes in the sea.

Odysseus' technical and theoretical expertise is displayed here: first, his skillful use of the oar (ἰθύνετο τεχνήντως),¹⁷¹ and then his astronomical knowledge. Servius (ad *Aen.* 3.12) and Porphyry (*Hom. Quest.* 53-4) both compare Palinurus' scenes of stargazing also to Book 10 of the *Iliad*, in which Odysseus gives commands based on the course of the stars (10.249-53).

Aeneas also seems to share this knowledge, as Pallas asks his questions about the stars: *quaerit sidera, opacae/noctis iter* ('he asks about the stars and the course of the dark night sky', *Aen.* 10.161-2).¹⁷² Aeneas thus combines the astronomical knowledge of both Palinurus and Odysseus, who are both characterised by their foresight. The scenes of Aeneas both skillfully taking over the helm and understanding astronomy demonstrate that he possesses the theoretical and technical knowledge (and foresight) required of a pilot. So we see in the *Aeneid* that the literalised 'pilot of

¹⁶⁸ Hannah (1993), 130; Williams 3.518; Sidgwick, 215; Henry, 484; Conington, 226. Although Hannah (1993, 131-3) hypothesises that Palinurus' stargazing is an act of augury, it seems significant that Palinurus first listens to the wind (3.512-3), which suggests a primarily meteorological/nautical interest.

¹⁶⁹ Schauer (2007, 204-5) proposes that Vergil goes into great detail about Palinurus' duties (3.512-9) in order to describe the duties Aeneas will take on after inheriting the helm himself.

¹⁷⁰ On Vergil's astronomical modifications of Homer, see Brown (1990); Little (1992); Hannah (1993), 123-31. Hesiod writes that when Pleiades, Hyades, and Orion set (in October), it is time for farmers to plough their fields (*WD* 614-7), and he refers to the Pleiades and Orion in matters of seafaring (618-23). Compare also to *G.* 1.138 (Pleiades, Hyades, Lycaon, Arcturus).

¹⁷¹ The verb ἰθύνω, like *rego*, can mean either 'steer' or 'rule'.

¹⁷² Schauer (2007), 205.

state', and thus the capacity for rulership, is expressed through skilled navigation and astronomical knowledge.

Augustus and Astrology

Above I touched briefly upon astronomy and its connections with several other spheres through both function (e.g. astronomy is used in navigation) and the importance of skill and expertise in understanding astronomy. In this section I turn briefly to astrology, which also has ties with other spheres discussed elsewhere in this chapter. For instance, the similarity between medicine and astrology is explained best by Barton (1994b) 92: "[a]strology was not only a cult and a science; like medicine, it was also a craft".¹⁷³ Medical prognosis is also similar to astrology and divination in that you can tell the past, present, and future of a patient from symptoms of the body.¹⁷⁴ Therefore, prognosis and astrological forecast require foresight, and thus prior knowledge and experience. Finally, in his review of Barton's (1995) book, Percy (1995) explains: "[l]ike astrology and physiognomics, medical knowledge drew power from its promise to explain and control a process that to the uninitiated might seem like magic." That is, astrologers and physicians hold authority on account of their technical expertise, which their clients do not possess.

We see in Augustan imagery an emphasis on both navigation and astronomy/astrology. However, we also see in his policies a complicated relationship with the practice of astrology. On the one hand, he publishes his horoscope following a consultation with the astrologer Theogenes in 44,¹⁷⁵ and then issues a silver coin featuring Capricorn (Plin. *NH* 2.94, Suet. *Aug.* 94).¹⁷⁶ Publishing one's horoscope is a Hellenistic tradition for asserting one's kingship. Capricorn thus becomes a significant symbol in Augustan imagery,¹⁷⁷ especially in coinage,¹⁷⁸ and it is often depicted with a globe to symbolise world dominance or a cornucopia to symbolise prosperity.¹⁷⁹ A denarius from 28 BC features Augustus' profile with a small Capricorn on the obverse and an alligator with the phrase AEGYPTO CAPTA on the reverse.¹⁸⁰ Of this denarius, Gee (2000, 138) writes: "victory in

¹⁷³ Interestingly, Claudius Ptolemy explains astrology and medicine using charioteering terminology (*Tetr.* 1.26: each planet is in its proper chariot, 3.16: the form and temperament of body; 3.17: diseases and injuries, 3.19: mental illness).

¹⁷⁴ Barton (1994b), 133-68.

¹⁷⁵ The date of publication is debated: Barton (1994b), 153 and (1995b), 34-5, Gee (2000), 138, n. 37, and Green (2014), 102 favour AD 11; Wray (2001) for pre-Principate dating (before Augustus' sole rule); Potter (1994, 147) for 27 BC; Ramsey and Licht (1997, 148 n. 42) early 20s BC.

¹⁷⁶ Though Vergil refers to Libra as Caesar's birth sign (*G.* 1.33-5, *Ecl.* 9.46f.), and Manilius also refers to Libra as the sign of an imperial ruler (4.542-6, 773-7), Green (2014, 97 n. 1) cautions that Vergil may be referring to Julius Caesar and Manilius to Tiberius.

¹⁷⁷ See Dwyer (1973); Zanker (1988); Barton (1995a), 40-7; Gee (2000), 137-42; Green (2014), 97-100.

¹⁷⁸ See Kraft (1967); Barton (1995a), 42-7.

¹⁷⁹ Gee (2000), 142: "[t]he cornucopia associated with [Augustus] denotes the peace and prosperity of this second Golden Age after military struggle."

¹⁸⁰ *BMC* 653 (Mattingly [1923], pl. 16.3).

civil war (Actium), and the acquisition of territory (Egypt), are equated, and are both associated with Augustus' sign." The Victory Cameo also features Capricorn and Actian imagery: Augustus rides over the sea in a quadriga and holding a sceptre, and Capricorn appears at his head.¹⁸¹ This reference to Augustus' star-sign recalls his horoscope, which 'legitimises' the establishment of the Principate,¹⁸² and similarly the appearance of his star-sign on coinage serves to legitimise his Actian victory visually.

Traditionally, meteorological and astronomical events such as lightning, thunder, and comets (especially the *sidus Iulium*) signifies a new ruler or new order with divine sanction.¹⁸³ However, Barton (1995, 40) writes that with a decline in the traditional authority of the *haruspices*, astrology affords a "more sophisticated development of familiar beliefs". Astrologers are able to infuse ritual with science and thus yield more measurable (recognisable) results. Barton (1995a, 38) also points out that "horoscopic astrology is associated with the struggle for *individual* power". Because astrology is concerned with the individual (like the professional metaphors we have discussed), using one's horoscope to 'prove' one's 'legitimate' (i.e. 'divinely sanctioned') power is on par with establishing one's authority. With this development, however, we see that it must also be controlled by the individual in order for the individual to retain sole power. Barton (1994a, 38) argues further: "[a]strology belonged with the sole ruler, as the state diviners belonged with the Republic". Thus, Augustus bans the use of astrology among the general public.¹⁸⁴

Augustus burns prophetic writings in 27 BCE (Suet. *Aug.* 31), and expels astrologers in 33 BCE (Cass. Dio 49.43.1-5) and again in AD 11. Green (2014, 103) proposes that Augustus bans astrology in 33 BCE in order to curb Eastern influence during his struggle with Antony. Perhaps the ban in AD 11, then, is an attempt to prevent disruption to his dynastic succession; were another professional (and thus authoritative) horoscope to surface publicly promising political leadership, Tiberius' position as successor might be contested.¹⁸⁵ Green (2014, 102) poses the question: "who was to say that another astrologer might not at another time provide an equally glowing, if not more glowing horoscope for an individual with ambitions of power?"

Here, we have seen how Augustus employs the authoritative expertise of a professional astrologer to help legitimise his political claims. However, his subsequent regulation of astrology suggests his symbolic control and appropriation of astrology as a craft. Much as Aeneas takes over

¹⁸¹ Eichler and Kris (1927), 50-1, pl. 5 (rev.) and pl. 7 (obv.).

¹⁸² Barton (1995a), 40.

¹⁸³ Hor. *Od.* 1.12.46; Serv. ad *Aen.* 8.681; Suet. *Jul.* 88. Weinstock (1971), 370-84, 194-5; Barton (1995a), 39; Pandey (2013).

¹⁸⁴ Tac. *Hist.* 1.22; Cass. Dio 56.25.5.

¹⁸⁵ Along with taking Tiberius as co-princeps in AD 12, thus consolidating their power and ensuring further the survival of the dynasty.

Palinurus' helm and Venus interferes with Iapyx's medical practice, Augustus claims mastery of astrology, and thus also the capacity of power and authority which astrology can provide.

Considering the expulsion of the astrologers, it is interesting that astronomers are mentioned by Anchises in the Underworld. Anchises here describes to Aeneas the value of certain craftsmen based on their skilled contributions in improving Rome:

excudent alii spirantia mollius aera
(credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus,
orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus
describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent.
tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacique imponere morem,
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos. (6.847-53)

Indeed, I believe that others will hammer out more delicately breathing statues, they will draw forth living features from the marble, they will plead their cases better, and they will chart the course of the heavens with a measuring tool and explain the rising constellations. Remember, Roman, that you rule people by empire, that you impose your will for peace, you are merciful to the conquered, and you vanquish the insolent—these will be your skills.

Anchises contrasts here the professional skills of the Greeks with the future *ars* of Rome: world domination, in which they will surpass all others. The skills involved in Roman rule seem to promote Roman authority rather than simply their might, and they parallel those authoritative virtues which Augustus attributes to himself in the *Res Gestae*, especially peace and clemency.¹⁸⁶ Thus, we might read Anchises' statement as suggesting that the professional authority of Rome will be the formation and assertion of authority itself.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have explored the methods by which Vergil presents profession, expertise, and skill as models for authority, and adopts and adapts earlier rhetorical framework for using professional skill as a metaphor for political authority. I argue that especially through the use of foresight, characters demonstrate an engagement with the past and an acute recognition of patterns, which is useful for predicting and managing future events skilfully. The use of profession in metaphor also raises interesting points about the aspect of participation and consent in authority. Because clients rely on the professional's expertise, the 'freedom' crucial for recognising authority comes in the form of choice, which depends upon the consideration of an individual's skill, reputation, and authority. As we have seen, because the metaphors of the charioteer, the

¹⁸⁶ See Chapters 1 and 2 on the *Res Gestae*.

pilot, and the physician focus on the authority of an individual, they are especially suitable for expressing the authority of the princeps, who can and must rule alone.

I have focused on specific episodes in the *Aeneid* which demonstrate the significance of the reins, ship, and healer (and, to an extent, plough) of state imagery as they are all presented through metaphors and transformed into literal situations in the usage of professional or skilled characters. I have explored Vergil's presentation of chariots and reins as symbols of authority, his depiction of helmsmen as counterparts to charioteers with equal authority, and as metaphors for statesmen. I also compared two similes in terms of authority and charioteering imagery: the statesman simile of Book 1 and the storm simile of Book 7. I analysed these two similes and their contexts, and by drawing comparisons between the two episodes, I proposed that they should be read together as a unified statement on the distribution of power and authority. The contrast of violence with authority in these passages is significant, especially keeping in mind the modern theories discussed in Chapter 1 which maintain that violence stands in opposition to authority. I argue that violence can act as a foil for authority, and this dynamic is key for understanding the 'failure' of authority figures (such as Galaeus and Umbro) in the narrative reality, though in theory they should succeed.

Finally, I have evaluated the extent to which we might find a parallel in the transferral of the helm to Aeneas following Palinurus' death and Venus' appropriation of healing from Iapyx (and Apollo Medicus) as reflective of the consolidation of professional-type authority by Augustus and the imperial family, and particularly the identification of Augustus as 'healer of the state'. I propose that these are instances of *curae*. Augustus similarly took on various roles, which we see in his regulation and patronage of various professions, such as medicine, the army and navy, agriculture, and astrology. Thus Augustus (and the imperial family) appropriates the authority attached to each and consolidates them into the figure of the princeps/emperor. In the next chapter, I discuss familial models in the *Aeneid* as representative of systems of authority, especially when read in conjunction with the tradition of *pater patriae* as well as the public role of the imperial family.

CHAPTER 5

FAMILIAL AUTHORITY AND THE STATE

This final chapter continues to explore the use of metaphor in order to express authority in the *Aeneid*. From professional authority, I turn my discussion here to the family, a significant yet complex theme in the *Aeneid*. For this chapter, I approach the issue of family and authority in two ways: first, I analyse the dynamics of authority in the literal family and also the relationship of the state to the Roman family through legislation and cultural norms. In this connection, I argue that authority is expressed in the family through the virtue of *pietas* between parents and children and the virtue of *concordia* in marriage.¹ Second, I consider the family as metaphor in both the *Aeneid* and in Augustan politics and how the mechanics of private authority are appropriated and adapted for usage in the public sphere. I suggest here that literal fatherhood and the metaphor of the political leader as a father cannot be separated in the *Aeneid*. Because an integral aspect of my argument in this chapter is to understand the *Aeneid* partly through the relationship between the Roman family and the state, I include discussions on relevant themes from Republican and Augustan society.

1. The Family in Political Thought

The metaphor of the family representing the state (and vice versa) comes from a tradition of political theory.² Plato writes within discussions of political and family dynamics that the state and the individual are analogous (*Rep.* 462c-d, *Plt.* 258e-9c), and Xenophon explicitly compares the family and the state (*Oec.* 13.5, 21.2, 10; *Mem.* 4.2.11, *Hiero* 11.14). Just as Plato comes closest to offering a model of authority with his metaphor of the professional and the statesman, so Aristotle comes closest in his discussion of the family-state metaphor. Aristotle calls the rule of the father *ἀρχή*, and the system of government within the household is *οἰκονομικός*, or the art of household management (*Pol.* 3.1278b37-9). He compares the family dynamics of the ruler and the state, in which subjects benefit from being ruled, to the field of medicine, in which the patient (the subject) benefits from the expertise of the doctor (the ruler), and says that the pilot and the crew benefit

¹ See Fears (1981), 828-33 on the definition and phenomenology of Roman 'Virtues' (as opposed to 'personifications', 'deified abstractions', etc.).

² For a discussion of patriarchy and monarchy in the Old Testament (and some Greek thought), cf. Filmer's *Patriarcha* (1990/1680). See Brock (2013) for a discussion on the father as ruler in Greek political philosophy.

equally from the pilot's authority (3.1278b40-1279a22). Brock (2013, 32) writes of the father-leader: "as paterfamilias he will not only show kindness, but will devote himself to the preservation and growth of his estate rather than simply exploiting it." Again we see the elements of preservation and increase in the exercise of authority.

Aristotle emphasises reciprocity between the ruler and the ruled, insofar as everyone benefits according to their contribution, which results in a hierarchy that is by definition unequal (*Pol.* 2.1261a30-31), just as families are unequal by nature (7.1158b11-28).³ He argues that the relationship between master and slave is despotic, as the slave is his property; however, the relationship of the father to the child is monarchic, since both are free, but the child is subject to the father in *philia* and age. The spousal relationship is political, and though they are equals, the wife will never hold the highest office (father); as a woman, she is inferior to the man by nature, but as a wife, she is equal to her husband. Thus, the spousal relationship is most demonstrative of the statesman's authority in the family metaphor.⁴

For the Romans, the foundation of the state is the union of a man and woman for the purpose of bearing children.⁵ Regal Rome itself is laid out like a home: Vesta and the Penates act as the hearth; the king is the *pater familias* with responsibility for the Cult of Vesta; the temple to Janus is the ceremonial doorway to the city; and *imperium* lapses when one crosses the *pomerium*.⁶ Lacey (131) compares the power of *imperium* and *patria potestas* as being "infinitely far-reaching, and... limited only by statutory enactment and custom". The official residence, the *domus publica*, combines both public and private functions especially under Julius Caesar.⁷ Under Augustus, the imperial household was not a private home, but, as Milnor (2005, 43) argues, a performance of privacy. Indeed, when Augustus' house is rebuilt in 3 AD after a fire, he uses both public and private funds, and so it becomes public property (Dio 55.12.5; Suet. *Aug.* 57.2). By making his house public, he transforms himself from a private individual into a public official, thus turning the authority he has gained as a private citizen into political power.

In Roman society, there was a close relationship between public and private authority. Balsdon (1979, 18) argues that Roman society is based on *obsequium* to the *pater familias* in both the family and the state, and that submission to *patria potestas* is an expression of *pietas*. On this, Saller (1994, 106) comments: "the success of Rome flowed from obedience to authority, especially paternal and state authority, celebrated in the virtue of *pietas*: success, authority, and obedience

³ Saller (1994) argues for the natural inequity in the family dynamic based on differing ages, needs, and abilities.

⁴ Cf. Brock (2013), 34.

⁵ Stob. 2.7.26; Cic. *De Off.* 1.54.

⁶ See Lacey (1998), 129, n. 32 and 34.

⁷ See Weinstock (1971, 276-7) for a discussion.

went hand in hand”.⁸ Thus, the fate of Rome is intertwined with the success of the family; and the success of the family is dependent on the recognition of *auctoritas*.⁹

Auctoritas within the Roman private sphere is held traditionally by the *pater familias*, the model from which the political metaphor of ‘father of state’, and thus a ruler’s authority, derives. The *pater familias* holds the household’s finances and property, the right to arrange marriages, and the right of life and death over his family and slaves, and he acts as the priest of the household.¹⁰ There has been a trend in recent scholarship to distinguish between the image of the cruel *pater familias* of Roman legal texts and the cultural reality.¹¹ Saller (1994, 114-5) argues that although the legal rights of *patria potestas* are central to Roman law, they are not reflective of the true dynamics of the Roman family. To illustrate this, scholars refer to tradition of emperors punishing fathers who exercise what are their legal rights but are culturally unacceptable.¹²

This seems to be reflected in literature, as well: Lee (1979, 22) argues that before the Augustan Age, *pietas* signifies duty without affection; Eyben (1991, 121-5) argues for the softening of the father’s severity in comedy; and Manson (1975, 26) maintains that the element of affection in *pietas* is marked first by Ovid in the *Metamorphoses*.¹³ Rather than understanding the Roman father as a tyrant who treats his family like slaves, the evidence suggests a relatively ‘modern’ model of fatherhood based on affection and the natural instinct to protect. For instance, Marcianus writes: *patria potestas in pietate debet, non atrocitate consistere* (‘paternal power is bound by piety; it does not rely on cruelty’, *D.* 48.9.5), perhaps so much so that Plutarch claims that men only have natural sons out of love, since adopted sons are more respectful of their inheritance duties (*Mor.* 497b). Statius similarly writes about adoption: *natos genuisse necesse est, elegisse iuvat* (‘although it is necessary to beget children, it is preferable to adopt’, *Silv.* 2.1.87-8).

The exercise of *imperium* within the family dynamic is unusual even by the late Republic. Cicero, who is himself bestowed with the title *pater patriae*, refers to the example of Appius

⁸ Cicero defines *pietas* as being dutiful to the gods, parents, and country: *DND* 1.41.115, *De fin.* 3.22.73, *De Off.* 2.3.11, *De Rep.* 1.2.2; *Pro Plancio* 35.80, *De Part. Or.* 22.78; *De Rep.* 6.15.15, *De Inv. Rhet.* 2.22.65. Cf. Lee (1979, 19-22) on definitions of *pietas* in Catullus, Lucretius and Cicero.

⁹ Cf. Hor. *Od.* 3.6.17-20.

¹⁰ Cf. Dixon (1988, 5) and Crook (1967a, 107-111; 1967b) on the *pater familias*; on *patria potestas* and legality of *vitae necisque potestas* Rabello (1979), Voci (1980), Harris (1986), Saller (1994, 115-7), Thomas (1984); on *abdicatio* (expulsion) and *exheredatio* (disinheritance): Saller (118, 121-3); on control of money, *peculium*, and emancipation: Saller (119, 123-5); Lacey (134); on marriage: Saller (119, 123-5 and 204-224, daughters); Matringe (1971).

¹¹ Lacey (1987); Saller (1994); Eyben (1996); Murray’s forthcoming doctoral thesis. Saller (1994, 119-120): “Some legal historians point to an evolution in which *patria potestas* was gradually limited by the emperors and assumed a protective (rather than coercive) quality.”

¹² Saller (1994, 103) argues that the legal rights of Roman fathers are based on the mythological past, making it more a tradition than a practice (Dion. Hal. 2.26.4; Sex. Emp. 3.211).

¹³ See Prince’s (2011) article discussing *pietas* specifically between fathers and daughter in the *Metamorphoses*; Prince, however, argues that Ovid criticises *pietas*, and especially as it represents the family-centred legislation of Augustus and his role as *pater patriae*.

Claudius as an odd case of a father holding not just authority but absolute power over his family (*tenebat non modo auctoritatem, sed etiam imperium in suos*) of nine grown children, slaves, and clients (*Sen.* 37). Because Cicero does not include a wife as being under the man's *imperium*, Treggiari (1991, 210) argues that we might assume that Republican fathers do not have "the ability to order their wives—perhaps not even their children *in potestate*, though they had the legal right". Thus, we find that although later Republican fathers hold the legal right to exercise *imperium* over their family, they probably limit their influence in daily life to *auctoritas*.¹⁴ Later, Augustus' marriage legislation effectively appropriates the *potestas* of the *pater familias* as the father's once-private rule is codified into public law, and the role of the *pater familias* weakens further throughout the imperial period.¹⁵

Schauer (2007, 147) argues that there is no reason not to assume that Vergil takes elements of the Roman family as a model when constructing Aeneas' family dynamics. Similarities between the roles and relationships within the Roman family and the families in the *Aeneid* suggest that a consideration of the Roman family dynamic while reading the *Aeneid* is valuable and necessary. Indeed, Williams (1983, 125) maintains that a major theme in the *Aeneid* is the ideal Roman marriage. Further, the imperial family should be considered when reading Aeneas' family because (beyond the issue of Aeneas' family as being an allusion to Augustus' family) as Severy (2003, 3) hypothesises, the changing ideologies of 'family' and 'state' under Augustus are the key to the successful shift from republic to empire. Thus, the monarchical "constant supremacy of one family" (as opposed to a more general oligarchy) is a distinguishing feature of the new empire. Severy also focuses on the imperial family and Roman state with a special interest in authority and power, and she consistently demonstrates the political connection between family and authority which is reflected in Vergil's models of family and the state. I argue here that Aeneas should be read as an example of the archetypal father and not just as the *pater familias* of his own *domus*.

2. Fathers and *pietas*

The father-son dynamics in the *Aeneid* support the idea of a shift from the tyrannical power of the father to a more reciprocal process involving *pietas* and *auctoritas*.¹⁶ Saller (1994, 105) writes: "[a]t the core of the Romans' ideal of family relations was the virtue of *pietas*, represented by the image of Virgil's Aeneas carrying Anchises on his shoulders from Troy." Although Lee (1979, 17-23) argues that *pietas* emphasises duty over affection, and Neraudau (1984, 121) adds that it is always

¹⁴ Saller (1994, 102) differentiates between the father's 'arbitrary' power over slaves and his authority within the family.

¹⁵ Severy (2003), 9-10.

¹⁶ Takács (2009, 26) defines *pietas* as 'reciprocal respect'. See Pomathios (1987, 181-6) on *pater* and (215-220) *pietas* in the *Aeneid*—again, because Pomathios favours *imperium* over *auctoritas*, he comes to different conclusions about the nature of power here. Katz (2014) also identifies the role of the father as indicative of *auctoritas* in the *Aeneid* and as paralleling *pater patriae*.

displayed toward a higher power (gods, parents, etc.), Saller (1994, 106) points out that *pietas* can be transmitted from father to son, suggesting that “the virtue encompassed compassion as well as duty.”¹⁷ Though the relationship between father and son is hierarchical, it is still reciprocal.¹⁸ We see this reciprocity especially in the examples of Mezentius and Lausus (10.824) and the relationship between Evander and Pallas, which I address below.¹⁹

I have discussed previously that *auctoritas* is a reciprocal process dependent upon active positive participation from all parties involved, and Saller similarly argues that *pietas* is reciprocated.²⁰ He uses an example from Valerius Maximus: *pius et placidus adfectus parentium erga liberos* (5.7.pr); Saller argues that this line points “to the reciprocal quality of *pietas* and its association with family love.” We find here the reciprocity of *pietas* between husband and wife and between parents and children.²¹ In this section, I argue that *pietas* is an expression of the recognition of parental authority, which stems from a combination of trust and affection. Further, I suggest that *pietas* in the *Aeneid* is an analogy for the Augustan ideal of *pietas*, which is highlighted especially in Augustus’ early public image as Caesar’s heir and avenger (RG 2).

An explicit link between the Roman father and the ruler is the title *pater patriae*, ‘father of the state’, which is granted initially to heroes of the Republic. Dio Cassius points out that the title *pater* gives the emperors τὴν ἐξουσίαν over their subjects, although he notes that *pater* originally served as an honorific title and a reminder to the bearer to care for his subjects as they would his own children (53.18.3). This aspect therefore fulfills authority’s requirement of responsibility towards the audience. The first Roman to be called *pater patriae* by the Senate was Marcus Furius Camillus in 386 BCE for his service during the Gallic siege as a private citizen (he is banished from Rome for embezzlement), and in his subsequent year as dictator he is hailed as the second founder of Rome after Romulus.²² Cicero is the next to earn the title in 63 BCE for suppressing the Catilinarian Conspiracy during his consulship. In 45 BCE, during his dictatorship, Julius Caesar is called *pater patriae* for restoring the Pax Romana and ending the civil wars. The Senate, equestrian order, and Roman people bestow the title upon Augustus in 2 BCE (RG 35), when he is 60 years old and, as Levick (2010, 205) writes, “beyond influence”. However, during the Imperial period, the title *pater patriae* has become fossilized and no longer offers the recipient political legitimacy or

¹⁷ Cf. Lee (1979), 45; Manson (1975), 26. West (2002, 17) defines *pietas* as: “correct behaviour towards gods and men, towards fellow citizens, parents, spouse, and **children**” (bold is mine).

¹⁸ This is similar to the dynamics of the Roman *clientela* and *patrocinium*: see Saller (1984) and Gruen (1986), 162-3.

¹⁹ See Johnson (1986) on *patria amor* in the *Aeneid*; Johnson (1965).

²⁰ Saller (1994), 109.

²¹ *Ad Herennium* 2.19.

²² Livy 10.6.4; Plut. *Camillus*.

power; instead it becomes a traditional honour for the emperors.²³ Tiberius refuses the title outright, Nero refuses the first time he is offered it, and Hadrian refuses eleven times.²⁴ In addition to refusing *pater patriae*, Tiberius refuses several other titles and honours (Suet. *Tib.* 26.2), and he requests that the Senate change the phrasing of his signature from *auctor* to *suasor*, ‘advisor’ (27).

For Augustus, *pater patriae* is more than a title and becomes a model for his image and rule, and his reception of the title demonstrates his shift from the ‘son of Caesar’ to ‘father of the nation’. Severy (2003, 5) argues: “Augustus and his contemporaries began to understand his authority and caretakership of the state as that of a Roman father to his family.” While in the East Augustus and his household was worshipped as divinities (just as the Hellenistic kings entrench themselves in local cult traditions), Rawson (2005) writes that in Italy, “his religious role was more that of the *pater* of a Roman family”.

Aeneas is constructed as a liminal character through his semi-divine parentage: we read constant tension in his relationship with Venus. Aeneas is caught also between having a son and being a son himself.²⁵ He does not fully come into his leadership role which Hector prophesies until after his father dies, and this is also the point at which his men begin to call him *pater Aeneas*.²⁶ In this, we see that Aeneas is a father both to his natural son, Ascanius, and to his Trojan subjects. Aeneas’ epithet *pater*, which precedes Augustus’ title by nearly two decades, is applied to him only after the death of his own father. Just six lines after Aeneas says that Anchises dies, referring to him as *pater optume*, (3.710), the narrator gives Aeneas the epithet *pater* (3.716). This verbal transferral of paternal authority provides both the Trojans and the narrative a sense of continuity: the Trojans always have a father-leader, and the external audience always understands leadership in terms of fatherhood.

Lee (1979) argues that the *Aeneid* represents a shift from the influence of the mother to that of the father, likening Aeneas’ heroic journey to the archetypal hero’s movement from mother to father: “[h]e proves his manhood by passing from matriarchal to patriarchal influences, and eventually achieves the integration of his powers, synthesizing the male and female elements of himself.”²⁷ He continues that female power represents the ‘older order’ of a society, and that in heroic journeys, the influence of the mother typically gives way to a rational, patriarchal order—thus, Aeneas leaves the motherland (Troy), Carthage, the influence of Venus, and Juno for the

²³ Similar to titles like Caesar, Augustus, *Imperator*, and *pontifex maximus*.

²⁴ Suet. *Tib.* 26.2, 67. For Tiberius refusing *parentum patriae* as Livia’s title, see section 2.

²⁵ See O’Sullivan (2009) on Aeneas as Anchises’ son and Petrini (1997) on Aeneas as Ascanius’ father. See Breuker (2002) and Wiltshire (1989, 122f.) on the anxieties which arise from mixing the private and the public spheres.

²⁶ Chronologically at least—in the narrative, he is called *pater Aeneas* in Carthage (1.555, 580, 699).

²⁷ Lee (1979), 115.

fatherland, Rome, *pater patriae*, and Jupiter.²⁸ Quint (1993, 57), however, argues from a Freudian perspective that “[t]he first half of the *Aeneid* may be read as an attempt to deal with the father and the past that he represents.” Farrell (1999, 108) maintains that Book 5 especially is meant to “inscribe paternity within a more dominant theme of motherhood.” Oliensis (2009, 76), on the other hand, wonders if the *Aeneid* can be read as a ‘maternal supplement’ to the Homeric epics. I propose that although the masculine and paternal sphere is significant for Aeneas in terms of expressing and understanding his authority, the female and maternal sphere is instrumental in creating and supporting Aeneas’ authority. Additionally, I argue that it is even more crucial to understand that Aeneas, like Augustus, is navigating through the liminality of being both a son and father throughout the epic, as he struggles to become both a proto-Roman *pater familias* and *pater patriae* in his own right.

Aeneas and Anchises

One pre-Vergilian version of Aeneas’ flight holds that the Greeks are so impressed by his fighting, that they allow him to leave the city and take with him what he values most, which is his father. Additionally, they are so moved by this act of piety that they allow him another possession, and so he chooses his household gods. Again moved by his piety, they let him take all of his possessions and also give him a ship.²⁹ While Aeneas’ piety toward the gods is the result of religious *auctoritas*, his piety toward his father is an expression of Anchises’ paternal *auctoritas*. Although Vergil recounts the story very differently, I argue that we can read similar dynamics in the parallel scene in the *Aeneid*.

The first evidence for Anchises’ influence over the family is that he is able to deny their flight from burning Troy. He does not explicitly forbid the family to leave, and indeed he tells them to leave without him despite their pleas (2.638-654). Aeneas, however, without hesitation refuses to leave the city without Anchises:

mene efferre pedem, genitor, te posse relicto
 sperasti tantumque nefas patrio excidit ore?
 si nihil ex tanta superis placet urbe relinqui,
 et sedet hoc animo perituraeque addere Troiae
 teque tuosque iuvat, patet isti ianua leto,
 iamque aderit multo Priami de sanguine Pyrrhus,
 natum ante ora patris, patrem qui obtruncat ad aras. (2.657-663)

²⁸ Lee (1979), 116, 141-2.
²⁹ Lyc. *Alex.* 1263-72; Diod. 7.14; Serv. *ad Aen.* 2.636 and *Schol. Veron. ad Aen.* 2.717, both based on Varro; Ps.-Xen. *Cyn.* 1.15; Apoll. *Bibl.* 21.19; *Troica.*; *ad Her.* 4.46.

Did you think that I would be able to leave you, father, and did such an impiety fall from your paternal lips? If it pleases the gods to leave nothing from our great city, and if this sits in your mind and it is pleasing to add yourself and all that is yours to the losses of Troy, then the door to that death is open. And soon Pyrrhus will appear covered in the blood of Priam, who kills the son in front of the sight of his father, and the father at the altars.

Aeneas calls Anchises' request for them to leave him an 'impiety' (*nefas*), and by highlighting that the request came from 'a father's mouth' (*patrio ore*), Aeneas suggests that it is a sin especially against the father. Aeneas follows this by describing another father-related *nefas* (which Anchises has not seen himself): Pyrrhus killing both Priam and his son at the altar of *Zeus Herkeios* (of the Household),³⁰ which suggests the only alternative Aeneas sees to fleeing. That Aeneas is so influenced by his piety towards his father demonstrates the extent of Anchises' authority over his family. There is a conflict here between the *imperium* of Anchises and the demands of Aeneas' *pietas*, and Schauer (2007, 147) argues that this scene is a clear example of Anchises' irrevocable authority (unumstößliche Autorität) as *pater familias*, which Aeneas must respect.

Presumably, Anchises' inherent authority over Aeneas, combined with filial affection and piety, is the reason that Aeneas decides not to leave Troy without him. As for the role of *pater familias*, I argue that Anchises relinquishes this when he refuses to leave the house, allowing the rest of the family to leave him. By taking himself out of the future decision-making process for the rest of the family, he gives up control of the household. However, just as we see later that Latinus rides into battle despite having previously given up the 'reins of state' (12.161-4), so we see Anchises immediately make the decision as to when the Trojans sail (3.8-9). He is thus reinstated as *pater familias* to Aeneas and *pater Anchises* to the Trojans, demonstrating that his *auctoritas* is not affected by giving up *potestas* or *imperium* over the family.

A significant question in terms of power dynamics in the *Aeneid* is: who is the leader of the Trojans after the fall—Anchises, Aeneas, or a council? Or is there a progressive shift, perhaps reflective of the shift from Julius Caesar to Augustus? To borrow Nisbet's (1999, 255) question: "who has *imperium maius*?" It is tempting to read tension between Aeneas and Anchises,³¹ yet Schauer (2007, 151) convincingly argues that Anchises' role as *pater familias* (while he is alive) does not come into conflict with Aeneas' role as leader of the Trojans, just as elite Romans are subject to the *auctoritas*, and indeed *potestas*, of their living fathers. Despite his age and mobility issues, Anchises remains a proto-Roman *pater familias*, to whom Aeneas is subject. I agree that this is certainly the case during the voyage, but during the Sack of Troy, I suggest that Aeneas becomes the interim *pater familias*.

³⁰ Occurs at 2.531-55; is reported by Aeneas at 2.662-3.

³¹ Cf. Otis (1963), 251-5; Brooks (1966) 147-8; Lee (1979, 48).

Although Anchises is a prince of Dardania, it is unclear what office or influence he holds in Troy. He seems to have been an ambassador as a young man, as Evander recalls meeting him in Salamis as part of Priam's entourage (8.155-163). However, he is certainly never the leader of the Trojans as Aeneas becomes.³² Additionally, it is unclear what kind of governing body heads the Trojans, but it is significant that when Troy falls, the Trojans flock to Aeneas outside the city:

atque hic ingentem comitum adfluxisse novorum
 invenio admirans numerum, matresque virosque,
 collectam exsilio pubem, miserabile vulgus.
 undique convenere animis opibusque parati
 in quascumque velim pelago deducere terras. (Aen. 2.796-800)

And, amazed, I find that a massive number of new comrades have gathered here—mothers, men, boys—a miserable crowd assembled for exile. They met from everywhere, prepared with spirit and resources for whatever lands I wish to lead them to across the sea.

This exposition of how the Trojans come to follow Aeneas also explains how his authority is first recognised: the refugees respect Aeneas' judgment about where to go (*velim deducere*). Although Aeneas holds no political office in Troy, his authority amongst the Trojan refugees sets him on the path to obtaining official power as the future ruler of Lavinium. Therefore, Aeneas' accumulated authority in Troy contributes to his eventual royal status,³³ to which he would never have acceded without Troy's destruction and the ensuing absence of power and authority.

Lee (1979, 17) posits that Aeneas initially emerges as the leader of the fleet, while Anchises is the prophet and patriarch, and Nisbet (1999, 255-6) identifies Anchises as a *proto-pontifex maximus*—that is, a statesman-priest.³⁴ It does not bode well, then, given that Anchises' first act as prophet is to misinterpret a prophecy (3.102-17).³⁵ During the voyage, Anchises shows leadership insofar as he is in charge of their initial departure (*et pater Anchises dare fati vela iubebat*, 3.9), he decides when they leave a place (Strophades 3.266; Buthrotum 3.472), and he shows expertise in seamanship in evading Charybdis (3.558-60). Additionally, he offers the Greek Achaemenides safety (3.610-1), which, as mentioned in a previous chapter, parallels Priam's treatment of Sinon and so positions Anchises as a Priam-figure here (and thus Aeneas is cast as Hector). Schauer (2002, 147), however, argues that because Aeneas shows humility and piety towards dead Anchises

³² Just as Augustus expands the official *imperium* Caesar held as dictator into the *auctoritas* of the emperor, so Aeneas expands whatever power Anchises previously held in Troy. See Millar (2000, 3) on continuity from Caesar to Augustus Caesar.

³³ Along with fate and Jupiter's oath, see Chapter 3.

³⁴ As opposed to a professional priest, who might not be able to interpret divinations accurately without political knowledge.

³⁵ However, he becomes one of the clearest sources of prophecy in the epic after he dies. Lee (1979, 117) explains: "[t]he physical father is fallible; the dead father becomes archetypal and true."

in his commentary as narrator, the actual distribution of authority is probably skewed, suggesting that Anchises might not have held as much influence as Aeneas recounts. However, we only have Aeneas' story and commentary to read Anchises' authority.

Aeneas and Venus

Aeneas' relationship to Venus, on the other hand, is complicated and changes throughout the narrative, especially in terms of piety and authority. Forming the most significant mother and child relationship in the *Aeneid*, Venus and Aeneas provide the story with a troubling picture of 'family', as opposed to the relatively traditionally pious relationship between Aeneas and Anchises. At varying points, Venus exercises maternal and divine authority, power, and control over Aeneas. A shift in the nature of their interaction seems to be predicated upon Aeneas' shift from mortality to divinity. As Aeneas moves closer towards his promised apotheosis, Venus becomes more accessible to and less manipulative of Aeneas.

Venus and Aeneas only have two direct exchanges in the *Aeneid*, and Venus' other appearances are either through intermediaries or she is intervening with the other gods on Aeneas' behalf. Although leadership is largely a male realm, apart from Dido and Camilla, women and goddesses are facilitators, advisors, and agents in the *Aeneid*, which reflects the roles played by real aristocratic wives and mothers in Republican politics.³⁶ In this capacity, female characters exercise their own authority, and Venus is no exception.

Our first introduction to Venus is when she confronts Jupiter just after the storm off the coast of Libya, accusing him of betraying his family (*tua progenies*, 1.250) despite him receiving *pietas* from Aeneas (*hic pietatis honos*, 1.253). The first exchange between Aeneas and Venus is when she tells him Dido's background and advises him to seek her aid. As Venus flies away in her revealed divine form, Aeneas shouts after her:

quid natum totiens, crudelis tu quoque, falsis
ludis imaginibus? cur dextrae iungere dextram
non datur, ac veras audire et reddere voces? (1.407-9)

You too are cruel - why do you so often tease your son with false forms? Why is
your hand not offered to join my hand, and to hear and exchange true words?

By questioning Venus, Aeneas shows impiety to her both as a goddess and his mother. Anderson (1955, 236) comments on the fact that although Aeneas is described in terms of piety regarding his relationship with Anchises, he is not so described in relation to his mother, which is especially surprising when we consider that Venus is herself divine, and so should attract expressions of

³⁶ See Hillard (1989) and Wyke (1994).

piety. Anderson (1955, 236), however, points out that piety does not factor into the relationship of Venus and Aeneas: “Aeneas can and does make sacrifice to his mother; but what he wants is to love her, in his queer, stiff way, as a son; and for this, as he himself recognizes, there is no chance.”

The dynamics of Venus and Aeneas’ relationship are first made clear to us in a sort of *in medias res*: that is, the scene on the road to Carthage demonstrates what we can assume is a consistent pattern of interaction between Venus and Aeneas, with a *modus operandi* of Venus provoking and Aeneas reacting. Reckford (1995-6, 11) writes: “[t]his hide-and-seek business has happened, we may imagine, many times before.” Venus plays the roles of both Nausicaa and Athena in this scene: she is both the maiden and the protector, yet with her own sense of humour added.³⁷ We see here the Vergilian Venus as balancing the playfulness of the Homeric seductress and the *gravitas* of the Augustan *genetrix*.³⁸ Anderson (1955, 236) argues that while Venus “sees the impersonation as a harmless joke... [Aeneas’] emotions have been cheated of expression, his sense of the fitness of things is deeply wounded.”³⁹ This scene, which can be characterised as pathetic, is arguably Aeneas at his most vulnerable following his shipwreck. He does not generally trust Venus, but here he expresses his seemingly hopeless desire to trust her.

In the second half of the *Aeneid*, Aeneas seems to treat Venus with more piety and recognises both her divine and maternal authority. She has proven herself to be a credible figure by consistently aiding Aeneas on his voyage. For instance, Achates points out to Aeneas that everything Venus had told them about Carthage and their comrades was the truth (1.581-5). Further, Aeneas trusts his mother’s doves to guide him to the golden bough (6.192-7), and he recognises Venus’ signs that war is beginning, calling her his divine mother (8.530-6). When she gives him his promised weapons made by Vulcan, Venus hugs him, finally fulfilling his wish from Book 1 to be a real mother to him. With her hug, Venus also seems to physically authorise Aeneas’ war, their familial relationship, and his future divinity.⁴⁰

Venus and Aeneas share a complicated relationship, largely predicated upon tension between the mortal and the divine, the private and the public, the family and the state. Certain aspects of Venus’ character are concerned with the immediate needs of Aeneas and Ascanius as her son and grandson, while other actions seem to suggest that Venus is more utilitarian in her

³⁷ Knauer (1964) 158-9, 161-2; Reckford (1995-6), 12. Further, Heinze (1993, 77) suggests that the ‘false forms’ (*falsis imaginibus*) to which Aeneas refers are actually the disguises of Athena to Odysseus.

³⁸ Anderson (1955), 235-7; Harrison (1972-3), 12-13; Reckford (1995-6), 8.

³⁹ Reckford (1996, 1-3) argues that Venus might be naked when she reveals her divinity, further embarrassing Aeneas through its suggestion of incest. Moreover, Oliensis (2009, 61-4) argues that Venus might use Dido to express incestuous urges (1.675).

⁴⁰ See Bacon (2001) on the significance of the hug.

pursuit of an empire, such as Venus' sudden exclamation that she does not care any longer if Aeneas survives and is only concerned with the fate of Ascanius:

nil super imperio moveor. speravimus ista,
dum fortuna fuit. vincant, quos vincere mavis.
si nulla est regio Teucris quam det tua coniunx
dura, per eversae, genitor, fumantia Troiae
excidia obtestor: liceat dimittere ab armis
incolumem Ascanium, liceat superesse nepotem. (10.42-47)

I am no longer moved by empire. We hoped for that, while there was fortune. Let those you wish to win, win. Father, if there is no land that your unbending wife will allow for the Trojans, I beg by the smoking ruins of fallen Troy: let it be permitted to send Ascanius from the battlefield uninjured, and let it be permitted for my grandson to continue living.

These words seem inconsistent with Julius Caesar's future *Venus Genetrix*. Indeed, it is only until Juno's reaction that we get a clearer sense of Venus' speech; Juno has been *acta furore gravi* ('whipped into a great frenzy', 10.63), which suggests that Venus is using a sort of reverse-psychology to manipulate the gods into aiding Aeneas and the Trojans in battle. Through this method, Venus has managed to weave together her traditional guile and a newly-developed aspect involving military strategy. In the *Iliad*, Aphrodite is remarkably unsuited to the sphere of war, and her military presence ends in her being wounded by Diomedes. Venus here refers to this wound she (as Aphrodite) received from Diomedes, and she suggests that Turnus might similarly wound her (10.28-30); perhaps this is another method for guilt-tripping Jupiter into helping her, as she reminds everyone that Diomedes was his son.

In battle in the *Aeneid*, she seems to transform fully into a military goddess—a striking departure from her ineffectiveness on the Homeric battlefield. At the beginning of the *Aeneid*, Venus employs feminine tactics to protect Aeneas, such as appearing as a virginal huntress, protecting Helen, and arranging the 'marriage' of Dido and Aeneas. When the war breaks out, she militarises herself and her tactics become more militant; her maternal meddling takes the form of military strategy and physical intervention. For instance, she provides Aeneas with armour forged by Vulcan (though still obtained through seduction), and she advises Aeneas to raze the city (*genetrix pulcherrima*, 12.554-7). As opposed to her withdrawal from battle in the *Iliad*, she physically intervenes in battle when she tears Aeneas' spear from the stump after Turnus asks Faunus to keep it in (12.767). To an extent, this demonstrates her place in the divine hierarchy, as she is able to counteract a prayer to Faunus.

Moreover, the nature of her fog changes.⁴¹ Turnus demonstrates awareness of the fog:

⁴¹ On Aphrodite and fog in Homer: Fajardo-Acosta (1990), 204.

longe illi dea **mater** erit, quae nube fugacem
feminea tegat et vanis sese occulat umbris. (12.52-3)

His goddess mother will be far away from him, she who cloaks his flight with a
 womanly cloud and hides herself in empty shadows.

He comments here on the feminine nature of the fog, emphasising Venus' motherhood and casting the use of feminine shadows as cowardly.⁴² In the first half of the epic, Venus uses fog in order to protect Aeneas as if it were a womb,⁴³ but in the second half, she uses it to hide herself in order to become a battlefield medic and heal Aeneas' wound. Thus, Venus' relationship to Aeneas and her function becomes more militaristic and masculine in the second half of the *Aeneid*, in which she redeems herself for her previous exit from battle in the *Iliad*.

Ascanius

Aeneas' relationship with his own son changes throughout the narrative, which is largely due to Ascanius aging several years throughout the epic from a toddler to a warrior and future king.⁴⁴ The image of Aeneas dragging a toddler through burning Troy is quite different from Aeneas watching with pride as Iulus leads the Trojan boys in the game of Troy,⁴⁵ or even later giving Ascanius the young warrior advice about manhood (12.435-440).

Ascanius is a significant character not only in terms of inheriting Aeneas' rule, but also narratologically.⁴⁶ Vergil often employs the character of Ascanius in order to progress the narrative rapidly. For example, the omen of Ascanius in flames helps to convince Anchises to leave the house during the Sack of Troy, thus saving the family. In addition, Aeneas only departs from Carthage after Mercury (as an agent of Jupiter) convinces Aeneas to leave by shaming him for barring Ascanius from his fate in order to stay with Dido:

si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum
 nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem,
 Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces? (4.232-4)

⁴² The only other person Aphrodite spirits away in fog is Paris, who is also teased for his femininity.

⁴³ The Trojan horse as a womb; ships as wombs (Fraenkel 1957, 157-8). The Trojan ships perhaps can be considered womb-like, in that they are made from the timber of the trees of The Great Mother, and the ships carry her 'children' safely because of a promise made by Jupiter that he would protect the timber.

⁴⁴ On Ascanius' age, see Pease (1935a), ad 4.84. Petrini (1997, 88): "...in the *Aeneid* he is brought to the verge of adulthood but goes no further, in order that his nature and the values he embodies be left unrealized."

⁴⁵ Perhaps reminiscent of Marcellus riding the right trace-horse and Tiberius the left in Augustus' triumph, and Tiberius leading the older boys in a game of Troy at the circus (Suet. *Tib.* 6.4).

⁴⁶ On Ascanius' traditionally greater role, see: Serv. Ad. 1.267, 4.620, 9.745; Cato, *Origines* frag. 9; Heinze (1915), 172.

If no glory of such things excites him and he does not strive beyond his labor for his own fame, does he deny the Roman citadels for Ascanius?

Mercury points out how Ascanius will be affected if Aeneas abandons the mission. Later, Allecto incites Ascanius to hunt Silvia's pet deer in order to begin the war with the Latins (7.477-505). All of these instances contribute to the symbolic importance of Ascanius, as his character is capable of effecting or inspiring dramatic changes within the narrative.

Oddly, there are very few interactions between Aeneas and Ascanius. Indeed, one of only two instances of physical contact they have besides during the flight from Troy is actually between Aeneas and Cupid disguised as Ascanius:

ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit
et magnum falsi implevit genitoris amorem... (1.715-6)

He hung from Aeneas' neck in an embrace and satisfied the great affection of the deceived father.

What should be a touching image of affection between father and son is disturbing to the audience on account of their knowledge that Cupid is using Aeneas' paternal *pietas* in order to manipulate the situation as an agent of Venus. Cupid hugs Aeneas as a visual-emotional stimulus to incite maternal longing in Dido, and thus her lust for Aeneas as the vehicle for her maternity.

The scene in which they actually physically interact is after Aeneas is wounded, when he hugs (the real) Ascanius and gives him advice:⁴⁷

disce, puer, virtutem ex me verumque laborem,
fortunam ex aliis. nunc te mea dextera bello
defensum dabit et magna inter praemia ducet.
tu facito, mox cum matura adoleverit aetas,
sis memor et te animo repetentem exempla tuorum
et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitet Hector. (12.435-440)

Son, learn about courage and real work from me, and learn about luck from others. Now my hand will give you safety in war and lead you to great rewards. Soon when your years will have reached maturity, make it so that you are mindful, and may your father Aeneas and uncle Hector rouse you in spirit, recalling their examples.

Although we read *pietas* in the relationship of Aeneas and Ascanius, there has not been enough material in the epic up to this point to evaluate Aeneas' paternal authority beyond that contained in his assumed role as *pater familias*. Here, however, we find Aeneas asserting his paternal authority to Ascanius by advising him to show familial *pietas* in remembering the authoritative examples of his family members: in this, he emphasises Hector and himself (*pater*).

⁴⁷ A combination of Soph. *Ajax* 550 and *Il.* 6.466-71 (though Hector takes his helmet off for Astyanax, Aeneas keeps his on).

Although Ascanius has several surrogate mothers in the narrative,⁴⁸ Apollo acts as a kind of surrogate father here; we might assume that Apollo is positioning himself as Ascanius' (and Rome's) patron god. Apollo authorises his first battle success, and he tells Ascanius that he will surpass his Trojan identity:

macte nova virtute, puer, sic itur ad astra,
dis genite et geniture deos. iure omnia bella
gente sub Assaraci fato ventura resident,
nec te Troia capit. (9.641-4)

Well done on your new courage, boy, son of gods and ancestor of gods; thus it is lifted to the stars. All of the wars brought by fate will cease by right under the clan of Assaracus: Troy does not hold you back.

Just as the future glory of Rome is only promised in the *Aeneid*, so Ascanius' potential remains unrealised in the narrative. It is striking that Apollo makes Ascanius, and not Aeneas, the link between the past deities (Jupiter and Venus) and future deities (namely Julius Caesar and Augustus) here. Ascanius will succeed because the Troy past will not be such a burden on him as it was on Aeneas.

Pallas and His Fathers

In addition to being Ascanius' biological father, and *pater Aeneas*, the leader of the *Aeneadae*, Aeneas acts a 'surrogate' father to the Trojans and several specific male characters in the *Aeneid*. For instance, as discussed in the previous chapter, Palinurus and Iapyx share Iasus as their common ancestor; on the voyage, however, Aeneas is their symbolic father. Indeed, Lee (1979, 97-8, 113) points out that Iapyx learned medicine to heal his biological father, and in battle treats Aeneas, the 'father' of his community. Moreover, Evander places Pallas in Aeneas' care:

hunc tibi praeterea, spes et solacia nostri,
Pallanta adiungam; sub te tolerare magistro
militiam et grave Martis opus, tua cernere facta
adsuescat, primis et te miretur ab annis. (8.514-7)

In addition, I will harness Pallas, my hope and comfort, to you. He will accustom himself to endure military service and the weighty work of Mars under your tutelage and to watch your actions, and he will admire you from his early years.

⁴⁸ Discussed below.

Aeneas seems more engaged with Pallas than he does with his natural son for most of the epic.⁴⁹ After his death, Pallas is called an *alumnus* ('foster son', 11.33), a word only used elsewhere in the *Aeneid* of Tityon (6.595) and Marcellus (6.877).⁵⁰

There are several father figures involved in the scene in which Pallas dies, including Evander, Hercules,⁵¹ Jupiter, Aeneas, and the father implied on the belt of fifty sons who are killed by the Danaids for acting "in obedience to their father".⁵² Indeed, Pallas is also acting in obedience to his father, who sends him to war with Aeneas. Turnus, however, disregards the piety between father and son, and in fact mocks Evander for his paternal piety.

Pyrrhus

A character's failure to respect the bond between a father and son acts as a foil for *pietas* itself. There are other instances of impiety towards the father-son relationship in the *Aeneid*,⁵³ beginning with the earlier episode of Pyrrhus and Priam, in which we see several types of authority at work. First, we see Pyrrhus as the heir to Achilles' authority as a warrior: *instat vi patria Pyrrhus* (2.490). Lee (1979, 38-9) points to the significance of the phrase *vi patria* in comparing Pyrrhus' ability with that of Achilles. His behaviour toward Priam, however, is far from 'the unexpected tenderness' Achilles shows Priam, referring to Achilles' ransoming Hector's body to Priam and allowing the Trojans time for funeral games (*Il.* 24.621-76). After Pyrrhus drags Priam through his own son Polites' blood to the altar to kill him, Priam says that Pyrrhus could not be Achilles' son because Achilles had respect for suppliants (*Aen.* 2.540-3).⁵⁴ In the *Iliad*, Achilles no longer recognises divine or royal authority, but he does still respect the authority of the father; in this case, Priam acts as a substitute for Peleus. However, when Priam becomes a bit too impatient, perhaps because he is used to being in control himself, Achilles bristles, realising he has lost control. Achilles asserts himself as the authority within the tent, and expresses this by telling Priam he might not let him go. Instead, Achilles becomes the father figure himself by feeding Priam and providing him with a bed, and he authorises an armistice for Hector's burial.

⁴⁹ Lee (1979, 109) argues that this contributes to the 'homoerotic haze' of the second part of the poem. Further, after his death, Pallas is compared to a drooping purple flower on his pyre (11.68-70), just as Euryalus is compared to a limp purple flower (9.434-7); both are reminiscent of Catullus as a flower cut down in order to emphasize his feminine, submissive role (11). Moreover, one wonders if Evander and Anchises had been similarly involved, as Evander seems to have fallen in love with Anchises at first sight (8.161-5).

⁵⁰ Augustus himself calls Marcellus *gener* ('son-in-law', RG 21).

⁵¹ Hercules also acts as a surrogate father to Pallas: see Lee (1979), 83.

⁵² Cf. Lee (1979), 6.

⁵³ There are varying accounts of Octavian's treatment of fathers and sons. Most often it seems that in his quest for vengeance for his own father, Octavian often disregarded the *pietas* between father and son. See Lee (1979, 15-6) for examples.

⁵⁴ This claim is perhaps connected to the ancient belief that if a son's character is different from his father's, they are not truly related.

Just as Achilles refuses to recognise divine authority, so Pyrrhus refuses to recognise paternal authority. Instead, Pyrrhus tells Priam to take Achilles news when he goes to the Underworld of Pyrrhus' *tristia facta degeneremque Neoptolemum* (2.548-9). This is somewhat ironic, as the audience knows that Achilles only wishes to hear news about Pyrrhus in the Underworld scene of the *Odyssey* (11.492-3).⁵⁵

Aeneas' Pious Impiety

We also read impiety during the battle scenes in the *Aeneid*, when Aeneas himself begins to slaughter those who make themselves 'conspicuous' for representing or explicitly appealing to familial *pietas*.⁵⁶ Although Hardie (1986, 89) identifies *pietas* and *ratio* as being opposing forces against *furor*, we see Aeneas give in to *furor* despite pleas that are rooted in *pietas*. This begins when he takes Sulmo's four sons and Ufens' four sons to sacrifice later (10.517-520). Then, Magus begs Aeneas to spare him:

per patrios manis et spes surgentis Iuli
te precor, hanc animam serves gnatoque patrique. (10.524-5)

I beg you, by your forefathers' shades and the hope of growing Iulus, spare this spirit for my son and father.

Aeneas is not moved, however, by the references to his own piety or that of Magus. He kills Magus, claiming that it was authorised by Anchises and Ascanius (*hoc patris Anchisae manes, hoc sentit Iulus*, 10.534). Next, after Aeneas beheads Tarquitus, he says that he hopes that his mother Dyope will not be able to bury his corpse in his father's tomb (10.557-8).

Oddly, when Aeneas is killing the brothers Lucagus and Liger, the latter of whom fruitlessly begs Aeneas to spare him by appealing to his familial *piety*, he is called *pius Aeneas* (10.591). Lee (1979, 88) argues that Aeneas is called *pius* here because he thinks revenge is piety, presumably based on his visions of Pallas and Evander:

Pallas, Evander, in ipsis
omnia sunt oculis, mensae quas advena primas
tunc adiit, dextraeque datae. (10.515-7)

Pallas, Evander, everything was before his eyes, the tables which he approached on his arrival, and the offered hands.

⁵⁵ Lee (1979, 39) argues that Pyrrhus is speaking ironically here, and that Pyrrhus believes that his actions are worthy of Achilles. However, it is unclear whether this is actually the case.

⁵⁶ Lee (1979), 85-7.

While this may fit with the implicit parallel to Octavian as *ultor* of Caesar, I argue that it also juxtaposes Liger's invocation of piety with Aeneas' period of rage on the battlefield, thus highlighting Aeneas' impiety further.

Indeed, we later read the narrator apparently commenting on Aeneas' lack of piety in killing Lausus. In describing how Lausus sacrifices himself for his father, the narrator addresses Lausus:

hic mortis durae casum tuaque optima facta,
si qua fidem tanto est operi latura vetustas,
non equidem nec te, iuvenis memorande, silebo. (10.791-3)

Here I will not be silent about the misfortune of your harsh death and your good deeds, if antiquity has faith in such an undertaking, nor indeed you, boy who must be remembered.

The narrator describes Lausus' death sympathetically, even repeating from Dido's death scene the image of the Fates preparing to cut his life thread (10.814-5). Aeneas mocks Lausus' filial piety (*fallit te incautum pietas tua*, 10.812) before he stabs Lausus through the chainmail his mother has made him (10.818). Thus, Lausus' familial piety is contrasted with Aeneas' lack of piety.

Aeneas shifts briefly back towards piety when Lausus' dead face reminds him of his love for Anchises (*mentem patriae subiit pietatis imago*, 10.824), which forces him to reflect on his own piety:

quid tibi nunc, miserande puer, pro laudibus istis,
quid pius Aeneas tanta dabit indole dignum? (10.825-6)

Unhappy boy, what will pious Aeneas now give to you for these praises, that is fitting for such a talent?

Mezentius expresses paternal piety towards Lausus and finally admits to his crimes (10.846-854, 878-9). His final act of piety is asking to be buried with his son before taking his own life (10.905-6). The fact that Mezentius is portrayed as a more pious figure than Aeneas here, however, has implications that go far beyond the scope of this dissertation.⁵⁷

Latinus and Dynastic Succession

Dynastic succession, however, is well-within the scope of this study; this theme is reflective of the development of Augustus' own dynasty. In the *Aeneid*, the obvious parallel is Aeneas and Ascanius; however, the characterisation of Latinus also emphasises legitimate dynastic continuity, such as the description of his palace, which contains tokens of kingship, Picus' throne, and the statues of his

⁵⁷ This could take as a starting point Heinze's (1993, 381) assertion that a major aim of Vergil was "to show the audience how to feel admiration".

ancestors *in ordine*.⁵⁸ Moreover, one of the first details about Latinus revealed to the audience is that he has no sons, after a description of his paternal line:

hunc Fauno et nympha genitum Laurente Marica
accipimus; Fauno Picus pater, isque parentem
te, Saturne, refert, tu sanguinis ultimus **auctor**.
filius huic fato divum prolesque virilis
nulla fuit, primaque oriens erepta iuventa est. (7.47-51)

We hear that he is the son of Faunus and the Laurentian nymph Marica. Faunus' father Picus claims you, Saturn, as an ancestor, that you are the primary originator of his bloodline. By order of the gods he has no son and no male heirs, for they were taken in their early years growing up.

Although he shares a common ancestor with Jupiter (Saturn the *auctor*), a birth from which he can claim authority, he himself has no sons in order to preserve and expand the ancestral line. In order to become an *auctor* of a dynasty himself, Latinus must marry his daughter to a foreigner in accordance with Faunus' prophecy.

We find in the *Aeneid* the development of a dynasty and shift toward rule of succession. Aeneas initially becomes the leader of the Trojans because he is elected by the refugees based on ability and trustworthiness. He seems to be a kind of proto-consul along with Anchises and perhaps even Palinurus until they die, when Aeneas becomes a single ruler, like Augustus. Upon landing in Italy, Aeneas is marked by Latinus as his future son-in-law foretold by prophecy to create a hybrid race.⁵⁹ Further prophecy, in the forms of spoken (Jupiter) and visual predictions (the Underworld and the shield), indicates the future line of succession through Aeneas.

A crucial aspect of bringing the family dynamic into a political system is implementing rule by succession and thus creating a dynasty. Like Aeneas, Augustus begins as a son-figure and emerges a father-figure. Octavian initially rises to authority through a campaign of vengeance for Caesar's murder, yet Augustus codifies and cements this authority into a legitimate political system by instituting a heritable dictatorship.⁶⁰ In order to strengthen his political legitimacy, Augustus claims a number of both divine and mortal fathers, including Caesar (*RG* 2), Hercules,⁶¹ Apollo,⁶²

⁵⁸ See Chapter 2 for a discussion of Latinus, dynasty, and political legitimacy in terms of memory and these objects.

⁵⁹ Although Aeneas is generally regarded as the Augustus-figure, the fact that both Latinus and Augustus both has one surviving daughter (Latinus' sons died young) whose sons would be successors to rule is striking. Julia's sons (born 20 and 17 BCE) would continue the Augustan succession, just as it is prophesized that Lavinia's son Silvius will continue the Latin/Dardan line. Caesar also had only one daughter, Julia, as his Egyptian sons with Cleopatra were illegitimate. However, I defer to Lee's (1979, 5) remark that "the poem is allusive, but not allegorical".

⁶⁰ Cf. Arist. *Pol.* 3.1285b on Greek hereditary monarchy. On succession law, cf. Saller (1994, 163-80) and specifically women, Crook (1987).

⁶¹ Which he appropriates from Antony after Actium (Levick 2010, 203).

⁶² Suet. *Aug.* 70, 94.4. Cf. Galinsky (1996), 215-9.

and Neptune,⁶³ but his concern for legitimacy is made manifest most clearly in his emphasis on creating a dynasty.

As early as 26 BCE, Augustus appears to have been developing the *Domus Augusta*. First, he makes his nephew Marcellus and step-son Tiberius as military tribunes,⁶⁴ which marks them as the future leaders of the family's next generation. He then marries Marcellus to Julia in 25 BCE and installs him in the pontificate and curule aedileship in 23 BCE, which Tacitus (1.3) claims is done to consolidate Augustus' power. Velleius Paterculus writes that before Marcellus' death in that same year, people assumed that he would be Augustus' successor (2.93); sources claim that Agrippa and Tiberius were in competition with Marcellus.⁶⁵ However, after the death of Marcellus, Augustus offers to read his will to the Senate to prove that he had not named Marcellus as his successor (Dio 30.5-31.3). Augustus adopts his grandsons, Lucius and Gaius, in 17 BCE (the birth-year of Gaius), and he refers to them as *fili mei* ('my sons') in his *Res Gestae* (14); he also writes that they are given the title *princeps iuventutis* ('first of the youths'), which complements Augustus' own title of *princeps senatus*.⁶⁶ The title *princeps iuventutis* is not an official title, but rather an honour, and is reminiscent of Augustus' assertion (at RG 34.3) that he surpasses others in authority but not power.

In addition to putting his family members forward for positions and titles, from early on, Augustus implements public policy and conducts private business – both of which seem to be building to rule by succession. For instance, because Augustus and Livia uses private wealth and staff, the inheritance of their wealth and much of the public domain by Augustus' successor was assured;⁶⁷ thus “parts of the civil service became heritable as property” – above all, imperial power.⁶⁸ Tiberius, Augustus' eventual successor, has already been the *pater familias* of his own family when Augustus adopts him in 4 CE, forcing Tiberius to give up his role as head of his family since he now comes under the *potestas* of Augustus (Suet. *Tib.* 15.2).⁶⁹ Boymel-Kampen (1991, 235) argues that “Livia, beneath her divine spouse and next to her ruling son, is the crucial link in the chain of enduring dynastic power”.⁷⁰ This illustrates the significance of women in the creation and maintenance of dynasty.

⁶³ Which he appropriates from Pompey (Levick 2010, 203).

⁶⁴ Tacitus writes that people complained that consulships and triumphs had been heaped upon Tiberius since he was a child (1.7).

⁶⁵ Dio 53.31.4-32.1; Tac. (7.51).

⁶⁶ Tac. (1.3).

⁶⁷ Foucault (2000, 207) compares the setting-up of an economy with being the head of a household.

⁶⁸ Severy (2003, 157).

⁶⁹ On Livia's role in securing Tiberius as Augustus' successor, see Fraschetti (2001), 108-11.

⁷⁰ See also Thakur (2014, 178) on Livia as the link between the first two *principes*.

3. Marriages and Mothers

Roman women perform four functions in the family: daughter, sister, wife, and mother. Harvey (2011, 27) recognises that female relatives have the capacity to supplement the status and influence of a Roman politician. Boymel-Kampen (1991, 242) argues that women in the Julio-Claudian household represent “the continuity of the dynasty, the health of the empire, and the virtues of reproductive and familial life”. Because Augustus has few male relatives and many female relatives, with “the prerogatives of a *paterfamilias* and the authority of a *princeps*”,⁷¹ he positions⁷² his female relatives so that he might gain a successor. Indeed, Augustus places enormous symbolic significance on his female relatives, and aspects which he highlights and celebrates spread especially as images throughout the empire in the form of coins and statues. He especially puts forth his sister, Octavia, his wife, Livia, and his (later disgraced) daughter, Julia, as public examples of ideal Roman women embodying the values of the Roman family and the Roman state. These honours reflect well politically on Octavian himself: for instance, in 35 BCE, Octavian names Octavia and Livia *sacrosanctae*, which places them on the same level as the Vestal Virgins.⁷³ More importantly, however, having such publicly distinguished and virtuous female relatives places Octavian above Antony in terms of *auctoritas*.⁷⁴

As I have mentioned previously, female characters in the *Aeneid* act as instruments or agents.⁷⁵ Generally, goddesses hold agency and use mortal female characters in order to achieve their own ends. Often in the *Aeneid*, female characters function within a familial framework in which they interact with their male relations through the power structure of family. Thus, females largely function as wives, mothers, daughters, and sisters, and they act in accordance with or in opposition to their male relations’ authority. The second half of this chapter explores the ways in which female and male characters interact in terms of recognizing, asserting, and enhancing authority, most often within marriages or mother-child relationships. Because I argue that an understanding of familial authority in the *Aeneid* is contingent upon an understanding of the dynamics of the Roman family, I begin with a discussion of marriage and motherhood in the late Republic and early Empire.

⁷¹ Corbier (1995), 182. See this article for a study of the Julio-Claudian genealogy, with an emphasis on marriage-alliances, and the change in dynastic construction under the Flavians.

⁷² Corbier (1995, 178) uses the somewhat anachronistic word ‘exploited’ here.

⁷³ See Takács (2008) on women in Roman religion,

⁷⁴ Harvey (2011), 29; Fraschetti (2001), 105-6.

⁷⁵ Cf. Wyke (1994).

The basic definition of a Roman marriage is the joining of a man and woman with the intention of procreating children, “to whom property, status, and family qualities could be handed down through the generations”.⁷⁶ Also required for *iustum matrimonium* (legitimate marriage) is consent to marriage by all parties and the eligibility to marry (*Rules of Ulpian* 5.2). Ulpian emphasises that a legal marriage does not hinge on sexual intercourse, but rather consent (D. 50.17.30; D. 35.1.15) and *affectio maritalis* (D. 24.1.32.13).⁷⁷ Children born within legitimate marriage take their father’s *nomen*, become his legal heirs, and come under his *patria potestas*.

Marital power is expressed by *manus* rather than *patria potestas*. If married *in manu*, a woman cannot own property. Gaius describes the three ways a woman might come under *manus*: first, *usus*, which is based on yearly possession and can be avoided by being away from the household for three nights each year; second, *farreum*, which consists of a sacrifice made to *Jupiter Farreus* and sharing emmer grain bread in front of ten witnesses; and finally, *coemptio*, performed through *manipatio*, a mock sale in front of five male Roman citizens (1.109–113). If a woman is not married *in manu*, she can own property, and if her *pater familias* dies, she is *sui iuris*, legally independent (D. 50.16.195.1–5). However, she still requires a guardian; if she is under twelve years old, she has a *tutor impuberum*,⁷⁸ but if she is over twelve and not married *in manu*, she comes under *tutela mulierum*. Most free women are either under *potestas*, *manus*, or *tutela*. However, Augustus weakens *tutela mulierum*,⁷⁹ and by this time, *manus* largely falls out of practice, with women (and their property) remaining under the *potestas* of their father until his death, at which point they became *sui iuris*.⁸⁰

Saller (1994, 128) writes: “[f]rom a legal point of view, the father-child bond was indeed patriarchal, but the husband-wife relationship...was certainly not in the classical era”.⁸¹ Additionally, Treggiari (1991, 209–10) maintains that although later writers, like Festus (55L), might comment on the *imperium* men hold over their wives, “earlier Latin writers seem conscious that by their time such usage would be old-fashioned and unrealistic”. Thus, by Vergil’s time, men hold

⁷⁶ See Evans Grubbs (2002), 81; Treggiari (1991), 11. D.23.2.1 (Modestinus); D.1.1.1.3 (Ulpian); D.50.16.220.3 (Callistratus); Gell. (1.6.6). *Matrimonium* emphasises procreation both socially and etymologically as it requires a *mater*. Treggiari (1991, 5) argues that “[t]he idea implicit in the word is that a man takes a woman in marriage...so that he may have children by her.”

⁷⁷ Treggiari (1991), 54–7.

⁷⁸ Although the role of tutor is initially meant for safeguarding the property of the child, under Augustus guardians are expected to concern themselves with the welfare and morality of the child, and this feeling increases into the later Empire: Schulz (1951), 162–80, 190–7; Saller (1994), 181–203; Evans Grubbs (2002), 23.

⁷⁹ Evans Grubbs (2002), 20: Augustus grants freedom from *tutela* to freewomen with three or more children and to freedwomen with four or more children.

⁸⁰ Cf. Evans-Grubbs (2002), 21; Looper-Friedman (1987). Augustus grants Octavia and Livia *tutela* at the same time as naming them *sacrosanctae* (Dio 49.38.1).

⁸¹ As we have seen, this is reflected in Aristotle, who argues that the success of the family is based on *eunoia* within spousal *philia* (Pol. 1, Nic. Eth. 8).

legal power in marriage yet largely influence their wives through unofficial (and presumably earned) *autoritas*.

In order to preserve and revive traditional Roman values, Augustus implements laws on family, marriage, and adultery, beginning with the *lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus* and *lex Julia de adulteriis* in 18 BCE, and then the *lex Papia-Poppaea* in 9 CE.⁸² Augustus is involved directly in arranging the marriages of his relatives largely in order to facilitate his political ambitions;⁸³ similarly, his own three marriages are, as Petrini (1997, 80) writes, “a map of his political affiliations and aspirations”. Livia, his third wife, embodies the values of his later rule, namely family and the household. In coinage and statues, Livia is portrayed variously as Juno, Venus, Pietas, Cybele, Ceres, and Vesta.⁸⁴ In the eastern territories, she is identified with Hera and Demeter.⁸⁵ Women in power are not depicted positively on coins until the reign of Augustus, when Livia appears on coinage as the female virtues of Pietas and Concordia. Prior to this, the only woman shown on a Republican coin is the traitor Tarpeia.⁸⁶

Contemporary and later Roman writers suggest that Livia holds influence over Augustus’ politics as well as his private household.⁸⁷ For instance, Dio Cassius writes that Livia herself claims that she has influence (κατεκράτησεν) over Augustus (58.2.5). He also describes a portent which signifies Livia’s influence over Augustus, in which a white bird with a laurel is enfolded by an eagle, and the eagle plants the laurel, which grows into a tree (56.42).⁸⁸ Ovid calls Livia *princeps femina* (*Pont.* 3.1.125) and claims that she is equal to Augustus (...*sociam, quae par tibi sola reperta est*, 2.8.29). We see here that Livia’s personal authority is recognised as augmenting that of Augustus. Thakur (2014, 176) goes so far as to call Livia the “female equivalent of [Augustus]...a model for all women, and *materfamilias* to the Roman state”; while Augustus is an *exemplum* for men, Livia is the *exemplum* for women. Thus, the marriage of Livia and Augustus is marked by *concordia*, which reflects the authority they hold as a unit.

Concordia is a significant concept for Caesar and even moreso for Augustus. The Senate decrees the Temple of Concordia Nova to honour Caesar’s service in 45-44 BCE (Dio 44.4.5).⁸⁹ Although

⁸² On Augustan marriage legislation: Treggiari (1991), 37-80; McGinn (1998), 70-104; Evans Grubbs (2002), 83-7; Milnor (2007).

⁸³ Syme (1939), 378: Augustus neglects no family relative in his alliances.

⁸⁴ See Harvey (2011), 330-40.

⁸⁵ Fraschetti (2001), 107. See Harvey (2011, 340-2) on Livia as Pietas.

⁸⁶ Kleiner and Matheson (2000), 19.

⁸⁷ Especially the case of Cornelius Cinna (Dio 55.14-22.2).

⁸⁸ Fraschetti (2001), 106.

⁸⁹ See Flory (1984) and Cairns (1989) for theories regarding the time-gap in which *concordia* is absent from public imagery.

Caesar instead uses *consensus* (and *dissensio*) in his writing,⁹⁰ we see *concordia* explicitly used in the rhetoric of Augustus. For instance, Augustus identifies *concordia* as the remedy for the illness of Rome in his acceptance speech for the title of *pater patriae* (Suet. *Aug.* 58.2).⁹¹ *Felicitas*, *concordia*, and *pietas* are presented as significant elements of the Pax Augusta, and *concordia* itself is stressed both in the relationship between the princeps and the Senate and within the imperial family.⁹² Livia dedicates the Shrine to Concordia (probably in or close to the Porticus Liviae) to celebrate marital harmony in 7 BCE (Ov. *Fast.* 6.637-8), which is the same year that construction of the Temple of Concordia Augusta begins.⁹³

Lobur (2008, 61) writes that “the ability to foster *concordia*... lay uniquely in the gift of the man of *auctoritas*”.⁹⁴ Thus, we see that *concordia* is a product or extension of authority. *Concordia* also forms the most important element in the marital bond,⁹⁵ and I argue that it can function as an expression of authority in marriage. Cairns (1989, 85-108) discusses the significance of *concordia* (ὁμόνοια) as being a major thematic and narrative function for the *Aeneid*, and he goes so far as to claim that the structure of the narrative is centred on marriage in three stages: the loss of Creusa, the ‘marriage’ with Dido, and the future marriage to Lavinia, which he argues (105) “produces the concord which makes the Roman world domination possible”. While Cairns wonders (106) if these marriages are merely allegorical, I propose that they are largely metaphorical.

Motherhood

The dynamics of Roman motherhood are grounded more in political and social necessity than maternal affection.⁹⁶ Just as domestic labour is performed by slaves, so child-rearing fell largely to wet-nurses, like Aeneas’ nurse, Caieta, for whom a region of Italy is named after her death during the voyage (7.1-6).⁹⁷ Roman motherhood, like fatherhood, is similar to a political office in the domestic sphere; the roles, however, hold their own responsibilities, functions, and influence. Dixon (1988, 5) distinguishes the status of the Roman father from that of the mother: “[s]o the power of the father was enshrined in the law but tempered by custom. That of the mother was recognized by convention but had little institutional basis”. This form of power which mothers hold, then, actually seems to be more authoritative than a father’s power, as it is not enforced by law but voluntary. Further, Dixon attributes the mother’s authority to her ability to hold and

⁹⁰ Weinstock (1971), 263.

⁹¹ Cf. Levick (1978). Also see previous chapter for Augustus as ‘healer of the state’.

⁹² Fears (1981), 885.

⁹³ Cf. Flory (1984). On *Concordia Augusta* (*concordia* in the household of Augustus), see Weinstock (1971), 266.

⁹⁴ Fears (1981, 833) defines *concordia* (like *pietas*) as a *numen*, a divine benefit or power, rather than a personification or ‘deified abstraction’. See his bibliography for *Concordia* on 842-3, n. 67.

⁹⁵ Cf. Flory (1984). Livy 11.2; RE sv *Homonoia* 2266; Weinstock 263 n.4; Wheeler 214 [CI 3 a ii].

⁹⁶ Cf. Dixon (1988).

⁹⁷ Servius (*ad Aen.* 7.1) writes that, alternatively, Caieta could be the wet-nurse of either Creusa or Ascanius.

transfer property, which also gives her bargaining power within the family.⁹⁸ Saller (1994, 114) argues that mothers are owed *obsequium* as much as fathers, “whose *potestas* was irrelevant in this regard,” suggesting that the mother holds authority within the family in addition to the power she holds through owning property, if not married *in manu*.⁹⁹ Additionally, Severy (2003, 11) argues that as mothers, women might hold more authority and power than as wives because they can decide to withhold money from their children. Moreover, Galinsky (2012, 9-10) comments on Atia’s *auctoritas* as a mother, demonstrating that a mother’s power can indeed be considered *auctoritas*.

Augustus promotes Roman motherhood by emphasising motherhood in the *domus Augusta*. For instance, he influences his sister, Octavia, to raise her own two children by Antony as well as his children by Cleopatra after Actium (Plut. *Ant.* 87.1). Octavia is also significant as a mother because her son, Marcellus, from her first marriage is married to Augustus’ daughter, Julia, and is Augustus’ successor until his death in 23 BCE. Aelius Donatus writes that during a reading of the *Aeneid*, Octavia faints when Vergil comes to the passage of Marcellus in the Underworld (*Life of Vergil* 32). After Drusus’ death in 9 BCE, Livia is given statues and honoured as a grieving mother (Cass. Dio 55.2.5).¹⁰⁰ Harvey (2011, 330) argues that “[Livia’s] authority lies in her status as *mater familias* of the ruling imperial family and her ideological status as mother of the subjects of empire”. In the Ara Pacis, dedicated on Livia’s birthday in 9 BCE, Augustus and Livia are depicted as father and mother of the imperial family as well as the Roman state.¹⁰¹

After Augustus’ death, however, Livia’s other son and Augustus’ successor, Tiberius, attempts to strip from Livia any authority she gains during her marriage to Augustus. Tiberius refuses to share power with Livia as she supposedly demands (*partes sibi aequas potentiae vindicatem*, Suet. *Tib.* 50.2), and although he avoids having meetings with her so it does not seem that he takes her advice, Tiberius often seeks her counsel privately (*Tib.* 50.2). Indeed, Velleius Paterculus claims that her influence (*potentiam*) is always beneficial (2.130.4-5). Further, Tiberius warns her to stay out of public affairs after he learns that she has publicly encouraged the soldiers fighting a fire at the Temple of Vesta: *sicut sub marito solita esset* (Suet. *Tib.* 50.3). Just as Tiberius refuses the title of *pater patriae*, so he refuses to allow Livia to be called *mater patriae* or *parens patriae* because, according to Suetonius and Tacitus, he is bitter that the Senate proposes that he add to his titles *Liviae filius* and

⁹⁸ Cf. Dixon (1988), 5. Saller (1994, 129) writes: “The need to keep a wife with property in good humor must have tempered some husbands’ arbitrary exercise of power over their children.”

⁹⁹ See section 3.

¹⁰⁰ Seneca uses Octavia’s loss of Marcellus and Livia’s loss of Drusus as *exempla* of mothers losing beloved sons (*Consolation to Marcia* 2).

¹⁰¹ Severy (2003), 104-112, 136; Bartman (1999), 89-90; Wood (1999), 99-102.

believes there must be limits to women's honours.¹⁰² After Livia's death, however, the Senate vote that women will spend a year in mourning and that an arch will be built in her honour (Dio 28.2.2). Some call her 'mother of the state' (μητέρα πατρίδος, Dio 58.2.3) unofficially because she has saved some of their own lives, reared their children, and paid the dowries for several of their daughters.¹⁰³ There is also a dupondius and an inscription referring to Livia as *genetrix urbis*, 'mother of the world'.¹⁰⁴ Tiberius, however, circumvents the building of the arch by promising to build it with private funds, which never occurs (Dio 58.2.6). Although Tiberius attempts to suppress public honour for Livia, the authority she gains during Augustus' lifetime prevails.

The following sections explore the authority, power, and influence held by women and how they either supplement or foil the authority, power, and influence of their male relatives. I investigate the methods by which motherhood is presented and ways in which it functions as either enhancing or blocking the progress of the child. Additionally, I examine the power dynamics (*discordia* or *concordia*) between husband and wife— that is, whether the influence of the wife is in opposition to the husband's authority or complementary to his authority. Further, I consider the implications of discord in marriage on wider state and political affairs. My arguments on marriage fall into (and often overlap across) several categories: the tension between the public and private; the issue of remarriage; the 'dysfunctional' female; and the nature of divine marriages.

Venus and Cupid

I have discussed the relationship between Venus and Aeneas, but in the *Aeneid* we also read her relationship with her other son, Cupid. Their scene together is based on the scene of Aphrodite and Eros in the *Argonautica*, though the dynamics are quite different in the two. In the *Argonautica*, Aphrodite bribes Eros with Zeus' magical toy ball to enchant Medea (3.130-153). In the *Aeneid*, however, Venus appeals to Cupid's divine authority and power through flattery, telling him that he is the source of her strength:

nate, meae vires, mea magna potentia solus,
nate, patris summi qui tela Typhoia temnis,
ad te confugio et supplex tua numina posco. (1.164-6)

Son, my strength, alone my great power; son, you who scorns the thunderbolts of
the great father, I flee to you and as suppliant I plead for your divine help.

¹⁰² Suet. *Tib.* 50.2-3; Tac. *Ann.* 1.14.1-4. Severan matriarch Julia Domna is later given the titles *mater patriae*, *mater senatus*, and *mater castrorum*. Benario (1958), 67-70, (1959), 9-14.

¹⁰³ See Harvey (2011), 322-42 for images of Livia as mother.

¹⁰⁴ Dupondius: Harvey (2011), 484 (*RPC* I, no. 73, III. P1.10); inscription: *CIL* 2.2038.

Although she is referring to her own power and authority (*meae vires* and *mea potentia*), it is only in relation to Cupid's contribution to her strength. She alludes to Cupid's power and authority with *temnis tela patris* and *tua numina*. In contrast, Venus presents herself as a refugee (*ad te confugio*) and suppliant (*supplex posco*) to Cupid. Here, her performance of *pietas* to her son Cupid is so exaggerated that her method of flattery is apparent. There are maternal aspects here, including several uses of *natus* and telling Cupid to help his brother, but she does not use her maternal *auctoritas* because she is instead appealing to the divine power and authority of her son to enlist his aid.

Venus and Vulcan

We have seen that Venus as a mother often uses persuasion and control in order to achieve her own ends. As Vulcan's wife, also, she uses persuasion rather than authority or *pietas*, which is a key element in their marital *discordia*.¹⁰⁵ The single *Aeneid* scene between Venus and Vulcan is reminiscent of 1) Hera going into 'erotic battle' against Zeus in the *Iliad*, in which Hera borrows Aphrodite's girdle in order to seduce her husband, and 2) Thetis commissioning a shield from Hephaestus on behalf of Achilles (18.458f.).¹⁰⁶ Thetis saves and raises Hephaestus after Hera hurls him from Olympus (18.393f.), and so potentially gains authority as his adoptive mother.

In the *Aeneid*, however, Venus attempts to persuade Vulcan through rhetoric in a speech which Smolenaars (2004, 99) explicitly calls a *suasoria*. Moreover, in order to make her words more effective, *dictis divinum aspirat amorem* ('she infuses divine love into her words', 8.373):

dum bello Argolici vastabant Pergama reges
debita casurasque inimicis ignibus arces,
non ullum auxilium miseris, non arma rogavi
artis opisque tuae, nec te, **carissime coniunx**,
incassumve tuos volui exercere labores,
quamvis et **Priami** deberem **plurima natis**,
et durum Aeneae flevissem saepe laborem.
nunc Iovis imperiis Rutulorum constitit oris:
ergo eadem supplex venio et sanctum mihi numen
arma rogo, **genetrix nato**. te **filia Nerei**,
te potuit lacrimis **Tithonia** flectere **coniunx**. (8.374-384)

While the Greeks were destroying the doomed kingdom of Troy in war and the citadels fell to enemy fire, I did not ask for for any help for my poor people, nor for arms and the benefit of your skill - no dearest husband, I did not want to use your skills in vain, though I was obliged to Priam and his many sons, and I often wept at the harsh toils of Aeneas. Now by Jupiter's commands he stood on the shores of

¹⁰⁵ Brock (2013, 4): Eros (and the related Persuasion) is called *turannos* of men (E. *Hipp.* 538; fr. 136; *Hec.* 816; *S.* fr.941.15).

¹⁰⁶ See also Nelis (2001, 342-5) on Vergil's inversion of *Arg.* 4.760-4.

the Rutulians. So now I do come as a suppliant and I ask your divine power, sacred to me, for arms, as a mother for her son. The daughter of Nereus and the wife of Tithonus were able to move you with tears.¹⁰⁷

Venus attempts to make an emotional appeal to Vulcan by emphasising familial connections and *pietas*. Smolenaars (2005, 100), however, argues that Venus explicitly referring to herself as *genetrix* in order to strengthen her argument only highlights her adulterous relationship with Anchises, as Aeneas is not Vulcan's son.¹⁰⁸ Although her first strategy is rhetoric, it proves ineffective for persuading Vulcan, who is described as 'hesitant' (*cunctantem*, 8.388).

After her rhetoric fails, she uses her greatest tool from her divine domain: sex. Vulcan then expresses his concern that Venus does not trust in him as her husband, as she thinks she has to use rhetoric to persuade him (8.395-6). Indeed, Vulcan goes further to say that he would have made Aeneas armour in the Trojan War if she had asked (8.396-9), showing that Venus could potentially have ended the Trojan War earlier if she had contributed to her marriage's *concordia*. Vulcan concludes his speech by suggesting that Venus should have foregone her rhetorical strategy and (presumably) gone straight for sex: *absiste precando/ viribus indubitare tuis* ('stop doubting your powers', 8.403-4).¹⁰⁹ Here, he juxtaposes his skills of smithery with her sexual skills, and thus reduces their marriage to what each possesses in terms of transactional value.

The narrator then describes Vulcan as working on the weapons through the simile of a woman spinning wool through the night:¹¹⁰

famulasque ad lumina longo
exercet penso, castum ut servare cubile
coniugis et possit parvos educere natos:
haud secus ignipotens nec tempore segnior illo
mollibus e stratis opera ad fabrilia surgit. (8.411-415)

She keeps her servants occupied with endless spinning by lamplight, so she might be able to keep the bed of her husband unpolluted and to raise her young sons. Barely differently, the god of fire, no lazier at that time, rises from the soft bed to his skilled work.

As discussed earlier, in Greece and Rome, wool-working is a female activity and falls within the domestic sphere. Wool-working is considered to be a matron's duty even among the aristocracy, and Suetonius claims that Livia makes Augustus' clothes herself (*Aug.* 73). Wool-working, however, as a women's domain excludes men. Indeed, related to the previous chapter, Xenophon writes in the *Memorabilia* that just as the ruler, pilot, farmer, and doctor have authority (*ἄρχοντος*)

¹⁰⁷ See Leach's (1997) discussion of the nature of Venus' and Thetis' motherhood.

¹⁰⁸ Smolenaars (2004, 102): *Pater* at 394 "is as ironic as *genetrix* in 383 was tactless".

¹⁰⁹ However, Smolenaars (2004) argues that *viribus tuis* is a mistake Vulcan makes in the heat of passion.

¹¹⁰ After *Il.* 12.433; *Ap. Rhod.* 4.1062, 3.291. Williams (1983), 126-8. See Foucault (2000, 212) on the head of the household being the first to rise and last to sleep.

over non-professionals, so women hold authority (ἀρχούσας) over men when it comes to wool-working on account of their expertise and men's ignorance in the skill (3.9.11).¹¹¹ Vulcan is the ultimate authority in blacksmithing, as it is his divine realm, and one of his epithets is Κλυτοτέχνης ('renowned for his art').¹¹² In this scene, then, Vulcan seems to appropriate the image of the dutiful wife performing matronly *pietas* through wool-working (*haud secus*) by bringing it into his own masculine domain of blacksmithing (his *opera fabrilia*).¹¹³ He demonstrates his contribution to his marital *concordia*, although the gender dynamics between himself and Venus do not bode well for the future of their marriage, as we know from the literary tradition.

Thus, the final aspect of Venus and Vulcan's marriage we must consider is their ultimate estrangement. Pausanias describes a vase which depicts their marriage as arranged by Zeus so that Hephaestus would release Hera from an enchanted chair he had sent her.¹¹⁴ However, Hephaestus' discovery of and punishment for the affair of Aphrodite and Ares are significant episodes of their marriage in the literary tradition, to the extent that it seems they are married in mythology only so they will be estranged.¹¹⁵ Vergil's audience is already aware of the couple's separation, and so knowledge of the literary tradition contributes toward reading their marital *discordia* in this scene.

Creusa

This section explores the dynamics of Aeneas' first marriage, to the Trojan princess Creusa. Although she has been treated as an authority figure as a prophetess and attendant of the Great Mother,¹¹⁶ I discuss here her authority in terms of her marriage to Aeneas. We cannot glean much from the *Aeneid* about the marriage of Creusa and Aeneas; indeed, after Aeneas leaves Troy, she is only mentioned twice: first by Andromache (3.341), and again by Ascanius (9.297-8). However, the brief exchanges between Creusa and Aeneas provide enough material to create a somewhat accurate model of their marriage and domestic dynamics. For instance, when Aeneas wants to fight during the invasion, she pleads with him to preserve the household:

¹¹¹ *D.* 24.1.31.pr.1 addresses the issue of legal ownership of the finished product.

¹¹² *Il.* 1.571, 18.143; *Od.* 8.286.

¹¹³ Elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, textiles are gendered: the Trojan women present a tunic to Minerva (1.479-82); Dido makes clothing for Aeneas (discussed in Chapter 2); and Aeneas gives Sergestus a Cretan slave woman *operum baud ignara Minervae* ('skilled in the work of Minerva', 5.285).

¹¹⁴ Paus. 1.20.3.

¹¹⁵ *Od.* 8.267, Plat. *Rep.* 390b, Quint. Smyrn. 14.40, Athenaeus *Deip.* 1.14, Philostratus *Life of Apollonius of Tyana* 7.26, Hyg. *Fab.* 148, Ovid *Met.* 4.170-189, Verg. *G.* 4.345, Cic. *de Natura Deorum* 2.21, Stat. *Silv.* 1.2.51, Sen. *Phaed.* 124, Nonnus Dion. 5.562, Reposianus, *De Cubito Martis et Veneris*. On the nature of their marriage, see Gutting (2006).

¹¹⁶ See Wyke (1994).

si periturus abis, et nos rape in omnia tecum;
 sin aliquam expertus sumptis spem ponis in armis,
 hanc primum tutare domum. cui parvus Iulus,
 cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquitur? (2.675-8)

If you die, take us with you despite everything. But if you being knowledgeable have any trust in your weapons taken up, defend this house first. I am left behind, who you once called wife, and little Iulus, and your father?

Although Creusa advises him to keep the family together regardless of his actions, she allows him the final decision, putting her faith in his judgment and military skill. Creusa and Aeneas demonstrate *concordia* in their marriage in that Aeneas stops to consider Creusa's advice, and Creusa lets Aeneas decide as the interim *pater familias*.¹¹⁷

Just as Anchises gains infallibility in the afterlife,¹¹⁸ so Creusa gains authority in death as an attendant of Cybele, herself a mother figure in mythology. The superhuman size of her ghost (*nota maior imago*, 2.773) is a physical indicator of her new authority, and we can assume that she is larger than Aeneas at this point. As I have mentioned elsewhere, appearance contributes to a person's authority, as does height. For example, Dido is compared in height to Diana, who is a head taller than her attendant nymphs (1.497-503). The gods' divine authority is often expressed through their height, especially in literary descriptions of their epiphanies¹¹⁹ and their depictions in art.¹²⁰ For instance, Tracy (1989, 382) argues that Venus is tall on the Ara Pacis because she is divine. Thus, Creusa's *imago* demonstrates visibly the authority she holds for Aeneas.

Creusa's final command to Aeneas is to protect Ascanius: *iamque vale, et nati serva communis amorem* ('be well and preserve your love for the son we share', 2.789). We can see that their marriage is successful in that they produced a child and exchanged affection, both aspects contributing to overall *concordia*. In death Creusa encourages Aeneas to follow his destiny to a new city and wife. This prophecy is her final act of marital *concordia*, in which she helps boost the status and influence of her husband, and also of *pietas* toward her son, as he will inherit Aeneas' rule. The expansion of Aeneas' and Ascanius' authority in the future will reflect on her own authority, as she plays a role in their mission as wife, mother, and prophetess.

Dido

While Creusa has only had one husband, we must consider two 'marriages' in a discussion of Dido: with Sychaeus and Aeneas. As we will see in the case of Andromache and the memory of

¹¹⁷ As argued above, Anchises temporarily gives up his status as *pater familias* when he tells them to leave him behind.

¹¹⁸ Lee maintains (1979, 78) that Vergil puts Anchises/Julius Caesar into the Underworld, where he transforms "from an emblem of the burden of the past into a divine source of strength".

¹¹⁹ E.g. *Il.* 4.443, 24.629-30; *Hymn to Aphr.* 173; *Hymn to Dem.*; *Cal. Hyr.* 6.57; *Claud. Cons. Stil.* 2.276f.

¹²⁰ Cf. Zanker (1988).

Hector, the memory of Sychaeus still holds immense authority for Dido. When contemplating an affair with Aeneas, Dido says:

ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores
abstulit; ille habeat secum seruetque sepulcro. (4.28-9)

He who first joined me to himself took my love, may he have it with him and keep
it in the grave.

It is only after Anna, who has become Dido's counsellor, persuades her that Dido reluctantly (or at least feeling guilty) pursues Aeneas.¹²¹ Williams (1983, 127) defines the ideal of *univira* as one "who regards herself as still married to her dead husband."¹²² This is consistent with the three values of Roman marriage: faithfulness to one man, obedience to the husband, and the eternal marriage-bond.¹²³

Some religious ceremonies are performed only by *univirae*,¹²⁴ but the religious aspect weakens so much that Horace writes of Livia, who has been married previously to Tiberius Claudius Nero: *unico gaudens mulier marito* ('the woman rejoicing in one marriage', *Od.* 3.14.5). Additionally, Augustus imposed the law that a widow must remarry within two years of her husband's death.¹²⁵ Regardless, there are examples of women who resist this legal pressure to break with *univiratus*, and epitaphs celebrate *univirae*.¹²⁶ Augustus' favourite niece, Antonia Minor, daughter of Octavia and Mark Antony, famously never remarries in the fifty years after her husband Drusus' death, despite being pressured by Augustus. Thus, while discouraged by official law, the concept of the *univira* remains a value in Roman social morality due to its place in cultural memory.

With the rise of Christianity, however, the concept of *univiratus* returns as an ideal in imperial policy. Under Theodosius I, remarriage for widows with children seems discouraged, as women are penalised for marrying before the end of the mourning period.¹²⁷ In his list of virtuous pagans, Jerome places *univirae* who committed suicide after their husband's death and then those

¹²¹ Anna as a sort of political advisor and emissary is perhaps another example of Dido's problematic status as female leader. However, as Hunter (1993, 182) argues, "Anna's arguments for giving in to *amor* are precisely based upon the matter of public, political advantage" – they are not simply emotional.

¹²² This is suggested by the simile of the woman working at night (which ironically refers to Vulcan working on Aeneas' shield), who keeps her husband's bed chaste (*castum...cubile* 8.412).

¹²³ Williams (1958), 23.

¹²⁴ Livy 10.23.5; Val. Max. 2.1.3; Serv. *ad Aen.* 4.166.

¹²⁵ *Rules of Ulpian* 14. The *lex Julia* ruled that the period was to be one year, while the *lex Papia-Poppaea* amended this to two years. Suetonius, however, holds that it was three years (*Deified Aug.* 34).

¹²⁶ Treggiari (1991), 216-8 and 233-6; Humbert (1972), 59-75; Williams (1958), 23. Williams comments that three words commonly used on epitaphs are *solus*, *unus*, and *univira*. Further, he points out that many spousal epitaphs are influenced by "the authority of the *Aeneid*." Publilius Syrus: *Mulier quae multis nubit multis non placet* (381).

¹²⁷ Evans Grubbs (2002), 223. See also: Humbert (1972), 375-94; Arjava (1996), 167-77.

who remain chaste (adv. Iov. 1.43-6) only after virgins.¹²⁸ He begins this list with Dido, whom he writes kills herself after being courted by King Iarbas of Libya, ignoring the Vergilian tradition, as does Tertullian, who concludes his *De Monogamia* by praising Dido for being a *univira* (17.2).¹²⁹

Some scholars argue that Dido commits suicide not because Aeneas leaves, but because she realises she has broken her vow to Sychaeus.¹³⁰ She speaks of her widowhood:

non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine uitam
degere more ferae, talis nec tangere curas;
non seruata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo. (4.550-3)

It was not permitted that I pass my life blamelessly without knowledge of marriage in the fashion of a wild creature, nor without experiencing such cares. I have not kept the faith I promised to the ashes of Sychaeus.

She feels (specifically human) shame for her 'remarriage' in these lines, casting her punishment as the direct result of breaking her promise to Sychaeus. In the Underworld, however, we find that Dido is reunited with Sychaeus in the Fields of Mourning, which houses those who die from love:

...coniunx ubi pristinus illi
respondet curis aequatque Sychaeus amorem. (6.473-4)

...where her first husband Sychaeus answers her concerns and equals her affection.

Sychaeus' and Dido's marital *concordia* is demonstrated especially in the verbs *respondet* and *aequat*, as they suggest mutual respect and affection. Dido's *pristinus* marriage does not seem to suffer from the same confused power dynamics as her 'marriage' with Aeneas.

The relationship between Dido and Aeneas is complicated externally because the audience knows that the Trojans are fated to leave for Italy and internally because Aeneas does not recognise it as a marriage. As we have seen previously, consent of both parties is a crucial aspect of a legitimate Roman marriage. Aeneas says explicitly that he never agreed to a marriage: *nec coniugis umquam/ praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni* ('I never held the marriage torch or entered into that compact', 4.338-9), which may have been sufficient for a Roman audience not to consider the union a marriage. Aeneas also never admits that he intends to procreate with Dido; this intention seems to be held only by Dido. The fact that Dido believes there is an understanding between them without having had a proper marriage may betray the 'foreignness' she often strives to conceal.¹³¹

¹²⁸ Jerome also refers to Dido's 'marriage' when he accuses prostitutes of using it as an excuse (*ad. Iov.* 2.36).

¹²⁹ Servius, too, follows this tradition (*ad Aen.* 4.36 and 1.468, 1.120, 1.340). Tertullian refers to *univirae* also at: *de Pud.* 16; *de Virg. Vel.* 9; *de Monog.* 8. 13. 17; *de Exhort. Cast.*, 4 ff. 11.12. 13 ; *ad Uxorem* 1.8.9.

¹³⁰ Fenik (1960), iiiif.; Pöschl (1962), 119f.; Klinger (1967), 462f.; Wlosok (1976), 246-8; Rudd (1990), 154.

¹³¹ A 'proper' Roman marriage, that is—the perversion of Roman marriage rites during the storm (4.165-72) perhaps contributes to a sense of foreignness.

A further aspect of *matrimonium* holds that the woman, not the man, actively moves into (and thus from, either by divorce or death) the marriage. We see the relationship of Dido and Aeneas as a complete reversal of the norm, therefore emphasising further the inappropriateness of the union; the nature of Aeneas' ongoing mission means that he is the party who moves into the 'marriage', as well as out of it. After Aeneas arrives at Carthage, Dido takes him into her home and offers him royal power, and he is also the one who leaves. The gender dynamics of the union are inconsistent with Roman norms, as is Dido's own queenship. As has been argued in Augustan and Vergilian scholarship, Dido as (at least partly) an allusion to Cleopatra represents the inappropriate and problematic nature of the 'female king'. This reflects the uneasiness with which a Roman audience might feel for female rulers considering their recent dealings with Cleopatra.

I propose that we read the beehive simile in Carthage beyond being a reference to the shared refugee status of Aeneas and Dido as introducing problems with Dido's kingship. To describe what Aeneas is seeing, Vergil compares the construction of Carthage to the mechanics of a beehive, which is modelled after a scene in the *Georgics* (4.156-69):

qualis apes aestate nova per florea rura
 exercet sub sole labor, cum gentis adultos
 educunt fetus, aut cum liquentia mella
 stipant et dulci distendunt nectare cellas,
 aut onera accipiunt venientum, aut agmine facto
 ignavom fucos pecus a praeseipibus arcent:
 fervet opus, redolentque thymo fragrantia mella. (1.430-6)

Just as toil in the early summer keeps bees busy under the sun across the flowered fields, when they introduce the growing young of their clan, or pack the cells with liquid honey or stretch them with sweet nectar, or receive the loads of those arriving, or, after forming a regiment, drive the drones (a sluggish herd) from the hives: the work boils, and the fragrant honey mingles with thyme.

Vergil does not call Dido a queen bee directly, but it is implied by her place as queen of Carthage. This is problematic in itself, as Romans think that 'queen bees' are male, and so the beehive serves as a political metaphor in Rome.¹³² Indeed, in the *Georgics*, Vergil depicts the leader of the bees as a type of both military leader (4.67-99) and tribal leader (210-8).¹³³ The leader is described in masculine terms (*rex* [68, 95, 212], *ipsi* [82], *ductor* [88], *ille* [215]), and so, Vergil considers the leader of the bees to be a male king.

¹³² Ov. *Fast.* 3.556; Plin. *NH* 11.46-56; Sen. *Clem.* 1.19.2-4; Ael. *Nat. An.* 5.10-1. Also, Plat. *Rep.* 520b; *Polit.* 301d-e. See also Pomeroy (1984); Morley (2007); van Overmeire (2011); Brock (2013), notes 126 and 127.

¹³³ See Polleichtner (2005, 115, 144, 153) on Vergil's use of the bee simile in the *Georgics* to "tell the future of Rome".

However, there is controversy both ancient and modern over this, as there are several instances in which an ancient text names a female leader bee.¹³⁴ In Arrian's *Indica*, Megasthenes states that the shellfish have a king or queen, 'as the bees do' (8.11). Hudson-Williams (1935, 3) states that Arrian/Megasthenes could mean "as the bees have a royal head", while the king or queen could refer solely to the shellfish. However, this does not explain a second usage in Epictetus (as reported by Arrian), in which the speaker asks: ὁ ταῦρος εἶ ἢ ἡ βασίλισσα τῶν μελισσῶν ('Are you a bull or a queen bee?', Arr. *Epict. Diss.* 3.22.99). This is an interesting remark in that the speaker covers both sexes by naming the bull, the dominant (or, more likely, the only) male of the herd, and the queen bee, the dominant female of the hive.

Aristotle also writes that some call the ruler bee the 'mother' because it gives birth to the other bees (*Hist. An.* 5.21=553a). He 'corrects' them, however, asserting that the ruler bee is not only male (and thus a king), but that there must be several kings in each hive in order for the hive to function properly (5.22=553b).¹³⁵ Seneca uses the king bee to support his claim that kingship is a natural state (*Clem.* 1.19.2), but does not apply the comparison to queenship. In the *Fasti*, Ovid revisits Vergil's 'Carthage as beehive' simile to describe the fall of Carthage after Dido's death (3.545f.). Here, however, Ovid explicitly refers to a male king bee rather than a queen, potentially suggesting a tension between Dido's queenship and the nature of legitimate kingship according to natural law.

An intriguing usage of the queen bee is in Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*, in which the tasks and position of a wife are compared to those of a queen bee (7.30-32). This is inconsistent, however, with Xenophon's usage of 'king bee' in the *Cyropaedia* and the *Hellenica*. In the former, Cyrus is compared to a king bee (ὁ τῶν μελιττῶν ἡγεμῶν, *Cyr.* 5.1.24). Although modern translations tend to refer to the ruler-bee as 'queen bee' and use female pronouns in order to reflect modern knowledge that the ruler bee is female, Xenophon's use of the masculine ὁ ἡγεμῶν and ἐκείνου in reference to the ruler bee indicates that the ruler bee is male, and thus is a king bee. In addition, Xenophon compares Thrasydaeus to king bee after his men, upon learning that he is not dead but drunk, surround his house just as bees would swarm around their leader (ὁ ἡγεμῶν, *Hell.* 3.2.28). Again, the masculine usage clearly indicates a male king bee.

By focusing on the passage from the *Oeconomicus*, however, we might find a possible explanation for Dido's role as the 'queen bee' of Carthage, and why it might illustrate the inappropriateness of her 'kingship' and 'marriage' to Aeneas. In the passage, Ischomachus relates

¹³⁴ Theophrastus believed that bees are genderless (*Caus. Pl.* 2.17.9). Pomeroy (1994, 63) writes: "[t]hough Greek philosophers were uncertain about the sex of the leader of the bees, there was general agreement that the workers were female." However, Conington (1876) writes of Verg. *G.* 4.68: "[t]he error of the ancients in supposing the queen bee to be a king is well known." See Polleichtner (2005, 130-1) for a briefer discussion of sources for the gender of bees.

¹³⁵ Cf. Mayhew (1999).

to Socrates how he shows his new wife around the house, and he compares the house to a beehive and his wife to a queen bee (7.33-8).¹³⁶ If we apply this to Dido's situation in Carthage, then, Dido's place as queen bee seems culturally appropriate. However, Ischomachus' new wife asks him why it would not be more fitting that he be the leader bee, to which he replies that he would not have a place to put the things he collects without a household.¹³⁷

Again, our understanding is made more complex and perhaps more fruitful when we consider the theory that the *Oeconomicus* (and, more generally, the Socratic method itself) is concerned with undermining the prestige of a seemingly successful man (here, Ischomachus) in order to promote the philosophical life.¹³⁸ Kronenberg (2009, 38) argues:

Through his dialectic, Socrates reveals Ischomachus to be only an apparent image of *kalokagathia*, and not the real thing. He tries to turn Critobulus away from his preoccupation with material success and pleasure and toward a life of philosophy, which is the true art of ruling, whether the state, one's household, or oneself.

This theory expands to include, and to an extent is itself supported by, a comical reply to Aristophanes on Socrates (especially at 11.3), when Socrates admits that he is a chatterer with his head in the clouds (referring to the *Clouds* 225 and 1480). I propose that this reference supports the theory that Xenophon/Socrates is undermining Ischomachus because in the same sentence that Socrates calls himself a chatterer, he calls Ischomachus a 'perfect gentleman', which should be taken as ironically as Socrates' reference to Aristophanes. Readers would also know that this wife of Ischomachus, Chrysilla, would be involved in a scandal after Ischomachus' death, in which she became the mistress of her daughter's husband, Callias, and gave birth to his son (*Andoc.* 1.124-7); certainly this diminishes any domestic credibility Ischomachus or his wife might have held. In this sense, then, Ischomachus' reference to a female queen bee is as inappropriate as Dido's positioning as queen bee within the Carthaginian hive, and thus as her position as husband to Aeneas.

Also inappropriate in her role as queen bee is the fact that Dido has no children, which is a significant element of her characterisation. Petrini argues (1997, 89, n. 7) that Dido's epithet of *infelix* could refer to her being childless as well as her tragic fate.¹³⁹ Her desire for children

¹³⁶ Just as Ischomachus' new wife is shown around the household (the beehive), so too Aeneas shows himself around Carthage, his new public 'household' (another beehive). For a discussion on the wife as queen bee as a representation of the Persian king, see Pomeroy (1994), 240-2.

¹³⁷ Strauss (1970, 35 n. 36) notes here the switch between the wife using the masculine article with ἡγεμῶν, while Ischomachus uses the feminine. He also explains 'twofold rulership' (1970, 136): "[m]en, as distinguished from the beasts, cannot spend their whole life in the open air but also need shelter; hence they need both indoor and outdoor work."

¹³⁸ Strauss (1970), 164; Stevens (1994), 223-9; Hyland (1995), 105-6; Kronenberg (2009) 37-8, 57 n. 9.

¹³⁹ See below on Helenus as *infelix*.

manifests itself through her role as mother of her people, which is reminiscent of Livia as *genetrix orbis* and *mater patriae*.¹⁴⁰ Dido's connection to (or rather, disconnection from) motherhood, however, ultimately proves problematic for her political career. As we have seen, Dido's wider, metaphorical motherhood and the authority which comes with it are disrupted irrevocably by her desire for literal motherhood, which is stoked by Cupid disguised as Ascanius.

Cairns (1989, 40-6) argues that Dido follows his 'good king' model except in the area of self-control, and this lack of control manifests as love for Aeneas and causes her political and personal downfall. Indeed, her love for Aeneas is foreshadowed as being fatal to her through the deer hunt simile (*letalīs harundo*, 4.73).¹⁴¹ Syed (2005, 130) argues that their doomed affair is disastrous for "her duties as a queen and founding mother,"¹⁴² and Anna tells Dido that her death will be the death of Anna herself, their people, her ancestors and city (4.683f.).¹⁴³ The Carthaginians especially rely on Dido for their survival, and this dependence (*ille operum custos*, 'he is the guardian of their works', G. 4.215) is expressed well through the Queen Bee simile.¹⁴⁴

Unlike *pīus* Aeneas, who, although wishing for death several times (especially at 1.94-101), remains alive in order to lead his people, as Carthage's queen-mother Dido shows impiety to her subjects by abandoning them twice: firstly by allowing her private affair with Aeneas to halt her public projects and then by committing suicide, thus leaving them without a leader and susceptible to invasion after her death. Thus, she demonstrates a lack of foresight required of a leader. She also demonstrates a lack of *pīetas* when she seemingly insults Aeneas for carrying his household gods and Anchises on his back (4.598-9), which, as discussed earlier, is traditionally held up as an example of *pīetas*. She shows impiety also to her surrogate son, Ascanius, when she says she should have killed him and fed him to Aeneas (4.601-2). This may lead the reader to wonder whether if she had had a child with Aeneas, she would have ultimately gone the route of Medea, one of her character's models, and killed their child in retaliation for his inevitable abandonment.

Another layer of the simile is added when the Trojans hurrying to leave Carthage are described as ants (4.402-7), casting Aeneas as the King Ant. The true tension between Dido and Aeneas as Queen Bee and King Ant (respectively) is the fact that only one can be a successful leader by fate. The difference between them, according to Grant (390), is that Aeneas can overcome *amor* for *pīetas* and *fatum*, while Dido cannot. Contrasting the characterisation of Aeneas and Dido in terms of their *pīetas*, Syed (2005, 131) writes:

¹⁴⁰ Augoustakis (2010, 99) calls Dido a "substitute mother...who never experiences motherhood". He also interestingly positions Dido as an absent mother-figure to Hannibal in the *Thebaid* (94-5).

¹⁴¹ Syed (2005), 127.

¹⁴² Cf. Cairns (1989), 43f.

¹⁴³ See Syed (2005), 131; Farron (1980), 39-40; Newton (1957), 32-7.

¹⁴⁴ Grant (1969), 389.

Thus, Dido's passion is not only accompanied by a lack of *pietas*, but it actually destroys the constituent elements of what her *pietas* could be directed at. Furthermore, in her curse monologue, Dido also expresses the desire to destroy Aeneas along with all the constituent elements of his *pietas*. Compared to Aeneas, Dido is a failure as a founding figure and as a rival model of leadership, because of the fragility and instability of her identity.

Although she begins as a pious character caring for her people and offering *hospitium* and equal rule to the Trojans, Dido ultimately demonstrates neither *concordia* in her literal 'marriage' to Aeneas nor *pietas* in her treatment of her subjects as their metaphorical mother or Ascanius as his surrogate mother. Here, her loss of *pietas* also marks her loss of *auctoritas*.

Andromache and Helenus

Dido and Andromache are parallel characters in that they both wish to remain *univirae* and they are also surrogate mothers to Ascanius. Although we have discussed Ascanius within a father and son relationship, Ascanius functions differently as a surrogate son to Dido and to Andromache. In the *Aeneid*, Andromache is defined mainly by her role as a wife and mother. Just as Andromache asks Aeneas about Ascanius in the context of his mother, Aeneas asks Andromache about herself in the context of her husbands (3.317).¹⁴⁵ Hector remains Andromache's 'true' husband, and she fully embraces the authority his memory holds for her as an act of *pietas* towards him. Although this *pietas* apparently does not pose problems or create *discordia* in her marriage to Helenus in the narrative, the discomfort felt by the audience from reading 'Toy Troy' may extend to the 'toy marriage' of Andromache and Helenus.

In order to sue for marriage to Hermione, Pyrrhus gives up Andromache as his wife and transfer to Helenus, another slave and prince of Troy (3.329). After Orestes kills Pyrrhus over Hermione (3.330-2), Helenus is given a portion of Pyrrhus' kingdom: *morte Neoptolemi regnorum reddita cessit/ pars Heleno* (3.333-4). The use of *reddita* here is unclear: Conington speculates that it may refer to Helenus' position in Troy, to succession, or as a result from an antecedent.¹⁴⁶ Servius (*ad Aen.* 3.333) explains *reddita* either as an older version of *data*, or *quod Heleno debebatur imperium*, and *pars cessit: per privignum*. So, by marrying Helenus to Andromache and binding Molossus to Helenus, Pyrrhus accepts the royal Helenus into his line of succession, which is ironic, considering Pyrrhus had killed Helenus' real father, Priam. Molossus inherits Epirus after Helenus' death and

¹⁴⁵ Lee (1979, 188 n. 11) argues that Hecuba and Creusa are shown more as wives than as mothers, and when he comments that Andromache is childless (though she mentions Molossus) and that Amata is never seen with her daughter (another mistake—she whisks her into the mountains during the frenzy), we can assume Andromache and Amata join the list of women more wifely than motherly.

¹⁴⁶ Conington (1876), ad 3.333.

gives his name to the Molossians, a tribe who will eventually fight against the Romans during the Third Macedonian War and afterwards are enslaved. So, Andromache's marriages bind her to the line of Achilles in four ways: her first husband is killed by Achilles, her second husband is Achilles' son, and her third husband is brought into the line of succession on account of his step-son Molossus, who will continue the line.

Andromache mentions Molossus, although she does not name him, briefly and seemingly ashamed of his birth (3.326), and it is clear that just as Hector remains her 'true' husband, Astyanax remains her true child. Andromache finds in Ascanius a living remnant of Astyanax, as they are about the same age and related. Among her first speeches to Aeneas, she asks how Ascanius is coping with his mother's death:

Quid puer Ascanius? Superatne et vescitur aura,
quem tibi iam Troia—
Ecqua tamen puero est amissae cura parentis?
Ecquid in antiquam virtutem animosque virilis
et pater Aeneas et avunculus excitat Hector? (3.340-4)

What about the boy Ascanius? Does he survive and does he breathe air, he whom for you at Troy... Is there still care in the boy for his lost mother? Do his father Aeneas and uncle Hector incite in him any traditional courage and manly spirit?

She gives Ascanius gifts and wonders if Astyanax would have looked like Ascanius had he survived. Just as she tries to replicate Troy, so she is trying to replicate the relationship she had with Astyanax, and the relationship Ascanius had with Creusa. Using Ascanius as a surrogate for Astyanax, Andromache shows *pietas* toward Astyanax's memory, just as she demonstrates piety for Hector by using his tomb as an intermediary or substitute. In this way, Ascanius functions as if he were a tomb himself by providing the living with a physical, earthly representation of the dead. However, Hector's tomb is *inanis*, empty (3.304), while Ascanius is not only not empty, but alive.¹⁴⁷

We never see Andromache and Helenus speak to each other, and in this silence we might read their marital *discordia*. We see this most obviously in Andromache's final words to the Trojans, when she refers to herself as *coniunx Hectorae* (3.488). The fact that she does not publicly (or perhaps even privately) recognise Helenus as her husband is the strongest case for *discordia* in their marriage. Further, as the Trojans are leaving Buthrotum, Helenus bids Anchises farewell, telling him: *o felix nati pietate* (3.480). This remark both celebrates the *pietas* of Anchises and Aeneas as father and son, and suggests Helenus' sadness in not having a son of his own and thus not experiencing familial *pietas* as a father. Here, Helenus reveals himself to be another parallel for Dido in being *infelix*, childless. Like Dido, Helenus appears to rule as a father over his subjects in place of literal children.

¹⁴⁷ Ascanius' helmet is later called *inanem* at 5.673, suggesting 'empty' or even 'without a head' (Servius *ad loc*)—cf. Oliensis (2009), 70.

Although I have analysed this scene in a previous chapter, I will approach it again from a perspective concerned with *pietas* and maternity. This scene contains some of the most compelling evidence which might seem to support Lee's theories of paternal influence replacing maternal influence and male characters as supporting and female characters as blocking. Lee (1979, 116) notes that while it is the Trojan matrons who try to stop Aeneas, his father renews his motivation in the Underworld. Further, it is Jupiter who extinguishes the flames, despite the fact that the timber used for the ships is Cybele's, and Cybele later turns the ships into nymphs in Italy. Although Cybele does not block Aeneas during the funeral games, she does not help move him forward. McAuley (2011) points out, however, that the aim of the matrons "is not to disrupt civil society, but to set down roots and end their perpetual wanderings".¹⁴⁸ Although the matrons do not intend to hamper the Trojans and in fact wish to begin developing their new society sooner, their actions nearly block the imperial destiny of Rome.¹⁴⁹

The matrons who burn the ships stand in stark contrast to the mother of Euryalus, who is significant for several reasons. First, she is the only Trojan mother in the company to be singled out, and even then, she is not named. Second, the fact that she is still with the Trojans and did not stay in Sicily demonstrates her piety towards her son, the Trojan gods, and the mission to establish a new land, and she is celebrated for remaining with the company (9.216-9, 284-6). Finally, she mourns for her son after he dies, and asks that either the enemy kill her as they killed her son, if they have any *pietas* (9.493), or Jupiter kill her.¹⁵⁰ This recalls Aeneas praying to Jupiter while the ships burn on the shore at Drepanum, when he says if Jupiter has any *pietas* for human suffering, he will spare the ships (5.685-92).¹⁵¹ Rather than committing a selfish act like the other Trojan matrons, the mother of Euryalus shows piety to her son and does not act as a blocking character; thus, she is celebrated in the poem.

Amata and Latinus

Latinus meets Aeneas and the Trojans inside a temple that is decorated with the spoils from previous wars. It is his ancestral seat, once held by his ancestor, Picus. Picus is described:

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Nugent (1992).

¹⁴⁹ Gruen (1992, 10-11) interestingly points out that there are other versions of this story: in one story from Dionysius (1.72.3-4), the Trojan women burn the ships of their Greek captors following the war, which actually could be seen as an act of piety on the part of the Trojan women.

¹⁵⁰ Lee (1979, 180-1 n. 19) notes here that *pietas* means 'compassion' more than 'duty'.

¹⁵¹ Again, *pietas* probably means 'compassion' here.

ipse Quirinali lituo parvaeque sedebat
succintus trabea laevaue ancile gerebat
Picus, equum domitor, quem capita cupidine coniunx
aurea percussus virga versumque venenis
fecit avem Circe sparsitque coloribus alas. (7.187-91)

Picus the horse-tamer himself was sitting there with the Quirinal staff and wearing a short tunic, holding the sacred shield in his left hand - he whom his wife Circe, consumed by desire, made a bird, having been struck with a golden wand and changed with magical drugs, and she sprinkled his wings with colour.

We might read this detail of the marital turmoil of Picus and Circe as foreshadowing the *discordia* in Latinus and Amata's marriage. Just as Latinus inherits his rule, perhaps he also inherits marital *discordia*. The marital tension between Amata and Latinus arises from a tension between their authority in the private and public spheres, which is brought to crisis by Allecto as an agent of Juno.

The narrator emphasises Allecto's effect on the dynamics of Latinus' household. First, her snake is described as 'disturbing the whole house' (*domum... permisceat omnem*, 7.348). Second, Allecto is called the wreck of Latinus' household:

postquam visa satis primos acuisse furores
consiliumque omnem domum vertisse Latini... (7.406-7)

Once it seemed that she had incited these first frenzies enough, and that she had overturned Latinus' judgment and entire household...

Allecto damages Latinus' *consilium* (here, 'judgment') and his *domus*. Because as king Latinus' private and public spheres are closely connected, by upsetting the private household dynamics, Allecto ensures a wider, public crisis. Third, Latinus' *consilium* as the *pater familias* is reflective of his *consilium* as the king. Thus, we see that the *discordia* in his marriage turns into civil *discordia*.¹⁵²

Amata is brought to a state of *furor* by Allecto's poison, and in turn, she incites the Latin matrons:

io matres, audite, ubi quaeque, Latinae:
si qua piis animis manet infelicis Amatae
gratia, si iuris materni cura remordet,
solvite crinalis vittas, capite orgia mecum. (7.400-3)

Oh Latin matrons, listen, wherever you are - if some regard for unfortunate Amata remains in your pious hearts, if the concern for maternal rights torments you, unbind the ties of your hair, take up the rites with me.

Amata appeals to the mothers by referring to her own broken *ius maternum*, suggesting that it was unjustly violated. Although Allecto is an agent of Juno, it seems as though Allecto authorises (and

¹⁵² In the scene on the shield of Actium, the Furies, Discordia, and Bellona are depicted together (8.701-3), all together opposing Augustus' civil *concordia*.

exacerbates) the anger which Amata already feels over the loss of her own maternal authority and allows Amata to express this pain through unchecked *furor*. Indeed, Petrini (1997, 79), comments that “Allecto...has given Amata’s rights (*iuris materni*, *A.* 12.402) murderous intensity.” Amata presents her marital *discordia* as the result of this broken *ius*, when really, it is the result of her not accepting that she is only an advisor in the negotiations, and does not hold the final word of the *pater familias*, Latinus.

The Bacchic aspect which appears throughout Amata’s frenzy is an expression of her marital *discordia*:

quin etiam in silvas simulato numine Bacchi
 maius adorta nefas maioremque orsa furorem
 evolat et natam frondosis montibus abdit. (7.385-7)
 She flies into the woods, with the will of Bacchus feigned, undertaking a greater
 impiety and starting a greater frenzy, and she steals her daughter away into the leafy
 mountains.

‘euhoe Bacche,’ fremens, ‘solum te virgine dignum’. (7.389-90)

...shrieking ‘Euhoe Bacchus, you alone are worthy of this virgin’.

talem inter silvas, inter deserta ferarum
 reginam Allecto stimulis agit undique Bacchi. (7.404-5)

Allecto drives the queen far and wide through the woods and lairs of wild animals
 with the goads of Bacchus.

We see a second reference to pseudo-Bacchic ritual in the *Aeneid*: first, as has been discussed, Helen performs a sham ritual in order to signal the Greek troops, and now Amata takes Lavinia into the mountains, leading the Latin matrons in a Bacchic frenzy.¹⁵³ Although Helen used the Bacchic ritual as a performance of *concordia* with Menelaus (and thus *discordia* with Deiphobus and the Trojans), Amata’s Bacchic frenzy is the direct result of *discordia* with Latinus. Because authority in the family is upset, Amata looks for external authority and finds it in Bacchus. In her fury, Amata uses Bacchus to authorise her abduction of Lavinia in order to compensate for her broken *ius maternum*. After Allecto incites Turnus to war and Ascanius kills Silvia’s domesticated deer, the Latin people gather to join the war:

tum quorum attonitae Baccho nemora avia matres
 insultant thiasis (neque enim leve nomen Amatae)... (7.580-1)

¹⁵³ Brazouski (1991, 134) argues that Bacchus is the appropriate deity here because he also struggled against the dishonour his mother, Semele, was shown in Thebes.

Those whose mothers and grandmothers were frenzied by Bacchus in bands took to the woods in Bacchic dances, for the name of Amata was by no means taken lightly...

Amata not only draws the matrons with her speech but also their families on account of the influence of her name alone (*neque enim leve nomen Amatae*), which demonstrates the authority she holds in her own right among the Latins.

Several argue that *iuris maternum* refers to a customary rather than legal right,¹⁵⁴ which, in accordance with the definition of *auctoritas* I have established previously (in that it is a social and political rather than a legal influence), points to matchmaking as an area in which Roman mothers express their *auctoritas*. Petrini (1997, 79) argues that the negotiation of Roman marriages “formed an important basis of...domestic authority and public ambitions,” and this was one of the few ways in which women exercised authority in Roman culture.¹⁵⁵ The *pater familias*, however, reserves the legal right to make final decisions over marriage, adoption, and divorce.¹⁵⁶ Indeed, while Livia arranges her sons’ marriages with some intervention by Augustus,¹⁵⁷ control over marriage negotiations takes on greater significance in the Empire, as dynastic succession (and thus political alliance through marriage) becomes an issue. Corbier (1995, 190) writes:

Because power and legitimacy were at stake, Augustus and his successors had to draw the boundaries of the *domus* so as to exclude unworthy members and create by adoption internal hierarchies to define an order of succession within the *domus*.

Because marriage becomes even more instrumental in imperial politics, women’s advice in marriage negotiations is diminished, as is their authority within the family.

The women in the *Aeneid*, however, seem to lose their authority in negotiating marriages because they make poor decisions. For instance, Juno and Venus arrange the doomed ‘marriage’ of Dido and Aeneas (4.90-104); Anna herself gives Dido bad advice about Aeneas (4.10-23); and now, Amata offers Latinus uninformed counsel:

si gener externa petitur de gente Latinis,
idque sedet, Faunique premunt te iussa parentis,
omnem equidem sceptris terram quae libera nostris
dissidet externam reor et sic dicere divos. (7.367-370)

¹⁵⁴ West (1975), 217 n. 110; Treggiari (1984), 439; Brazouski (1991), 136 n. 30.

¹⁵⁵ Also see: Phillips (1978); Hillard (1983); Dixon (1985), 215-28; Treggiari (1991), 126-38; Bettini (1991), 67-99. Treggiari (1991, 117-8): “matchmaking was at least as much a pursuit of a network of matrons as of thoughtful *paterfamilias*”.

¹⁵⁶ Corbier (1995), 192.

¹⁵⁷ Fraschetti (2001), 107. Petrini (1997, 80) writes: “Amata is not, of course, another Livia, a restless Machiavellian gathering personal and political authority; Vergil focuses on dynastic marriages themselves, and he takes for his themes their place at the pressure points of Roman life and their volatility.”

If a son for the Latins is sought from a foreign clan, and it is fixed, and the orders from your father Faunus weigh on you, then I think that every land which is free from our rule is foreign and the gods say as I do.

It is clear here that Amata purposefully misinterprets a significant prophecy in her obsessive desire to have Turnus as a son-in-law,¹⁵⁸ and thus she loses credibility as a matchmaker. It seems as though her *ius maternum* is broken for good reason: her advice is not authoritative, and the future of Latinus' dynasty and the Latin people depends upon a proper interpretation of the prophecy and thus the fated marriage.

Camilla

Yet another episode in the *Aeneid* in which the Latin matrons band together is following the death of Camilla, and we see that a group of women is again inspired to violence.¹⁵⁹

ipsae de muris summo certamine matres
(monstrat amor verus patriae, ut videre Camillam)
tela manu trepidae iaciunt. (11.891-3)

The matrons themselves anxiously threw weapons by hand from walls with the utmost zeal
- true love of their country shows them the way, once they see Camilla.

This time, however, they organise in defence of the state (*amor patriae*) rather than on account of Amata's undermined maternal *ius*. The relationship between the Latin matrons and Camilla provides an interesting model of the mother and child relationship which blurs the public and private spheres. Camilla's death inspires the women to take up arms and defend the city.

One epic model for Camilla is Penthesilea,¹⁶⁰ whom Proclus claims features in the *Aethiopis*. Later, the *Posthomerica* by Quintus Smyrnaeus depicts the Trojan women as inspired by Penthesilea; this scene is modelled after Camilla's appearance in the *Aeneid*.¹⁶¹ Maciver (2012, 64 n. 54), however, notes that unlike the Trojan women in the *Posthomerica*, "the women of the *Aeneid* remain within the city, and still keeping within their traditional domestic roles, fight from afar." Despite their public violence, the matrons maintain their positions within the physically domestic space of

¹⁵⁸ On Amata's incestuous obsession with Turnus, see: Zarker (1969); West (1975), 194; Lyne (1987), 15-27; Oliensis (2009), 63.

¹⁵⁹ See Keith (2000 and 2006) on the representation of (especially groups of) women in the *Aeneid*.

¹⁶⁰ Horsfall (1988, 44-7), however, argues that the influences for Camilla are unclear, and so we should not seek to compare her definitively with other characters.

¹⁶¹ Vian (1963), 28; Gärtner (2005), 59-60; Maciver (2012), 62-4.

the city, blurring the functions of and interaction between the public and private spheres, having been inspired by a character so clearly removed from the feminine sphere.¹⁶²

The matrons are described as desiring Camilla as a daughter-in-law, which complements Amata's obsession with having Turnus as a son-in-law. In a way, Camilla's death deprives the Latin matrons of their own symbolic *ius* to arrange Camilla's marriage. This display of *pietas* honouring Camilla straddles the public and private, as it functions primarily as revenge for Camilla's death, and additionally in defence of the state. That Camilla's death provides a call-to-arms for the matrons is remarkably dissimilar to Evander's reaction to Pallas' death, which is to faint and mourn. Although ultimately futile, the violent reaction of the matrons to Camilla's death demonstrates the extent of the authority Camilla holds for the matrons.

Also significant here is the absence of a mortal female influence on Camilla as a young girl, as she is raised by her father and favoured by the virgin hunting-goddess Diana. Diana acts as a surrogate mother to Camilla and ensures that her inevitable death in the war is avenged by Iris. Lee (1979, 118), however, groups Camilla with the previous female blocking characters who demonstrate maternal anxieties (along with Juno, Dido, the Trojan matrons, Amata, and Venus, to an extent) by describing her as "a strong woman undone at last by inhuman and unmasculine men... the last of the matriarchs to oppose the hero in his forward movement". In Augustan literature, especially Livy and Vergil, virtuous women are celebrated, while those "who demonstrate the disastrous consequences of disrupting gender roles" suffer tragic ends.¹⁶³ I argue that Vergil portrays Camilla's death here sympathetically like Dido's because of the extent of the authority she holds when she is alive: her authority is demonstrated not only through the Latin matrons' esteem for her but also that she is favoured by the goddess Diana.

Juno and Jupiter

The *Iliad* provides a glimpse into the marriage of Hera and Zeus. Unlike their Homeric parallels, Vergil's Juno and Jupiter have very little contact with each other in the *Aeneid*, as much of their conversation is with others and their actions are narrative. From their limited interaction, however, readers can understand the mechanics of their Vergilian marriage, especially with regard to their individual and combined authority as expressed through *concordia*.

It seems that Juno is unconcerned with *concordia* in her marriage, as she focuses primarily on revenge. Jupiter, on the other hand, is confident in their marital *concordia*, which is represented in his prophecy to Venus. He assures Venus the following:

¹⁶² Nelis (2001, 308-9) discusses the parallels between Camilla and the Lemnian women.

¹⁶³ Ramsby and Severy-Hoven (2007), 43.

quin aspera Iuno,
 quae mare nunc terrasque metu caelumque fatigat,
 consilia in melius referet, mecumque fovebit
 Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam:
 sic placitum.

(1.279-283)

Indeed, harsh Juno, who now exhausts the land with sea and the sky with fear, will respond in better judgment, and along with me she will favour the Romans- leaders of the world and the clan of the toga. It is resolved.

He can guarantee Juno's agreement simply on the grounds that it is his will (*placitum*) for her to agree. Here, Jupiter's use of *consilia* suggests that he will advise Juno to change her mind rather than order her to favour the Romans. Thus, we find that a major difference between the marital dynamics of Juno and Jupiter in the *Aeneid* and those of Hera and Zeus in the *Iliad* is that while Zeus relies on power and physical strength,¹⁶⁴ Jupiter wields authority.¹⁶⁵

In the *Aeneid*, the reader is reminded that Juno and Jupiter are spouses as well as siblings, and they refer to each other interchangeably as 'spouse' and 'sibling'. Although the dynamics of their marriage seem traditionally Roman in their ultimate *concordia*, the nature of their relationship as siblings as well as spouses lends a sense of Otherness and thus perhaps divinity, while simultaneously recalling the Hellenistic, and especially Ptolemaic, tradition of incestuous royal marriage.¹⁶⁶ In Mori's (2008, 93-101) treatment of the authority of Arsinoe, she writes that the marriage of full-siblings Ptolemy and Arsinoe, though strange to the Greeks, was represented "as a *hieros gamos* ('sacred marriage') akin to that of Isis and Osiris or Zeus and Hera" (96). Thus the marriage of Juno and Jupiter in Vergil both fits into the Homeric and Hellenistic traditions and is removed enough from yet still identifiable for a Roman audience in terms of interaction and *concordia*.

In the Introduction, I discussed the dual-relationship of Jupiter and Juno, as Juno refers to herself as both the wife and sister of Jupiter (1.46). In the rest of the *Aeneid*, they refer to each other as 'sibling', 'spouse', or both. Jupiter sends Iris to threaten Juno into abandoning Turnus, but within a relationship of *germanae*, the brother-sister relationship rather than marriage (*germanae*, 9.801-5). Further, when Jupiter teases Juno for dismissing the Trojans' strength, he addresses her as both his sister and wife: *germana mihi atque eadem gratissima coniunx* ('my sister and also my most beloved wife', 10.607). She replies, calling him only her husband (*pulcherrime coniunx*, 10.611), and saying that if he loved her anymore, he would allow her to save Turnus (10.613-6). She knows that Jupiter has the power to change the course of the battle and save Turnus' life (*qui potes*, 10.632),

¹⁶⁴ Strength and violence: *Il.* 4.56, 8.10-27, 8.402-6, 8.450-1, 8.463, 15.165; *Od.* 5.4, 5.146-7, 13.148.

¹⁶⁵ Conversely, Pomathios (1987, 321-31) compares Jupiter's power to that of a magistrate; however, as I have noted, Pomathios avoids the question of authority altogether.

¹⁶⁶ See Cairns (1989, 98). See also Theocritus, *Idyll* 17.128-34 on Ptolemy II and Arsinoe.

but that he will not. Jupiter seems to refer to their dual relationship here in order to point out the discrepancy between the power and authority she wishes to hold and that which she is shown to hold.

The significance of their dual relationship is again illustrated in the final scene between Jupiter and Juno, when they make a compromise concerning the future of the Romans and Italians. First, Jupiter addresses Juno as 'wife' (*coniunx*, 12.793) and orders her to stop interfering in the battle:

desine iam tandem precibus inflectere nostris,
ni te tantus edit tacitam dolor et mihi curae
saepe tuo dulci tristes ex ore recurrent.
ventum ad supremum est. terris agitare vel undis
Troianos potuisti, infandum accendere bellum,
deformare domum et luctu miscere hymenaeos:
ulterius temptare veto. (12.800-6)

Now stop and submit to my requests, unless such grief consumes you in silence and your tearful cares will continue to flow back to me from your sweet lips. It is at its ultimate end. You were able to harass the Trojans on land and sea, to start an abominable war, to disfigure a household, and to mix marriage with mourning. I forbid you from tampering further.

Because Juno has been undermining Jupiter's authoritative counsel (*precibus inflectere nostris*) throughout the epic, Jupiter now both commands and forbids her (*veto*). Among his charges against her, Jupiter includes the fact that she has destroyed Latinus' household (*deformare domum*), which has effectively removed Latinus' own paternal authority and power as *paterfamilias*; though Latinus has been robbed, Jupiter asserts his own *imperium*. He exercises his divine and familial *imperium* (command) in order to curb her *potestas* (from *potuisti*), which here combines a sense of 'being allowed to' and 'being capable of'. To this speech, Juno responds that she has already withdrawn from battle:

ista quidem quia nota mihi tua, magne, voluntas,
Iuppiter, et Turnum et terras invita reliqui. (12.808-9)

Great Jupiter, it was because your wish was known to me that I unwillingly parted from Turnus and the earth.

She demonstrates both knowledge of and deference to his greater will (*tua voluntas*), and she finally addresses him as her superior (*magne Iuppiter*) rather than asserting her own authority and power. However, she proposes a compromise which will preserve the culture of Latium, which Jupiter accepts, thus (perhaps ironically, as it comes only after she relents in the face of his authority) demonstrating her authority. Her rhetorical strategy may contribute to Jupiter accepting her proposal, in that she points out that her compromise will benefit both of their interests, and also that it does not oppose the laws of fate (12.819-820). Thus we see *concordia*, and Juno's authority is

reinforced and expands upon their agreement. Their *concordia* contrasts with the *discordia* we saw in the marriage of Latinus and Amata.

Jupiter responds to Juno's proposal:

es germana Iovis Saturnique altera proles,
irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus.
verum age et inceptum frustra summitte furorem:
do quod vis, et me victusque volensque remitto. (12.830-3)

You are indeed the sister of Jove and another child of Saturn, such waves of anger churning beneath your chest. But come, and suppress this anger begun in vain. I give you what you want, and I withdraw myself, both defeated and willing.

Jupiter here supplements his earlier address of 'wife' with 'sister', and Cairns (1989, 105) argues that this sibling aspect of their marriage "redoubles the significance of their concord." Jupiter suggests that her divine anger proves that she is his sister and Saturn's daughter and also persuades him to grant her request; however, he reveals that her reward for letting go of her anger will be surpassing *pietas* from the Romans (12.838-840), making her a *genetrix Romae*, just as she has previously favoured the Greeks. Juno will finally have the authority which she desires throughout the epic by becoming a metaphorical mother to the Romans.

In these examples of marriage in the *Aeneid*, we see that successful marriages are the result of *concordia* and that those lacking *concordia* fail. This *concordia* contributes to the influence of the married couple as a unit in terms of what they are capable of authorising together or for each other. I have argued here that *concordia* in marriages in the *Aeneid* alludes to the *concordia* in the marriage of Augustus and Livia, who publicise their marital *concordia*. The accomplishments which married couples in the *Aeneid* achieve on account of their authority parallels the added authority which Augustus receives on account of the authority Livia holds in her own right. Moreover, just as Vergil literalises the metaphor of the family and the state by representing Aeneas and Venus (and Lavinia in the future) as the parents of the Romans, so Livia and Augustus blur the line between public and private by offering themselves as *parentes patriae*, using their private funds for public projects, and making their private home public property.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have argued that Vergil employs the family-state metaphor to express and emphasise authority in much the way he uses the metaphor of the professional—that is, by re-literalising it into actual families of 'real' characters, relationships, and circumstances, which, in

turn, potentially becomes a model for the mechanics of public Roman *auctoritas*. I have illustrated that power and authority within family dynamics in the *Aeneid* can be compared to families in Augustan Rome. First, I establish that *pietas* is the expression of the father's (or leader's) *auctoritas*, and that reciprocity is at the heart of *pietas* as it is at the heart of *auctoritas*. I also argue that mothers hold *auctoritas* within the family, and in the *Aeneid* they either aid or obstruct their children using this *auctoritas*. Finally, I demonstrate that *concordia* in marriage is a condition in which the husband's private and public *auctoritas* is not only not obstructed but actively enhanced by his wife, as demonstrated publicly by the marriage of Augustus and Livia. The *Aeneid* requires public displays of marital *discordia* in order to create conflict in the narrative (e.g. Latinus and Amata), yet *concordia* can also be used as a narratological tool, as in Creusa's helpful prophecy—which itself shows Aeneas' political success tied up with his familial success.

As we have seen, Plato represents authority with analogies which feature professionals, while Aristotle discusses authority with analogies of the family; the nature of the *oikos* and its parallels with, function within, and contribution to the *polis* can provide insight into the dynamics and expressions of authority. The Roman tradition of officially bestowing the title *pater patriae* on military and political heroes and, later, emperors, demonstrates the significance of the family-state metaphor during the Roman Republic and Principate. The establishment of a hereditary principate by Augustus puts the metaphor into practice, and by implementing a system of dynastic succession, Augustus ensures the subsequent rulers' legitimacy and authority based on those of the previous emperors.¹⁶⁷ Thus, in the final two chapters, we have seen Aeneas and Augustus as parallels in that they manage to professionalise their personal *auctoritas* into an inheritable political office.

¹⁶⁷ As Chapter 1 and 2 discuss, key elements of Roman authority are the accumulation and transferral of authority through the generations.

CONCLUSIONS

In this dissertation, I have aimed to develop a better understanding of authority itself and establish a framework for reading authority in Roman literature based on this understanding. I then applied this framework to the *Aeneid* in order to provide a new reading of the poem in which authority is a major element in the narrative and character development. Finally, I have sought to characterise both Aeneas' and Augustus' rule and implementation of dynastic succession as the result of the professionalisation of their unofficial authority. My research explores the various ways in which authority appears in the *Aeneid*. Certain words, situations, models, and metaphors indicate to the reader that a character's authority is being reinforced or diminished, and this process holds implications for the narrative progression. Several major themes which interact with or contribute to authority have emerged from my research, including memory, credibility, expertise, *pietas*, and *concordia*. Each of these works as a vehicle for authority in the *Aeneid* in either characterisation or the narrative. Individually, each chapter focuses largely on one or more of these areas; there is, however, substantial cross-over between the chapters because the core functions of authority appear repeatedly in different ways throughout the dissertation. Each chapter both also builds onto and depends upon the others, similar to the aspect of accumulation in authority.

Primarily, I set out to explain several sources and expressions of *auctoritas* and how they appear and function in the *Aeneid*. Because the definitions of authority and *auctoritas* are so varied, it proved most effective to discuss the different attributes contained within in order to get a better understanding of the underlying functions of authority/*auctoritas*. A focus on these functions yielded more tangibly recognisable and applicable models, as my discussion was not limited by an inadequate and ultimately useless 'definition'. I could state that authority is simultaneously 'personal influence', 'the right of the Senate', and 'having expertise in a field', but for the first chapter I looked beyond mere expressions in order to understand the inner workings of the concept itself and thus be able to find subtle applications of authority in the text. This is why, like Galinsky (1996), I presented authority/*auctoritas* as a dynamic process rather than a static attribute: it is always moving, being reshaped, and being reinforced: if it is not being reinforced, it is in a state of decay. This requirement of reinforcement demonstrates the significance of preservation and augmentation in the functioning of authority.

Preservation is the 'backwards-looking' element of authority. The origin of one's authority (i.e. through memory) must be preserved in order to maintain the authority itself. That is, if there is no memory of the existence of one's authority or the basis of one's authority, and thus no

reinforcement, any challenge to this authority will prevail and authority will weaken or fail outright. This reinforcement from an external party (such as an audience) is an act of reciprocity. This thesis has shown that reciprocity functions at the heart of authority because it is the key to recognising—and thus legitimising and reinforcing—authority. It also demonstrates the responsibility the authority figure has towards their audience, in that they must be validated as being authoritative. Therefore, the requirements of consent and free will are fulfilled by the functioning of reciprocity insofar as the audience possesses the freedom (thus, *libertas*) to validate a performance of *auctoritas*.

Along with reciprocity, several consistent traits of authority emerged in forming my conception. Unlike *potestas* or *imperium*, both of which remain tied to an office, *auctoritas* is tied to the individual, giving it a biopolitical aspect. However, authority can originate in or even be enhanced by *potestas* and *imperium*. For instance, a politician might gain personal authority from holding offices, and upon departure from an office, the power remains with the office while the authority remains with the individual. Because of its bio-political nature, *auctoritas* has the potential to be transferred or inherited, and I have argued that it is this aspect, along with the extra-constitutional nature of authority, which facilitates Augustus' implementation of an imperial dynasty.

On account of its biopolitical aspect, authority can also be posthumously recognised, and can even grow depending upon its constant reinforcement after a person's death. Chapter Two explores methods by which people or objects refer to and thus seem to draw on the authority of the remembered person or deed. The person or object preserving this authority also gains authority themselves through attachment: the capacity for preserving and expressing memory becomes a skill for humans and a primary function for objects. Materiality emerged as a key element in my discussion of memory expressed through monuments, gifts as little monuments, and heroic burial. However, these material expressions must still be compounded by concurrently-remembered explanations (e.g. foundation stories) in order to retain the significance of the object or event, and thus its authority.

I addressed the verbal aspects of creating and strengthening credibility and authority in Chapter Three. I discussed the relationship between authorship and authority, which largely depends upon the establishment and maintenance of credibility of both the author and their sources. In this context, I explored the issues of reliability and deception as well as the implications of written text and spoken word for authority in both poetry and prophecy. We saw here the crucial role of the perception of an audience, both internal and external, in recognising credibility, and I concluded that by necessity authority works at the heart of rhetoric and prophecy: without authority, speakers suffer the curse of Cassandra.

In Chapters Four and Five, I suggested that Vergil adopts and literalises political metaphors of authority in the *Aeneid* to alert his audience to a character's influence as a

manifestation of *auctoritas*. The issue of professional authority and the authority of experts in both the *Aeneid* and Roman culture has emerged as a major theme in my dissertation. Although I began my project only considering charioteers and pilots in my argument, I expanded my scope to include doctors, farmers, orators, and prophets. The prevalence of foresight required of these professions is striking: in foresight, as in authority, we see the process of using the past to understand and affect the future. Also required of the professional, as I discussed, is the possession of both technical and theoretical knowledge. Allecto represents the professionalisation of violence into war, while her peacetime counterpart is the unnamed statesman, who represents the professionalisation of authority. Similarly, we see how Augustus moves from his wartime role as general to his peacetime role as professional statesman.

I also touched upon the accumulation of authority through appropriating *curae*, which I found is helpful for understanding the difference between authority and power in the *Aeneid*. Vergil depicts Aeneas and Venus as appropriating the familial and professional roles of minor characters, which demonstrates Aeneas' accumulation of further authority across several spheres. Augustus professionalises his rule by appropriating many different images of various professions, such as healer, helmsman, charioteer, architect, poet, and priest. Thus, the authority inherently associated with these professions supplements the power and authority he already possesses as a politician and general. Just as Augustus encourages the professionalisation of Roman citizens (of soldiers: Tac. 4.4), he both professionalises (and so legitimises) his own craft of being sole ruler and consolidates the authority he gains from presenting himself as practicing many different professions. Just as Apollo is associated with several realms and roles,¹ so Augustus himself performs or represents multiple functions, thus becoming visible in several capacities. He absorbs the power and functions of consuls, priests, and to a large extent, the Senate. Indeed, the imperial family even dictates the future of Roman politics with the reintroduction of dynastic succession.² Although Augustus refused official titles and roles from the Senate, his unofficial adoption of *curae* recalls how Caesar absorbs offices and their power: Augustus thus receives authority instead of seizing power. As he writes in the *Res Gestae*, he has the same amount of *potestas* as his peers, but more *auctoritas* (34). This *auctoritas* is the skill which forms the basis of his professional rule.

Future research into this area could incorporate a discussion of the difference between *imperium* and *potestas* in the *Aeneid*. Moreover, one might explore the shifting implications of authority in Roman politics, especially after Augustus. Authority seems to be a key concern in the

¹ For example: light, medicine, music, and archery, and as a protector of roads, homes, and shepherds.

² See Verg. *G.* 4.197f. on the immortality of the beehive through dynasty.

transformation of political interaction between those with power, those with authority, and then the emperor, for whom power and authority becomes conflated.

Although I touched upon issues of divine authority (especially in scenes of prophecy), it would be interesting to study aspects of divine authority that are different from human authority. It would also be worthwhile to trace how authority in the relationship between gods and men is expressed narratologically, and perhaps how it shifts as the story progresses. A wider study could be done on the nature of *religio* as an authorising force (especially in terms of precedent, memory, and the virtues of external sanction) and its presence in the *Aeneid* and Augustan poetry. This could be compounded by considering the similarities and differences between divine authority and the authority of the emperors, especially after the shift to Christianity- though this would be an ambitious undertaking.

Although a key argument of my dissertation is that the centrality of *auctoritas* in Augustan politics is reflected in the *Aeneid*, my thesis does not rely on the notion that Augustus' politics affect the *Aeneid* or vice versa. By abstaining from the debate over pessimistic or optimistic readings, I have kept my research open enough to include several concurrent interpretations. I feel that my key arguments do not depend on taking absolute stances on either of these issues, and in fact doing so would only limit my reading of the text. By remaining largely neutral in my political interpretations of the text, I have hoped to leave the topic of authority open for further discussion which is not limited or polarised by anti- or pro-Augustan readings.

If my approach and arguments in this dissertation are accepted, they could have further applications for research across Roman literature. I believe a significant contribution of this dissertation is my overall methodology for approaching issues of authority. I hope that the framework I have established for reading authority can be applied to other texts and that this dissertation provides a starting point for further contributions to scholarship on *auctoritas* in Roman literature and politics. Future work could include looking at authority in a variety of earlier and later texts; exploring which aspects are adopted and changed; and evaluating whether these modifications and reinforcements are reflective of their socio-political contexts. I would especially like to see a treatment of political *auctoritas* in the reception of Vergil, which would assess the presence, absence, or outright rejection of Vergilian *auctoritas*. By studying consistencies with and departures from authority in reception studies, we might potentially draw further conclusions about the nature of authority in the *Aeneid*.

Work might also be done on the presence and expression of authority in the other Augustan poets. In this dissertation (namely Chapter 4), I have touched upon related issues of authority in Ovid, especially regarding his presentation of expert authority in the *Ars Amatoria*, *Metamorphoses*, and *Tristia*. Perhaps on account of his complicated experience with the *princeps*, he takes an interesting approach to the relationship between political authority and power. In the

Phaethon episode of the *Metamorphoses* (which I discuss earlier), he writes: *missos quoque Iuppiter ignes/ excusat precibusque minas regaliter addit* ('Jupiter makes excuses for the hurled fire, and he mixes threats with pleas—just like a king', 2.396-7). This cynical usage of *regaliter* is too pointed to ignore. As I have argued, violence and persuasion are directly opposed to the nature of authority, and when Ovid shows here that Jupiter (and anyone who acts *regaliter*) rules by violence (*minas*) with persuasion (*precibus*), he thus negates Jupiter's authority. If this indeed reflects Ovid's conception of the Roman political structure (and Augustus' political methods), in AD 8, I feel there can and should be further work in this area, especially keeping in mind Ovid's subsequent exile to Tomis.³

In researching this dissertation, it became clear that the aspects of reciprocity, participation, and responsibility are the most important requirements of authority, and they make the distinction between power and authority clearer, since power does not require any of these.⁴ Someone who holds power has no responsibility to their subjects, but only the task of rulership; someone who holds authority, however, is bound by several types of responsibility (e.g. accountability and obligation), which also stem from the primary element of reciprocity within authority. When we identify responsibility as an important aspect of authority, we see clearly the *libertas* (and to an extent, agency) of the audience/subject. I argue that this is the key to recognising the shift from authority to power: that is, when someone no longer feels responsibility towards their audience, they become tyrannical in nature. This perhaps goes some way in explaining the anxiety we feel toward the character of Latinus because by relinquishing *habenas rerum*, Latinus effectively relinquishes his responsibility towards his subjects. Although he technically still holds power, he can no longer hold authority because the process of reciprocity has broken down. Indeed, Juno takes up the traditional war rites that should be performed by him, namely opening the Gates of War—an act which itself authorises war, yet becomes illegitimate here. Aeneas and Augustus, however, stand out as retaining an awareness of this responsibility, though Aeneas struggles at times. Throughout both the *Aeneid* and the *Res Gestae*, we can see clearly the development and exercise of this awareness.

These aspects which emphasise the relationship between the authority figure and the audience demonstrate reciprocity as perhaps the single most crucial mechanism within the functioning of authority. Reciprocity works within the expressions and models of authority which I discuss in my research, among them: memory, credibility, profession, *pietas*, and *concordia*. Without elements of recognition and responsibility working at the heart of each interaction, the capacity for

³ Which Ovid writes is executed by Augustus alone and not by Roman law or the Senate (*Tr.* 2.131-2).

⁴ See my discussion of Hobbes and Locke and the social contract of authority in Chapter 1.

authority within them ceases. We see *consensus* and *concordia* as being massively emphasised in Augustan political ideology, and both point to authority's requirement of participation.

In this dissertation, I have sought to distinguish between violence, coercion, power, and authority and establish a methodology for reading authority in literary texts. In doing so, I have presented authority as a dynamic process which relies on memory and reciprocation for both its creation and maintenance. In Vergil's *Aeneid*, *auctoritas* stands out as a force which will eventually result in the founding of Rome; in turn, the foundation of Rome becomes the *auctoritas* upon which the institutions, customs, and laws of Rome rest. *Auctoritas* plays a major role in narrative progression and characterisation, and instances of conflict and resolution often feature struggles with or reinforcement of authority. Additionally, the professionalisation of Aeneas' authority reflects the way in which Augustus 'professionalises' his own authority, creating an official title for himself and implementing dynastic succession, through which he transfers his authority in an institutionalised form. I contend that, along with the development of Christianity, this imperial appropriation of *auctoritas* as an official power contributes to the later conflation of 'power' and 'authority'.

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