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## Augustus Deified or Denigrated: The Political Subtext of Anchises' Speech in Aeneid VI

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AUGUSTUS DEIFIED OR DENIGRATED: THE POLITICAL  
SUBTEXT OF ANCHISES' SPEECH IN *AENEID VI*

by

Scott D. Davis

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree

of

HONORS IN UNIVERSITY STUDIES  
WITH DEPARTMENT HONORS

in

History

Approved:

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UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY  
Logan, UT

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In 27 B.C., Octavian became Augustus. The chaos of the civil wars had ended and an emperor was at last in Rome. As the princeps states in his *Res Gestae*, he had obtained all things “per consensum universorum”<sup>1</sup> and upon achieving victory over his enemies, the doors of the temple of Janus were closed, peace was restored and the governance of Rome had ostensibly been returned to the Senate and the Roman people.<sup>2</sup> Then, “quo pro merito,” Octavian received the title of Augustus and the doors of his temple were adorned with the *corona civica*.<sup>3</sup> A gold shield was erected in the senate-house bearing a testament to the *virtus, clementia, iustitia*, and *pietas* of the princeps.<sup>4</sup> Seemingly, the Republic was restored, the first citizen having lain down his exclusive power. But, however much Augustus may have projected the image of a first citizen who shared power equally in the government, the reality of the situation differed, for the princeps maintained exclusive *imperium* over Syria, Egypt, Spain, and Gaul. More than half the army was under his direct control, most of the citizens of the empire had sworn personal allegiance to him, and the Senate, remembering the recent proscriptions, did his bidding with little argument. And in the east he was already worshipped in connection with the cult of Roma.<sup>5</sup> Despite Augustus’ attempts to distance himself from the aura godlike omnipotence projected by his predecessor, Julius Caesar, he was, in fact, dangerously close to apotheosis. The very hand that restored the Republic guaranteed the long survival of the Roman Empire.

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This paper started as an undergraduate honors project (Vergil by the Numbers: Old Meets New) in Spring 2004 in collaboration with Charles W. Oughton, and he is responsible for organizing and interpreting much of the initial research. I am especially grateful for his work in collecting the quantitative data, putting together the lists of names, and producing the graphs and other charts found in the appendices. His insights and enthusiasm made this project possible. I am also grateful to Dr. Frances B. Titchener, who supervised and encouraged this project from the start. Her compassionate and learned mentorship has been invaluable.

<sup>1</sup> Augustus, *Res Gestae*, 34.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> “Augustus” in N. G. L. Hammond et al. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed. (Oxford: 1972), 149-50.

Augustus attempted to disguise his very real power by claiming he merely held unrivalled *auctoritas*. “Post id tempus auctoritate omnibus praestiti, potestatis autem nihilo amplius habui quam ceteri qui mihi quoque in magistrato conlegae fuerunt.”<sup>6</sup> To sell this image as well as his program of moral reform and Roman imperial pride, he employed the great public relations scheme of which the poet Vergil played an integral part.<sup>7</sup> Vergil’s *Aeneid*, begun about the same time the Republic was “restored,” was to be the supreme epic of Rome, venerating Roman history and the virtues of its legendary founders and heroes, and most importantly, glorifying Augustus Caesar and the golden age he had brought to the Rome. Vergil’s epic accomplished its task as a masterful piece of Augustan propaganda, elevating Augustus and his age to a divine status, but the praise is laden with ironic subtleties that reveal the poet’s love and idolization of things human over things divine. Rome’s relentless conquest and unchecked ambition is lamented as sacred simplicity, purity, humanity, and peace become relics of the past.

The “Parade of Heroes,” which occurs at the end of book VI constitutes the exact center of the epic and is the dramatic culmination of the Odyssean portion of the poem. Hereafter, the Trojan exile is the Roman conqueror, destined to found a civilization that will one day rule the known world. Anchises, now a resident of the underworld,

duxit [natum]

incenditque animum famae venientis amore.<sup>8</sup>

Before the eyes of Pius Aeneas passes the noble heroes of Rome’s future, who will descend from the Italian race he will found. But of these noble Romans, one in particular stands out and is indeed the central focus of the entire 137 line passage: The poet’s choice of heroic characters, both mortal and divine, the order in which he reveals them, their metrical position in the text, the

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<sup>6</sup> *Res Gestae*, 34.

<sup>7</sup> Hammond, *OCD*, 150.

<sup>8</sup> Vergil, *Aeneid*, VI.888-9.

characteristics that they share, and their association with each other all combine to glorify Augustus Caesar. Each figure, in some way, makes a symbolic connection that reveals in verse the virtues the emperor attributed to himself in prose: *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, and *pietas*. But the work is not merely a long paean to the princeps, but rather a view of Roman history that anticipates the emperor and that connects him personally to the heroism of the past. Augustus is portrayed as a second Romulus, a second founder of Rome, a deity in his own right. It is a legitimization of his authority, his program of moral reform, his imperial designs, and his efforts to maintain the *Pax Romana*. Vergil's praise of Augustus differs dramatically from the *Res Gestae* because it is not hindered by the fears of the latter work, but rather embraces them. It does not fear to see the emperor as a god on earth, nor does it fear to associate him with eastern, Hellenistic god-kings. Indeed, the passage is laden with eastern references that show Augustus not in the light of a first citizen, but as an Alexander the Great, as a Julius Caesar. But it is also clear that the idealist poet finds no love for the apotheosized emperor, but rather for the simplicity of the "golden age" Augustus was trying to promote and the peace and stability he brought to Rome. The melancholy and irony, which run throughout, culminating in lament to Marcellus, show a genuine love for the beauty of humanity, simplicity, and life, for family harmony, for justice, for piety, not for conquest and glory. For all its emphasis on the grandeur of the *virtus* of the sons of Rome, it is more an ode to a human life and a lament for needless death. His praise is not for Divus Augustus, but for a man capable of compassion and grief.

Anchises' speech comprises 137 lines, and includes roughly forty individuals from Rome's history.<sup>9</sup> The speech is divisible into four basic sections of emphasis. A praise to Augustus makes up one entire section (twenty lines) and this is balanced by the funeral dirge to the ill-fated Marcellus, apparent heir to the princeps, (twenty-four lines). The remaining figures

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<sup>9</sup> An exact number is impossible, as Vergil lists entire *gens*, like the Fabii and the Drusi.

fall into two sections: the Regal period, including the kings of Alba Longa and Rome (thirty-eight lines), and the Republican era (forty-one lines). Vergil's order, which purposely differs from the true chronology, places the Alban kings—at least the ones he chooses to mention—in their correct order at the beginning. Romulus is then introduced, but instead of continuing to Numa, Vergil startlingly inserts the twenty-line praise to Augustus. The passage then proceeds to finish the Roman kings and moves onto the Republican period. Finally, the speech ends with the twenty-four line lament to Marcellus. The broad order then is the Regal period, Augustus, the rest of the Regal period, the Republican period, and Marcellus—a sort of extended, albeit broken, *synchronism*, that mixes Augustus and Marcellus with the two broad periods of Roman history.<sup>10</sup>

By placing Augustus in the regal period, actually between Romulus, the first Roman king, and Numa, the second, Vergil associates him with the legendary past, viewed by the Romans as a golden age. So too in this context is Augustus invested with the same noble virtues of the early kings and can claim a portion of responsibility for their actions. Like Romulus he is to be seen as a founder and city-builder and like Numa he is to be seen as a pious law-giver and

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<sup>10</sup> The breakdown of lines 756-892 is as follows: Four lines, 756-759, compose the introduction to the speech, then Vergil commences with the first section. 1.) Thirty-eight lines, 760-787 and 808-817, compose period of the kings of Alba Longa and Rome. (Alba Longa receives seventeen lines while Rome receives twenty-one.) 2.) Twenty lines, 788-807, praise Augustus. 3.) Forty-one lines, 818-853 and 855-859, constitute the Republican period. 4.) Finally, twenty-four lines, 860-866 and 868-885, make up the lament to Marcellus. (Lines 851-853, which consist of Anchises' declaration of the Roman arts could in fact be equally applied to Augustus, or generally to the entire history of Rome. By moving these lines to the Augustan column, the symmetry of line numbers is almost perfect with thirty-eight, twenty-three, thirty-eight, and twenty-four going to the Regal period, Augustus, the Republic, and Marcellus respectively. But to be conservative I have granted these lines to the Republican period, for which they also provide an apt conclusion.) Lines 854, 867, and 866-892 represent breaks in the dialogue. For more detailed line-analysis and graphical representations, please see the appendix.

See Robert J. Getty, "Romulus, Roma, and Augustus in the Sixth Book of the Aeneid," *Classical Philology*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Jan., 1950), 1-12. Getty divides the section somewhat differently, making five divisions: First, Silvius and the kings of Alba Longa, second, Romulus, third, Augustus, fourth, the Republican period and the civil wars. While this view is attractive, in that it places Augustus at the center, it fails to see the symmetrical relationship between Marcellus and Augustus. It also places all of the emphasis in the first quarter of the speech, thus justifying Getty's thesis that the heart of the speech lies in the connection between Augustus and Romulus. I agree that they are identified with each other, but I also feel that Augustus is to be identified with the entirety of the speech and not merely with Romulus.



establisher of religion. This also conveniently excuses Augustus from being included in the violence and chaos of the late republic, in which he played a rather unsavory role. Finally, by creating this synchystic pattern, Vergil anticipates the nobility of Marcellus, who can be read as another Augustus. The dramatic irony of his death is thus heightened by association with the glory of his adopted father.

Another anachronism in the Regal period is the use of the word *imperium* in connection with Roma, the city founded by Romulus.<sup>11</sup> The kings of Rome did indeed possess *imperium*, and it is appropriate for Vergil to use this word for the first time in connection with the first king of Rome, but in this instance, *imperium* does not refer to legal administrative or military power, but rather to empire.<sup>12</sup>

En huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma  
imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo.<sup>13</sup>

In its infancy, under Romulus, Rome was not an empire, nor even once it became such did it have a true emperor until Julius Caesar, and later, Augustus, but Vergil sets a precedence, establishing the history of imperial power in Rome from its earliest days. *Imperium* is also associated with Augustus Caesar, who follows Romulus in Vergil's order of history.<sup>14</sup> Vergil suggests that Augustus is a second Romulus, legitimately possessing the same power to expand the empire and command its people with supreme *imperium*. In this model, Augustus gains the authority to expand the empire and legally exercise administrative powers as its *imperator*, even

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<sup>11</sup> *Aen.*, VI.782. Actually, *imperium* is used by Vergil on four occasions during Anchises speech, each time to connect Augustus with former wielders of *imperium* and former builders of the empire. See below for further discussion on Vergil's use of *imperium* and its relationship with the use of the verb *rego*. See n.75 below.

<sup>12</sup> It is probable that listeners in Augustan Rome would have heard both meanings of the word, as they were so familiar with both. The dual meaning adds to the subtlety of the passage and clearly brings in social commentary. See n.74 below.

<sup>13</sup> *Aen.*, VI.781-2.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.792-5. It is important to note that Romulus and Augustus are both in the same metrical position. That Augustus follows Romulus as the very next figure in the "Parade" is a clear indication that they should be associated with each other. It is also interesting to note that Olympus and Roma are in the same position. Anchises predicts the Romulus will spread the empire to Olympus, but it is clear that the true empire builder is Augustus.

as did Romulus. Indeed, it is difficult to argue that the passage refers to Romulus alone, because it was not under his auspices that Rome achieved an empire, but rather under Augustus that the empire reached its height.<sup>15</sup> Vergil suggests that Augustus is a second founder.

Indeed, Augustus would have found it very advantageous to be considered as a second founder of Rome, another Romulus. Vergil says of Romulus,

septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces.<sup>16</sup>

As a builder of the walls of Rome, Romulus is undeniably the founder, but Augustus is quick to point out in his *Res Gestae* the number of buildings, bridges, monuments other public works he constructed for the people of Rome, including the restoration of eighty-two temples.<sup>17</sup> As James Morwood says, “So what is Virgil doing in his use of this theme? To me it seems that he is asking—and answering—a simple question. Aeneas did not build Rome. Romulus did build it, but humbly. Who built it on the grand scale? The answer must be the third founder [after Aeneas and Romulus] of Virgil’s Rome, Augustus.”<sup>18</sup> Thus Augustus’ boast that he found Rome brick and left it marble is validated by Vergil.<sup>19</sup> Much of Augustus’ public works program took place in the thirty years after the death of Vergil, but the poet certainly knew of Augustus’ plans and his desire to be associated with the first builder of Rome.

Vergil also connects Augustus with the *pietas* of Romulus, who received the augury of the twelve vultures that gave him possession of the city. Romulus was the first king and first augur of Rome and because of such ruled with both *imperium* and *auctoritas*.<sup>20</sup> The appellation

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<sup>15</sup>See *Res Gestae*, 4. Augustus is also fond of using the word auspices.

<sup>16</sup> *Aen.*, VI.783.

<sup>17</sup> See *Res Gestae*, 19-21, 24, for a complete list.

<sup>18</sup> James Morwood, “Aeneas, Augustus, and the Theme of the City,” *Greece & Rome*, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ser., Vol. 38, No. 2 (Oct. 1991), 212-223.

<sup>19</sup> Suetonius, *Life of Augustus*, 28.3.

<sup>20</sup> See Kenneth Scott, “The Identification of Augustus with Romulus-Quirinus,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*, Vol. 56 (1925) 87. Scott suggests a connection between the word *auctoritas* and *augustus*, and argues that Augustus accepted the appellation with that in mind. Although, it appears

*pater* was originally designated to Romulus,<sup>21</sup> and by the consent of the Roman people and the Senate, Augustus too received the title *pater patriae*.<sup>22</sup> Augustus stresses, in the *Res Gestae* a fatherly, pious image as he states all of the religious offices he held: “Pontifex maximus, augur, XV virum sacris faciundis, VII virum epulorum, frater arvalis, sodalis Titius, fetialis fui.”<sup>23</sup> As Kenneth Scott argues, “It seems that the people were quick to connect the augury of Augustus with that of Romulus,” and further states, “Augustus realized, I think, that a comparison or identification of himself with Romulus, founder of the city, first augur, and deified hero, would be a powerful help in justifying his political ascendancy.”<sup>24</sup> Vergil, to make this connection, has Augustus found a new golden age in Latium,<sup>25</sup> at once associating Augustus with both Romulus, the first city-founder, and Romulus, the first augur.

Following his praise of Augustus, Vergil continues the theme of founding and immediately proceeds to the second king of Rome, Numa, the great law-giver.<sup>26</sup> The princeps therefore is wedged between two founding kings, whose lives were legendary.<sup>27</sup> Romulus established the city, and Numa established its system of laws, both secular and sacred. Augustus’ *Res Gestae* shows the princeps preoccupation with governmental and religious institutions, as he mentions every office, both civic and religious, that he held in accordance to the law. Scott points out, “Augustus himself in his *Res Gestae* and the writers of his time show that he wished to be known to his contemporaries and to posterity as a great administrator, law-

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that he also considered the name Romulus, but rejected it as seeming too kingly in dangerous in light of the fate of Julius Caesar.

<sup>21</sup> Livy, I.16.

<sup>22</sup> *Res Gestae*, 35. “Tertium decimum consulatum cum gerebam, senatus et equeter ordo populusque Romanus universus appellavit me patrem patriae.”

<sup>23</sup> *Res Gestae*, 7.

<sup>24</sup> Scott, “Identification of Augustus,” 92, 105.

<sup>25</sup> *Aen.*, VI.792-3. “Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet/saecula.”

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, VI. 808-812. Numa is not mentioned by named, but does receive four lines. He is one of only five characters to be left so nameless. The others include Julius Caesar, Pompey, Lucius Mummius, and Lucius Aemilius Paullus. For a possible explanation for Vergil’s decision to leave them unnamed, see below.

<sup>27</sup> Augustus here is placed as the second element of three. Vergil seems to have a preoccupation with sets of three as is discussed below.

giver, and social reformer. We find Livy speaking of Numa as a second founder of the city because of services just like those which Augustus rendered, especially after 27 B.C.”<sup>28</sup>

Scott therefore suggests that Vergil wants Augustus to be seen as one of three founders of Rome who champions the virtues of the other two.<sup>29</sup> Romulus is a warrior and builder, exemplifying *virtus*:

En huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma  
Imperium terris, animos aequabit Olympo,  
Septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,  
Felix prole virum.<sup>30</sup>

Augustus in *pietas* and *clementia* founds a golden age:

Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,  
Augustus Caesar, divi genus, aurea condet  
saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva  
Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos  
proferet imperium;<sup>31</sup>

Of Numa, the wise law-giver, who exemplifies both *pietas* and *iustitia*, Anchises says,

Nosco crines incanaque menta  
regis Romani, primam qui legibus urbem  
fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra  
missus in imperium magnum.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Scott, “Identification of Augustus,” 95. He quotes Livy, I.19.1. “Urbem novam, conditam vi et armis, iure eam legibus ac moribus de integro condere parat.”

<sup>29</sup> Scott, “Identification of Augustus,” 97. “It seems to me that Vergil has tried to connect Augustus closely with Romulus and Numa and has tried to present them all as founders of Rome and its greatness, Romulus as the builder of the walls and the warrior, Numa as the lawgiver, and Augustus as the founder of the Golden Age of peace and prosperity through the virtues of both Romulus and Numa. If then we also find Livy assigning to Numa the honor of being called the second founder of Rome because of the legal and moral services, did not this act help to prepare the public mind for giving to Augustus the same title for the same merit?”

<sup>30</sup> *Aen.*, VI.781-4. A further connection between Romulus and Augustus exists in this passage. Just as Rome expanded under the auspices of Romulus, Augustus writes, “Ob res a me aut per legatos meos auspiciis meis terra marique prospere gestas quinquagines et quinquiens decrevit senatus supplicandum esse dis immortalibus.” (*Res Gestae*, 4).

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.791-5.

By placing Augustus between the two “founders,” Vergil accedes to Augustus the attributes of Romulus and Numa. Augustus is their culmination, acting always with *auctoritas* and doing all things with *virtus, clementia, iustitia, and pietas*.<sup>33</sup>

Robert J. Getty also associates Augustus with Romulus, but suggests that Vergil wishes to show the legitimacy of Augustus’ power as even more ancient, deriving not from the Roman but the Alban Kings.<sup>34</sup> Vergil finishes his characterization of the Alban Kings with this praise:

Qui juvenes! Quantas ostentant, aspice, viris  
atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.<sup>35</sup>

This *insignia* was given to Augustus by vote of the Senate: “Quo pro merito meo senatus consulto...laureis postes aedium marum vestiti publice coronaque civica super ianuam meam fixa est.”<sup>36</sup> The *corona civica* worn by the kings of Alba Longa, in Vergil’s version of history, apparently foreshadows the equal honor given to Augustus for his valor. Getty further argues that the oak garland is beloved of Jupiter and Augustus therefore receives the favor of the chief deity and stands as the representative of the sky-god on earth.<sup>37</sup>

Getty continues to stress the divinity of Augustus by portraying the relationship between Cybele, the mother of the gods, and Roma.<sup>38</sup> Anchises says of the goddess,

Berecynita mater  
invehitur curru Phrygias turrita per urbes

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<sup>32</sup> *Aen.*, VI.809-12.

<sup>33</sup> *Res Gestae*, 34-5.

<sup>34</sup> Getty, “Romulus, Roma, and Augustus,” 2.

<sup>35</sup> *Aen.*, VI.771-2.

<sup>36</sup> *Res Gestae*, 34.

<sup>37</sup> Getty, “Romulus,” 5-8. Getty suggests that in the line “et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?” (*Aen.*, VI.780) “honore” refers to the scepter of Jupiter given to Romulus. He notes that the statue of Quirinus, the deified Romulus, was marked with the oak garland and the eagle, as a symbol that Quirinus was to be identified with Jupiter. It follows that if Romulus was given power from Jupiter to rule and is even identified with Jupiter, and Augustus is divinely connected with Romulus, Augustus becomes the new regent of Jupiter on earth. He is to replace the reign of Saturn on earth and become the chief deity himself. The assertion is certainly valid, although some authors suggest the “honore” refers to the deification of Romulus by Jupiter for winning the *Spolia Opima*. See n.111 below.

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*

laeta dum partu, centum complexa nepotes.<sup>39</sup>

The goddess crowned by turrets is a symbol for the city of Rome with its walls and seven hills, thus the connection with the personified Roma. Cybele is patron to Aeneas in the *Aeneid* and serves to protect the Trojan race. She is also equated with Magna Mater, the mother of the Roman pantheon, mother of Jupiter and wife of Saturn. Roma, equated with Cybele, was worshipped in the east as the divine mother of Augustus.<sup>40</sup> His apotheosis is therefore unquestionable. He receives divine favor from Jupiter, he has the same progenitor as the chief deities of the Roman pantheon, and it is his destiny to replace Saturn as a divine ruler in a golden age.

This assertion, however, rests upon a clear connection between Augustus, Romulus, Cybele, and kings of Alba Longa, who wore the oak garland. Vergil makes such a connection. Of Silvius, the first king after Aeneas—in Vergil's chronology at least—he writes:

Silvius, Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles,  
quem tibi longaevo serum Lavinia conjunx  
educet.<sup>41</sup>

Of Romulus, the first king of Rome he writes:

Quin et avo comitem ses Mavortius addet  
Romulus, Assaraci quem sanguinis Ilia mater  
educet.<sup>42</sup>

Regarding the gods Vergil writes:

quails Berecyntia mater  
invehitur curru Phrygias turrata per urbes

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<sup>39</sup> *Aen.*, VI.784-6.

<sup>40</sup> This is Getty's assertion and mine, although many argue Roma was more of Augustus' consort than mother in Eastern cults.

<sup>41</sup> *Aen.*, VI.763-5.

<sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.777-9.

laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,  
 omnis caelicolas, omnis supera alta tenetis.<sup>43</sup>

Vergil gives three parallels.<sup>44</sup> Each stands at the beginning of a new section (The Alban Kings, The Roman Kings, and the gods). Lavinia, wife of Aeneas will bear Silvius, who will be the first of the ancient kings of Alba Longa to be mixed with the blood of the Latins. Silvius occupies the first position of the line, Lavinia is the second to last word of the line, with her reproductive role of *coniunx* as the last word. *Educet* is enjambed on the next line. Romulus' passage is nearly identical. Romulus, the first of the Roman kings is in the first position, Ilia, his mother, is the second to last word of the line, and her reproductive role of *mater* is the last word. Again, *educet* is enjambed on the next line. Finally, *Berecynthia mater* occupies the last two words of the line, in the same pattern as Ilia and Lavinia. Her verb is *invehitur* instead of *educet* for, as a deity, she "carries in," rather than "raises up." Her children are the gods, who hold the high positions, the Romans, and "Caesar et omnis Iuli."<sup>45</sup> The next person to be named, in the same metrical position as Romulus and Silvius, and also at the beginning of a new section in the speech, is Augustus Caesar, "divi genus."<sup>46</sup> These parallel passages show that Augustus is another Romulus, another Silvius, the first of his people, a child of the gods, and a god himself.

Anchises' speech then proceeds to make three more comparisons in his glorification of Augustus. The princeps is identified with Saturn, Heracles, and Liber, as Anchises' reveals that Augustus will overshadow the works of each.<sup>47</sup> To Aeneas it is revealed that Augustus, through *pietas*, will establish again a golden age of peace and morality, and he will extend it much

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<sup>43</sup> *Aen.*, VI.784-7.

<sup>44</sup> This is the first of a series of sets of three. Using connections of three is a motif Vergil uses throughout the speech.

<sup>45</sup> *Aen.*, VI.789.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.792.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.792-807. He also is shown to go beyond even Atlas who holds up the heavens, but there is not an explicit comparison. Note also that each of these figures occupy the same half line as Augustus, and thus line up vertically under him.

further: "Super et Garamantes et Indos/proferet imperium."<sup>48</sup> As Brian Bosworth suggests, this is but another key to the apotheosis of the emperor: "Conquest, however, was not the only criterion for apotheosis; there had to be benefactions to mankind. On this Anchises is brief but emphatic. Augustus will revive the golden age of Saturnus and bring felicity to Latium—and indeed to the human race in so far as it came under his sway."<sup>49</sup> Augustus is in part divine because he will bring peace to a troubled nation. Indeed, for a people with fresh memories of the civil wars and the proscriptions, any ruler who could bring back peace must have seemed thus.

Augustus is seen to go beyond even the hero, Heracles, in his exploits over the world. Following the prediction that the princeps would spread the empire even to the Garamantes and India, Vergil employs hyperbole to suggest the princeps will go beyond the stars and even beyond sky-supporting Atlas. Of the lands that stand in his way, he writes,

Huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna  
 responsis horrent divum et Maeotia tellus,  
 et setpemingini turbant trepida ostia Nili.<sup>50</sup>

Three nations beyond the European continent already fear the coming of Augustus. These three parallel three of the labors of Heracles, which Anchises describes:

Nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obivit,  
 fixerit aripedem cervam licet, aut Erymanthi  
 pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecerit arcu.<sup>51</sup>

Vergil carefully selects the three labors of Heracles that attempt to contest those of Augustus. Although the legendary hero went to many exotic lands, including Hades itself, Vergil only

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<sup>48</sup> *Aen.*, VI.794-5.

<sup>49</sup> Brian Bosworth, "Augustus, the Res Gestae and Hellenistic Theories of Apotheosis," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol. 89 (1999), 6.

<sup>50</sup> *Aen.*, VI.798-800.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.801-3.



includes the labors that took place on the Peloponnesus.<sup>52</sup> Augustus' exploits that go far beyond Greece therefore dwarf those of Heracles.

Augustus' triumph over Bacchus is even more astounding. Even the victorious deity of the east, who conquered Nysa and rode in exotic Eastern triumphs could go no farther than the emperor:

Nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis

Liber, agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris.<sup>53</sup>

Bosworth points out the supreme importance of this passage as it relates to the apotheosis of Augustus,<sup>54</sup> "The parallels which Vergil alleges Augustus was to surpass are the traditional figures used to justify Alexander, namely Heracles and Dionysus. Now, Heracles was the traditional benefactor of humanity, who traversed the world and purged it of criminals and monsters. For his services he was elevated to Olympus, and enjoyed the favours of Hebe. To find Augustus outstripping his travels is high praise indeed."<sup>55</sup> Dionysus ruled from Nysa, the Indian equivalent of Olympus, the center of the mystical universe. It was part of the Alexander cult to deify the emperor by suggesting he outstripped both Dionysus and Heracles in his rise to power. If Alexander was thus proved to be a divinity himself and to be among the most powerful and illustrious of the gods, Augustus would realize the same status, as powerful and revered as the eastern god-kings.<sup>56</sup> Yet this could also be comment on the ability of the forces of the west to stand supreme, militarily and culturally over those of the east. Perhaps Vergil is less

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<sup>52</sup> The brazen footed stag and the boar on mount Erymanthus in Arcadia, and the many-headed Hydra at Lerna in Argolis.

<sup>53</sup> *Aen.*, VI.804-5.

<sup>54</sup> Bosworth, "Theories of Apotheosis," 2. "It is natural that he introduces his great patron, Augustus Caesar, as the principal architect of empire. That Augustus' career should be viewed as the culmination of Roman history is only to be expected and it is entirely appropriate that his example should be acclaimed as inspirational, something to shame away Aeneas' doubts and galvanize him to begin the work of empire-building in Latium. What, however, is incongruous (and slightly shocking) is the language of the encomium; we have moved away from the Latin milieu into the world of Hellenistic monarchy, and the mode of thought is unmistakably that of the ruler cult."

<sup>55</sup> Bosworth, "Theories of Apotheosis," 2.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*

suggesting that Augustus is like an eastern god-king, than that his policies are morally and physically superior to those of the east.<sup>57</sup>

The geographical extent of Augustus' proposed exploits are also worthy of investigation. Anchises first mentions the Garamantes and India before launching into his hyperbole. The Garamantes were the southern-most people known to the Romans and India represented the Eastern edge of the world. Augustus had already conquered Spain on the western edge of the Roman world. While Augustus never did conquer India, the Garamantes were subdued in the same year Vergil died. The Caspian region and Lake Maeotia were chosen for their remoteness, and Bosworth suggests that they may represent the passage to the outer Ocean that surrounded the world.<sup>58</sup> While he did not conquer those two regions, Egypt was taken personally by Augustus before Vergil began the *Aeneid*. By including regions actually taken by the emperor by those he had not, Vergil suggests that the others would shortly fall into his hands. It was an actual, if ultimately incorrect, prophesy.

The full effect of this passage is to suggest the entire world was subjugated by the emperor of Rome and that the *Pax Romana* was accomplished all over the earth. Bosworth notes: "For Vergil Augustus had achieved what for Alexander was merely a pious hope: he had achieved universal peace through universal conquest. His claim to apotheosis was incomparable."<sup>59</sup> Augustus through unrivalled *virtus* had achieved unrivalled *auctoritas*. "Here conquest and *beneficia* are linked in the most telling way: peace had been achieved—by military victories—over the whole of the Roman Empire."<sup>60</sup> Nor was Augustus too bashful to admit to

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<sup>57</sup> The conquest of the East and the victory of the West is a frequent theme of Anchises' Speech. The victory of Julius Caesar over the eastern forces of Pompey, and the subjugation of eastern provinces are but two examples.

<sup>58</sup> Bosworth, "Apotheosis," 3-4.

<sup>59</sup> *Ibid.*, 7.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibid.*, 14. Bosworth recalls the many instances when Augustus states in the *Res Gestae* the foreign peoples who came to him in friendship. See *Res Gestae* 31-33.

his numerous conquests throughout the world, although his *Res Gestae* reports that his conquests were only for the purpose of bringing peace to the nations of the world, under the banner or Rome.<sup>61</sup> The theme is clear: *Virtus*.

Having finished extolling the *virtus* of the future emperor of Rome, Anchises interjects his speech to fortify Aeneas' nerves:

Et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extender factis,  
aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?<sup>62</sup>

It is, in Anchises' mind, the duty Aeneas to spread the virtue of Roman government. As he will say later, it is the duty of Romans to rule. The remaining Trojans, led by their pious, if unwilling Aeneas, cannot allow fear or enemies to stand in the way of their fate. If this can be taken as a symbol of Augustan rule, Vergil is indicating that Augustus' conquest of the world is not only legitimate, but it is his duty to bring all peoples into the empire. As George E. Duckworth says, "In such an epic symbolism is inevitable. Aeneas is Aeneas, but at times he is Augustus; he is also the ideal ruler who displays the *virtus*, *clementia*, *iustitia*, and *pietas* which were ascribed to Augustus by the Senate and the Roman people."<sup>63</sup> It is Augustus' duty to bring peace to the world and he cannot allow his detractors within and without Rome to steer his course another way.

Following this exhortation, Anchises returns to the kings of Rome, beginning again with Numa, but here there is a marked contrast in the meter. The final section of the glorification of Augustus and Anchises' rhetorical question to his son are marked with a swiftly moving meter,

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<sup>61</sup> Sections 25-33 of the *Res Gestae* describe how he brought peace to the sea from pirates, brought peace to Gaul, Spain, and Germany as well as parts of Africa and Asia Minor. He describes the eastern and southern provinces, including Egypt, brought into his power, and the emissaries sent to him from the East. He also lists all of the colonies he established and alliances he made. Other sections describe the battles he waged, the armies and triumphs he led, and the sacrifices that were conducted in his name. Of all the themes of the *Res Gestae*, conquest stands supreme.

<sup>62</sup> *Aen.*, VI.806-7.

<sup>63</sup> George E. Duckworth, "The Architecture of the Aeneid," *The American Journal of Philology*, Vol. 75, No. 1 (1954), 14.

each line containing only two to three spondees. Numa's passage, comprising lines 808-812, immediately slows down to a slow, heavy meter with four to five spondees in each line.<sup>64</sup> Numa is also the first figure in the "Parade of Heroes" not to be shown in his youth. Instead, Anchises recognizes the "crinis incanaque menta/Regis Romani."<sup>65</sup> He is also described as coming from lowly means into "magnum imperium," hinting at Augustus' relatively humble status before he took power.<sup>66</sup> The steady, slow march emphasizes the age, piety, and wisdom of the law-giver of Rome. Augustus sought to embody both attributes: *Virtus* from Romulus and *Pietas* and *Iustitia* from Numa.

Following Numa, the meter speeds up and the pace accelerates as the speech moves from the ordered, stately Regal period to the violent and chaotic Republican period. Numa receives five lines and following him is Tullus with three lines, who

rumpet patriae residuesque movebit  
 ...in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis  
 agmina.<sup>67</sup>

After describing the king who will break the peace, Anchises gives only two lines to

iactantior Ancus  
 ...nimium gaudens popularibus auris.<sup>68</sup>

And from the demagoguery of Ancus come the Tarquin Kings, given only half a line.<sup>69</sup> The haughty spirit of "ultoris Bruti" then follows and the Regal period is supplanted by the Republic.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> *Aen.*, VI.808-12. Vergil composes the vast majority of the *Aeneid*, and the whole of "Parade of Heroes" with lines consisting of two to five spondees. Thus two represents the extreme for quick speech while five spondees gives a feeling of measured order and slowness. Anchises' sudden shift from two to three spondees per line to four to five would have been quite audible and is a clear indication of a change in mood.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.809-10.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.812.

<sup>67</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.813-5.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.815-6.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.817.

Brutus the Avenger receives nearly seven lines, the most of any figure who lived during the Republican era, with the obvious exceptions of Augustus and Marcellus, who each have their own lengthy sections. Anchises says of Brutus, who freed the state from oppression,

Consulis imperium hic primus saevasque securis  
accipiet.<sup>71</sup>

This passage has interesting echoes in the opening of Augustus' *Res Gestae*, suggesting that Vergil may have attempted to portray Brutus as a proto-Augustus: "Annos undeviginti natus exercitum privato consilio et privata impensa comparavi, perquem rem publicam a dominatoine factionis oppressam in libertatem vindicavi. Eo nomine senatus decretis honorificis in ordinem suum me adlegit...consularem locum sententiae dicendae tribuens, et imperium mihi dedit."<sup>72</sup>

Both Brutus and Augustus, in these accounts, set free the state from oppression, and as a result were made consuls and received *imperium*.<sup>73</sup>

Brutus is one of only four figures in the "Parade of Heroes" to be associated with *imperium*.<sup>74</sup> The others are Romulus, Augustus, and Numa, and the selection is significant.<sup>75</sup>

<sup>70</sup> *Aen.*, VI.818.

<sup>71</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.819.

<sup>72</sup> *Res Gestae*, 1.

<sup>73</sup> There is also another obvious echo here, that of Brutus the tyrannicide who assassinated Julius Caesar. He too acted in behalf of the state, to free it from oppression. The association is enforced by what follows in Anchises' speech:

natosque pater nova bella moventis  
ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit,  
infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores:  
vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido. (*Aen.*, VI.820-3)

Brutus was extolled for his patriotic fervor and single-minded duty toward the state, even to murder someone close to him to preserve the sanctity of the Republic.

<sup>74</sup> I maintain that a Roman audience would have considered both meanings of the word: empire and the legal right to rule. Therefore *imperium* in these passages suggests not only empire as a fact, but the legitimate and legal right to exercise power within the empire, or to actually rule the empire as in the case of Augustus and the Roman kings. See n.12 above.

<sup>75</sup> See *Aen.*, VI.782, 795, 812, and 819. It is interesting to note that three of the four figures holding *imperium* are associated with the Regal period, as if Vergil is suggesting that the right to rule emanates from a single person, that the period of the kings was a simple time of justice without corruption. The Republic, by contrast is portrayed as overly complicated, obsessed with war, and governed by competing demagogues. Augustus would have certainly supported this view, although Julius Caesar seems to be the worst of these and the most destructive.

Romulus is given *imperium* because he is the first king of Rome, Numa because he establishes laws. Augustus receives it as another founder of Rome after Romulus and Numa (see above) and possesses the necessary *virtus, pietas, and iustitia* to legitimately rule the empire. Brutus is the only figure from the Republican period who possesses *imperium*, and he is also the figure in this section of the speech that most closely resembles Vergil's vision of Augustus. After Brutus, no figure emerges as the clear, sole leader of the Roman people, but instead there is a rapid list of some of the principal Roman families, notable statesmen, and illustrious generals. None rules alone, none rules over a peaceful state, and thus by the standards set in Anchises' speech, none can possess *imperium*.<sup>76</sup> But according to Anchises, wielding *imperium* is the duty of the noble Romans: "Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento."<sup>77</sup> Augustus, therefore, seems the only person capable of legitimately overseeing the state.

Anchises then begins his rush through the Republican period, hardly pausing to give more than a name to the figures he claims will have a mighty influence upon the Roman state.<sup>78</sup> Unlike the Regal period, in which the kings were formally introduced in the order in which they reigned, the figures of the Republican figure are usually given no more than half a line, if they are even individually named and not merely included with their *gens*. There is no clear chronology, as Anchises jumps centuries forwards and backwards in his rush to get through the Republican period to the great culmination of Rome: Augustus. The chaos of the speech mirrors

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Notice that *imperium* is not used until Romulus establishes Rome. (With the kings of Alba Longa, Vergil uses the verb *rego* alone, suggesting that they ruled, but not with established, legal authority.) It seems, therefore, to be exclusively interconnected with the Roman state, giving the Romans even greater legal and moral justification to rule the world. See n.11 above.

<sup>76</sup> Based upon the figures Vergil associates with *imperium*, it does seem requisite for there to be only one ruler at a time, and that there be stability for *imperium* to be present. Vergil suggests that in order for there to be an *imperium* there must be only one *imperator*. He extends this argument to suggest that in order for there to even be legitimate authority, there can only be one person wielding it, and he must wield in the interest of creating stability. He clearly gives a vote of confidence to Augustus.

<sup>77</sup> *Aen.*, VI.851.

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.824-53.

the historical context of Rome: a people with no central leader, driven by war, disrupted by internal struggles, and torn to pieces by rival demagogues.<sup>79</sup> If there is one theme throughout it is war.<sup>80</sup>

Anchises quickly passes by the Decii, failing to individually discuss the two consuls, father and son, who dedicated themselves to death in battle.<sup>81</sup> He then jumps forward a century to make a brief nod to the Drusi, the family of Livia, also distinguished in battle and statesmanship.<sup>82</sup> Then in the next line he goes back more than a century and a half to give only the name of Torquatus, the legendary slayer of the gigantic Gaul, and finish the line with Camillus and briefly alluding to his role in the war against the Gauls in 390 B.C.<sup>83</sup>

Finally, he arrives at the next lengthy section in the speech, but only to describe more war and internal division. Julius Caesar and Pompey, listed together as “illae animae,” but otherwise unnamed, command the next ten lines.<sup>84</sup> Anchises laments the war that the “concordes animae nunq̄” gleaming in “paribus...armis” will arouse between them.<sup>85</sup> The *socer* will descend from

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<sup>79</sup> The rivals, of course, are Julius Caesar and Pompey. While it seems the Vergil had a fairly positive view of Augustus, he did not favor his predecessor, probably because he did not succeed in bringing long-term peace to Rome and because he became overly enamored with despotic eastern traditions.

<sup>80</sup> Although Vergil finds the *virtus* associated with conquest to be a heroic attribute, he seems to picture the conquest as happening without violence or at least far away from Rome. Vergil seems to abhor any disturbance to *pax*. The heroism of Augustus, in the poet's mind, is in his ability to bring peace and stability to the state. If it means sacrificing the Republic, so be it.

<sup>81</sup> Notes on *Aen.*, VI.824 in T. E. Page, ed., *The Aeneid of Virgil: Books I-VI*, (New York: 1967), 497. “P. Decius Mus was the name of two plebeian consuls who solemnly devoted themselves to death in battle, the father B.C.340 in a war against the Latins, the son B.C. 295 in the battle of Sentium against the Gauls.”

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Notes on *Aen.*, VI.825 in Page, *The Aeneid*, 497.

Actually, Camillus was called the second founder of Rome for his role in recovering Rome from the Gauls that attacked an occupied it. Vergil likely does not go into detail, so as not to glorify the Republican period or upstage Augustus. Each of these individuals displays *virtus*, but Vergil wants to make Augustus seem above the selfish conflicts of the Republican era.

<sup>84</sup> *Aen.*, VI.826-35.

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.827,826.



the mounts in the west, with the *gener* will attack with forces from the east.<sup>86</sup> Anchises scolds them as if they are boys involved in a childish tussle:

Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis adsuescite bella  
 neu patriae validas in viscerca vertite viris  
 tuque prior, tu parce, genus qui ducis Olympo,  
 proiice tela manu, sanguis meus!——<sup>87</sup>

The alliteration in the second line deepens the feeling of a father-figure addressing children as alliteration is often associated with *rusticitas* and old traditions. Anchises, invokes the golden age of the stately kings to scold the foolish children of the Republic, who are intent upon their own ambitions to the detriment of the Republic—a marked contrast from Brutus Ultor who executed his own children for the sake of preserving the state and preserving the peace. But in particular, Anchises rebuke Julius Caesar, who should apparently know better, as he descended from Olympus.<sup>88</sup> He is asked first to lay down his weapons for the preservation of the state and to show mercy to his enemies. Yet there is more than mere scolding here; the desperation of the plea is apparent in the unfinished line, “sanguis meus!” Even the poet lacked the ability to form words strong enough to meet the direness of the situation.

The theme of *virtus* and conquest, particularly in the East, is continued as Anchises lists the deeds of Lucius Mummius Achaicus who will raze Corinth and return in a triumphal procession, distinguished for killing Greeks.<sup>89</sup> Next is Lucius Aemilius Paullus, who will defeat

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<sup>86</sup> *Aen.*, VI.830-1. The fight between east and west is very reminiscent of the war between Octavian and Antony, which would have been very fresh in Vergil’s mind as he began the *Aeneid*. His plea to end the fighting may in fact be directed at both wars and both sets of players.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.832-5.

<sup>88</sup> This supports the assertion that Vergil may have been obliquely addressing Augustus over his war with Antony. If Augustus truly descended from the gods and is the legitimate ruler, he should not engage in selfish wars at the detriment of the state.

<sup>89</sup> *Aen.*, VI.836-7.



Perseus, king of Macedon, who will derive his lineage from Achilles.<sup>90</sup> Symbolically, “Eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae.”<sup>91</sup> Paullus will avenge the Trojan race as he destroys the homeland and the descendants of the Greek warriors who murdered his ancestors.<sup>92</sup>

Neither Mummius nor Paullus is listed by name, and this is significant, for they are the third such set not to be named by Anchises, following Caesar and Pompey, and Numa. There is a connection between each of these sets of characters, which Vergil makes apparent near the end of Republican section. Anchises tells Aeneas what are to be the arts of the Romans:

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento  
(hae tibi erunt artes), pacisque imponere morem,  
parcere subiectis et debellare superbos.<sup>93</sup>

The Romans are to rule with *imperium*, which is a theme throughout the speech (see above), but then Anchises gives three specific pieces of advice. 1) Establish the custom of peace; 2) Spare the vanquished; 3) Crush the proud. Each of the unnamed sets of figures relates to a specific piece of advice and Vergil uses them to illustrate his arguments.

The first exhortation, to establish the custom of peace, goes to the first unnamed figure, Numa, the great law-giver who also formalized the state religion in a golden age of peace.<sup>94</sup> The second, to spare the vanquished, relates to the war between Caesar and Pompey. Anchises begs Caesar to be the first to show mercy and to throw away weapons.<sup>95</sup> Finally, with Mummius and Paullus, who razed the haughty Greeks in retribution for the atrocities of the Trojan War, Vergil

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<sup>90</sup> *Aen.*, VI.838-40.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.838.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.840. “ultus avos Troiae templa et temerata Minervae.” This point ostensibly justifies the brutal Roman take-over of Greece. However, as will be seen later, Vergil’s praise of the destruction of Greece is ironic. His point here, though, is that the Romans are justified in their rule, and supreme government is allotted to the Romans alone.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.851-3.

<sup>94</sup> The word *morem* can have the strength of law or the vagueness of tradition or custom and is thus apt to stand in for both religion and government. The primary point here, however, seems to again be *pax*.

<sup>95</sup> Note that in both instances the same verb is used: *parco*. See *Aen.*, VI.834 and 853.

emphasizes the third point: Crush the proud. These illustrations also reveal the appropriate attributes necessary to be a noble Roman: As stated before, Numa embodies *pietas* and *iustitia*; Caesar, if ever he should heed the pleading of Anchises, would show *clementia*; and Mummius and Paullus reveal unchecked *virtus*. Augustus claimed to do all things according to these noble virtues, as the *clupeus aureus* testifies, and to possess, as well, *auctoritas* and *imperium*.<sup>96</sup>

Anchises continues his list by squeezing in seven more historical figures. Each he mentions to show the virtues of ideal citizen ship. "Quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te, Cosse, relinquit."<sup>97</sup> Cato certainly cannot go unmentioned, or silent as the Latin says, for he was the most vocal and staunch opponent of Carthage, and it is essential to mention the second winner of the *Spolia Opima*.<sup>98</sup> Anchises then, in two lines, mentions two famous sets of twins:

quis Gracchi genus aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,  
Scipiadas, cladem Libya.<sup>99</sup>

The Gracchi will serve their government in Rome displaying *iustitia*, and the Scipios will demonstrate *virtus* against the Carthaginians in the famed Punic Wars, one defeating Hannibal, the other destroying Carthage.<sup>100</sup>

Vergil includes Fabricus and Serranus to show the ideal traits of a Roman general, particularly the heroic image of the "golden age":

Parvoque potentem  
Fabricum vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>96</sup> *Res Gestae*, 34.

<sup>97</sup> *Aen.*, VI.841.

<sup>98</sup> Cossus receives only passing mention, but as a winner of the *Spolia Opima* he is necessarily connected with Romulus, the first winner, and Marcellus the last. Vergil makes this connection clear. See below for discussion of the winners of the *Spolia Opima*.

<sup>99</sup> *Aen.*, VI.842-3.

<sup>100</sup> The mention of the Gracchi is a little problematic as Tiberius and Gaius were notorious symbols of sedition and civil unrest. Page suggests that Vergil may, in fact, be referring to an earlier Tiberius Gracchus who was consul during the Second Punic War (Note on *Aen.*, VI.842 in Page, *Aeneid*, 498.) This too presents a problem, as it does not explain why Anchises uses the plural form. He must be referring to the famous reformers, who were, I suppose in Vergil's mind, heroes of the people as they brought justice to the government. Perhaps enough time had passed that Vergil was not still haunted by the unrest they caused.

Their presence in the “Parade of Heroes” highlights *pietas* and represents a return to the simple, morally pure golden age of the monarchs. The “parvoque potentem” represents a disdain for worldly wealth, and instead a value for morality and patriotism and is reminiscent of Numa’s rise to power from lowly circumstances.<sup>102</sup> The alliteration surrounding Serranus recalls the olden days and *rusticitas*, as it does when Anchises uses it in his plea to Caesar (see above.) The former was called to war, the latter to government, and both left their plowshares, the noble Roman profession, to fulfill their duty.<sup>103</sup>

Finally, Anchises ends the list with an ironic aside to Fabii: “Quo fessum rapitis, Fabii?”<sup>104</sup> He then names their most famous son, and the object of his irony:

Tu Maximus ille es,  
unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.<sup>105</sup>

To many Romans, Fabius Maximus did not demonstrate *virtus*, as he avoided skirmishes with the enemy, yet his tactic allowed the Romans to stay alive and win the battle. That Vergil ends the list with Fabius may show his own preference for the general who gained success by avoiding conflict.

This list completed, Anchises sums up the role of the Romans in the world, to rule and to establish law (see above).<sup>106</sup> He contrasts the arts of the Romans with those of the Greeks, the other masters of civilization:

<sup>101</sup> *Aen.*, VI.843-4.

<sup>102</sup> See *Aen.* VI.811-2.

Curibus parvis et paupere terra  
missus in imperium magnum.

<sup>103</sup> Vergil seems to alternate between heroes of war and heroes of government: Cato, Cossus, the Gracchi, the Scipios, Fabricus, and Serranus. He is clearly illustrating both *iustitia* and *virtus*.

<sup>104</sup> *Aen.*, VI.845. Page suggests that the phrase is a tool used to cut short a tedious list, and that Anchises merely selects the greatest of the Fabii. (Note on *Aen.*, VI.845 in Page, *Aeneid*, 449.) Obviously, Vergil is playing on the theme of speed as Anchises rushes through the list, breathless by the time he gets to the Fabii. But Page fails to mention the irony of having Fabius, the Great Delayer, rushing Anchises.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.845-6.

<sup>106</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.851-3.

excudent alii spirantia molles aera  
 (credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus,  
 orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus  
 describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent.<sup>107</sup>

The Roman “arts,” including conquest and subjugation stand superior to the artistic and intellectual achievements of the Greeks, according to Anchises. At the time Vergil wrote the *Aeneid*, the Greeks were in fact subjugated and the Romans did rule much of the know world, but the passage is highly ironic and gives the lie. Vergil, for all his ostensible praise of *virtus* and the conquest of empire, clearly favors peace and stability. He was not a soldier, but an artist, and his arts more closely resemble those of the Greeks than his “noble” Romans. It is easy to detect an ironic lament as Vergil admits the supremacy of the Roman sword over the inspiring ability to draw living figures from stone and name the rising stars. His nation, his value system destroys his art, and he must glorify this fact.

Vergil briefly interrupts Anchises’ speech and then allows him to finish with the final person in the Republican section: “Aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis.”<sup>108</sup> Marcus Claudius Marcellus would be five times consul, and in his first kill the king of the Insubrian Gauls, winning the *Spolia Opima*, the third and last to do so.<sup>109</sup> His position in the line of poetry is significant. The word *insignis* is used only three times in the speech, once for Marcellus himself, once for Numa, and once for Mummius. Neither Mummius nor Numa are named, and the word *insignis* stands in for their name, with the distinguishing material surrounding the word in the plural ablative, creating a visual picture in the poetry.<sup>110</sup> (Numa is distinguished by olive branches, and Mummius by slain Greeks.) The pattern changes with Marcellus, although there is

<sup>107</sup> *Aen.*, VI.847-50.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.855.

<sup>109</sup> Page, *Aeneid*, 449.

<sup>110</sup> Of Numa, Vergil writes, “nosco ramis insignis olivae.” (*Aen.*, VI.809.) Of Mummius, he writes, “Victor aget curram caesis insignis Achivis.” (*Aen.*, VI.837.)

no metrical reason to do so: insignis could be switched with Marcellus and the line would still scan. However, by putting Marcellus in the second half-line instead of the first, where the vast majority of the historical figures are placed, Vergil places him in the same vertical position (the second half-line) as the two other winners of the *Spolia Opima*, Cossus above him in line 841 and Quirinus (the deified Romulus) below him in 859.<sup>111</sup> The contrast is dramatic when Marcellus' namesake, the next name after Quirinus, is placed deliberately in the first half-line: "Tu Marcellus eris."<sup>112</sup> Marcellus, the apparent heir to Augustus, would not live to achieve the fame of his forbearers.<sup>113</sup>

Finally, Anchises, Aeneas, and the Sibyl arrive at the culmination of the "Parade of Heroes," but instead of glorifying the central figure of the Roman state, Augustus Caesar, with a powerful consummating speech, Anchises gives a moving funeral dirge to Marcellus the younger, Augustus' supposed successor, who would not reach his twentieth year.<sup>114</sup> Aeneas, upon seeing the youth "fulgentibus armis,"<sup>115</sup> asks his father,

Quis, pater, ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem?

Filius, ane aliquis magna de stripe nepotum?<sup>116</sup>

<sup>111</sup> Michael C. J. Putman suggests that the "suo honore" given to Romulus in line 780 refer to the deification of Romulus by Jupiter and his later association with the sky-god. The honor was bestowed upon Romulus because he too won the *spolia opima* and dedicated them to Jupiter. (Note the word "signat" in line 780. cf. insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis.) Marcellus presents the spoils to Quirinus instead of Jupiter, because the former is a representative of the latter and receives the sacrifice because he was the first to win it. (Michael C. J. Putman, "Romulus Tropaeophorus (Aeneid 6.779-80)," *The Classical Quarterly*, New Series, Vol. 35, No. 1 (1985), 238.)

<sup>112</sup> *Aen.*, VI.883.

<sup>113</sup> G. P. Goold mentions the fact that at an early stage of composition, line VI.825 did not read "aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum," but that the "aspice" was instead followed by lines 855-9, which discuss Marcellus, winner of the *Spolia Opima*. "After the death of the younger Marcellus [the verses] were moved to their present position to make way for the moving tribute to him." (in H. Rushton Faircloth, revised by G. P. Goold, *Vergil, Eclogues, Georgics, Aeneid I-VI*, in Loeb Classical Library, Vol. 63 (Mass., 2001), 590.)

<sup>114</sup> According to Suetonius, in his life of Vergil, when Octavia, the mother of Marcellus heard Vergil recite the passage, she fainted. It was reported that she later rewarded the poet for his tribute to Marcellus.

<sup>115</sup> *Aen.*, VI.861. cf. *Aen.*, VI.826, "illae autem paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis." Just as Augustus' ill-fated, adopted father appeared in gleaming arms, so too did his ill-fated, adopted son. The comparison is striking.

<sup>116</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.863-4.



Vergil plays upon the relationship between father and son, and the living and the dead, by having a living son ask his deceased father about the a *filii* of an illustrious *pater*, marked for death. Anchises, struggling both with the separation he has experience from his own son and the one he knows will come to pass in Rome's future, answers with tears in his eyes, "O nate, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum."<sup>117</sup> Anchises explains that the fates will not allow the promising Marcellus to tarry upon earth, for too powerful would the Roman race become.<sup>118</sup> Men will wail in the great city of Mars and the Tiber will pass by the "tumulum...recentem."<sup>119</sup> The first half of the speech glories in the building of the great city of Mars. Now it is an accomplished fact and only sadness greets the beholder. A mighty building has just been erected, the Mauseleum of Augustus, and the emperor is forced to use it before he is ready, to entomb the son who was supposed to succeed him in death. Anchises prophesies that no parent "de gente Latinos" will ever raise so great a child; the Romulan land will never again see such greatness.<sup>120</sup>

Heu pietas, heu prisca fides invictaque bello  
dextra.<sup>121</sup>

With the young Marcellus die also the attributes of greatness: *pietas*, *fides*, *virtus*, and *invicta dextra*. None could have conquered the young hero in battle, none were more powerful, more pure, more dutiful.<sup>122</sup> But the fates took Marcellus, as too godly to remain on earth.

Heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,  
tu Marcellus eris. Manibus date lilia plenis  
purpureos spargam flores animamque nepostis  
his saltem accumulem donix, et fungar inani  
munere.<sup>123</sup>

<sup>117</sup> *Aen.*, VI.868. Again, notice the vocative "nate."

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.870-1.

<sup>119</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.872-4.

<sup>120</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.875-7.

<sup>121</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.878-80.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.880-1.

Anchises echoes the grief of a nation at losing a favored son with his own grief for Aeneas who will soon depart, leaving a father again bereft of son. He wishes to scatter purple lilies, to grieve, but it is an “inani munere.” Augustus too, the most powerful man in the world, can only perform an unavailing duty for a son permanently beyond his reach. Death separates Anchises from Aeneas as much as it does Augustus from Marcellus.

Here Anchises concludes the speech in which he set out to reveal the glory of the “Dardanium prolem,” and the fate of his son, Aeneas.<sup>124</sup> What began with the birth of Silvius and the dawn of the Italian settlement, ended with the death of Marcellus and the tragic blight over a mighty city. Aeneas’ odyssey ends in Hades, the land of the dead and the not yet living, as he sees what is in store for him, “incenditque animum famae venientis amore.”<sup>125</sup> The mood of gloom is dispelled, and Anchises shows Aeneas, the Roman, the wars he must now wage to establish a settlement in Italy “et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.”<sup>126</sup> And then, without pause or farewell, Anchises leads his son to the Gate of Ivory, from which he exits, prepared to seize his destiny in Italy. The sudden scene change from father and son mourning together to the delightful discussion of battles to come and the abrupt exit has a very jarring effect. Such is Vergil’s opinion of what Aeneas has now become.

Aeneas, who is now fully a Roman, spends the next six books of the *Aeneid* fighting war after war in the quest to gain his promised Italy. The Pius Aeneas of the first six books has vanished. Vergil rightly ends the first half of his epic with sadness, for it would seem that the

<sup>123</sup> *Aen.*, VI.882-6.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.756-9.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.889.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, VI.892. The euphony of this line is strongly reminiscent of *Aen.*, I.94-6:

O terque quaterque beati,  
quis ante ora partum Troiae sub moenibus altis  
contigit oppetere!

Just as it is glorious to die beneath the eyes of a father, so too is it glorious for a father to help a son realize his destiny in battle. At long last, Aeneas is thrice and four times blessed.

shy, sentimental idealist connected himself with the Aeneas of Books I-VI, and had to sacrifice the character, the ongoing relationship to make Aeneas into a true, stern Roman. He, like his creation, was reluctant to fulfill his destiny.

“The Parade of Heroes,” with which he concludes the first half of the epic, glorifies Roman virtues and Roman ambitions, but they were part of a system Vergil did not connect with. He did not share the same belief in the supremacy of *virtus*, or the nobility of war. The poet was an idealist who favored peaceful serenity, and this preference is clear in his vision of the history of the Roman race. The golden age existed in the days of the Alban Kings, who lived in rustic simplicity, and the Roman Kings who lived according *iustitia* and *pietas*. Men ruled with legitimate authority, because it was a time before corruption, when government was simple and pure. Numa the wise law-giver also established religion, building a sacred connection between the secular and religious spheres. That Vergil places Augustus in the Regal period, is a compliment to the princeps, who was also likely an idealist on some level—or at least very good at playing the part. Moral reforms would have struck a chord with Vergil and he would have seen such programs as legitimate, arising from a legitimate source.

Vergil did not favor tyranny, however, and glorified Brutus Ultor, who ended the reign of the Tarquin Kings. Vergil allowed Brutus to hold *imperium*, because the idealist in the poet supported the right to be free from oppression.<sup>127</sup> The chaos of the Republic, with its constant wars, complicated politics, internal struggles, and civil wars, was not a place of refuge for the poet. Vergil valued freedom, but not at the expense of simplicity, purity, and peace. The war between Pompey and Caesar<sup>128</sup> particularly disturbed Vergil who could not understand how two individuals could tear apart the state in their quest to purify it. The destruction of Corinth and

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<sup>127</sup> This may also be the reason Vergil left the episode ambiguous. He may well have supported Brutus the Tyrannicide. See n.73 above. He seemed to have no love for Julius Caesar.

<sup>128</sup> And by extension the war between Antony and Octavian. See n.86 above.



other Greek cities by Paullus and Mummius also greatly disturbed the poet, who included the bitterly ironic passage about the supremacy of the Roman arts of the Greek arts, the supremacy of the sword over the quill.<sup>129</sup>

But Vergil could identify with the young Marcellus, struck down before the prime of life. He saw in the young man innocence, idealism, potential, and natural beauty. He saw in the death of Marcellus, an end to *pietas*, and *prisca fides*, and lamented the loss. He memorialized Marcellus in the Roman form, lamenting *virtus* lost, but Vergil, the man, likely grieved for Marcellus on a different level. He grieved for the violation of nature, a youth dead before his prime, a parent forced to bury a child.<sup>130</sup> His grief for Marcellus is sincere, and he associated that grief with Augustus who had just lost a child. If in fact the scene in which Anchises struggles to control his emotions, as he considers the imminent departure of his own son, is a symbolic reference to the real sorrow felt by Augustus, Vergil could have given the princeps no greater praise. Vergil had far greater respect for the human princeps than for the Divus Augustus.

But does the passage deify Augustus? At face value it does. Vergil positions Augustus as the off-spring of the gods, whose powers were beyond that of Heracles and Dionysus. The passage connects with eastern cult traditions, in which kings and emperors were worshipped as gods on earth. But Vergil respects Augustus in the East only if he is triumphing morally over them, if he is spreading peace and the virtues of *simplicitas* and *pietas*. It seems clear by the way Vergil distributes *imperium* that he supports the rule of kings so long as they rule with justice, wisdom, and virtue. It seems equally clear that he despises tyrants and supports their overthrow

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<sup>129</sup> This is perhaps another reason he leaves Paullus, Mummius, Pompey, and Caesar unnamed.

<sup>130</sup> It is also probably not too far a stretch to suggest that Vergil saw in Marcellus a symbol of perfection, as did the Greeks in the young male body, and thus was lamenting the loss as the destruction of the perfect, the controlled, the symbol of life's virtues.

by defenders of freedom. Thus Vergil does not appreciate a deified emperor, but looks upon such with scorn and distrust, an exotic monster of the east. And that is the key: Vergil can support Augustus' attempts to maintain the peace at home, to encourage morality, and to return to a simpler and purer day, but he does not support a maniac intent upon conquest and power. In Vergil's poetry, conquest typically occurs in the east, and the deified Augustus is apotheosized according to the eastern fashion. That is the side of Augustus, if he should follow that route, that Vergil wishes to denigrate. It is the deified Augustus that Vergil so hates.<sup>131</sup>

Vergil is content to uphold Augustus as a defender of the peace, as peace seems to be his most coveted prize. He will glorify Augustus for insisting upon morality and grant to the princeps the wisdom, courage, and piety of his noble ancestors. Relieved to no longer be facing civil war and government proscriptions, he will even allow Augustus to be viewed as another founder of Rome, event the greatest founder of Rome. He is even willing to forgive the violence and maliciousness of Octavian so long as Augustus remains true to his stated path of peace and morality, and so long as uncontrolled ambition does not rule the emperor. Vergil is willing to see the humanity of Augustus, the emperor of Rome and let him be praised according to his merits. As M. P. Charlesworth writes, echoing the *Res Gestae*, "As I see it, one of the most important and compelling claims an emperor could make on his subjects was that of Merit, the merit of his character and his achievements: merit was the main ground on which he might justify his exalted position...*they* had unanimously acclaimed him as Father of his country...He was the person most worthy of his people's trust, he was truly *dignus*."<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>131</sup> Just as he likely despised Julius Caesar.

<sup>132</sup> M. P. Charlesworth, "Pietas and Victoria: The Emperor and the Citizen," *The Journal of Roman Studies*, Vol 33, Parts 1 and 2 (1943), 2.

Octavian claimed that he was called Augustus “quo pro merito”<sup>133</sup> and that a grateful Senate and Roman people inscribed on a golden shield the virtues with which the Emperor of Rome did all things: *Virtus, clementia, iustitia, and pietas*. As Charlesworth further states, “But while VIRTUS was the first of the eminent qualities mentioned on the Golden Shield of Augustus, PIETAS was the final one, and perhaps the most important and inclusive. For the emperor is at once the object of *pietas* from his subjects, and an example to them of *pietas* towards the gods.” Vergil would not have disputed this, and indeed would have agreed that *pietas* was the overarching virtue, thus his Pius Aeneas. The “Parade of Heroes” presents explicitly, or symbolically an Augustus who was truly lead by *virtus, clementia, iustitia, and pietas*. It presents a ruler whom Vergil respected and whose powers he sustained. It also shows a man capable of being corrupted by power and ambition, if he did not check himself. But, finally it presents a father who could shed real tears for his son. Vergil wanted the epic to be not about a god, but a man. “Arma virumque cano.”<sup>134</sup>

Vergil’s *Aeneid* praises Augustus, his life, and his works. So too does the *Res Gestae*. But the *Aeneid* has a completely different mood and is touched not lightly with grief, tragedy, and tearful contemplation as well as exultation and triumph. The *Res Gestae* by contrast is shallow and emotionless, a list of accomplishments rather than a reflection on their meaning. The “Parade of Heroes” and the *Aeneid* as a whole is not so much about Roman history or the emperor or even Augustan Rome, but is the sincere and resigned reflection of an idealist poet on a life that is anything but ideal. Indeed, the Augustus of Vergil’s epic may have had little in common with the living figure, but he was the Augustus Vergil wanted ruling Rome. Vergil does not seek to explicitly praise or condemn his patron or to even become involved with the

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<sup>133</sup> *Res Gestae*, 34.

<sup>134</sup> *Aen.*, I.1.

political and moral ramifications of the question, but to carefully consider his own place in the universe as Roman and a man. Like Pius Aeneas, Vergil had to decide whether he would accept his own declared destiny and produce the epic of Rome. But Vergil died before he was finished, perhaps before he had finally decided, because he requested the manuscript be burned.

Augustus, who died within a year of finishing the *Res Gestae* had long made up his mind, as such choices never seemed difficult for "Divus Augustus."<sup>135</sup>

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<sup>135</sup> *Res Gestae*, introduction.

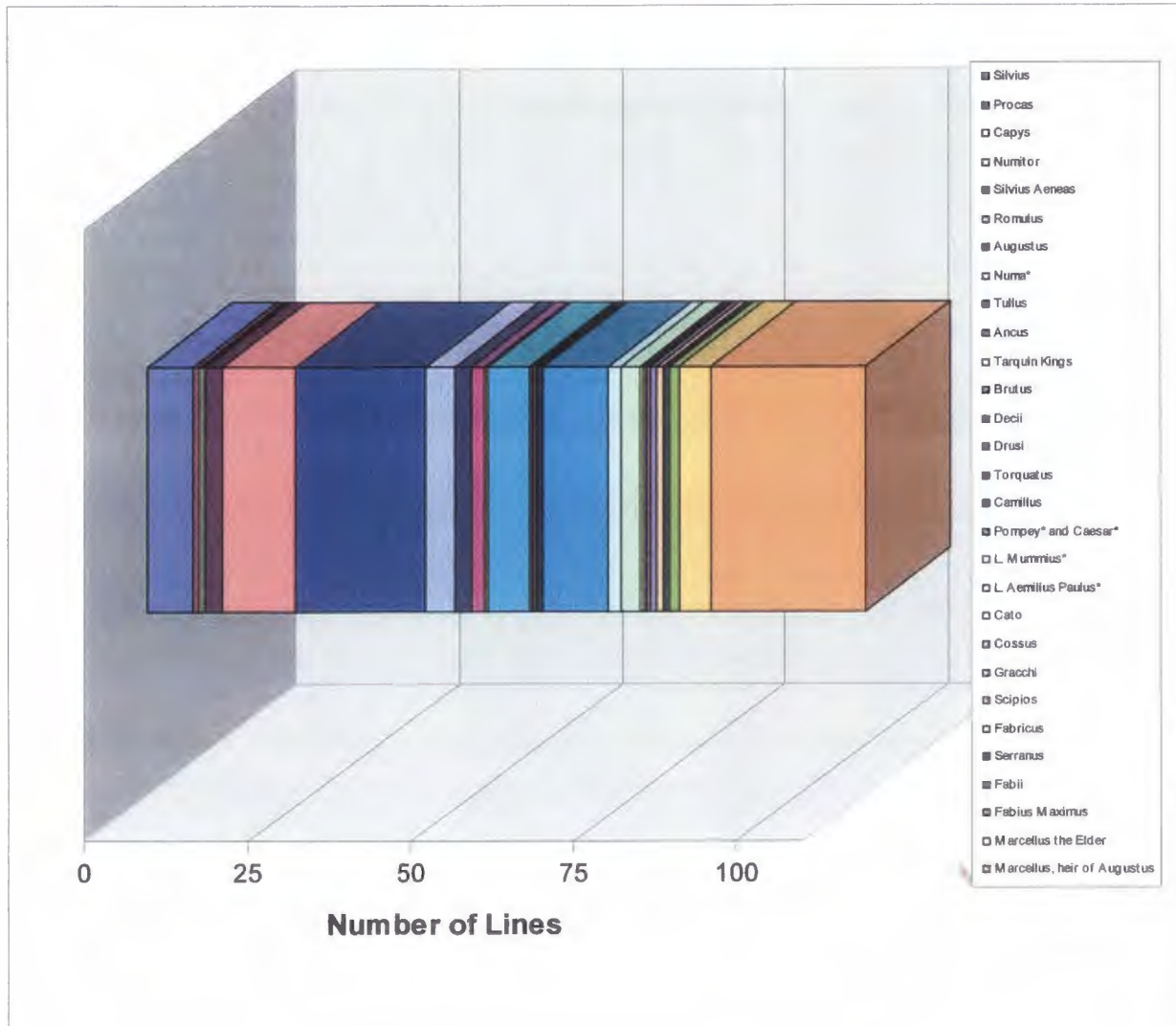
## APPENDIX A: Numerical and Graphical Representations of Line Allotments.

## Overview of Speech, Numerical

	Figures	Number of Lines	Citation in <i>Aeneid</i> VI
SECTION I Regal Period	Silvius	7	760-66
	Procas	1	767
	Capys	0.5	768
	Numitor	0.5	768
	Silvius Aeneas	2.5	768-70
	Lines that apply to all A. Kings	6	771-6
	Romulus	11	777-787
SEC. II	Augustus	20	788-807
SEC. I	Numa*	4.5	808-812
	Tullus	2.5	812-814
	Ancus	2	815-816
	Tarquin Kings	0.5	817
SECTION III Republican Period	Brutus	6.5	817-823
	Decii	0.5	824
	Drusi	0.5	824
	Torquatus	0.5	825
	Camillus	0.5	825
	Pompey* and Caesar*	10	826-835
	L. Mummius*	2	836-7
	L. Aemilius Paulus*	3	838-40
	Cato	0.5	841
	Cossus	0.5	841
	Gracchi	0.5	842
	Scipios	1	842-3
	Fabrics	1	843-4
	Serranus	0.5	844
	Fabii	0.5	845
	Fabius Maximus	1.5	845-6
	Lines that apply to all Republicans	7	847-53
	Marcellus the Elder	5	855-9
SEC. IV	Marcellus, heir of Augustus	24	860-6; 868-86

\*Unnamed Figures

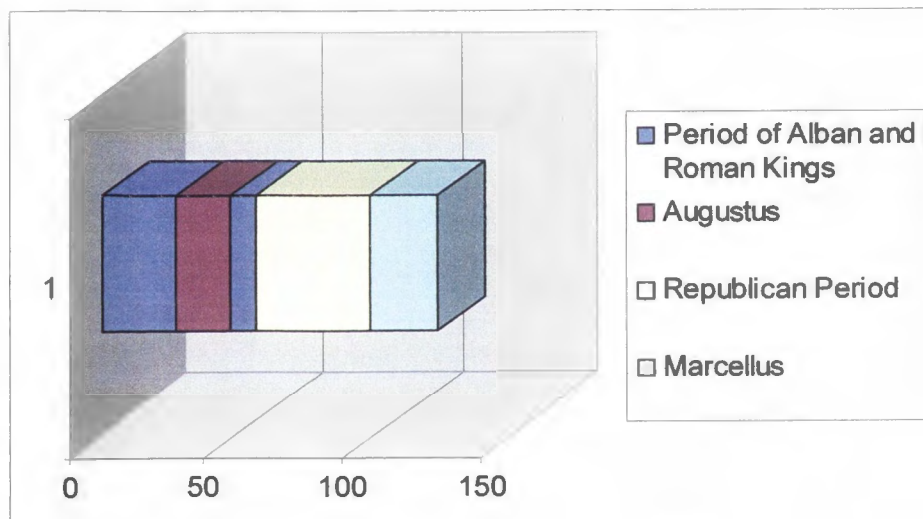
## Overview of Speech, Graphical



### Overview of Speech in Sections, Numerical

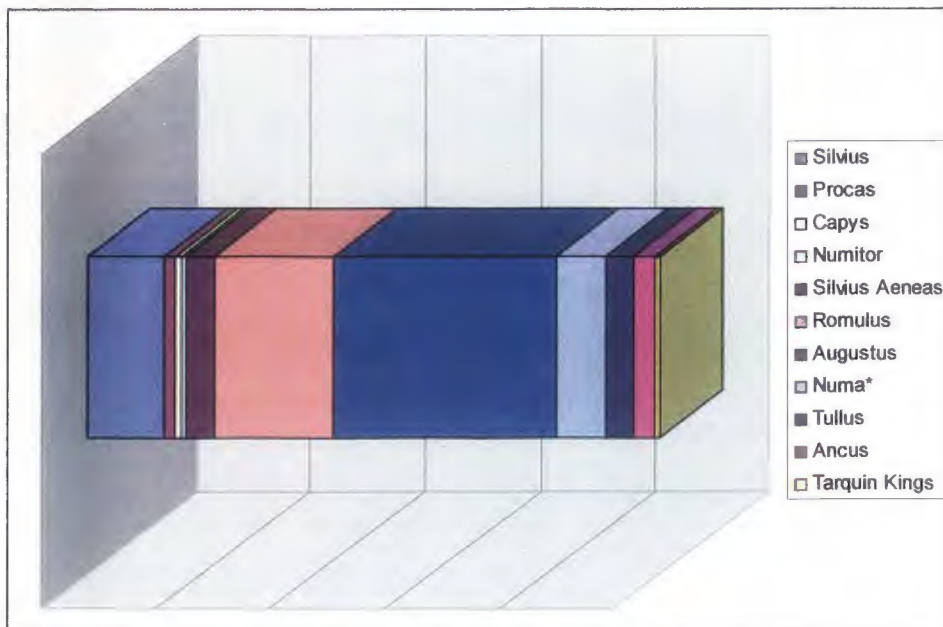
Section	Number of Lines	Citation in <i>Aeneid</i> VI
Period of Alban and Roman Kings	38	760-87; 808-17
Augustus	20	788-807
Republican Period	41	817-53; 855-9
Marcellus	24	860-6; 868-86

### Overview of Speech in Sections, Graphical. Note position of Augustus.

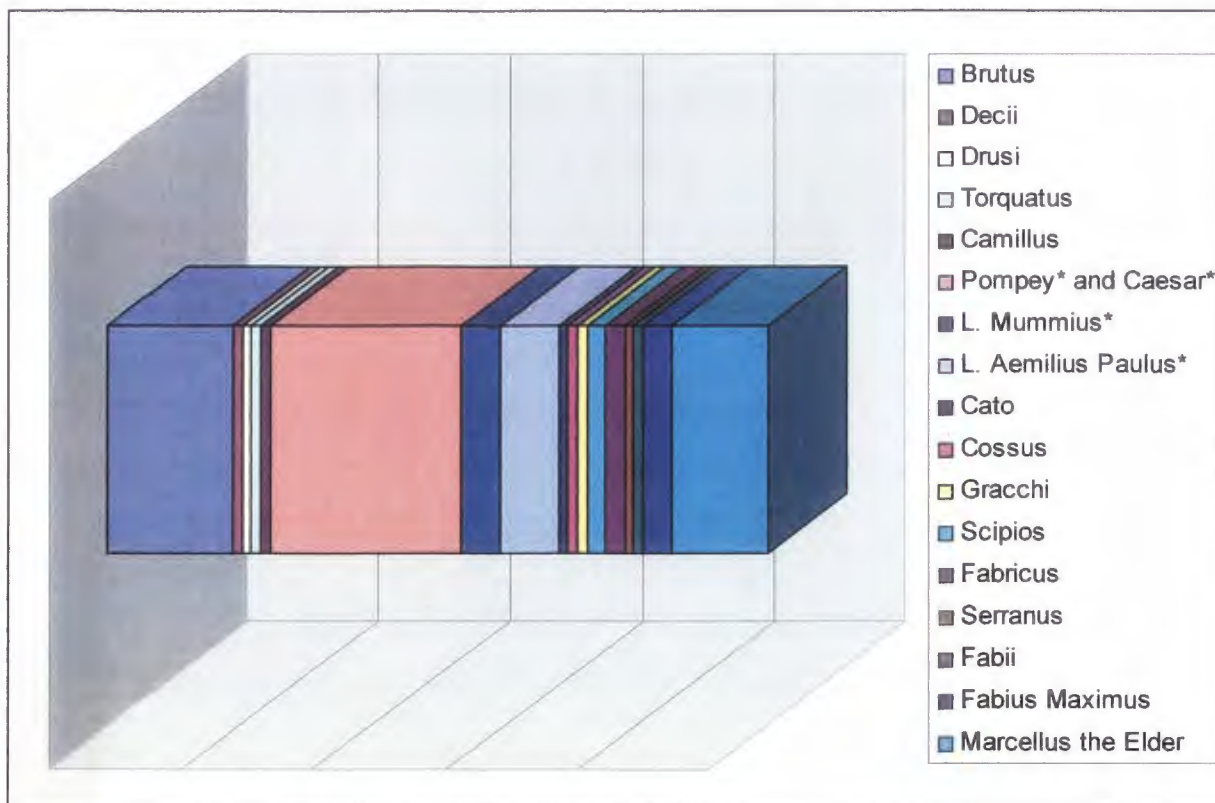




Period of Alban and Roman Kings, Graphical. Note position of Augustus.



Republican Period, Graphical





APPENDIX B: Annotated Text of "Parade of Heroes," *Aeneid* VI.756-892

INTRODUCTION:	'Nunc age, Dardanium prolem quae deinde sequatur	756
	gloria, qui maneant Itala de gente nepotes,	757
	inlustris animas nostrumque in nomen ituras,	758
	expediam dictis, et te tua fata docebo.	759
SECTION I:	ille, vides, pura iuvenis qui nititur hasta,	760
Alban and Roman Kings	proxima sorte tenet lucis loca, primus ad auras	761
	aetherias Italo commixtus sanguine surget,	762
	<u>Silvius</u> , Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles,	763
	quem tibi longaevo serum <u>Lavinia coniunx</u>	764
	<u>educet</u> silvis regem regumque parentem,	765
	unde genus Longa nostrum dominabitur Alba.	766
	proximus ille Procas, Troianae gloria gentis,	767
	et Capys et Numitor et qui te nomine reddet	768
	Silvius Aeneas, pariter pietate vel armis	769
	egregius, si umquam regnandam acceperit Albam.	770
	qui iuvenes! quantas ostentant, aspice, viris	771
	atque umbrata gerunt <u>civili</u> tempora <u>queru!</u>	772
	hi tibi Nomentum et Gabios urbemque Fidenam,	773
	hi Collatinas imponent montibus arces,	774
	Pometios Castrumque Inui Bolamque Coramque;	775
	haec tum nomina erunt, nunc sunt sine nomine terrae.	776
	quin et avo comitem sese Mavortius addet	777
	<u>Romulus</u> , Assaraci quem sanguinis <u>Ilia mater</u>	778
	<u>educet</u> . viden, ut geminae stant vertice cristae	779
	et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?	780
	en huius, nate, auspiciis illa incluta Roma	781
	<u>imperium</u> terris, animos aequabit Olympo,	782
	septemque una sibi muro circumdabit arces,	783
	felix prole virum: qualis <u>Berecynthia mater</u>	784

	<u>invehitur</u> curru Phrygias turrata per urbes	785
	laeta deum partu, centum complexa nepotes,	786
	omnis caelicolas, omnis supera alta tenentis.	787
SECTION II:	huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem	788
Augustus Caesar	Romanosque tuos. hic Caesar et omnis Iuli	789
	progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem.	790
	hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,	791
	<u>Augustus Caesar</u> , divi genus, aurea condet	792
	saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva	793
	<u>Saturno</u> quondam, super et <u>Garamantas et Indos</u>	794
	proferet <u>imperium</u> , iacet extra sidera tellus,	795
	extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas	796
	axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.	797
	huius in adventum iam nunc et <u>Caspia regna</u>	798
	responsis horrent divum et <u>Maeotia tellus</u> ,	799
	et septemgemini turbant trepida <u>ostia Nili</u> .	800
	nec vero <u>Alcides</u> tantum telluris obivit,	801
	fixerit <u>aeripedem cervam</u> licet, aut <u>Erymanthi</u>	802
	pacarit nemora et <u>Lernam</u> tremefecerit arcu;	803
	nec qui pampineis victor iuga flectit habenis	804
	<u>Liber</u> , agens celso Nysae de vertice tigris.	805
	et dubitamus adhuc virtutem extendere factis,	806
	aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?	807
SECTION I: (again)	<u>quis</u> procul <u>ille</u> autem ramis <u>insignis</u> olivae ( <u>Numa</u> )	808
Regal Period	sacra ferens? nosco crinis incanaque menta	809
	regis Romani primam qui legibus urbem	810
	fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terra	811
	missus in <u>imperium</u> magnum. cui deinde subibit	812
	otia qui rumpet patriae residesque movebit	813
	<u>Tullus</u> in arma viros et iam desueta triumphis	814
	agmina. quem iuxta sequitur iactantior <u>Ancus</u>	815

SECTION III: Republican Period	nunc quoque iam nimium gaudens popularibus auris.	816
	vis et <u>Tarquinius reges</u> animamque superbam	817
	<u>ultoris Bruti</u> , fascisque videre receptos?	818
	consulis <u>imperium</u> hic primus saevasque securis	819
	accipiet, natosque pater nova bella moventis	820
	ad poenam pulchra pro libertate vocabit,	821
	infelix, utcumque ferent ea facta minores:	822
	vincet amor patriae laudumque immensa cupido.	823
	quin Decios Drususque procul saevumque securi	824
	aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum.	825
<u>(Caesar and Pompey)</u>	<u>illae</u> autem paribus quas fulgere cernis in armis,	826
	concordes animae nunc et dum nocte prementur,	827
	heu quantum inter se bellum, si lumina vitae	828
	attigerint, quantas acies stragemque cieunt,	829
	aggeribus socer Alpinis atque arce Monoeci	830
	descendens, gener adversis instructus Eois!	831
	ne, <u>pueri</u> , ne tanta animis adsuescite bella	832
	neu patriae validas in viscera vertite viris;	833
	tuque prior, tu <u>parce</u> , genus qui ducis Olympo,	834
	proice tela manu, sanguis meus!—	835
<u>(Mummius)</u>	ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corintho	836
	victor aget curram caesis <u>insignis</u> Achivis.	837
<u>(Paullus)</u>	eruet ille Argos Agamemnoniasque Mycenae	838
	ipsumque Aeaciden, genus armipotens Achilli,	839
	ultus avos Troiae templa et temerata Minervae.	840
	quis te, magne Cato, tacitum aut te, <u>Cosse</u> , relinquat?	841
	quis Gracchi genus aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,	842
	Scipiadas, cladem Libyae, parvoque potentem	843
	Fabricium vel te sulco, Serrane, serentem?	844
	quo fessum rapitis, Fabii? tu Maximus ille es,	845
	unus qui nobis cunctando restituis rem.	846

	<u>(Greek Arts)</u>	excudent alii spirantia mollius aera	847
		(credo equidem), vivos ducent de marmore vultus,	848
		orabunt causas melius, caelique meatus	849
		describent radio et surgentia sidera dicent:	850
	<u>(Roman Arts)</u>	tu regere <i>imperio</i> populos, Romane, memento	851
		(hae tibi erunt artes), pacisque imponere morem, (1)	852
		parcere subiectis (2) et debellare superbos.' (3)	853
		Sic pater Anchises, atque haec mirantibus addit:	854
		'aspice, ut <i>insignis</i> spoliis <u>Marcellus</u> opimis	855
		ingreditur victorque viros supereminet omnis.	856
		hic rem Romanam magno turbante tumultu	857
		sistet eques, sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem,	858
		tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta <u>Quirino</u> .'	859
		atque hic Aeneas (una namque ire videbat	860
		egregium forma iuvenem et fulgentibus armis,	861
		sed frons laeta parum et deiecto lumina vultu)	862
		'quis, <u>pater</u> , ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem?	863
		<u>filius</u> , ane aliquis magna de stirpe <u>nepotum</u> ?	864
		qui strepitus circa comitum! quantum instar in ipso!	865
		sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra.'	866
		tum <u>pater</u> Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis:	867
		'o <u>nate</u> , ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum;	868
		ostendent terris hunc tantum fata nec ultra	869
		esse sinent. nimium vobis Romana propago	870
		visa potens, superi, propria haec si dona fuissent.	871
		quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem	872
		campus aget gemitus! vel quae, Tiberine, videbis	873
		funera, cum tumulum praeterlabere recentem!	874
		nec puer Iliaca quisquam de gente Latinos	875
		in tantum spe tollet avos, nec Romula quondam	876
		ullo se tantum tellus iactabit alumno.	877
SECTION IV:			
Marcellus the Younger			

	heu pietas, heu prisca fides invictaque bello	878
	dextera! non illi se quisquam impune tulisset	879
	obvius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem	880
	seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.	881
	heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,	882
	tu Marcellus eris. manibus date lilia plenis	883
	purpureos pargam flores animamque nepotis	884
	his saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani	885
END OF SPEECH	munere.' sic tota passim regione vagantur	886
	aeris in campis latis atque omnia lustrant.	887
	quae postquam Anchises natum per singula duxit	888
	incenditque animum famae venientis amore,	889
	exim bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda,	890
	Laurentisque docet populos urbemque Latini,	891
	et quo quemque modo fugiatque feratque laborem.	892

## APPENDIX C: Oral Presentation given at the Conference of the Classical Association of the Middle West and South in Madison Wisconsin, April 2005

Note: For quotations from the "Parade of Heroes" not given in this section, please refer to Appendix B.

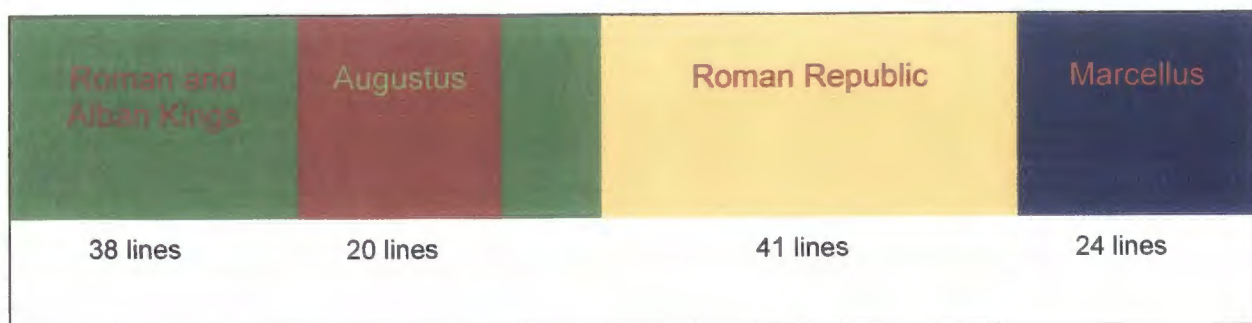
Two millenia ago, the great peacemaker walked upon the earth, reshaping ancient traditions into a new order, profoundly influencing the cultural and religious evolution of the west, indeed the world. He was the very model of righteousness and of justice tempered by mercy. As a ruler supreme, and as a man, faultless. His parentage, his rule, his great works on behalf of all humanity had long been foretold. He was the son of God, a god himself. I do not speak of Jesus Christ, but that other son of God, Augustus Caesar. In 27 B.C. Octavian received that illustrious appellation by the Senate "*pro merito.*" The civil wars had ended and peace and stability returned to Rome now governed by an emperor, who had ostensibly lain down his powers and ruled only through his unrivaled *auctoritas*. In thanks for his service to the state, Augustus reports that the Senate adorned his temple with the *corona civica* and erected a gold shield in the Senate House that bore testimony to the *virtus, clementia, iustitia, and pietas* of the princeps.

About the same time the poet Vergil began the great epic of Rome's founding, which, by extension, constitutes an overt praise of the emperor himself. In Book VI Aeneas, like Odysseus seeks for answers among the dead, and finds them. Trojan Aeneas descends into Avernus and Roman Aeneas returns. The moment of transformation occurs at the end of the book, the exact center of the poem, in which Anchises reveals to his son the future of Rome and her noble sons, the most prominent among them being Augustus Caesar, *divi genus*. Indeed, the whole of the speech is laden with symbolism and allusion that in some way connect to the emperor. I intend to show that Anchises' speech presents three visions of Augustus: a father of a country who rules

in peace, a father of a son who commands in love, and a god who rules in the eastern fashion and also subjugates the eastern traditions through violence and the sword. The former two Vergil praises, the latter, the deified, he laments.

I want to start by looking at the obvious patterns in the broad structure of the speech. Of the 137 lines that constitute the “Parade of Heroes,” Augustus receives twenty. As a balance to Augustus, Vergil gives twenty-four lines to Marcellus, the emperor’s apparent heir. Finally, Vergil completes the symmetry by giving thirty-eight lines to the Alban and Roman kings and forty-one to the Roman Republic. By using this order, Vergil creates a vast synchystic pattern in which Augustus and his heir stand out as the principal, even culminating figures of the entire history of Rome. Augustus, the founder of the *Pax Romana* is the heir of the Golden, Regal age. But Marcellus, who met an early tragedy, consummates the chaos and violence that characterized the end of the Republican period. However, Vergil does not give the pattern so neatly, but instead distorts the chronology further to embed Augustus in Regal period. Wedged between Romulus and Numa, Augustus is associated with both as a founder of a city, a giver of laws, and a central figure of Rome’s legendary past. (Fig. 1)

Figure 1: Broken Synchystic Pattern



Augustus himself attempted to portray himself as a second founder, another Romulus by connecting himself with the authority and legendary deeds of Rome’s first king. Just as Romulus received the augury of the twelve vultures, giving him divine authority to establish the city,



Augustus too attempted to portray his own pietas and augury through extensive participation in the state religion. His *Res Gestae* lists no fewer than nine major religious offices he held. As Kenneth Scott once argued, "It seems that the people were quick to connect the augury of Augustus with that of Romulus." The concluding point of the *Res Gestae* says that Augustus commanded only by virtue of his *auctoritas*, a word that is etymologically connected with the name Augustus, thus a possible reason he accepted that appellation.

This was the image he wanted to portray, and this is the image Vergil gives him. But Augustus has even stronger connections with Romulus. Vergil records in line 783 that Romulus built the walls of the city. As a second founder of Rome, Augustus was also its second builder, restoring eighty-two temples and engaging in an unprecedented public works program. As Suetonius reports, he found the city marble and left it brick.

Vergil shows one more relationship between Augustus and Romulus, by connecting them both to the concept of *imperium*. In line 782 Romulus is shown to spread the empire over the earth. The idea is echoed in 795 as Augustus is prophesied to establish the empire over the Garamantes and India, extremities of the known world. In fact, Romulus did not hold an empire, but the line anticipates his obvious heir, the second Romulus who would hold and extend Rome over the earth.

Numa, who follows Augustus in Vergil's chronology also is connected with Augustus in three distinct ways. First, Numa founder of laws, fits well with Augustus the great administrator of government who held tribunitian power most of his life, as well as nearly every political office present in the Roman state. As stated earlier, Augustus had a strong preoccupation with religious service, which connects to Numa's second role as a pious founder of the state religious institutions. Finally, Vergil also uses the word *imperium* with Numa in line 812, suggesting that



the magnum imperium of Numa, or his vast legal power, likewise belongs to Augustus who is his political heir.

Augustus' position between Numa and Romulus gives him legitimacy as a sole ruler and suggests that his reign is guided by pietas and wisdom and that his era of peace is no less than a second golden age. But, as some scholars have argued, the legitimacy goes back even further, to the Alban Kings and even to Jupiter himself. The honor Vergil affords to the Alban Kings in line 772, the Corona Civica, is a clear allusion to the same honor given to Augustus by the Senate in 27 B.C. And as the oak garland was a symbol of Jupiter, god of Justice, so Augustus is seen as marked by the sky god's divine favor and attributes. (Fig. 2)

Figure 2: Coins bearing Augustus with the Corona Civica (obverse) and the Clupeus Aureus (reverse)



Vergil makes Augustus' association with the Alban Kings, the Roman Kings, and even the gods very clear in the speech. (Fig. 3) First, starting in line 763, Vergil discusses the first of the Alban kings after Aeneas, Silvius. Note the metrical position of his name. Note too how his mother, Lavinia is shown in the middle of the second half line, followed immediately by her reproductive role which ends the line. The verb, referring to the bearing of children is enjambed on the next line in the same metrical position as Silvius. The pattern is repeated with Romulus,

and his mother Ilia, (starting in line 778). I also want to introduce Berecyntia, mother of the gods who follows the same pattern. The reproductive roles and the enjambed verbs follow the same pattern, although Berecyntia is given *invehitur*, to carry in, instead of *educet* to bring up, referring to her position as a deity of heaven who rides on high rather than walks below. And, of course, the first son of Berecyntia mentioned by name is Augustus Caesar, in the same metrical position as Silvius and Romulus. Three mothers, three sons, the founding of three eras: the Alban Kings, the Roman Kings, the Empire. Silvius is the son of a mortal mother and a semi-divine father. Romulus' mother is also mortal although his father is fully a god. But Augustus, *divi genus*, seems to have divine parentage on both sides of his family tree.

Figure 3: Augustus' Association with Kings and Gods:

	763
<i>ilv</i>	Albanum nomen, tua postuma proles, quem tibi longaevo serum <i>Lavinia coniunx</i> <i>educet</i> silvis regem regumque parentem,
	778
<i>Romulu</i>	Assaraci quem sanguinis <i>Ilia mater</i> <i>educet</i> . viden, ut geminae stant vertice cristae et pater ipse suo superum iam signat honore?
	784
	felix prole uirum: qualis <i>Berecyntia mater</i> <i>invehitur</i> curru Phrygias turrata per urbes
	792
<i>sti</i>	<i>divi genus</i> , aurea condet

Vergil's overt praise to Augustus in lines 788-807, heightens this divine image, by comparing him to three other divine figures: Saturn, ruler of a golden age, Heracles, a world conqueror, and Liber, a symbol of eastern god-kingship.

The comparison with Saturn, starting in line 792, shows first that Augustus will follow in the footsteps of the father of Jupiter. Second, as Saturn is the husband of Berecynthia, the divine parentage of Augustus is emphasized, and as Berecynthia is often associated with Roma, Augustus' connection with the cult of the city is apparent. He was already worshipped as the son of Roma in the East. Finally, Augustus' role as a second founder of the golden age suggests that like Jupiter he will overthrow Saturn and declare his own rule and divine kingship.

Vergil creates an obvious parallel between Heracles and Augustus. In lines 802-3, he describes three exploits of Heracles which Augustus will outstrip, physically and geographically. The Hind of Ceryneia, the Erymanthean Boar, and the Lernean Hydra echo the three prophesied exploits of Augustus starting in line 798: The conquest of Caspia, of Maetotia, and of Egypt. Vergil only chooses to mention Heracles' labors that took place on the Peloponnesus, although Heracles entered hell itself in his traveling. He does this in order to clearly show Augustus outstripping the mythic warrior through his conquests of the east. (Fig. 4)

Figure 4: Heracles and Augustus

<p><b>Three exploits of Heracles:</b>  nec vero Alcides tantum telluris obiuit,  ... ceruam licet, aut Erymanthi  pacarit nemora et Lernam tremefecerit arcu; (801)</p> <p><b>Three exploits of Augustus</b>  huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia reg  responsis horrent divum et Maeotia tellus,  et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili. (798)</p>
---

Finally, the comparison with Liber, takes the image of divinity to the extreme. Starting in line 805, Vergil reveals an exotic eastern warrior leading triumphs from Nysa, the eastern equivalent of Olympus, suggesting that Augustus' eastern triumphs extend beyond even those of

Dionysus. The god was also a part of the Alexandrian cult, suggesting that Augustus is to be seen as a god-king in the eastern fashion. And what is the extent of Augustus' empire? It too is godly, for Vergil mentions that he will take it from the Garamantes the southern extreme of the world to India the eastern and even to the Caspian Region the supposed entrance to the North Ocean. Since Spain in the west had already been conquered, the whole of the world was under the sway of Augustus.

Anchises, after his leisurely praise to Augustus quickly rushes to the beginning of the Republican period, starting with Brutus Ultor in line 818. Brutus too is too be seen as a forerunner to Augustus, for like the emperor he will free a nation oppressed, receive consular power, and found a new epoch in Roman history. Vergil also, in line 819, associates Brutus with *imperium*, the last person, and only person in the Republican section, to be thus associated. But there is a bit of ambiguity by placing Brutus in this spot and investing him with *imperium*, for it evokes the image of another Brutus, who was forced to do terrible things, even murder, for the sake of the state. Brutus Ultor drove out a tyrant to free the state, and killed his own children to maintain it, but later generations praised him for it, as Vergil reports in lines 822-3. Brutus the tyrannicide reluctantly killed a despot he once respected in order to keep the state free, and many praised him for the deed. That this comes shortly after the characterization of Augustus as an omnipotent god is ominous. That an avenger and protector of liberty is invested with *imperium* deepens the tension.

Only four figures in the speech are associated with *imperium*: Romulus who holds it by virtue of founding the city, Numa, because he gave the first laws, and Brutus because he set free the state. Finally, Augustus holds *imperium* because he is heir to the legendary works of all

three, and Vergil characterizes him as the only living person to still hold *imperium*. The chaos of the Republic is replaced by the peace of one-man rule.

I now want to mention some other patterns in the speech. In the Republican section Vergil describes the exploits of four figures, but does not explicitly mention them by name. The first two, starting in line 826 are Caesar and Pompey. The passage dramatically shows the war between east and west, in which the forces of the West, representative of Rome will annihilate the east, and anticipate of the eastern conquests of Augustus. But also it shows a terrible disruption of the state, and a pleading Anchises asks Caesar to be the first to throw down his weapons and show mercy. The vocative *pueri* juxtaposed with *genus qui ducis Olympo* shows a rather pejorative view of the uncontrolled conquest of the tyrant Julius Caesar.

Mummius and Paullus, starting in lines 836 and 838 respectively also represent the annihilation of the east and the supremacy of the west, of Rome, but this is somewhat ironic. Starting in line 847, Anchises describes the arts of the Greeks and those of the Romans which Vergil says are to be supreme, but as a poet, Vergil himself is more closely align with the Greek arts he has put to the sword. There is a hidden ironic lament in this passage. He cannot even bear to name the Romans who carry the standard of *virtus* against the Greeks.

I cannot fail to mention Numa, the first to be left unnamed. His anonymity, however, is more a reflection of his humility than *virtus*. The three sets of unnamed figures echo the charge given to the Romans by Anchises in lines 851-3. First, to rule with *imperium* and establish custom, connects to Numa the law-giver, second, the showing of mercy goes to Caesar, who is begged to throw down his weapons. (In fact the same verb, *parco*, is used in both instances.) Finally Mummius and Paullus, destroyers of Greece are to war down the proud.

The final section of the speech, starting in line 860, is a moving dirge to Marcellus, who died too young. The opening lines to this section are filled with father-son imagery, as a *filius* address a *pater*. (Fig. 5) The relationship between Aeneas and Anchises is a type for the relationship between Augustus and Marcellus. Both are separated by death and neither have the power to change the fates that control their destinies. It is the tender *pater* Augustus whom Vergil most praises, and with whom he ends the speech.

Figure 5: Pater et Filius

<p>'quis, <b>pater</b>, ille, virum qui sic comitatur euntem? (863)  <b>filius</b>, ane aliquis magna de stirpe nepotum?          qui strepitus circa comitum! quantum instar in ipso!          sed nox atra caput tristi circumvolat umbra.'          tum <b>pater</b> Anchises lacrimis ingressus obortis:          'o <b>nate</b>, ingentem luctum ne quaere tuorum;</p>
---

Thus he presents three views of Augustus, first Augustus the wise king who establishes a tradition of peace and prosperity, founding again a golden age. But then Vergil shows that same Augustus with too much power as he destroys the peoples of the east and becomes a god. It is this deified figure that he denigrates. Finally, Vergil depicts and glorifies the Augustus who is no more than a father bereft of a beloved son.

The "Parade of Heroes" ends in tragedy, not praise. Marcellus, a representative of *pietas* and virtue is dead, and can only be lamented as a greatness that could have been but was not, symbolic of an Augustus who could have been great had he only remained human. But, according to Vergil, Augustus became a god, became a monster. Vergil juxtaposes the tender scene between Aeneas and Anchises with the sudden change to the emotionless topic of war and conquest, as a father tells a son whom he must kill and when. This is how the speech ends, with

Pius Aeneas transformed into Roman Aeneas before he departs out of the gate of false dreams and destroys nations in his rampage.

Vergil is willing to praise a father of a nation who rules in peace, and a father of a son who commands with love. But he cannot praise another Julius Caesar, a god among men, a destroyer and a murderer of nations and peoples. So instead, he ends the speech with a lament for a son of god who died before he could consummate the hope of the world.



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