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Augustan Cleopatras: Female Power and Poetic Authority

Maria Wyke

Transforming Texts

The poetic representations of Cleopatra composed in the aftermath of Actium – the iambic Cleopatra of Horace *Epode* 9, the lyric Cleopatra of *Ode* 1. 37, the epic Cleopatra of Virgil *Aeneid* 8, and the elegiac Cleopatras of Propertius 3. 11 and 4. 6 – all merit new scrutiny, for two strands of scholarship are transforming the process of reading Augustan texts and their fictions of the female.¹

In the first place, feminist critics engaged with the interaction between the representation and the reality of women's lives in the ancient world are disclosing literature's complicity in the social construction of gender, its role as a controlling effect.² In doing so, they have provided a theoretical foundation to underpin concerns long expressed about the Cleopatra to whom we have access today.

At the time of the battle of Actium, Cleopatra had shaped her own image as a protective queen of Egypt, and been shaped by her opponents as the Eastern enemy of Rome. Her own propaganda, of which there are now few remains, depicted Cleopatra VII in ways that competed for authority with the propaganda of the ultimate victor, Octavian.³ The power of the Ptolemaic queen was variously represented in the verbal and visual discourses of Egypt and Rome, yet the texts which survive from the period around her death are predominantly male, Roman, and poetic. At this distance, we seem to be witness only to the extreme partiality of the winning side, for within the discursive patterns of Augustan iambics, lyric, epic and elegy, Cleopatra VII is the defeated enemy of the *res publica* and is potent only in her sympotic and erotic perversity. She is the Egyptian whore, a drunkard, and the mistress of eunuchs. Rather than offer a window onto the realities of Cleopatra's life, Rome's poetic and historiographic tradition has been said to invoke

a form of political propaganda against the queen that constitutes 'one of the most terrible outbursts of hatred in history', and to create around an opponent of Octavian 'a miasma of romance, glamour, sentiment, and prurience'.⁴

Our modern Cleopatra, therefore, is compounded of select ancient fictions that once claimed to be the 'true' image of the queen. In one sense, then, this paper (no less than any other narrative about Cleopatra) is also a fiction competing for critical authority among the many constructions and reconstructions of the last Ptolemaic queen.⁵

Feminist criticism discloses the structures of primarily male power reified in both literature *and* literary criticism.⁶ So, although twentieth-century historians of Cleopatra have often acknowledged in passing the danger of their own complicity with Roman judgements of the queen,⁷ feminist criticism can expose and call into question more rigorously still those unacknowledged assumptions and values which underlie modern readings of the ancient materials. The marked tendency of modern writers to break into Shakespearean dialogue when describing Cleopatra's death demonstrates the pervasiveness of one particular ancient fiction, from Plutarch in a direct line of descent through his translators Amyot and North, to Shakespeare and the 1930s edition of *The Cambridge Ancient History*.⁸ Similarly, when Michael Grant offers his readers the 'story of a woman who became utterly involved, in her public and private life alike, with two men',⁹ he borrows his narrative strategy – which allows Cleopatra only the power of sexual allure and absorbs her entirely into a history of Rome – from the ancient historian Cassius Dio who centres Cleopatra's reign around her captivation of two Roman men, Julius Caesar and Mark Antony, and her destruction by a third, Octavian (Dio 51. 15. 4).

The narrative alignments of modern scholars are further disclosed by such comments as 'she had a wonderful voice and the seductiveness which attracts men', or 'among the women who intervene in the masculine strife for political power, she will always occupy a special position, and ever and anon excite the imagination of mankind'.¹⁰ The Decadent critic Arthur Symons provided the interpretative key to such descriptions when he claimed that 'before the thought of Cleopatra every man is an Antony'.¹¹ The twentieth-century historians of Cleopatra have structured the queen as erotic object both for the male author of the narrative and for the male reader which that narrative presupposes.¹²

In the second place, the role of Augustan poetry as an instrument for securing and sustaining political power is now being articulated within a critical vocabulary that has changed significantly. Drawing on modern theoretical works concerned often with the complexities and pervasive-

ness of Nazi propaganda, critics of ancient texts have redefined the term 'propaganda' to include the cohesive and integrational, as well as the divisive or the stridently political and, consequently, they have moved away from the simple distinctions of the past between politics and poetry and between texts 'for' or 'against' Augustus.¹³ Furthermore, 'texts' authorising Augustan rule now include both the verbal and the visual so that the relationship between texts can involve a dynamic interaction between, for example, the topography of Rome and the artistic performances which occurred within its boundaries.¹⁴ By placing poetry firmly within a whole network of discourses which could validate the Augustan state, this criticism effectively discourages the examination of the poetic Cleopatras in isolation from other representations of the victor and the vanquished at Actium.

Following a similar pattern to that of feminist criticism, this redefined critical practice also draws attention to its own potential as propaganda, its capacity to control our perceptions of literature. Disinterested scholarship is declared a myth and our aesthetic judgements are placed firmly within their own historical context.¹⁵ Thus we may read *into* Augustan texts and their poetic Cleopatras a stance for or against Augustus according to our own twentieth-century views on autocracy, imperialism, female power and the process of first-person narrative and, if we judge Augustan poets sincere in their denigration of Octavian's enemy, it may be because we have established an unperceived complicity with the ideological apparatus of the Augustan state.¹⁶

The purpose of this paper is to bring together these two largely distinct academic debates about fictive females and textual 'propaganda', in order to provide new foundations on which to build subsequent close readings of the poetic Cleopatras. It is designed, therefore, as a prolegomenon to the rereading of the poetic texts, sketching the discursive process whereby an Eastern queen entered the poetry of the early Augustan period endowed with an extraordinary ideological potency.

Empowering Women

Daughter, wife, mother, goddess, country

The traditional strategies for representing female power which had existed in Ptolemaic Egypt, and the validating fictions created by Cleopatra herself, both contrast markedly with the images we have inherited from the winning, Western side. These validating strategies empower

'woman' not as a despotic enemy who imperils political systems from without, but as a beneficent ruler who protects them from within.

Viewed in the context of the social structures of post-Actian Rome, Queen Cleopatra VII may seem to be a striking anomaly.¹⁷ In Ptolemaic Egypt, however, papyri, inscriptions, poetry and prose, temple sculpture, coins, and cult implements all attest to the public powers of the Lagid queens.¹⁸ For example, linked in her coinage with the Pharaonic past, associated with the Egyptian and Olympian deities Isis and Aphrodite, Arsinoe II Philadelphos was the first Ptolemaic queen to be worshipped as a goddess in her own lifetime. Temples were erected and festivals established in her honour.¹⁹ In Hellenistic poetry, the queens often appear as patterns of wifeliness, virtuous in their capacities to maintain the dynastic line.²⁰ Theocritus' *Idyll* 17, an encomium to the poet's patron Ptolemy II Philadelphus, includes praise of Ptolemy's mother Berenice I as outstanding among wise women, while further defining her as a profit to her parents, devout in her conjugal love, and loyal in her production of legitimate children. Gratitude is expressed by the poem's narrator to Aphrodite, who has deified the queen after her death and endowed her with a share of divine prerogatives: placed in Aphrodite's temple, Berenice I now undertakes the goddess' offices in her kindness towards all mortal lovers.²¹ Thus Queen Berenice I is represented as possessed of positive and public erotic powers.²² Similarly, Berenice II, addressed as *numpha* ('wife' or 'bride'), provides the narrative frame for the third and fourth books of Callimachus' *Aetia*, a text of fundamental importance to the Augustan poets. The paired poetry-books begin with a tribute to a display of Ptolemaic authority on Greek territories (the victory of Berenice's horses at the Nemean games), and close with a description of the queen's conjugal devotion (the tale of the lock of her hair which she vowed for her husband's safety).²³

The Eastern representations of Cleopatra VII clearly belong to this tradition for empowering royal women. The queen is nowhere named in the Augustan narratives, yet her name belongs to a pattern of 'Ptolemies', 'Berenices', and 'Cleopatras' that by its repetitions signified the continuity of the Lagid dynasty.²⁴ A stele dedicated in 51 BC, towards the beginning of Cleopatra's reign, represents the queen as a bare-chested and kilted Pharaoh who wears the Double Crown and makes offerings to an enthroned Isis. The accompanying Greek text lists the queen's name and her titles. The combination of Egyptian iconography and Greek inscription signals that the queen, who is entitled 'a glory to her father' (*Kleopatra*) and 'father-loving' (*philopator*), is legitimate heir to the authority and political power of both her own father, the Greek-descended Ptolemy XII Auletes, and all her ancestral



1. Cleopatra's bronze coinage from Cyprus, dated c. 47-30 BC, showing the queen suckling her son, and on the reverse, two cornucopias. (London, British Museum. Ref. BMC *Ptolemies* Cleopatra VII n. 2. Copyright: Trustees of the B.M.)

'fathers', the native Pharaonic kings.²⁵ Furthermore, the validating power of such names was clearly recognised by Cleopatra herself, for in 36 BC she assumed a new title not used by her predecessors. As the queen who was respecting Pharaonic ritual, building temples in upper Egypt, and regaining parts of the lost Ptolemaic empire, she became Queen Cleopatra, the Goddess, the Younger, Father-loving (*philopator*) and Fatherland-loving (*philopatris*).²⁶

In her titles and iconography Cleopatra VII, like the other queens before her, played the role of daughter to all the previous kings of Egypt. She also represented herself as mother on monuments and coins, for part of her validating strategies involved the presentation of her son Ptolemy XV Caesarion as her legitimate heir, fit to rule Egypt in the Pharaonic tradition.²⁷ The birth of Caesarion was celebrated in the words and images of a temple built for the purpose at Hermonthis, where Cleopatra's role as mother to her son was assimilated iconographically to the role of Isis as mother to Horus. On the south wall of the surviving temple of Hathor-Isis at Dendera in Upper Egypt, Cleopatra appears behind Caesarion offering incense, in the dress and posture of the Pharaohs.²⁸ Furthermore, as the only Ptolemaic queen who coined in her own right and not as the representative of a king,²⁹ there appears on Cleopatra's bronze coinage from Cyprus (dated c. 47-30 BC) a type of the queen suckling her son and crowned with a stephane, in the manner of Aphrodite-Isis (see illus. 1). The image of fertility as an instrument for the authorisation of Cleopatra's power is reinforced by

the appearance of a sceptre behind the nursing mother's shoulder on the obverse, and on the reverse, the type of two cornucopiae – an ancient device of the Ptolemies, employed earlier on the coinage of Arsinoe II – accompanied by the legend KLEOPATRAS BASILISSES.³⁰

Through her particularly close identification with the Egyptian goddess³¹ – included among the queen's many titles is *neā Isis* – Cleopatra VII assumed the positive, public powers of divine motherhood. Distanced by her divinity, she may also have been reified as symbol of the conquering East. Among the miscellaneous materials to be found in the third book of the *Oracula Sibyllina* (a collection of which is thought to have been circulating in Rome by the mid-first century BC)³² are a number of oracles which seem to endorse the conquests of the Ptolemaic dynasty.³³ Two of those oracles personify the powers of the Ptolemaic East in the figure of a woman. At 3. 350-80 it is a woman, a *despoina*, who will exact Asia's vengeance for Roman aggression by shearing Rome's hair and, with that victory, usher in a Golden Age of peace for both Asia and Europe. At 3. 75-92 it is a widow, a *chere*, who will take over the rule of the world and then bring on its destruction. A case has been argued for identifying these female embodiments of the conquering East with Cleopatra herself, and placing their composition respectively in an optimistic period before Actium and in a period of her supporters' disillusionment after the defeat.³⁴ The prophecy of a glorious world kingdom and a golden age of peace for East and West certainly parallels the discourses of conquest centred around Alexander on which Cleopatra herself had drawn, when she named her son by Antony 'Alexander Helios'.³⁵ If the identification holds, these oracles assimilate monarch with country or continent in a manner permitted by a pre-existing language for representing the power of the Ptolemaic queens³⁶ and, as part of a discourse of resistance to the power of Rome,³⁷ Cleopatra is transformed into a personification of vengeful and conquering Asia.

Conflicting fictions

In the years after Actium, however, the Cleopatra who appears at Rome in the poetry of Horace, Virgil, and Propertius exhibits scarcely any of the above features. No name or title is used to identify her. She is once called 'the Egyptian wife' (*Aegyptia coniunx*), but more frequently is entitled only 'queen' (*regina*) or 'woman' (*femina, mulier, illa*). She is described neither as the daughter of kings nor as a mother of kings and, in the Roman narratives, her kingdom seems to consist only of the vanquished.

In Augustan poetry, Cleopatra sheds no glory on her 'fathers'. The queen of Egypt is nameless in the Roman narratives precisely because she is notorious. She has become only an exceptional disgrace branded on the royal race of Philip when, in Propertius 3. 11. 40, she is described as *una Philippeo sanguine adusta nota*.³⁸ In Horatian lyric, it is only when confronted by her prostrated kingdom that the queen desires to act more nobly (*generosius*, 1. 37. 21) and to die without being stripped of her royal status (*privata*, 1. 37. 31).³⁹ Moreover, it is not Cleopatra but Octavian who, in *Aeneid* 8. 681, is borne into battle resplendent with the glory of the fatherland, the *patrium sidus*.⁴⁰ Deprived of name and titles, without a place in the dynastic history of Egypt, Cleopatra is effectively denied both her ancestral powers and her claims to patriotism.

Just as the Cleopatra of Augustan poetry is denied a role as the fatherland's loving daughter, so she does not appear as good wife, nor as fertile mother. If she is called wife (*coniunx*, *Aen.* 8. 688) or described as demanding a wife's reward (*coniugis pretium*, Prop. 3. 11. 31), the adjectives employed to qualify these terms (*Aegyptia* and *obsceni* respectively) signal clearly that for Antony this was no legitimate marriage. Since it was not possible for him to be married to both Octavia and Cleopatra simultaneously, or for his foreign 'marriage' to have any legal standing at Rome, from the Roman perspective an *Aegyptia coniunx* is effectively no real *coniunx* at all.⁴¹ In place of the public and positive erotic powers of an Aphrodite, which the Ptolemaic queens exercise in Alexandrian literature, the Augustan texts substitute such devices for the delineation of the Eastern enemy as the emasculation of the men who are present at Cleopatra's court (*Ep.* 9. 13-14, *Ode* 1. 37. 9-10), drunkenness (*Ode* 1. 37. 14, Prop. 3. 11. 56), and excess (particularised as the unmanly luxury of mosquito nets at *Ep.* 9. 15-16 and Prop. 3. 11. 45). This Augustan Cleopatra is not the wedded mother of legitimate offspring, for her claim to the political authority of Julius Caesar, through the alleged parentage of her son Caesarion, conflicts directly with Octavian's claim to be Caesar's rightful heir.⁴² If Cleopatra's sexual behaviour is mentioned at all, it is in the guise of Oriental 'whore queen' (*incesti meretrix regina Canopi*, Prop. 3. 11. 39); the kind of woman who wears herself out in intercourse with her own slaves (*famulos inter femina trita suos*, Prop. 3. 11. 30).

Neither daughter, wife nor mother, Cleopatra has scarcely any physical presence at all in the Horatian and Virgilian narratives. At best the queen is drunk with sweet success (*Ode* 1. 37. 11-12) or pale with fear of her coming death (*Aen.* 8. 709). Only barking Anubis and the rattling *sistrum* which, in the *Aeneid*, accompany the queen into battle might suggest the dissonance of barbarian speech. In Propertian elegy, Cleo-

patra takes on a little more substance. At 4. 6. 22, the weapons of the losing side at Actium are clutched shamefully in the hand of a woman. In 3. 11, more significantly, the dying Cleopatra possesses a tongue that once had spoken, hands that are now enchained, and a body steeped in poison (Prop. 3. 11. 52-5). When, however, the elegiac narrator claims to have witnessed the physical effects of venom on the queen's body (*spectaui*, 3. 11. 53), it becomes apparent that the author has put on display in poetry not a realistic representation of Cleopatra's death at Alexandria in 30 BC, but its Roman *simulacrum* – the visual representation of the vanquished which will have been carried in the triple triumph at Rome in 29 BC.⁴³ Similarly, the Cleopatra of the *Aeneid* is not presented as a woman of flesh and blood seen through the window of a text, but as a woman of metals such as silver and gold, already a visual image on a shield now further delineated in the words of a poetic ekphrasis.⁴⁴

The Egyptian Cleopatra assumed positive powers through her identification with the goddess Isis. For the poetic Cleopatra of the Augustan narratives, however, assimilation to Isis brings with it ideas of disorder, dissonance, and barbarous animality. The Roman poems do not name Isis explicitly in association with Cleopatra, but bring the goddess in indirectly through her cultic attributes.⁴⁵ Virgil's epic narrative of Actium and Propertius' elegy 3. 11 both depict Cleopatra in possession of a *sistrum* (a musical instrument used regularly in the fertility rites of Isis and appearing frequently in visual depictions of the goddess to signal her powers)⁴⁶ and supported by Anubis (the god who in the myth of Isis assisted her in restoring Osiris to life).⁴⁷ In the *Aeneid*, the *sistrum* is not an instrument of worship but a native Egyptian means for summoning up armies (*Aen.* 8. 696); and Anubis, in the company of all the 'monstrous' shapes of the Egyptian gods, barks his opposition to the pantheon of Rome (8. 698). The hierarchical oppositions of which the *sistrum* and Anubis form a part are set out in the Propertian elegy 3. 11: Cleopatra loses because she dared to oppose 'our' Jupiter with her barking Anubis (3. 11. 41), and the Roman trumpet with the *crepitanti sistro* (3. 11. 43).

Thus the Cleopatra of the Augustan poets exhibits a certain anonymity. She holds the relationships neither of daughter, nor mother, nor legitimate wife, and possesses no individuating physical features. Remaining somewhat distanced and reified, she becomes an artful and artificial symbol of an entire nation. Within Eastern discourses for the authorisation of imperial power, 'woman' is reified as vengeful and conquering Asia. She becomes, however, the personification of effeminate and conquered Asia in the competing discourses of the West.

Perils of the East

The sympotic, epic, and elegiac Cleopatras of Augustan poetry all constrain the queen within the limits of a role as vanquished opponent of the Roman state, which may suggest that these texts are operating as the authoritative voice of Augustus in matters Actian. Yet the persistence with which the Horatian, Virgilian and Propertian Cleopatras are associated with abuse of political power, with drunkenness, immorality, bestiality, effeminacy, and a perverse sexual dominance, takes on a recognisable, discursive shape. The poetic fictions of a queen who is surrounded by the paraphernalia of an Eastern despot are clearly grounded in a narrative tradition whose history transcends the control of individual Augustan poets, their individual poetic utterances, and the specific political strategies of their patrons. The features of these fictive Cleopatras can be located squarely within the determining (and overlapping) structures of sex difference and of Orientalism – ‘the complex system of signifiers denoting the ethically, psychologically and politically “other” by which the West has sought to dominate and have authority over the East.’⁴⁸ So, before discriminating between the individual poetic fictions according to such categories as period of production, patronal relations, genre, context, or narrative voice, it is essential to elucidate the broad conceptual patterns which underlie the writing of Cleopatra in Augustan Rome.⁴⁹

Edith Hall has recently placed the invention of the ‘barbarian’ in the specific historical circumstances of the fifth century BC and has demonstrated the ways in which tragic drama provided cultural authorisation for the perpetuation of the stereotype.⁵⁰ The Athenian polarisation between Greek and Persian then became the model for subsequent Roman constructions of the barbarian peril.⁵¹ As Roman culture became Hellenised in the second century BC, so Roman writers began to ascribe to the Greek East the origin of the city’s perceived moral decline.⁵² Despite its traditional depiction as the cradle of wisdom, and its association with a miraculous fertility, Egypt nevertheless held an important place in this Orientalist discourse.⁵³ In a defence speech, as just one of many instances, Cicero drew on the hostile tradition to undermine the testimony of Egyptian witnesses, when he described Alexandria as the home of all tricks (*praestigiae*) and deceits (*fallaciae*).⁵⁴ The stereotypes of Egyptian savagery and deceitfulness were nourished by the civil conflicts in Alexandria and the murder of Pompey, while the policy of isolating Egypt, which Augustus pursued after Actium, further fostered the pre-existing pattern. While senators and equestrians were not allowed to visit Egypt without the permission of

Augustus, Egyptians were not allowed to serve in the Roman army or enter the Senate.⁵⁵ Such official prohibitions marked the country as both a unique and a distant realm, and one which was now the property of the *princeps*. It is that particular historical context which lends a high ideological charge to the poetic construction of Cleopatra as Egyptian: she is the *Aegyptia coniunx* (*Aen.* 8. 688), the whore queen of Canopus (Prop. 3. 11. 39), nourished by the waters of the Nile (*Aen.* 8. 711-3), drunk on the wine of Mareotis (*Ode* 1. 37. 14).

The ideological resonance of the poetic Cleopatra's identification with Isis also must be understood in a larger, determining historical context – that of Roman religious practice and prohibition. Although the worship of Isis constituted the most popular cult that spread to Rome from Egypt,⁵⁶ in the early principate its Italian adherents were drawn substantially from outside the Roman élite, and they practised beliefs that were neither centred on the Augustan state nor controlled by it. Five times already between 59 and 48 BC, the altar of Isis on the Capitol had been destroyed, on the orders of the Senate. Some years before the publication of Propertius' third book of elegies, in 28 BC, Augustus himself debarred the practice of the Isis cult from within the boundaries of the *pomerium*, and, in 21 BC, from within the first milestone of the city.⁵⁷ Isis had no place in the official calendar of the Augustan state religion.⁵⁸ It is in this historical context that the *sistrum* and Anubis become transformed by the Augustan constructions of Cleopatra into markers of incongruity, of exotic 'otherness', of animality and, especially, of Eastern discordance. Within the logic of Orientalism, the alien and the bestial Anubis of Propertius 3. 11 must be defeated by the familiar anthropomorphic divinity Jupiter, the bark and the rattle must be drowned out by the clear sounds of Rome's trumpet.⁵⁹

In the narrative patterns of fifth-century tragic drama the barbarian is shaped as an inversion of Athenian civic ideals, and is associated, therefore, with tyranny and female power.⁶⁰ Societies organised around male dominance locate female rulers outside their own political structures, in an alien social order, as a means of highlighting that order's perceived peculiarity and their own 'normality'.⁶¹ In Athenian drama, women are ascribed political authority in proportion to the perceived barbarity of the community to which they belong and Athens is being opposed.⁶² In the ethnographic tradition as well as in drama, female 'strength' is matched by male 'weakness': Egyptian customs and laws, according to the account of Herodotus, were 'for the most part the converse of those of all other men' and required, for example, that women go out to trade, while the men remain at home weaving.⁶³

Tyranny and aberrant female power are likewise the two principal features which give shape to the Egyptian queen of Augustan poetry. In

the political writings of the late Republic, the championing of *libertas* against the threat of *seruitus* or *regnum* became the validating slogan for insurrection. After Actium, *libertas* was appropriated to validate the incipient autocracy, so that Augustus commenced his *Res Gestae* with a claim to have liberated the Republic.⁶⁴ Confronting long-standing constructions of oriental tyranny with the Republican slogan of liberty, the poetic narratives of Actium construct an anomalous female despotism by which the *libertas* of the Roman male is dangerously imperilled. If, in *Epode* 9, the Antonian soldier is in bondage to a woman (*emancipatus feminae*, 9. 12) and in service to wrinkled eunuchs, Octavian is thereby rendered the champion of male liberty, seeking to free the Antonian slave from a woman's chains. By demanding a sympotic celebration and a dance beaten out with a freed foot (*pede libero*, *Ode* 1. 37. 1), the Horatian ode points a parallel with the Alcaic celebration of the death of the tyrant Myrsilus.⁶⁵ This time, however, death has come to a female tyrant, a *regina*, whose court once consisted of diseased men. In Propertian elegy, after the battle is won, sea nymphs clap the freed standards (*libera signa*, 4. 6. 62) of the fatherland (*patriae*, 4. 6. 24) which had been forced to confront a woman's javelins (*pilaque femineae turpiter apta manu*, 4. 6. 22), and Rome, thanks to its saviour Augustus, becomes a city no longer terrified by woman's warfare (*femineo Marte*, 3. 11. 58). In Virgilian epic, Augustus sails into battle made radiant by the star of his fathers – both the deified Julius Caesar and the fatherland (*patrium sidus*, *Aen.* 8. 681). He is also escorted by the fathers (*patribus*, *Aen.* 8. 679) and the people of all Italy, and partnered by his trusted general Agrippa. Whereas, instead of his Roman 'fathers' and a named general, Antony brings the assorted hordes of the Orient and a nameless Egyptian wife (*Aen.* 8. 685-688).⁶⁶

This persistent equation of the relation of West to East with that of male to female provides, within the logic of Orientalism and sex difference, the necessary authority for domination and conquest.⁶⁷ The womanish Easterners, enthralled by their Egyptian queen, need to have imposed upon them the masculine order of the West, embodied in the figure of Augustus.⁶⁸ A sense of urgency then attends the whole process for, following the Orientalist pattern that calls for the West's control of the East in order to stop the East's designs on the West,⁶⁹ the Capitol is depicted as compelled to conquer Cleopatra in order to prevent Cleopatra's plans for conquering it (*Ode* 1. 37. 5-12, *Prop.* 3. 11. 39-46).

Militant women

In the Augustan narratives, Cleopatra is a nameless, scarcely individuated *regina*, a dangerous anomaly who represents the 'otherness' of the

East and whose characteristics thereby lend poetic authority to the supremacy of the West. Positive images of the political power of specific women were not, however, entirely alien to the Roman state for, precisely in this same period, a representational language was being developed at Rome for a woman who was to become fully involved in the city's public life. From 35 BC, there accrued to Livia and to Octavia extraordinary honours which served to distinguish both of them from other Roman women in general, and from Antony's Egyptian 'wife' in particular.⁷⁰ Livia became assimilated ultimately to personifications of *iustitia* and *pax* on Augustan coinage, and became, much in the manner of the Ptolemaic queens themselves, an emblem of fertility and prosperity, both through the title of *genetrix orbis* which was ascribed to her on dedications and through her visual depiction as a corn-blest Ceres. During the early principate, Livia was appealed to in poetry as the *Romana princeps*, a guide to the appropriate public virtues for women.⁷¹ In a manner that, again, closely resembles the validating strategies of the Ptolemaic dynasty, the most important woman in the Augustan state gradually became identified as a benefactor of family life, as the first wife and mother, and as a model of chaste womanhood.⁷²

It is clear, therefore, that a language *could* be created, and *was* eventually created, to endorse the public role of a specific Roman woman. Already, shortly after the marriage of Antony and Octavia in 39 BC, Cistophori were minted in the East displaying the head of Octavia on the reverse, or jugate with Antony's portrait on the obverse.⁷³ It is also clear that, in the years immediately preceding Actium, attempts were made by Antony to incorporate Cleopatra within Roman political structures and, particularly, to exploit her authority in the East within Roman systems for designating and sustaining power. If the later historians are to be believed, the Ptolemaic symbolism for female power had already been appropriated and utilised at Rome: just as the presence of a deified Berenice I had been claimed for a temple of Aphrodite in Egypt, so a golden statue of Cleopatra was located in the temple of Venus Genetrix at Rome.⁷⁴ Yet two sets of coin types disclose more distinctly the techniques employed by Cleopatra and Antony to integrate each other into their respective political and iconographic systems. One series of bronze coins from Chalcis, dated around 31 BC, has Cleopatra for its mint authority. A portrait head of the queen appears on the obverse accompanied by her name and title BASILISSES; on the reverse appears a type of Antony, who is evidently the subordinate figure of the pair since it is Cleopatra's regnal year 21 which is inscribed first around Antony's portrait head, instead of year 6 of a new dating system designed to declare their joint sovereignty over the East and



2. Silver denarius of Antony, dated c. 32 BC, showing the head of Antony on the obverse and as Romanised bust of Cleopatra on the reverse. (London, British Museum. Ref. *BMC East* 180. Copyright: Trustees of the B.M.)

Rome.⁷⁵ Another series, this time of silver denarii, dated around 32 BC, has Antony for its mint authority (see *illus. 2*).⁷⁶ A head of Antony appears on the obverse, with an Armenian tiara behind him and the legend *ANTONI ARMENIA DEVICTA*. The coinage is linked iconographically to the Republican tradition for signalling Roman victories over Eastern despotism. On the reverse, however, there appears a Romanised bust of Cleopatra crowned with a diadem and accompanied by the legend *CLEOPATRAE REGINAE REGUM FILIORUM REGUM*.⁷⁷ A ship's prow lies in the foreground. While Cleopatra's coinage attempts to endorse Antony's role in the East by assimilating it to the Ptolemaic dynastic system, Antony's coinage attempts, remarkably and paradoxically, to incorporate Cleopatra's royal powers within the Roman Republican strategies for designating a general's triumph: this time a client queen's Egyptian ships have brought aid to another Roman victory over Oriental tyranny.

Any attempt to accommodate Cleopatra within Roman systems for political validation, and to justify her public powers in Roman terms, would be fraught with difficulty, because her state functions extended beyond limits that were being laid down carefully even for Livia (as benefactor, mediator, and mother of the people). The Ptolemaic queen exercised authority in the military sphere. Within Roman discursive systems, a militant woman was traditionally and persistently a transgressive figure, a non-woman or a pseudo-man, who overturned all the established codes of social behaviour. The patterns of invective which

could be brought to bear on a specific woman operating in the military domain can be seen at play in the abuse heaped on Fulvia for her participation in the siege of Perusia, both at that earlier stage in the conflict between Octavian and Antony and in the subsequent literary tradition. Sling-bullets employed during the siege of Perusia, the *glandes Perusinae*, are inscribed with insults against both sides, but include threats of sexual assault against Fulvia such as *Fulviae landicam peto* ('I aim at Fulvia's cunt'). An epigram of Martial, which claims to quote a poem composed by Octavian himself at the time of the battle (11. 20), follows a similar pattern, denigrating Fulvia's military activities through her supposedly parallel sexual initiatives. Fulvia, portrayed as jealous of her husband's philandering, demands of Octavian 'fuck me or fight me'. The battle of Perusia then takes place only to ensure the continued health of Octavian's *mentula*.⁷⁸ In subsequent historiographic texts, Fulvia's participation in warfare is bound up closely with fictions of the 'non-woman' and the 'woman on top'. According to Velleius Paterculus, the only part of the militant Fulvia that was female was her body: *nihil muliebri praeter corpus gerens omnia armis tumultuque miscerat* (2. 74. 2). Plutarch's Fulvia not only lacks due feminine interest in spinning and housekeeping, but plays the man in wishing to rule the ruler and command the commander: *archontos archein, strategountos strategein* (10. 3). The potential for this form of invective to be transferred wholesale to the figure of Cleopatra is fully realised in Plutarch's narrative, where his Fulvia passes on to Cleopatra a man already trained thoroughly in the habits of *gynaikokratia* ('feminine rule').⁷⁹

This kind of invective against the militant woman forms part of a larger discourse of sex difference that duplicates the gender patterns of Orientalism: the ideal good ordering of the state is linked to the ideal behaviour of its women. The woman whose transgressions occur inside rather than outside the Roman state is constructed in this discourse as a marker of moral and political breakdown. Her 'transgression' usually takes the form of sexual promiscuity and extravagance, but can include the appropriation of what is considered to be 'male' political authority and its prerogatives.⁸⁰ From the late Republic onwards, there appear histories of Rome which employ women in possession of political power as signifiers of moral decline and the breakdown of social order. Whether, for example, the participation of Sallust's Sempronia in the Catilinarian conspiracy is an historiographic fiction or the reflection of a Roman woman's real political interests, her characterisation in *Bellum Catilinae* 25 underscores the dubious character of the conspiracy. Her departure from the matronly norm into the domain of the pseudo-male includes the familiar combination of unhealthy 'male' political interests, an aggressive sexuality, and financial extravagance; in sum, a

woman *quae multa saepe uirilis audaciae facinora commiserat* (25. 1).⁸¹ In the early principate, even members of the imperial family such as Livia and Julia, who were shaped by the state machinery as paragons of the wifely virtues, could attract the charge of excessive political authority (especially in the matter of control over the dynastic succession) and with it the invective pattern of promiscuity and poisoning.⁸²

The Horatian, Virgilian, and Propertian Cleopatras can seem to operate within precisely such invective patterns as these. Their Egyptian queen transgresses all the social and political constraints which Roman society imposed (ideally) upon its women. Operating outside cultural structures construed as 'natural', she is a monstrosity (*fatale monstrum*, *Ode* 1. 37. 21), both deadly and doomed.⁸³ Nameless, in possession of no individuating physical features, represented largely in terms of political, religious, and sexual difference, the poetic Cleopatras of Augustan poetry can be read as part of a narrative of Actium and Alexandria which turns Roman civil war into an heroic Caesar's fight against tyranny, female dominance, and the perils of the Orient. The poetic reification of Cleopatra renders her a suitable second term in the binary oppositions between West and East, Male and Female, which these texts appear to articulate.⁸⁴

Augustan Victory

There are aspects of the Augustan poems, however, which do not seem to be straightforwardly critical of Cleopatra, nor unambiguously supportive of Octavian. Many critics have hesitated over the poetic similes which lead into the second half of the Horatian ode on Cleopatra's defeat (1. 37. 17-20), where the hawk and the dove, the hunter and the rabbit, illustrate Octavian's pursuit of Cleopatra across the sea, from Actium back to Egypt. Some have read the similes as a pivot which now turns the reader's sympathies away from the Roman hunter and toward the hunted queen.⁸⁵ Page Dubois has explored the implications of the narration of Roman history in the *Aeneid* in the form of an ekphrasis – a verbal description of visual images on a shield – and observes that the poetic convention allows the epic hero (who gazes on the shield) to mediate the audience's relationship to narrated history, and places in the foreground the hero's act of incomprehension;⁸⁶ while Jasper Griffin has argued that the first-person, authorial voice of the Propertian elegy 3. 11 effectively pushes the love poet into the role of an Antony who willingly accepts submission to his dominating beloved, for the poem employs Cleopatra as an example of the kind of woman who can hold men like the narrator voluntarily enchained.⁸⁷

In seeking to put these apparent poetic ambiguities into an historical context, it is interesting to note that surviving depictions of Cleopatra occur at Rome only in the *poetry* composed around and after Actium. In the aftermath of Actium, the Roman poetry which began to create its own fictions of Cleopatra was only one of many sites that displayed and explored the new powers and political authority vested in the *princeps*. After Octavian's victories at Actium and Alexandria, his ascendancy was also articulated through civic ceremonies and religious rituals, through the changing topography of the city of Rome, through new monuments, coin types, inscriptions, and testimonials that proclaimed Augustus himself as their author.⁸⁸ Yet where we might expect to find attempts to produce wholly unambiguous images of Octavian's victory, in these state rituals, monuments, coins or inscriptions, Cleopatra scarcely figures at all.

The power of the word

Augustan poetry and, therefore, its fictive Cleopatras should not be read in isolation from the whole system of discourses whose function it was to validate the Augustan autocracy. Firstly, the Augustan state itself continually recognised the word and, specifically, the poem as a tool for sustaining political power. According to the evidence of the later historians and biographers such as Suetonius, from the death of Julius Caesar in 44 BC to the suicide of Antony in 30 BC, graffiti, lampoons, letters, speeches, pamphlets, and edicts were all employed as instruments in the pursuit of political power.⁸⁹ After the initial deployment of invective to undermine the credibility of Antony, and after the declaration of war in October 32 BC for which legitimacy was sought through the re-enactment of an ancient fetial ritual,⁹⁰ the post-Actian period witnessed numerous instances of the spoken word and the displayed text employed to buttress the new régime. Most pervasively, the personal name 'Augustus' once voted by the Senate and people in 27 BC lent to the *princeps* an aura of venerability on every repetition.⁹¹ 'Official' narratives, stamped with the authority of an Augustus who speaks for himself in the first-person, were prepared and publicised throughout the relevant period: an autobiography was composed up to the time of the Cantabrian war to deny the usurpation of power, and this was followed by the monumental *Res Gestae*.⁹²

Testimony to a belief in the persuasive powers of oracular poetry is to be found both in the new location provided for the Sibylline books and in the constraints attached to their consultation. Transferred in 28 BC to the new temple of Apollo on the Palatine, the *libri Sibyllini* were brought physically near the residence of Augustus and effectively under

his jurisdiction. Consulted only by decree of the Senate, the political importance of these texts was both manifest and unparalleled.⁹³ Yet the establishment of a library adjoining the temple of Apollo on the Palatine, to house works in both Greek and Latin, demonstrates that a much broader range of literature was also subjected to Augustus' public ratification, and formed part of a strategy for his own cultural accreditation.⁹⁴ Furthermore, any sharp distinctions in the Augustan schema between the propagandist functions of monument, religious ritual, and poetic production would have been blurred at least temporarily when, in 17 BC, an Horatian choral ode was performed before the temple of Apollo as the culminating point of the *Ludi Saeculares*.⁹⁵

Secondly, while the Augustan state can recognise the political strength of poetry alongside that of rituals and monuments, Augustan poetry often ascribes to itself a parity with those same rituals and monuments, or even offers itself as a challenge to their presumed superiority. In the metaphoric idioms of the Virgilian, Horatian, and Propertian texts, an envisaged epic narrative is itself a 'temple' of poetry (*Georgics* 3. 10-36),⁹⁶ lyrics are a loftier monument than pyramids (*Odes* 3. 30. 1-5), and elegiacs are more lasting (*Prop.* 3. 2. 17-26). The texts categorise themselves as social acts rather than personal artforms when they address directly Maecenas, Augustus, or the Roman populace at large. They also characterise their poets as priests or prophets of public ceremonial, rather than as private artists, when they use the title *uates*.⁹⁷

The narratives of Cleopatra's defeat themselves dissolve distinctions between ritual, monument, and poem. The Horatian Cleopatras of *Epode* 9 and *Ode* 1. 37 appear in the context of a call for the ritual, sympotic celebration of Caesar's victory. The Propertian elegy 3. 11 offers its own verbal *simulacrum* of Cleopatra at the same time as it makes its poet witness to the ritual display of her visual *simulacrum* in the triumphal procession of 29 BC. As part of an ekphrasis on the shield of Aeneas, the Cleopatra of Virgilian epic takes on material shape and monumental proportions. Similarly, the subsequent and dependent elegiac Cleopatra of Propertius 4. 6 appears within a poetic aetiology of an Augustan monument (the ubiquitous temple of Apollo on the Palatine) and within a narrative which describes itself simultaneously as poetic performance and act of ritual worship. Thus, at the precise points where the Ptolemaic queen enters Augustan poetry, those narratives relate the poetic to both ritual and monumental celebrations of Roman victory.

Augustan poetry is assimilated by both itself and the state to other methods of demonstrating and validating the rule of the *princeps*. There is, nonetheless, a difference between the ritual display of Cleopatra as visual mimesis in a triumphal procession and the performance of an

elegiac poem in which that display is recounted, or between a sympotic celebration of victory and a poetic narrative that calls for the celebration's enactment. Among the visual and verbal discourses of power, the authority attached to the poetic voice is of a distinct order. Even the *carmen saeculare*, for example, which comes closest of all extant Roman poems to the status of ritual and gains its unique authority from the equally unique conditions of its production and reception in 17 BC, does not dovetail in its details with the rituals catalogued in the official inscription that relates to the secular games.⁹⁸

The kind of difference between state ceremonial and poetry, a difference of authorship, of performance, and even of audience, is now formulated commonly in terms of 'primary' versus 'secondary' propaganda: public rituals are read as primary vehicles for Augustus' propaganda, as direct claims to glory; poetry is located in a more mediated secondary order, influential with the élite. Although there is much debate as to the precise place of monuments or coins within this classificatory system, the critical terminology employed to express poetry's distinctiveness signals clearly that the Augustan narratives do not stand apart from a network of empowering discourses but have, instead, a position within a discursive hierarchy – secondary rather than separate.⁹⁹ And if poetry's authority is distinct, that distinction is still contained within its historical moment. For the conditions which determine the ideological status of the poetic voice, such as social context, authorship, and audience, are neither timeless, nor universal, but culturally specific, and the meanings attached to poetic narratives such as those of Cleopatra can appear universal only to readers who define the universe in terms of ancient conceptions of gender, race, and imperialism.¹⁰⁰ If, then, the precise ideological charge carried by the Roman fictions of the queen is to be assessed adequately, the poetic Cleopatras must be studied firstly in relation to the broad cultural constructions of sex difference and ethnicity which operated in the ancient world, and secondly as part of a specific hierarchy of discourses which articulated the victory of Augustus. The study of similarity and difference between and within that hierarchy's primary and secondary levels should assist the process of identifying the distinctive features of the Horatian, Virgilian, and Propertian Cleopatras.

Voices of authority

Outside the narratives of the Augustan poets, most of our evidence for ancient constructions of Cleopatra as vanquished enemy of the *res publica* comes from historians and biographers such as Velleius Paterculus, Plutarch, or Dio.¹⁰¹ These historiographic works reproduce,

in one form or another, the same chauvinisms of sex and race as appear in the Augustan poetry-books. The speech which Dio assigns Octavian before the commencement of battle at Actium, for example, encourages the Roman soldiers to fight on two counts: because the opposing commander is an Egyptian woman and it would be unworthy of the Roman ancestors who overthrew the likes of Pyrrhus, Philip, Perseus, and Antiochus for their descendants to be trodden underfoot by a female, and because the opposing armies are Egyptian and it would be disgraceful to bear the insults of the sort of people who are a woman's slaves.¹⁰² Cleopatra once again is mannish and her orientalised Antony unmanned.¹⁰³ Yet it is difficult to extract from these later accounts Cleopatra's precise function in the consolidation of Augustus' position at Rome during the years immediately after his victory.¹⁰⁴ In the absence of substantial extracts of both Augustus' autobiography and contemporary prose histories, few later statements regarding his direct propagandist strategies can now be corroborated except, perhaps, by their widespread repetition: in one case, we are told by Dio's history that Augustus claimed Antony's Roman legions were made to guard Cleopatra's palace in Alexandria (50. 5. 1), and by Servius' commentary on the *Aeneid* that this claim appeared in Augustus' own account of the period (*ad Aen.* 8. 696). The later prose narratives, moreover, are often composed for a different audience of Greeks in the East and shaped by the ideological perspectives and analogical interests of different centuries.¹⁰⁵ Finally, in both ancient and modern studies, lurid depictions of Antony's captivation and Cleopatra's suicide have a tendency to overshadow the few details which the texts also supply for Cleopatra's propagandist functions in the immediate post-Actian phase of celebration and consolidation.

As part of Augustus' primary propagandist scheme, most attention seems to have been focused on Cleopatra in a limited period immediately before and after the battle of Actium, when she appears within a larger discursive pattern that articulates Octavian's pursuit and achievement of power as a war of liberation by Italy against an external, Eastern enemy. In the many public rituals and ceremonies of this period, Cleopatra has an integral function only in the declaration of war and the triumphal celebration. Several of the ancient historians agree that in October 32 BC war was declared formally against Cleopatra alone, using the full panoply of the fetial rites,¹⁰⁶ and thus was proclaimed a national crusade in defence of *Romanitas*, the West, and the Male Principle.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, during the triple triumph of August 29 BC, celebrated for victories over the Dalmatians, at Actium, and in Egypt, an effigy of Cleopatra is said to have been present in the parade of the vanquished, in addition to her children Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene.¹⁰⁸

All the other surviving evidence suggests that, in the public celebrations of Actium, victory and the struggle to obtain it were signified by more abstract tokens – it was Egypt or the East, not a specific Ptolemaic queen, that had been defeated. It was the day of Alexandria's capture and Antony's death, not the day of Cleopatra's suicide, which was declared a holiday by resolution of the Senate, and the day of Octavian's entry into that city was recorded publicly in the *Fasti* as the one on which he saved Rome not from the clutches of a female despot but simply from 'terrible danger' (*rem public. tristiss. periculo liberavit*).¹⁰⁹ The monumental text which constitutes the *Res Gestae* follows a similar pattern of abstraction. Not one of Augustus' opponents appears in it by name. Sextus Pompeius becomes an anonymous pirate, and Antony a faction.¹¹⁰ Cleopatra, however, is rendered completely impersonal – a territory rather than a political party – when her defeat becomes the addition of Egypt to the empire of the Roman people (*Aegyptum imperio populi Romani adieci, RG 27. 1*).

There is also little evidence to suggest that Cleopatra had a role to play in the monumental iconography which featured so significantly in Augustus' refurbished Rome. If the ekphrasis in the Propertian elegy 2. 31 can be believed, the Palatine temple to Apollo which was dedicated on 9 October 28 BC commemorated victory exclusively in the abstract or mythological idioms of Apollo's achievement and his divine vengeance on mortal hybris. A votive statue of the god before the temple signalled victory at sea metonymically, in the shape of ships' prows, while the depiction on the temple doors of Apollo's slaughter of the Niobids and his rout of the Gauls has been read as 'a veiled metaphor' for Octavian's divinely sanctioned defeat of Antony.¹¹¹ The statues of the Egyptian Danaids which Propertius locates in the temple portico could only be at best indirect allusions to Cleopatra's downfall. The absence of a narrative context that marks the Danaids' submission, their legendary contempt for the married state, and their plurality could make the Danaids only very approximate mythological representations of the defeated Ptolemaic queen. Similarly, the depiction of an Amazonomachy on the pediment of the old temple of Apollo which C. Sosius restored, would have set up a parallel for Actium both in the mythological defeat of a barbarian race and in the historical victory over the Persians which that mythic image had signalled in fifth-century Athens,¹¹² but their famous rejection of male society and their collectivity would have obscured any very close identification between the martial Amazons and the militant Cleopatra. The statues and reliefs belonging to the temples of Apollo focus on the quality of divine victory over anonymous barbarian hordes rather than on the mortal specifics of a particular Ptolemaic queen's defeat. If Cleopatra is alluded to, it is only in her mythic capacity as symbol of the hostile powers of the East.



3. The Actian Victory. A copy of the 'Victory of Samothrace'. (London, British Museum. Ref. BMC *Augustus* 616. Copyright: Trustees of the B.M.)

The precise design and the location of the arch that was erected in the *Forum Romanum* to commemorate the Actian victory of 31 BC are still much disputed.¹¹³ This renders as equally contentious its identification with arches illustrated on some denarii. Scholars who consider the Actian arch to have been triple-vaulted are inclined to identify it with a coin type which displays Octavian crowning an arch in a triumphal chariot accompanied on either wing by two suppliant figures. According to the interpretation of Filippo Coarelli, for example, the Actian arch would then have celebrated all three triumphs of 29 BC, with the suppliant figures representing the submission of Dalmatia and (less certainly) Egypt. Actium alone would be without figurative representation.¹¹⁴ If the Actian arch is thought to be single-vaulted, it may be identifiable with a coin type that displays an arch crowned by a triumphant statuary group of Octavian standing in a quadriga, and exhibiting additionally only disembodied standards on its socles. A higher degree of abstraction would then be attached to the monumental iconography for victory.¹¹⁵ In either case, there is no indication that a specific opponent, an Antony or a Cleopatra, was represented on the Actian arch.

Aligned with other public languages through their illustration of monuments or ritual acts or literary topoi such as the departure of Aeneas from Troy,¹¹⁶ and minted to pay the army and generally to support the economic life of both Italy and the provinces,¹¹⁷ coins nevertheless were not the primary instruments of Augustus' validation at Rome. Coin types and their slogans which proclaimed military success often relied for comprehension on the detail provided previously

by the celebration of a triumph. Nor were coins exactly on a par with the poetic voice, since they were, for example, less recognisably mediated than literary works. Nevertheless, Augustan coins were invested with substantial discursive power and were designed to draw on images of maximum ideological potency.¹¹⁸ Yet no coin throughout this period depicts a vanquished Cleopatra.

Many coins minted after the naval battle at Actium depict the victor of the battle or the fruits of victory,¹¹⁹ but nowhere is Cleopatra a part of the victory symbolism. There appear, instead, impersonal tokens such as ships' prows and marine creatures, divine patrons such as Venus and Apollo, or personifications such as Victory standing on a globe.¹²⁰ One coin type shows, standing on a ship's prow, a copy of the 'Victory of Samothrace' – a statue which the Macedonian Antigonus had set up to commemorate his victory over Ptolemy II at Cos¹²¹ (see illus. 3, p. 118). The design implies that Actium belonged to a celebrated tradition of victories over the Ptolemaic dynasty, but it suppresses any detail of that dynasty's most recent representative and subsumes Queen Cleopatra into a more comfortable history of victory over kings. On coins which celebrate the capture of Egypt, it is a crocodile that takes Cleopatra's place. Some rare gold and silver coins, dated to 28-27 BC but of uncertain mint, display a head of the then Octavian Caesar on their obverse and, on the reverse, carry the legend AEGYPT. CAPTA accompanied by a crocodile¹²² (see illus. 4). Similarly, abundant coppers from the mint at Nimes distributed widely



4. A coin issued in celebration of the capture of Egypt, dated c. 28-27 BC. (London, British Museum. Ref BMC *Augustus* 655. Copyright: Trustees of the B.M.)

through the West in the period 10 BC to AD 14, display on the reverse a captive crocodile and a palm tree and, on the obverse, heads of Augustus and Agrippa.¹²³ The recovery of Asia from the domination of Antony and his Eastern queen was also celebrated in the abstract terms of Victory on quantities of silver quinarii which were struck in Italy in a period between 29 and 26 BC.¹²⁴

Victories at Actium, in Egypt, and in Asia, and the forces ranged at that time against Octavian, are all depicted, in this iconographic pattern, in terms of material or animal tokens, divine personifications, or – more distantly still – in terms of illustrations of monumental depictions of tokens and personifications. They are never depicted in terms of vanquished opponents or suppliant peoples. Yet opponents and peoples do appear in Augustan coin types signifying conquests and submissions when those conquests and submissions have ceased to be associated with either Cleopatra or Antony. The supplicating barbarian, for example, becomes an especially popular image after the restoration of the Roman standards from Parthia in 20 BC. Large numbers of denarii issued at Rome show, on the obverse, the head of a divinity such as *Liber* or *Honos* and, on the reverse, the legend CAESAR AUGUSTUS SIGN. RECE. accompanied by the type of a bareheaded Parthian who kneels in breeches and cloak offering a standard and holding out his left hand in supplication.¹²⁵ The installation of a client king in Armenia was commemorated in a coin series minted at Rome in 18 BC that showed the head of *Liber* on the obverse and, on the reverse, the legend CAESAR DIVI F. ARME. CAPT. accompanied by the type of an Armenian who, wearing the tiara and long robe that signified an Eastern monarch, kneels and extends both hands in a gesture of submission.¹²⁶

Although rituals, monuments, coins, and writings testify to the importance of military victories and conquests in Augustus' claims to power,¹²⁷ there seems to be a certain hesitancy in authorising Augustus' political ascendancy through the representation of a specific woman as vanquished opponent. The primary authenticating discourses of the Augustan state are not static but change through time. Cleopatra herself carries only a brief ideological potency centred around the time of the military campaigns and triumphs of 32-29 BC, and even Actium gradually ceases to possess its original political resonance, being replaced soon after 20 BC by 'the suppliant Parthian' as a more pervasive representation of Augustan power.¹²⁸ In the 'official' discourses of validation in the post-Actian period, no lasting image of Cleopatra has survived. Within the framework of the representation of Actium and Alexandria as moments of victory in a war of liberation from the tyranny of the East, the Roman Antony could not be represented,¹²⁹ but

neither, it would seem, could Cleopatra. In games, festivals, libations, dedications, public statuary, and monuments, there are only Apollos and Victories, and a general triumphant, while ships' prows and Egyptian spoils stand in for the actual opponents.¹³⁰ Why, then, does Cleopatra VII appear so briefly in the 'official' victory symbolism?

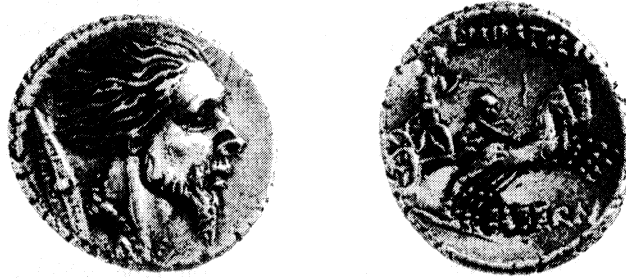
The Problematic Female

Gendering victory

One explanation for the abstraction of the coin types which celebrate Actium lies in the evident gendering of the iconography of victory and the vanquished which traditionally occurred in Roman coin issues. Coins which mark conquest or submission disclose a spectrum of types ranging from named enemies through to material tokens and personifications of victory. In that spectrum, representations of women are more closely aligned with the general than the particular.

One of the earliest examples of a coin type which marks the specific military achievements of a living magistrate is a series of silver denarii minted at Rome in 58 BC jointly by M. Scaurus and P. Hypsaeus. The side devoted to Scaurus records the surrender of the Arabian King Aretas of Nabataea who appears on his knees holding an olive branch beside a camel and is identified clearly by name.¹³¹ Many similar designs followed, such as the silver denarii of 56 BC which were minted by Sulla's son and display on the reverse an enchained Jugurtha being surrendered by King Bocchus of Mauretania to an enthroned Sulla.¹³² None of these designs display a woman as the specific conquered opponent.

In the spectrum of coin types depicting conquest and submission, and in order of increasing abstraction, women first appear not in the category of 'specific opponents' but in that of 'typical prisoners' and, even here, their iconographic function is still differentiated from that of their more substantial male counterparts. An issue of denarii minted in Spain around 46-45 BC, for example, celebrates Julius Caesar's conquests in Gaul by displaying a portrait head of Venus on the obverse and, on the reverse, Gallic trophies surrounded by two figures – a kneeling or seated male whose hands are tied behind his back, and a seated female who, in a gesture of grief, rests her head in her right hand. Since only the male is enchained, the female figure has been read as signifying both a captive Gaul and a grieving *Gallia*. It is, then, as both representative prisoner and personification of the province that the woman mourns.¹³³ Gallic female is similarly differentiated from



5. A coin issued in celebration of Julius Caesar's Gallic victories, dated c. 48 BC. (London, British Museum. Ref. BMC *Rome* 3994. Copyright: Trustees of the B.M.)

Gallic male on a pair of silver denarii minted around 48 BC. On one coin, the portrait head of a bearded (and therefore barbarian) male displayed on the obverse is matched, on the reverse, with the type of a charioteer leading a naked warrior who brandishes spear and shield (see illus. 5). On the other coin, the portrait head of a long-haired (and therefore barbarian) female on the obverse is matched, on the reverse, with the type of Artemis, the goddess of Massalia, who holds a spear and rests her right hand on the head of a stag¹³⁴ (see illus. 6, p. 123). While the male is associated with the ferocious military agents in Caesar's Gallic wars, the female is linked more impersonally to the symbol of an acquiescent Gallic city.

Further along the spectrum, where victory is designated by the category of 'personified countries' rather than 'typical prisoners', the female replaces the male altogether on the standard coin type. Instead of representative inhabitants of surrendered or restored territories, the coinage displays ideal female personifications of whole peoples.¹³⁵ A denarius minted at Rome in 71 BC, for example, carries on the obverse the helmeted bust of *Virtus* and, on the reverse, the legend SICIL. accompanied by an armed warrior raising up a fallen female figure. The gesture towards the woman alludes symbolically to the benefits conferred on Sicily by Marius, the grandfather of the minter, when he ended Sicily's second slave war.¹³⁶



6. Another coin marking Julius Caesar's victories in Gaul, dated c. 48 BC. (London, British Museum. Ref. *BMC Rome* 3996. Copyright: Trustees of the B.M.)

In conventional patterns for the iconography of the vanquished, therefore, the female form functions, in coin types, largely as a personification or at best as a representative person, never as a specific opponent, and her attributes characterise a nation not an individual.¹³⁷ The figure of Cleopatra VII clearly cannot fit into such a system and is absent from the coinage which pays tribute to the powers of Augustus.

This pattern for gendering the iconography of victory and the vanquished extends into every visual sphere. Thus, on the breastplate of the famous statue of Augustus from Prima Porta, the centrepiece is devoted to the representation of a Parthian returning the standards to a Roman commander (see illus. 7, p. 124). Persian dress, bow and quiver, and royal diadem identify the suppliant male figure as the Parthian king Phraates IV.¹³⁸ On the edges of the breastplate, on either side of the Parthian king, appear figures of grieving females (see illus. 8, p. 125). Their attributes, instead of marking the women as specific vanquished opponents, assist in the process of reification. The eagle-sword and the dragon-trumpet are additional signifiers of client states restored or provinces captured.¹³⁹ Thus the specific male opponent and the specific military achievement lie, literally, at the heart of a monument which sets out the 'anatomy' of Augustan victory symbolism. The female personification and her generalised gestures remain marginalised on either side.



7. The breastplate of the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta. (Vatican, Braccio Nuovo. Ref. Inv. 2290. Copyright: Vatican Museums.)



8. Detail from the breastplate of the statue of Augustus from Prima Porta. (Vatican, Braccio Nuovo. Ref. 37. 744. Copyright: German Archaeological Institute, Rome.)

The relative abstraction of the 'official' discourses celebrating victory at Actium is thus explained by the requirements of victory symbolism at Rome. Depictions of Roman Antony would have resonated with civil war associations, while the Egyptian foe Cleopatra VII was highly problematic as a *female* opponent. Where war is defined as a masculine activity and highly-esteemed masculine qualities are attached to military pursuits, a specific female opponent is 'inherently unsettling';¹⁴⁰ her depiction, even when vanquished, is problematic as an authorisation of male power. The defeat of a woman was not construed as an especially heroic act for a Roman general to have performed. If any dignity accrues to the queen in the poetic description of her death at the end of Horace's *Ode* it is, from the Roman perspective, because in her final moments she transcends the condition of Woman – *nec muliebriter / expavit* (*Ode* 1. 37. 22-3). Just as Roman women like Fulvia are attacked as pseudo-men for their active involvement in campaigns, so Roman politicians insult their male opponents by calling them 'women',¹⁴¹ precisely because 'being a woman' and 'being a dangerous enemy' are not assimilable in Rome's conceptual world. Such rhetoric is picked up by the historian Dio who portrays the militant Boudicca as transgressing the bounds of normal female behaviour, and sets up her opposition to Rome as an illustration of Nero's sexual perversity and Rome's social disorder.¹⁴² Furthermore, the entire possibility of differentiating between a symbolic order of female personifications such as Victory, Justice, or the Nation Vanquished, and the actual order of soldiers, judges and defeated generals, depends largely on the absence of women from the military, judicial, and political spheres.¹⁴³ In Rome's traditional discourse of military conquest, therefore, the female functions either as a derogation or as an abstraction, so that the articulation of a specific female opponent fits uneasily into the intricate symbolic network of gender and imperialism which constitutes this validating system, and it disturbs the system's operations.

Cleopatra vanquished?

Earlier in this paper, a certain anonymity was observed in the poetic representations of Cleopatra during the years that followed Actium. She possesses no name, no individuating physical features, and none of the physical presence customarily accorded the poetic barbarian such as the golden locks and golden dress, the striped cloaks and the milky-white necks, the spear-carrying hands and the protected bodies of the Gauls who, elsewhere on the shield of Aeneas, are caught ascending the Capitol (*Aen.* 8. 657-62). The extent of Cleopatra's reification, more-

over, grows with time. In the later poetic narratives of the *Aeneid* and Propertius 4. 6, there are no mosquito nets and no eunuchs, no drunkenness or sexual depravity, only the conflict of divine forces embodied in the sanctified Augustus and the Isiac Cleopatra. Nonetheless, after the triumphs of 29 BC, the very presence of Cleopatra in these poetic narratives marks a significant departure from the other public languages of the period, whether rituals, monuments, or coin issues; for Augustan poetry plays with its fictions of Cleopatra long after she has ceased to carry any burden of validation in the 'official' sphere. Long after her image had once been carried in the triumphal procession of 29 BC, poetic fictions of Cleopatra continue to be composed and distributed. In the absence of the historiographic Cleopatras of the contemporary prose tradition, the poetic Cleopatras of the Augustan age are an anomaly and, in the light of the traditional place of the female in discourses of victory, problematic both in their construction and their interpretation.

It is not only as a result of the Roman 'grammar' of conquest that Cleopatra VII is rendered problematic as a poetic symbol of Augustan claims to power. The queen's suicide also generates substantial difficulties as an image of Augustan victory, for in the ideology of conquest a Roman general would kill a king in battle, or accept his submission and lead him and his children in a triumphal procession of the vanquished. Cleopatra's suicide thus denied to the triumph of 29 BC her physical presence as an assured token of that submission.¹⁴⁴ Although Cleopatra's death may have been ordered at the time, or been connived at, the story of her death by snake bite nevertheless left space for a defiant and regal figure to emerge:¹⁴⁵ in prose narratives, epitomes, and commentaries, the tale is repeated that Cleopatra herself cried out against appearing in a Roman triumph (*ou thriambeusomai*)¹⁴⁶ and, although suspect, the story of her death by snake bite is entirely in keeping with the emblematic apparatus of the royal house of the Pharaohs.¹⁴⁷

Moreover, her construction as barbarian 'other' is fraught with contradiction, for in the Graeco-Roman world the Egypt for which she acts as symbol (despite being herself of Macedonian ancestry) was not conceptualised consistently. The epitome of everything that is treacherous and bestial, Egypt was nonetheless constructed in Roman discourse as the seat of science and fertility,¹⁴⁸ and even the city of Rome, through the course of the Augustan period, became decorated gradually with the art of Egypt.¹⁴⁹ Furthermore, the Alexandrian poets such as Callimachus brought to the Roman poetic tradition numerous possibilities for assimilation rather than alienation. Thus the Tibullan elegy 1. 7, which is self-dated by Messalla's triumph to 27 BC, the year following Augustus' repression of the Isis cult, sings the praises of the Nile, and

assimilates a patron of Roman poetry to the Egyptian Osiris (the consort of Isis) who brings to mankind arts that include dance and song.¹⁵⁰

Finally, the potential irony of exposing to the Roman world a picture of the Ptolemaic queen is not lost even on the ancient historian Dio. He relishes the paradox that in displaying the image of the defeated Cleopatra, the Romans might yet be adding to her glorification. For he notes that, although defeated, the queen was still visible even in his day in her sculptural depiction as a golden Aphrodite, and was represented throughout the city of Rome in the adornments which had been brought back from Egypt (51. 22. 1-3).¹⁵¹ It is as if the visual discourses of Augustan victory lacked the register of invective.¹⁵²

Poetic problems

Study of the determining structures of Orientalism and sex difference in the construction of the Horatian, Virgilian, and Propertian Cleopatras has disclosed that the queen enters the Augustan texts possessed of extraordinary ideological potency. Study of the full spectrum of discourses ostensibly designed to validate Augustus has disclosed first that Cleopatra is largely absent from any of the surviving discursive categories other than the poetic, and secondly that her absence results from the difficulties of converting the militant queen – within a Roman conceptual framework – into an uncompromising and validating representation of the vanquished foe. Generally, in her capacity as female opponent, and specifically, both in her capacity as Egyptian and in the apparent circumstances of her death, Cleopatra is a problematic signifier and, therefore, brings to her appearance in the poetic narratives a potential for subversion. There inheres within the written Cleopatra elements which can contradict and throw into question her dominant ideological function as a validator of Augustan rule. The queen frustrates representational conquest.

Informed with the historical context of Cleopatra's symbolic potency and ambiguity, we should now return to the poetic narratives of Cleopatra's defeat, re-examine those features of the Augustan texts which have led modern critics to write of poetic ambiguity, and ask again precisely what kind of support could these texts have given to the rule of Augustus?

Returning finally to a further methodological problem raised at the beginning of this paper, when we reread the poetic Cleopatras we should also reconsider our own ideologically implicated evaluations of poetic 'ambiguity'. Ambiguity is often held in high aesthetic esteem, since it appears to be a satisfying resolution of differences, a 'middle point between all merely partial and particular situations'.¹⁵³ Yet, how-

ever ideologically ambiguous is the depiction of Cleopatra in the poetic narratives of Augustan Rome, the position from which her features are assembled is still that of the Roman and the Male, and the texts themselves work to construct a reader according to that model.¹⁵⁴

Notes

The works used for reference in this essay are referred to in these notes by author's name and year of publication only; for full details see Bibliography on pp. 135-40.

1. I am very grateful to Andrew Burnett, Catherine Edwards, John Henderson, Duncan Kennedy, Dominic Rathbone, and Andrew Wallace-Hadrill for their comments on and criticisms of this paper. I would also like to thank Sarah Buckley for her assistance in obtaining some materials, and the Faculty of Classics, Cambridge University, for covering the cost of the reproductions.

2. For this procedure in general, see Greene and Kahn (1985), 1-5; its application to ancient texts is reviewed in, e.g., Foley (1981) and the *Helios* special issues for 1986 and 1989.

3. Cf. Hughes-Hallett (1990), 14-15.

4. Respectively, Tarn and Charlesworth (1934), 98, and Grant (1972), xvii.

5. See, e.g., Tarn and Charlesworth (1934), Volkmann (1958), and Grant (1972) for the Cleopatras of the first century BC; Becher (1966) for a broad survey of the poetic, historiographic, oracular, philosophic, and medical Cleopatras of both Greek and Roman literature; Hamer (1988) and Hughes-Hallett (1990) for the many subsequent transformations of Cleopatra into cultural artefact.

6. Greene and Kahn (1985), 22.

7. E.g., Grant (1972), xviii; Tarn and Charlesworth (1934), 98-9.

8. Tarn and Charlesworth (1934), 111. Cf. Macurdy (1932), 216-18.

9. Grant (1972), xv.

10. Tarn and Charlesworth (1934), 35, and Volkmann (1958), 219.

11. Quoted in Hughes-Hallett (1990), 5.

12. Cf. Mulvey (1975) on the gendered structure of the gaze in narrative cinema.

13. Wallace-Hadrill (1987), 222-3; Kennedy (1984) and this volume, *passim*, following the pattern set by DuQuesnay (1984). Modern works referred to are, principally, Ellul (1973) and Foulkes (1983).

14. Most notably in Zanker (1988).

15. See, e.g., Peradotto (1983), esp. 21-2; McGann (1987).
16. As, e.g., Stahl (1985); on the important implications of Stahl's work, see the reviews of Kennedy (1987) and Wyke (1989).
17. Pomeroy (1984), 24, 26.
18. Pomeroy (1984), 28; see, in general, Pomeroy (1984), 13-40, and Macurdy (1932), 102-235.
19. Fraser (1972), 236-40; Thompson (1973), 4; Pomeroy (1984), 28-39; Quaegebeur (1988), 41-5. See also Theoc. *Idyll* 15. 106-11.
20. Richlin (forthcoming).
21. See Gow (1950), 332-5 on Theoc. *Idyll* 17. 34-52.
22. Cf. Pomeroy (1984), 31.
23. Parsons (1977). On the *Coma*, in particular, see Fraser (1972), 1. 729-30; on the translation by Catullus, see West (1985).
24. Cf. Pomeroy (1984), 22; Grant (1972), 31.
25. For an illustration and description of the stele, see the Brooklyn Exhibition Catalogue, n. 78, 188-9.
26. Maehler (1983), 8. For Cleopatra's participation in Pharaonic ritual, see also Tarn (1936) on the stele from Bucheum, and Volkmann (1958), 60.
27. Volkmann (1958), 74-7.
28. Grant (1972), 99-100; Quaegebeur (1988), 52.
29. Tarn and Charlesworth (1934), 67; Macurdy (1932), 8; Grant (1972), 47-8.
30. BMC *Ptolemies* Cleopatra VII n. 2 and pl. 30. 6; Burnett (1990), n. 3901; Davis and Kraay (1973), nos. 41, 42, and 46; Grant (1972), 85. On the device of the cornucopiae, see Volkmann (1958), 76.
31. See Thompson (1973), 58-9, 122. As illustrated in Burnett (1990), n. 1245, Cleopatra's coinage from Patras displays the queen's bust on one side, and on the other the headdress of the mother goddess Isis.
32. Parke (1988), 144.
33. For the Ptolemaic provenance of these oracles, see Parke (1988), 2, 6; Collins (1987), 431-2.
34. See Collins (1983), 358-61, and (1987), 433-5, who follows Tarn (1932), 137-9.
35. See Tarn (1932), 144-8; Volkmann (1958), 122; Grant (1972), 142-4; Collins (1983), 358; Pelling (1988), 256.
36. On the assimilation of female premier to nation, in a country that has a history of queens, see Warner (1987), 38-60, on Elizabeth I, Queen Victoria, and Margaret Thatcher.
37. Collins (1983), 322.
38. As Fedeli (1985), 377-9.
39. Cf. Nisbet and Hubbard (1970), 417.
40. I am indebted to Duncan Kennedy for this observation.

41. See Reinhold (1988), 221, on Plutarch's comments.
42. See Zanker (1988), 34, and Grant (1972), 87-8.
43. See Plut. *Ant.* 86 and Dio 51. 21. 7-8. Cf. Fedeli (1985), 384, on Prop. 3. 11. 53-4.
44. See, e.g., West (1975) for the ekphrastic techniques of the Virgilian narrative.
45. Malaise (1972), 246-7; cf. Witt (1971), 55.
46. Toynbee (1934), 41.
47. Witt (1971), 39, 198.
48. Hall (1989), 2, 99; cf. Said (1985), 3.
49. For the priority of conceptual systems over individual literary expressions, see Goldhill (1986), 111-13, on anthropologically based readings of Greek tragedy, and Wyke (1989) on Paul Veyne's readings of Latin love elegy. Cf. Said (1985), 13.
50. Hall (1989), 1, 103.
51. Hannestad (1988), 54.
52. Balsdon (1979), 63.
53. See, in general, Balsdon (1979), 68-9; Malaise (1972), 244-51; Smelik and Hemelrijk (1984); Reinhold (1988), 227-8.
54. Cic. *Pro Rab. Post.* 35, on which see Smelik and Hemelrijk (1984), 1921.
55. Smelik and Hemelrijk (1984), 1922-4; Reinhold (1988), 227-8.
56. Toynbee (1934), 40, and cf. Malaise (1972), 159-70.
57. Malaise (1972), 365-89.
58. Zanker (1988), 109.
59. Roman abhorrence for the Egyptian theriomorphic gods is detailed in Smelik and Hemelrijk (1984), 1854-5. Cf. Malaise (1972), 211, 246-8.
60. Hall (1989), 1, 50. See also Hartog (1988), 212-24, for the schema of inversion in the historiographic tradition.
61. MacDonald (1987), 8; cf. Hall (1989), 201.
62. Hall (1989), 95.
63. Herod. 2. 35. Cf. Hartog (1988), 213; Hall (1989), 202, 208; Smelik and Hemelrijk (1984), 1873-80.
64. Wirszubski (1960), esp. 87-91, 100-6; Earl (1967), 59-60, 64; Reinhold (1988), 108; Kennedy (this volume).
65. Nisbet and Hubbard (1970), 411.
66. Cf. Smelik and Hemelrijk (1984), 1853-5; Quint (1989), 6-7, 9.
67. Said (1985), 206, 309.
68. Quint (1989), 8-9, 21.
69. See Hall (1989), 195-7.
70. Volkmann (1958), 138; Purcell (1986), 85.
71. See the important article of Purcell (1986), especially 78, 85-6, 92.

72. Flory (1984), 317; cf. Purcell (1986), 87-8.
73. Carson and Sutherland (1956), 151-2, and pl. VII. nos. 4 and 5.
74. App. B.C. 2. 102; Dio 51. 22. 1-3. See Reinhold (1988), 158. Malaise (1972), 376-7, argues that the statue was placed in the temple by Octavian Caesar, not Julius Caesar.
75. Brett (1937), 460-1. BMC: *Phoenicia*, 54, no. 15 and pl. 7. 10, identifies the origin of the coinage as Berytus; but see, now, Burnett (1990), n. 4771.
76. BMC: *East*, 180; Kent (1978), pl. 32. 111 or RRC 543. 1. Cf. Volkmann (1958), 148; Pelling (1988), 251; Kent (1978), 275.
77. For Cleopatra's Romanised features on the 'Syro-Roman' coinage, see Smith (1988a), 132-4, and pl. 75. 21-4.
78. Hallett (1977), 154-5, 160-3.
79. Volkmann (1958), 96.
80. For the collocation of social order and sexual order in the cultural discourse of Augustan Rome, see Wallace-Hadrill (1985) and Edwards (diss.).
81. See Paul (1985), and Boyd (1987).
82. See Purcell (1986) on Livia, and Richlin (forthcoming) on Julia.
83. Cf. Pomeroy (1984), 26-7.
84. See Quint (1989), 3-4 on the Roman texts. The Greek conceptual system of hierarchical oppositions based on male/female is discussed by Dubois (1982). Maclean (1980) surveys its impact on the Renaissance structuring of femininity. See also Said (1985), 7, on Orientalism; Greene and Kahn (1985), 3-4, on sex difference.
85. As Commager (1958).
86. Dubois (1982), *passim*.
87. Griffin (1985), 32-47.
88. Brunt and Moore (1967); Yavetz (1984); Millar and Segal (1984); Zanker (1988), 79-339; Reinhold (1988).
89. See especially Scott (1929 and 1933); Charlesworth (1933); Zanker (1988), 33-77.
90. See Reinhold (1981-2); Reinhold (1988), 94; Volkmann (1958), 170.
91. Millar (1984), 37.
92. Yavetz (1984).
93. Parke (1988), 141; Collins (1983), 319-20.
94. Cf. Yavetz (1984), 32 n. 131.
95. See Fraenkel (1957), 364-82, and Zanker (1988), 167-72.
96. Vance (1973), 112.
97. Santirocco (1986), 22.
98. *CIL* VI no. 32323, ll. 139-54.

99. Syme (1939), 468; Yavetz (1984); Wallace-Hadrill (1986/7); Smith (1987), 89; Zanker (1988), 237.
100. See, in general, Barrell (1988), vii-ix; Foulkes (1983), 105; Easthope (1983).
101. For which see, respectively, Woodman (1983); Pelling (1988); Reinhold (1988). The full range of texts is reviewed by Becher (1966).
102. Dio 50. 24. 3-7; see Reinhold (1988), 109-10.
103. Cf. Vell. Pat. 87. 1 and Plutarch *Life of Ant.* 53-5.
104. Cf. Tarn (1931), 173.
105. Reinhold (1988), 6-7; Pelling (1988), 8.
106. Plut. *Ant.* 60. 1; Suet. *Aug.* 31; Dio 50. 4. 4, 6. 1, 26. 3-4.
107. Reinhold (1981-2), 102; (the third item is my own addition).
108. Dio 51. 21. 7-8, and compare the commentators on Prop. 3. 11 53-4.
109. For references to the appropriate Augustan documents, see Volkmann (1958), 213; Tarn and Charlesworth (1934), 108 and n. 3.
110. Brunt and Moore (1967), 2.
111. See, on the temple, Zanker (1988), 85-9.
112. See La Rocca (1988), 123-5; Zanker (1988), 84. The surviving frieze of Sosius' restored temple depicts an Augustan triumphal procession whose captives are identified by their trousers as northern, male barbarians – for which see La Rocca (1988), 125, and Zanker (1988), 68-9.
113. See, most recently, Coarelli (1985), 258-308, and Nedergaard (1988).
114. Coarelli (1985), 258-68.
115. See Hannestad (1988), 58-62; Reinhold (1988), 146; Nash (1961), 92-101.
116. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill (1986), 67.
117. Sutherland and Carson (1984), 21.
118. See Wallace-Hadrill (1986), 68-70, for this description of the status of coins. Cf. Consigliere (1978), 7-11, 120-1, who also argues that coins were not one of the principal media for propaganda, but proceeds to contrast 'secondary' coin types with apparently 'primary' poems.
119. Sutherland and Carson (1984), 30-1.
120. Zanker (1988), 82.
121. BMC 1. 616 and 617. Tarn (1931), 179-83; Tarn and Charlesworth (1934), 113; Hannestad (1988), 57; Simon (1986), 84; Kent (1978), 18-19 and pl. 35. 123.
122. BMC 1. 655, and cf. 650-4. See also Kent (1978), no. 124; Wallace-Hadrill (1986), 68; Sutherland and Carson (1984), 38.
123. Sutherland and Carson (1984), 26-7 and pl. 3. 154-5.
124. Sutherland and Carson (1984), 31.

125. BMC 1. 10-17 and 56-8; Zanker (1988), 183-92. Cf. Kent (1978), 277-8 and no. 131.
126. BMC 1. 18 and 19, and Hannestad (1988), 55. Cf. BMC. 1. 43, 44.
127. Smith (1987), 98; Zanker (1988), 185.
128. Cf. Yavetz (1984), 1-5, on the shift in Augustus' own writings after 23 BC, from the defensiveness of the autobiography to the concern with posterity of the *Res Gestae*.
129. As Zanker (1988), 82.
130. Cf. Wallace-Hadrill (1986), 71-2.
131. BMCR 2. 591. 16 or RRC 422/1b. Cf. Kent (1978), 15 and pl. 17. 60; Hannestad (1988), 26.
132. BMCR 1. 471. 3824 or RRC 426/1. Cf. Hannestad (1988), 22; Kent (1978), 16 and pl. 18. 69.
133. See Hannestad (1988), 22-3, on RRC 468/1.
134. BMC 1. 513. 3994 and 3996; RRC 448/2e and 3. Cf. Kent (1978), 271.
135. See Toynbee (1934), 7-23. Cf. Smith (1988), 71.
136. RRC 401/1. Cf. Hannestad (1988), 23.
137. See Toynbee (1934), esp. 9-10; and compare, more generally, Warner (1985), *passim*.
138. Zanker (1988), 188-92.
139. Zanker (1988), 189; Hannestad (1988), 55.
140. MacDonald (1987), 6.
141. See Richlin (1983), 97, who observes that Cicero compared Antony to 'Helen of Troy' in *Phil.* 2. 55.
142. See MacDonald (1987), 44-5, on Dio 62.
143. Warner (1987), xx.
144. Smith (1987), 115-17; and see *Res Gestae* 4. 3 for Augustus' own boast that he led nine kings or children of kings in triumph.
145. See Pelling (1988), 318-19.
146. See Reinhold (1981-2), 136, and Pelling (1988), 316.
147. Volkmann (1958), 205-7; Pomeroy (1984), 28; Pelling (1988), 319.
148. Smelik and Hemelrijk (1984), 1999-2000.
149. See, e.g., Koenen (1976), 132.
150. See Koenen (1976), *passim*. Cf. Malaise (1972), 87.
151. See Reinhold (1988), 157-8.
152. I am grateful to Andrew Wallace-Hadrill for this point.
153. Barrell (1988), 5.
154. For the notion of a 'constructed' reader, see the review of Paul Veyne's *Roman Erotic Poetry* in Wyke (1989).

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In the notes coin catalogues are abbreviated as follows:

- BMC 1 = *Coins of the Roman Empire. Vol. 1: Augustus-Vitellius*, H. Mattingly (London: British Museum Catalogue, 1923).
- BMC: with extra suffix (*East, Phoenicia, Ptolemies*) = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, G.F. Hill (London: British Museum Catalogue, 1910).
- BMCR = *Coins of the Roman Republic*, 3 volumes (London: British Museum Catalogue, rev. 1970).
- RRC = *Roman Republican Coinage. Vol. 2*, M.H. Crawford (Cambridge: University Press, 1974).
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