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Anchises Censorius Vergil, Augustus, and the Census of 28 B.C.E.

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Anchises Censorius

Vergil, Augustus, and the Census of 28 B.C.E.

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In Vergil's *Aeneid*, Anchises, like Aeneas, may be seen as a pattern of Augustus, as his survey of his progeny reflects Augustus' censorial activity (Augustus conducted his first census, without holding the office of censor, in 28 B.C.E.). This theory is supported by: verbal cues alluding to Rome's topography and the location for the upper-class *recognitio equitum*; technical terms used to describe Anchises' activity as he assesses his descendants; Anchises' hortatory and monitory speech, similar to that of censors known from other literary works; and Vergil's choice of heroes to represent the republic, most of whom were censors or from censorial families.

What has Anchises to do with Augustus? Readers of Vergil's *Aeneid* probably do not think of Augustus and Anchises as linked in anything but lineage.¹ It is far more usual to connect the Princeps with the poem's eponymous hero, whom the poet frequently portrays as "a pattern of Augustus"; this is most obvious when we see Aeneas involved in activities, investigating landscapes or implementing policies that recall Augustus and his regime.² Nevertheless, it will be argued here that Anchises, as portrayed in Book 6, is also a pattern of Augustus and his policies.

1. For Vergil, I have used Mynors' OCT text; all translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated. This paper was presented in various stages of development during the 2011–12 conference season (CAAS, APA, NEHA). Many of its improvements are due to the insightful comments of anonymous readers for the CAAS Fall 2011 conference and for *ICS*, and of the APA 2012 Vergil Panel moderator, Carole Newlands. Friends and colleagues who have also provided helpful feedback include Laura Samponaro, Martha Davis, C. Sydnor Roy, Tim O'Sullivan, Jim O'Hara, Joe Farrell, a gifted teacher and generous mentor in all things Vergilian, and Fred Ahl, whose outstanding 2007 translation of the *Aeneid* first brought my attention to this theme. Any faults that remain are, of course, my own.

2. Griffin (1984) 214 remarks that "Aeneas, who embodies the Homeric heroism of Odysseus and Achilles, who recalls at moments Heracles and Jason, is also a pattern of Augustus. When he celebrates games at Actium (3.274) or delights in the Troy game (5.556), [Vergil's] audience is given obvious hints; but when Aeneas prefers to spare the conquered, when he imposes 'mores', there, too, cherished claims of Augustus show through the mythical dress. . . ."

When we first encounter Anchises in the Underworld, he is enumerating his son's future descendants, assessing their characters and evaluating their future deeds (6.679–83); this scene has been recognized as a clear, if brief, allusion to censorial work, including that of Augustus.³ But the allusion does not stop at this first encounter. Over the following 215 lines (6.684–898), Vergil interweaves a continuous thread of elements—verbal, visual, topographical and prosopographical, among others—that contextualize Anchises' activity throughout as that of a Roman censor working in a landscape reminiscent of Rome's. Moreover, Vergil uses thematic elements to draw particular attention to policies implemented for the census and *lustrum* of 28, which Augustus undertook—without holding the office of censor—to lay the groundwork for his “restoration” of the republic in 27. Thus, the entire passage may be seen as an extended allusion to Augustus and the all-important *lustrum* of 28, in which Anchises takes on the role of Augustus (and Augustus that of *maximus Romanorum*, awaiting rebirth).⁴

The components that create this powerful connection between Augustus and Anchises, and the connection itself, will be the subject of this paper. To provide a proper foundation for the ensuing discussion, however, it is necessary to start with a brief overview of the censorship and its (relevant) functions; also, an overview of Augustus' censorial work in 29 and 28 and its essential role in securing his position as Princeps.

Censors: Powers, Privileges and Duties

Rome's first censuses were, according to tradition, conducted by her kings, then by her consuls.⁵ In 443 or 435, this time-consuming duty devolved onto a new pair of magistrates, the censors, who would be elected every five years for an eighteen-month term.⁶ As originally constituted, censors were primarily “asses-

3. E.g., Austin (1986) 213; Ahl (2007) 383, relates this to Augustus' censorial work, but emphasizes the failed census of 22 B.C.E. because of its temporal proximity to Vergil's composition of Book 6.

4. For other, often quite different, treatments of this passage: Delaruelle (1913); Hurlbut (1920); Camps (1959); Williams (1964); Otis (1964) 297–312; Skard (1965); Burke (1979); Austin (1986), esp. 202–78; Brenk (1986); Feeney (1986); Novara (1987); Grebe (1989); Habinek (1989); Hardie (1990); Bettini (1991); Goold (1992); Braund (1997); Flower (1997) 109–14; Zetzel (1997); Gleie (1998); Lefèvre (1998); Ahl (2007) 372–82; Geiger (2008), esp. 50–51; and Molyviati (2011).

5. Liv. 1.42.5; Dion. Hal. 4.16.1–22.2, esp. 4.21.1.

6. Liv. 4.8.2–7; Dion. Hal. 11.63.1–3; *Dig.* 1.2.2.17; Zonar. 7.19. The creation of the censorship in 443 is doubted by Mommsen (*St.-R.* II³ 332–35); rejected by Cram (1940) 73; tentatively accepted by Broughton (*MRR* 53–54 and n1); argued for by Suolahti (1963) 676–77; strongly affirmed by Astin (1982) 174n1; and accepted by Brennan (2000) 55 and 268–69n160. The alternate date for the censorships' founding given by Cram (1940) 73 is 435. The earlier date links the censorship to the establishment of the consular tribunate in 444, on which see Brennan (2000) 55 and 269n164.

sors” of the Roman people and their military readiness.⁷ Despite this important function, the power of the censorship was sharply circumscribed and its outward symbols limited, for censors lacked *imperium* and lictors.⁸ Moreover, censors could not convene the senate, pass a senate decree or veto one;⁹ call assemblies of the people (except for the *lustrum* in the Campus Martius);¹⁰ pass legislation;¹¹ or hold elections, even for a suffect censor if one died in office.¹² On the other hand, censors did possess the prestigious *auspicia maxima*;¹³ sat upon a curule chair and employed *apparitores* as did other curule magistrates;¹⁴ and wore the purple toga of the kings¹⁵—albeit perhaps only to conduct the *lustrum*, the ritual of purification that formally ratified and concluded the census.¹⁶

The census itself consisted of not one but several distinct reviews of the Roman people. First was the general census in which freeborn, propertied individuals who were not of equestrian rank presented themselves *tributum* (“tribe by tribe”) at the Villa Publica in the Campus Martius.¹⁷ Here each *paterfamilias*

7. Wiseman (1969) 59 and nn5–6 and 8 cites Varro’s definition of the censorship (*de uit. pop. Rom.* = Nonius 836L) along with his report on the *inlicium*, the censors’ formulaic summons of the infantry in arms (*L.* 6.86) and on the censors’ quinquennial arrangement of equestrian and infantry classes into centuries for the *lustrum* held on the Campus Martius (*L.* 6.93). See most recently De Ligt (2012) 84–85. For a detailed overview of modern debates about census procedures of the republic, see De Ligt (2012) 79–134.

8. Zonar. 7.19.8; Suolahti (1963) 70–73; Brennan (2000) 55–57 argues that the lack of *imperium* and pomp was necessary to obviate conflicts with the consuls.

9. Gel. 14.7.3–6.

10. Var. *L.* 6.93, cf. 6.87; Liv. 4.22.7.

11. While Zonaras (7.19.8) claims that censors *could* convene the people for the promulgation of laws, Pliny (*Nat.* 35.197) indicates that they had to rely, for example on the tribunes of the plebs for the legislation they needed.

12. Abdication was the surviving colleague’s only option: Liv. 6.27.4 (380 B.C.E.), 24.43.2–4 (214 B.C.E.), and 27.6.17 (210 B.C.E.). In 109, an anonymous tribune ordered censor M. Aemilius Scaurus jailed for *refusing* to abdicate after his colleague died; Scaurus duly abdicated (Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 50).

13. Brennan (2000) 55–56, noting that the censorial *auspicia maxima* differed significantly from those of the consuls to obviate auspicial conflicts.

14. Zonar. 7.19.8. The *apparitores* would have included *scribae* (“clerks”), *uiatores* (“summoners”), *nomenclatores* (“name-announcers”), and *praecones* (“heralds”).

15. Polybius (6.53.7) notes that actors representing deceased censors in aristocratic funerals wore purple togas. Brennan (2000) 259 suggests that this “emblem of power must be connected with the *lustrum* (which evidently required regal status to make it acceptable to the gods), and perhaps was worn only on that occasion.”

16. For the *lustrum* to conclude a census, see Var. *R.* 2.1.10. Wiseman (1969) 62–65 demonstrates that the *lustrum* had to be performed for the census, and the censors’ assignment of voters to their centuries, to be valid.

17. Dion. Hal. 5.75.3, 4.15.6; Varro (*R.* 3.2.4–5) locates the Villa Publica, where people assembled

declared his *nomen*, *praenomen* and *tribus*, the names of his family members, including slaves, his father's *praenomen* and *cognomen*, his age, domicile, occupation and property, all of which determined his voting rights and liability for taxation and military service.¹⁸ Next was the review of the *aerarii* and *proletarii* wherein proxies, the *curatores tribuum*, represented the bulk of citizens in these classes.¹⁹ Then came the census of freedmen, each of whom had to declare, among other things, his liberator's *praenomen* and *cognomen*. Last came the *recognitio equitum*, the review of the equestrian centuries. This included the *trauectio*, a ceremonial procession on horseback through the Forum in which each knight declared his campaigns and commanders, received praise or reproofs and, if he had fulfilled his military obligations, formally surrendered his horse to the state.²⁰

As their work drew to a close, the censors appointed a day for heralds to issue the *inlicium*, a summons requiring "all citizen soldiers under arms, and private citizens [who are] spokesmen of all the tribes" to assemble at dawn in the Campus Martius.²¹ One censor was chosen by lot, with praetors and tribunes of the plebs as witnesses, to perform the *lustrum*.²² His first task was to establish a *templum*, or sacred precinct; his second (apparently), to lead an apotropaic procession around the assembled army that included chanting, music, torches, and animals designated for the *suouetaurilia*, the sacrifice of a sow, sheep and

both for military levies and the census, on the edge of the Campus Martius; Livy (4.22.7) attributes the Villa Publica's foundation to the censors of 435. Ps.-Asc. 213.10–16 Stangl (for 70 B.C.E.); Suolahti (1963) 33–34, 37; Lintott (1999) 117; Haselberger (2002) 273 s.v. "Villa Publica."

18. Suolahti (1963) 38, noting also that a later development included the declaration of one's *origo*, or town of origin; Nicolet (1980) 67–73.

19. Liv. 38.27.4 (189 B.C.E.); 38.36.5 (188 B.C.E.); Mommsen *St.-R.* II³ 371n3; Suolahti (1963) 37. Wiseman (1969) 60 and n21 argues that the *capite censi* did not have to appear before the censors, as the *Tabulae censoriae* imply that private citizens acting as *curatores omnium tribuum* could appear on their behalf (Var. *L.* 6.86).

20. Liv. 43.16.1 (169 B.C.E.), cf. 43.14; Gel. 4.20.11; Mommsen *St.-R.* II³ 371n4 and 399n6; Suolahti (1963) 37 notes that "As [*equites*] represented the highest property category until 123 B.C., they could not be called with their respective tribes, but their property had to be registered individually." Nicolet (1980) 83, cf. 69–73.

21. Var. *L.* 6.86; cf. 6.93–94 on the *inlicium*; Ogilvie (1961); Suolahti (1963) 45 and nn7–8. Suolahti (1963) 41 notes that "in accordance with the old formula the censors called the citizens liable to taxation to appear in arms (*armati*) at the *lustrum* (Varro, *LL* 6.9.86). That was a survival from the earliest period when an arms survey actually was carried out in connection with the census. Only the equestrian census (*equitum census*) continued to retain the character of a survey of arms"; Mommsen *St.-R.* II³ 396–400. On the decline of militaristic aspects of the census: Wiseman (1969).

22. Var. *L.* 6.87, 93; Cic. *Leg.* 3.7, *de Orat.* 2.268; Mommsen *St.-R.* II³ 412–13; Suolahti (1963) 45 and nn7–6, 46 and n1; Lintott (1999) 115, 118.

bull.²³ After inspecting the victims' entrails, the chosen censor would recite a formulaic prayer for the increase of the Roman people and make vows for the next *lustrum*. He would then conclude by taking up a *uexillum*, a flag-standard, and lead the citizens-as-army in procession to the city gates, where he would dismiss them.²⁴

Over time, the censorship—despite its lack of *imperium*, lictors, and legislative powers—came to be considered the pinnacle of a man's career, largely because censors could wield tremendous influence in shaping Roman society, especially through their *regimen morum* (supervision of morals).²⁵ For instance, if they agreed that a man's public or private behavior was reprehensible, the censors could remove him from his tribe and reduce him to the status of *aerarius*, a taxpayer without status or voting rights, regardless of his original rank.²⁶ In the equestrian review, they could compel men deemed physically or morally unfit, even ex-consuls, to surrender their horse.²⁷ When revising the senate roll, they could fill vacancies with qualified men of their choosing, and eject those they deemed unworthy (or adversarial); here, too, consular rank was no protection.²⁸ In short, "good" censors used their *regimen morum* to correct the morals of Roman society, while ambitious ones used it to influence politics and policy.²⁹

23. Var. *L.* 6.87; Liv. 1.44.2; Dion. Hal. 4.22.1–2 with references to the *suouetaurilia*; Suet. *Aug.* 97.1; Cic. *de Orat.* 2.268; Mommsen *St.-R.* II³ 352–53.

24. Var. *L.* 6.9.93. On prayers for the increase of the Roman people: Val. Max. 4.1.10a; Liv. 1.44.2; Suolahti (1963) 46; Lintott (1999) 118. See also Liv. 23.35.5; Cic. *Att.* 5.20.2. Deities invoked: Mars (Cato), Ceres (Vergil), Dii Patrii (Tibullus). Aspects of this ceremony may be seen on the so-called Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus, which Ogilvie (1961) 37 notes was created for the Aedes Nympharum, where censors kept their census records (Cic. *Mil.* 73).

25. Liv. 1.4.8.2; Nicolet (1980) 73–81 on "moral censorship," and 82–88 on censorial sanctions; Astin (1988) *passim* and 14n1 for earlier bibliography; Brennan (2000) 55–57 and 269–70nn170–81 links the rise of the censorship's status to a legal requirement, instituted just before 200, that a man had to be of consular rank *before* he could become a censor.

26. Ps.-Asc. 189 Stangl (on Cic. *Diu. Caec.* 8); Astin (1988) 15. For a striking example, see Liv. 44.16.8 and 45.15.8 on the reduction of annoying former *tr. pl.* P. Rutilius Rufus to *aerarius* by the censors of 169; cf. Val. Max. 6.5.3, but with *Popillius* instead of *Rutilius*. M. Cato reduced a man to *aerarius* in 184 for making a scurrilous joke in his presence (Gel. 4.20).

27. M. Cato, *cens.* 184, relieved L. Scipio Asiagenus, *cos.* 190, of his *equus publicus* during the *recognitio equitum* (Liv. 39.44.1). On *equites equo publico*, knights possessing a state-owned horse, see: Suolahti (1963) 42; Astin (1988) 15–29. Plut. *Pomp.* 22.4 (70 B.C.E.); Zonar. 10.2 (70 B.C.E.); D.C. 55.31 (7 C.E.).

28. M. Cato, *cens.* 184, removed L. Quinctius Flaminius, *cos.* 192, from the senate roll for his perverse acts (Liv. 39.42.5–43.5).

29. Censors also had enormous fiscal and administrative responsibilities which are not germane to this discussion.

Octavian and the *lustrum* of 28

Given the censorship's inherent power to shape society and influence politics, it is no wonder that Octavian began to take on censorial duties in 29—but not the office—apparently by virtue of his consular *imperium*.³⁰ His purpose was to consolidate his recently won supremacy in the guise of “restorer” of the republic and “reformer” of society. This would entail reorganizing the government, re-establishing laws and promoting a return to traditional family values. One of his first challenges was to restore the prestige of the senate. Dio relates that “on account of the civil wars, a great many *equites* and men of the infantry class, though wholly unworthy, were now deliberating in the senate, so that its membership had been bloated to a thousand” (D. C. 52.42.1). Suetonius describes these men as an “unbecoming and disorderly mob” and reports that some had gained entrance to the senate through bribery and cronyism shortly after Caesar’s death (Suet. *Aug.* 35.1). For Octavian, the senate in its current condition lacked the *dignitas* requisite for his (nominal) partner in governance, so he persuaded 50 men, then compelled 140 more, to renounce “voluntarily” their senatorial status, after which he inducted a small number of “worthy” supporters into the senate.³¹ He also increased the number of patricians, whose ranks had been greatly thinned during the civil wars, by co-opting plebeians into their order; this he claims to have done “by order of the people and senate” (*iussu populi et senatus*, *Aug. Anc.* 8.1).³²

In 28, Octavian and co-consul Marcus Agrippa—by virtue of consular *imperium* (or a special grant of *ensoria potestas*)³³—completed the census and

30. See below, n33.

31. D. C. 52.42.2–4; Suetonius (*Aug.* 35) describes the adlection procedure, and also notes that, during this process, Octavian appeared in the senate wearing mail, armed with a sword and protected by a bodyguard of ten men.

32. Cf. D. C. 52.42.5.

33. Augustus (*Anc.* 8) declares that he completed his second (8 B.C.E.) and third (14 C.E.) census and *lustrum* by virtue of his consular *imperium* (*consulari cum imperio*); but he omits it in connection with his first *lustrum* in 28, surely because he was, in fact, consul, so did not need a special granting of *imperium consularis*. Nevertheless, there is the perplexing evidence of the *Fasti Venusini* = *Inscr. Ital.* 13, p. 255 = *CIL* IX.422 for 28 B.C.E., which indicate that Octavian (and Agrippa) did indeed hold a special grant of *ensoria potestas*: IMP. CAESAR VI M. AGRIPPA II IDEM CENSORIA POTES(T)ATE LUSTRUM FECER(UNT) (“Imperator Caesar, consul for the sixth time, and Marcus Agrippa, consul for the second time, at the same time holding censorial power, completed the *lustrum*”). Mommsen (*CIL* 9.422) believed that a law was passed granting this special power, which is not out of the question; Hardy (1919) 45–46 rejected this idea, reasoning that *ensoria potestas* always lay dormant within a consul’s *imperium* (as assumed here). It is possible, however, that given the tenor of the times in 29/28, Octavian may have desired explicit “empowerment” in order to seem less autocratic.

lustrum, the first in 41 years.³⁴ It was almost certainly in this year that Octavian directed his attention to the equestrian class and revived the *trauectio* in all its militaristic glory, to be held henceforth every Ides of July (Suet. *Aug.* 38–39). Over time he would relax the requirement to participate in this procession, at first allowing the aged or infirm to opt out, then anyone over 35 years of age.³⁵ These modifications reflect his long-term efforts to enhance the equestrian order's prestige and, by increasing its ranks through subventions for worthy but indigent youths, to restore its status as a class from which he could recruit younger men prepared to serve as military or public officers and in the senate.³⁶

Perhaps the most notable aspect of the census of 28 was the implementation of a decentralized enrolment procedure devised by Julius Caesar and preserved in the *Tabula Heracleensis* (ll. 142–46).³⁷ The leading magistrates of all the *municipia*, colonies and prefectures in Italy were instructed to conduct a local census of those in their jurisdiction who should be counted as Roman citizens.³⁸ This comprehensive effort to enroll citizens who, in earlier times, would only have been assigned to a voting century *after* presenting themselves to the censors in Rome, yielded the greatest single increase of citizens in Roman history: from 900,000 (Liv. *Per.* 98, 69 B.C.E.) to 4,063,000 (Aug. *Anc.* 8.1., 28 B.C.E.).

34. Aug. *Anc.* 8.1; D. C. 53.1.3. For the census of 70/69: Cic. *Ver.* 2.15; *Clu.* 117–34; *Flac.* 45; *Dom.* 124; Plut. *Pomp.* 22.4; *Apophth. Pomp.* 6; Liv. *Per.* 98. The censors of 69 were notable for their strictness, ejecting 64 senators from the senate, including an ex-consul for immorality. Six subsequent sets of censors proved uncooperative, incompetent, or incapable of surviving in office. See, e.g., Cram (1940) and *MRR* 2 *sub annis* for details and references. Wiseman (1969) 64–67 argues that the *lustrum* was not completed by these censors because the oligarchs in charge feared that the proper enrolment of thousands of new Italian citizens would drastically alter their “control” of the centuries.

35. According to Suetonius (*Aug.* 38), men 35 and older who did not wish to retain their horses did not have to surrender them in public.

36. Nicolet (1984) 92 and 98 argues that Augustus used the census, increased the senatorial ratings, and eventually reduced the number of senators to 600 to raise the prestige of the senate to its old level to become his worthy partner in ruling the empire; also, that Augustus’ activity was “. . . not a question of rewarding the rich, but of establishing an ‘order’”; in other words, “a rank expressly fitted for public office.”

37. Wiseman (1969) 67–75; De Ligt (2012) 81–82 and n10.

38. Crawford (1996) 377, ll. 142–46:

Whatever *municipia*, colonies or prefectures or Roman citizens are or shall be in Italy, whoever in those *municipia*, colonies or prefectures shall there hold the highest magistracy or the highest office, at the time when a censor or any other magistrate shall hold the census of the people at Rome, within the sixty days next after he shall know that the census of the people is conducted at Rome, he is to conduct a census of all his fellow *municipes* and colonists and those who shall be of that prefecture, who shall be Roman citizens. (trans. Crawford and Nicolet)

See Nicolet (1980) 65–67 on attendance at the census for proper enrolment.

This remarkable result had obvious advantages for Octavian, such as the overwhelming support he would receive at future consular elections from the newly enfranchised citizens. Another, as Wiseman suggests, is that “for purely symbolic reasons [Octavian] must have wanted to inaugurate the new era with as *felix a lustrum* as possible.”³⁹ And inaugurate it he did, for the lot fell to Octavian to conduct the all-important concluding ceremonies.⁴⁰ For the *Princeps* it had been a spectacularly *felix lustrum*.

Considered as a whole, it becomes clear that Octavian’s censorial work—his *lectio senatus*, his revival of the *trauectio*, his implementation of the new census procedure with its impressive outcome, and his role in concluding the *lustrum*—played an essential part in securing his newly established title and position as *Princeps Senatus*, both in the short and in the long term.⁴¹ It was certainly, as Wiseman points out, “a necessary precondition of the ‘restoration’ of the republic in January, 27.”⁴² But Octavian must have also calculated that his *felix lustrum*, combined with public celebrations and largesse, would herald the long awaited return of peace and prosperity and, through its solemn ritual of purification and renewal, symbolically and religiously bind the people—and their hopes for the future—to the continued success of his regime.

Censorial Settings in Vergil’s Underworld

Given the importance of these events to the well being of the Roman state, it would be surprising if Vergil did not incorporate it as a thematic element into the *Aeneid*. That he did so, and how, is the topic of this and the following sections, beginning with the topographical settings that underpin Vergil’s presentation of Anchises as a pattern of Augustus’ censorial work.

In Book 6, when Aeneas and the Sibyl finally pass from the realm of the damned into Elysium (630–40), they encounter an assemblage of spirits composed of the glorious Trojan dead with Dardanus, Troy’s founder, and his immediate descendants (648–50), exercising, competing in sport or practicing musical skills in a field (*campus*) described as a grassy *palaestra* (*in gramineis . . . palaestris*) with an area of yellow sand (*fulua harena*) (642–44). Beyond that, Aeneas and the Sibyl see grounded arms, empty chariots and untethered horses grazing (651–55). Taken together, these elements—*campus*, *palaestra*,

39. Wiseman (1969) 71.

40. Aug. *Anc.* 8.1; D. C. 53.1.3; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 27.10.

41. Dio (53.1.3) reports that Octavian received the title/position of *Princeps Senatus* in connection with this census.

42. Wiseman (1969) 71.

and *harena*—seem to evoke Rome’s Campus Martius and the military exercises, sporting events, and artistic performances that took place there.⁴³

Rome is fully called to mind, however, when the Sibyl, unfamiliar with this terrain of masculine activity, asks Musaeus for directions as if looking for a street address in the Augustan *urbs* (6.670): “Which neighborhood (*quae regio*) holds Anchises, and which location (*quis locus*)?”⁴⁴ Austin notes that the Sibyl’s language here is suggestive of early Latin legal or sacral formulae, and that her following statement (*illius ergo*, “on his account,” 670) is also “an archaism, adding solemnity to [her] tone.”⁴⁵ Whatever the origin of her formulaic question, it seems designed to draw one’s attention away from epic Elysium to Augustan Rome, thus indicating that the terrain just described does indeed represent a landscape modeled on the Campus Martius’ underlying topography. It also establishes a Roman context for Musaeus’ reply that “No one has a fixed abode; we live in darkling groves (*lucis . . . opacis*), and take as our beds the cushions of riverbanks (*riparumque toros*) and meadows freshened by streams (*prata recentia riuis*)” (673–75). His references to *riparae*, *luci*, and *prata* evoke the Tiber’s curving banks along with the sacred groves and Flaminian Meadows (future site of the Circus Flaminius) that were located in the southern Campus Martius.⁴⁶ Taken together, these topographical features conjure a vista of Rome’s pristine, extra-urban landscape *before* it was built up with temples, theaters, and porticoes.⁴⁷ It is quite possible, however, that Vergil is alluding more particularly to a sacred grove familiar to the cognoscenti among his original audience: the ancient *Apollinar* dedicated to Apollo *Medicus*, a *lucus* located within or adjacent to the Prata Flaminia (Liv. 3.63)—where the Augustan-era Temple of Apollo Sosianus later stood⁴⁸—near

43. It also recalls the *lusus Troiae* performed in 5.545–602, thus connecting the *Aeneid*’s epic past to the Augustan present of Vergil’s audience (Feldherr [1995] 263–64), and foreshadows the arrival of Aeneas’ young men (*iuuenes*) at Latinus’ Laurentian city, itself an obvious pattern of Rome with its citadel (Capitol) and city walls, before which its “youth in first flower” (*primaevio flore iuuentus*, 7.162) undertake military training in horsemanship, charioteering, archery, javelin throwing, boxing, and racing (7.160–65).

44. For this idea I am indebted to Ahl (2007) 373.

45. Austin (1986) 211.

46. Liv. 3.54.15; Richardson (1992) 83 s.v. “Circus Flaminius”; Haselberger (2002) 86–87 s.v. “Circus Flaminius.”

47. These features also foreshadow the living landscape that Aeneas and his men will discover three times in and near Evander’s Pallanteum: the Tiber’s long curving banks overshadowed by trees (8.95–96); the shadowy forest through which their ships silently glide (8.107–8); and the sacred grove beside the river before Evander’s city, in which the people sacrifice to Hercules (8.102–4, esp. 104: *ante urbem in luco*).

48. Asconius (*Tog. cand.* 70 Stangl) locates the temple of Apollo *extra portam Carmentalem*

Image depicting Rome's underlying topography. In the mid-ground, from left to right, is the Janiculum, Tiber, and Campus Martius. The Prata Flaminia (Flaminian Meadows) are located in the southern Campus Martius opposite Tiber Island. Immediately to the right of Tiber Island are the twin peaks of the Capitoline Hill (Capitol and Arx) with the future Asylum (the so-called *Inter Duos Lucos*) inbetween. To the right of the Arx is the saddle that connects it to the Quirinal Hill. Just below are the valleys of the Velabrum and future Forum Romanum. In the lower/foreground area, left to right, are the Aventine Hill and Palatine Hill, with the valley of the future Circus Maximus inbetween. (Image by D. M. & Ink Link Studio, first published in Manacorda, Daniele (2001), *Crypta Balbi: archeologia e storia di un paesaggio urbano*. Milano: Electa. p. 13, fig. 3).

the banks of the Tiber and, therefore, an entirely suitable *locus* in which a poet “worthy of Phoebus” (cf. 662) should reside.

Next, Musaeus directs Aeneas and the Sibyl to a ridge (676), then leads them up to its summit where he shows them well-tended grasslands on the other side, to which they descend (678). It is at this point that they finally catch sight of Anchises:

At pater Anchises penitus conualle uirenti
 inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras
lustrabat studio recolens, omnemque suorum

inter forum holitorium et circum Flaminium. For additional details: Haselberger (2002) 45–46 s.v. “Apollo Medicus / Sosianus Aedes.”

forte **recensebat** numerum, carosque nepotes
fataque fortunasque uirum moresque manusque. (*Aen.* 6.679–83)

Father Anchises, deep in a hollow green valley,
Was surveying the souls in confinement, considering with care
Those about to ascend to air and light above. He was, it happens,
Holding a census of all his descendants, his dear grandsons,
Weighing the fates and fortunes of men, their ways and works.

The verbs Vergil uses to describe Anchises' activity—*lustrare* and *recensere*—appear frequently in sources describing the work of censors; they also suggest, by their close proximity, the quinquennial *lustratio* of the Roman people.⁴⁹ Combined with the topographical clues in the previous lines, one might envision Anchises conducting his census in a shadowy precursor to Rome's civic landscape. But would Vergil's audience have understood this as a census of the tribes in the Campus Martius? Perhaps, at first, but adjacent to Anchises' hollow valley is a vale with a secluded grove and the River Lethe, and it is here that Aeneas will encounter the descendants Anchises wishes to display to his son, in a space separate from the wider plain he and the Sibyl have just left. These souls would also be legally separated from a general census by their status, for they will be Rome's future kings and magistrates, *imperatores* and *triumphatores*, men who would, in life, appear in the *recognitio equitum* and *trauectio* after the general census.⁵⁰ Indeed, many of their descriptions, explicit or implied, as wearing armor or military crowns, and the passage's overall theme of *uirtus* and *gloria*, align much better with the military character of the *trauectio*, the equestrian procession through the Forum reinstituted by Augustus.

An additional clue to the nature of Anchises' census comes from Vergil's description of the penultimate hero in this congregation, the elder Marcellus: "this **knight** (*eques*) shall scatter Punic foes, kill the rebel Gaul in a duel, and consecrate a third set of captured arms to father Quirinus" (6.858–59). That the poet chooses to characterize as an *eques* a five-time consul with spectacular achievements to his name only underscores the impression that Aeneas is indeed viewing a sort of spectral *trauectio* (albeit without the horses).⁵¹

Such a conclusion would help to explain the conspicuous absence of Rome's

49. On the use of *lustrare*, *lustrum*, *lustrum condere*, and *lustratio* in reference to, or in metonymy for, the census see Ogilvie (1961). Austin (1986) 213 draws attention to *lustrabat* as evoking the work of censors, especially the quinquennial *lustrum*; Ahl (2007) 383 relates Anchises' censorial work to Octavian's revision of the (senate?) rolls. Neither author takes the comparison beyond these few lines.

50. And, possibly, officers of the plebs, if the Livii Drusi and Sempronii Gracchi can be thought to represent the notorious *tribuni plebis* of those *gentes*. See also Lefèvre (1998).

51. For a summary of the career of M. Claudius M. f. M. n. Marcellus (*RE* 220), see most conveniently *MRR* 2.546. On other aspects of this scene, see Brenk (1986).

sixth king, Servius Tullius. Born to an enslaved Latin princess, Servius lacked *ingenuitas*, the free birth status required by Roman law to qualify for the equestrian and senatorial orders.⁵² Since freedmen, regardless of wealth or status, were always assessed separately from freeborn citizens, they could not appear in the *recognitio equitum*—at least not under Augustus, who was punctilious about distinctions of birth and lineage.⁵³ Indeed, even though striking correlations exist between the social reforms of Servius and Augustus, Servius' servile origins ensured that Augustus would never overtly claim any connection to him.⁵⁴ Thus, Vergil acknowledges both Roman law and Augustan policy by passing over Servius in silence, perhaps with some sense of irony, as the freedman-king reputedly conducted the first-ever census of the Roman people.⁵⁵

Returning to the scene at hand, we might now recognize in Anchises' hollow valley where he reviews his progeny a shadowy version of the Forum basin. The adjacent vale would then correspond to the Velabrum in its original form, its ancient stream not yet enclosed by the Cloaca Maxima; in the Augustan era, the Velabrum would be as densely inhabited and bustling as Vergil's Underworld vale is thronged with myriad souls buzzing like bees around the river Lethe (706–13).⁵⁶ Because the Forum and Velabrum were on the opposite side of the Capitoline Hill from the area of the Campus Martius posited above for the habitation of Musaeus *et alii*, we might also think of the “high summit(s)” (*summa cacumina*, 678) from which Aeneas and the Sibyl descend as representing the Arx, the highest of the Capitoline's two peaks.⁵⁷ Of course, Austin's perceptive comment that “the picture suggests an Alpine meadow high above a valley” would indicate that they stood upon the saddle between the Capitoline's twin peaks, near Romulus' *asylum inter duos lucos* (the “asylum between two groves,” i.e., the wooded peaks of the Capitoline).⁵⁸

52. On Servius Tullius see most conveniently, *OCD*³ s.v. “Tullius (*RE* 18) Servius.” Nicolet (1984) 96–97 discusses the emphasis on *ingenuitas* to qualify for the *ordines senatorius et equester*. *Ingenuitas* was strictly required for knights on jury panels since at least 123 B.C.E. (*Lex [Acilia] Repetundarum* = *CIL* P.583 = *FIRA*² 1.7 line 14 and 17). Perhaps Vergil follows this line of thinking and “expels” the freedman-king from the census of Anchises.

53. Suolahti (1963) 37 and nn16–19, above; Nicolet (1984) 99 on Octavian's extreme rigidity about etiquette and class distinctions.

54. See Beard, North, and Price (1998) 184 for Augustan reforms and their connection to older, traditionally Servian social and religious institutions.

55. Dion. Hal. 4.16.1–22.2, esp. 4.21.1; Liv. 1.42.5.

56. On the Velabrum as a densely inhabited, busy area, see Haselberger (2002) 253–54 s.v. “Velabrum.”

57. Haselberger (2002) 58 s.v. “Arx.”

58. Austin (1986) 212. Haselberger (2002) 58 s.v. “Asylum.”

Either location was not far from the Atrium Libertatis, where the censors kept their offices.⁵⁹

Finally, one could even consider the mound upon which Anchises, Aeneas and the Sibyl climb to view the thronging souls (6.751–55) as a primitive *suggestum* (“speaker’s platform”), if not in fact a censor’s tribunal, in the midst of this ghostly “forum.”⁶⁰ It is at this point that Vergil has Anchises begin his review of the “Parade of Heroes,” throughout which he exemplifies the characteristics of a Roman father teaching his son and of a Roman censor using *bona et mala exempla* to encourage citizens to follow the *mos maiorum*. Vergil’s audience would also recognize in this passage an extended allusion to Augustus’ paternal concern for the Roman people and his censorial work on their behalf.

Anchises Pater, Anchises Censor

In reviewing his progeny with fatherly care, Anchises exemplifies the paternal aspects of a censor’s role and duties for, in many respects, censors stood in relation to the Roman people as a *paterfamilias* to his *familia*. For instance, they had to know not only the current generation of citizen males, but also their family lines in both directions (at least for the higher wealth classes). This is illustrated by an incident that occurred during the census of 102: when Lucius Equitius, a freedman and would-be politician, proffered a false census return claiming to be a long lost son of Tiberius Gracchus, censor Q. Caecilius Metellus Numidicus refused to enroll him as such because *he* knew how, where and when all three of Gracchus’ natural sons had died.⁶¹ Just so, Vergil has Anchises display an impressive knowledge of his descendants and their major achievements for the next twelve centuries.

A censor’s paternal role was extended by his supervision of morals to include the kind of guidance one might expect from a *paterfamilias*, just one writ large. When examining an élite citizen’s lifestyle in detail, a censor might impart praise, reproof or admonition to encourage or modulate his conduct in *any* area, public

59. On the Atrium Libertatis as the office of the censors, cf. Liv. 34.44.5, 43.16.13, 45.15.5; Suet. *Aug.* 29.5 (rebuilt by Asinius Pollio in 39); Oros. 5.17; Haselberger (2002) 59–60 s.v. “Atrium Libertatis,” on the difficulties of precisely locating the Atrium, which stood either on the saddle linking the Arx (the Capitoline Hill’s northern summit) and Quirinal, or very near the Curia Julia, near the SE slope of the Capitol.

60. On tribunals, see most recently Bablitz (2007) 29–31 and Kondratieff (2010) 91–92. For tribunals in the *recognitio equitum*, cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 22.5.

61. Val. Max. 9.7.2, noting that the plebs tried to stone the censor for refusing to enroll Equitius; cf. App. *B. Ciu.* 1.28; Cic. *Sest.* 101; Val. Max. 9.7.2; [Aur. Vict.] *De uir. ill.* 73; *Elogium in Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.16, 21. Orosius (5.17) locates the murderous mêlée in which many were wounded or killed *ante Capitolium*, near the censors’ offices in the Atrium Libertatis (cf. Liv. 43.16.13).

or private.⁶² Censors also “watched over family relations and gave reminders about, for example, the neglect of family cult and ancestor worship, . . . duties towards members of the family, misuse of the powers of the *paterfamilias*, misalliances and groundless divorces.”⁶³ The censor’s mandate not only to judge a man’s quality, but also to moderate his behavior and, thereby, shape his character provides yet another link to Anchises and his censorial activity. For beyond assessing their deeds, Anchises seemingly attempts to influence the future behavior and character development of some of his descendants—such as the unnamed and unhearing Julius Caesar (834–35)—by admonition.

An additional function of censorial assessments was their use as *exempla* to encourage good morals and appropriate life choices or changes in others; for this reason, censors often gave praise or reproofs in the public setting of the *recognitio equitum*.⁶⁴ They also gave speeches and issued edicts to encourage “approved” behaviors (timely marriage and production of children) or to deter “unworthy” ones (extravagant expenditures or frivolous pursuits).⁶⁵ Indeed, a censor could make public proclamation or issue edicts on any topic he deemed suitable “that he might exhort the people to follow the customs of their ancestors,” the *mores maiorum*.⁶⁶ Augustus himself gave numerous speeches, both in a censorial capacity and as Princeps, urging the people, especially the upper orders, to follow the *mores maiorum*; he also gave public reproofs and censured citizens in the context of the *recognitio equitum* (Suet. *Aug.* 39). Most notably, he provided permanent *bona exempla* by renewing the monuments and *elogia* of great men, and by creating the *Summi Viri* monument in the Forum Augustum, a formalized *recognitio triumphatorum*, at the head of which stood a statue group of Aeneas and Anchises.⁶⁷ Whether Vergil had foreknowledge of this monument

62. Suolahti (1963) 37 and nn3–4. A few specific examples: Liv. 38.28.2 (189 B.C.E.): mild census of *equites*; Liv. 39.44.1 (184 B.C.E.): former consul L. Scipio Asiagenes struck off the roll of *equites*; Liv. 44.16.8 (168 B.C.E.): former *tr. pl.* P. Rutilius and other *equites* degraded; Plut. *Pomp.* 22.5 (70 B.C.E.): Pompey declares his military service accomplished, under himself as *imperator*, thereby receiving much praise and applause.

63. Suolahti (1963) 52 and n3. For more on the *regimen morum* in general, see Suolahti (1963) 47–52; Astin (1988) 19–26 on causes for censorial action; Lintott (1999) 116.

64. Suolahti (1963) 49: “The remarks and reproofs of the censors concerning morals were made publicly and herein lay their great effect.”

65. Censorial speeches encouraging marriage: Liv. *Per.* 59 (132 B.C.E.); Gel. 1.6.1 (102 B.C.E.); against extravagance: Plin. *Nat.* 8.210 (184 B.C.E.); censorial edicts and sumptuary laws against extravagance: Plin. *Nat.* 13.24 (189 B.C.E.), 14.95 (89 B.C.E.), 36.4 (169 B.C.E.); speeches against frivolous behavior: Gel. 4.20.1–10 (142 B.C.E.).

66. Gel. 4.20.10 (142 B.C.E.), censor P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus).

67. For the most recent treatment of the *Summi Viri* monument, see Geiger (2008).

or inspired its creation with his poetry is impossible to know; but he does encapsulate and neatly invert its theme by having Anchises use the *exempla* of his future progeny “to inflame (sc. Aeneas’) soul with a love of coming glory” (889) as he urges him to emulate the *mores iuniorum*, the ways of the descendants.

Towards the end of their review, passing references to motion and references to the Tiber, Campus Martius (872) and future Mausoleum of Augustus (874) imply that Anchises, Aeneas and the long-silent Sibyl have left their original viewing station and come to an open area of the Campus Martius. Vergil concludes this scene by having the little group “wander throughout the whole region in wide airy fields and ‘*lustrant*’ everything” (6.886–87). How should we translate *lustrant*? “They examine”? “They assess”? “They survey”? “They ritually purify”? Or a conflation of all these meanings? Perhaps we should imagine that Anchises in his censorial capacity had issued an *inlicium*, an official “summons” requiring these souls to come forth in their ghostly armor and assemble for review. Having duly assessed, admonished and enrolled them in a sort of *lectio nepotum*, Anchises and Aeneas now “ratify” their census by performing a *lustratio*, beating the bounds of this spectral “army” of future Romans, both to ward off evil and ensure their, and Rome’s, future success. Even Anchises’ last act recalls the work of censors: to conclude his *lustrum* properly, he leads his son to the Gate (of Ivory) and, with some final words of instruction, there dismisses him (893–99).

Censors and *Familiae Censoriae* in the Parade of Heroes

One additional indicator that Vergil has woven a distinct censorial theme into this passage is the presence among his heroes of a disproportionately high number of men who were censors or from families of censorial rank, the most rarified, thus prestigious, status that a Roman family could obtain. Censorial status was difficult for families to attain because, as Suolahti demonstrates, sons and relatives of censors had a much greater chance of being elected censor than someone who was not at all related to a censor; indeed, the exclusivity of this status is highlighted by the fact that the number of families of censorial status remained low “even in the late republic, when the representation of the nobility among officials of lower rank, e.g. the corps of junior officers, declined sharply.”⁶⁸

68. Suolahti (1963) 601: “The power of tradition is best shown by the circumstance that one censor in seven was the son of a censor and at least one in two was related to one or more censors. . . . Also, the son or sons of at least one censor in ten reached the censorship. Thus it often occurred that the censorship was passed like an inheritance from father to son within the same *gens*.”

Clearly, Vergil could not have chosen his heroes at random and accidentally end up with such a high proportion of censors among his heroes.

Who are the censors among Vergil's heroes? Starting with the Decii (824), the P. Decius Mus who devoted himself at Sentinum in 295 was censor in 304.⁶⁹ Of the Drusii (824), M. Livius Drusus, father of the famous tribune of 91, was censor in 109; but there may be an implied reference here, as Servius argues, to M. Livius Salinator, a glorious Livian ancestor whose victory at the Metaurus in 207 helped him win election to the censorship of 204/203.⁷⁰ Camillus "bringing back the standards" (825) became censor in 403.⁷¹ L. Mummius Achaicus, the unnamed sacker of Corinth (836–37), was censor in 142;⁷² and L. Aemilius Paullus, the likewise unnamed conqueror of Aeacides/Perseus (838–40), held a censorship in 164.⁷³ "Great" Cato (841), conventionally read as M. Porcius Cato the Elder, was a notoriously strict censor in 184.⁷⁴ And, while the ambiguous reference to the Gracchi at line 842 *could* refer to the tribunes of 133 and 123/122 B.C.E., it is important to note that their father, a man of formidable military and political achievements in his own right, held the censorship in 169.⁷⁵ A conventional reading of the *Scipiadae*, "banes of Libya" (842–43), as referring to P. Scipio Africanus the Elder, victor over Hannibal in 202, and P. Scipio Africanus Aemilianus, destroyer of Carthage in 146, yields two more censorships in 199 and 142.⁷⁶ Fabricius "the peasant" (844), who fought Pyrrhus of Epirus in 278, was censor in 275;⁷⁷ and Q. Fabius Maximus, whose delaying tactics

69. P. Decius P. f. Q. n. Mus (*RE* 16): Liv. 9.46.14, 10.22.3, 10.24.1; *MRR* 1.167; cf. Austin (1986) 283.

70. M. Livius C. f. M. Aemiliani n. Drusus (*RE* 17): *MRR* 1.545 for references and discussion. Austin (1986) 253 on Servius and the allusion to the ancestor of the Drusii, M. Livius M. f. M. n. Salinator (*RE* 33), censor in 204 (see also: Liv. 29.37.1, 36.36.4, 6; 39.3.5; Suet. *Tib.* 1.2; *MRR* 1.306).

71. M. Furius L. f. Sp. N. Camillus (*RE* 44): Austin (1986) 254; *MRR* 1.82.

72. L. Mummius L. f. L. n. Achaicus (*RE* 7a): Austin (1986) 257; *MRR* 1.474.

73. L. Aemilius L. f. M. n. Paullus (*RE* 114): Austin (1986) 257–58; *MRR* 1.439.

74. M. Porcius M. f. Cato (*RE* 9): Liv. 39.40–41; Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 16.1–6; Nep. *Ca.* 1; *MRR* 1.374–75 for references and discussion. See also Austin (1986) 258; Ahl (2007) 378 on the ambiguity of this reference, as he believes it may allude to Cato the Younger as well.

75. Ti. Sempronius P. f. Ti. n. Gracchus (*RE* 53): Liv. 43.14–16 passim; Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 1.1; *MRR* 1.423–24 for references and discussion; Austin (1986) 258; Ahl (2007) 378–79, again on the ambiguity of this reference. Of course, a great uncle of the Gracchi brothers, Ti. Sempronius Ti. f. Ti. n. Gracchus (*RE* 51), was a renowned consul, general, and defender of Rome during the Hannibalic War.

76. P. Cornelius P. f. L. n. Scipio Africanus (*RE* 336), victor over Hannibal: Liv. 32.7.1–3; *MRR* 1.327. P. Cornelius P. f. P. n. Scipio Africanus Aemilianus (*RE* 335), destroyer of Carthage: Austin (1986) 258–59; *MRR* 1.474; Ahl (2007) 379 on the possible ironic allusion to later Scipiadae who fought at, e.g., Thapsus in 46, for whom Libya was thus a disaster.

77. C. Fabricius C. f. C. n. Luscinius (*RE* 9): Cic. *Amic.* 39; *MRR* 1.196.

saved Rome from Hannibal (845–46), was censor in 230.⁷⁸ The last great figure of the “Parade of Heroes,” M. Claudius Marcellus (854–59), was not himself a censor; but, like other non-censors in this passage, Marcellus had a relative (a descendant) who *was* a censor, who thereby raised his family (the Claudii Marcelli) to the highest level of *nobilitas*.⁷⁹ One could delve deeper, as others have, into alternative, unconventional or subversive readings of some of Vergil’s references to great men of the republic. But the point of this brief survey is this: not only does Vergil provide clues indicating that Anchises is reviewing a very special *trauectio* of kings, consuls and *triumphatores* in a landscape that recalls Rome’s underlying topography, he also underscores that point by “enrolling” leaders of the republic who were, in most cases, from censorial families or had themselves been censors.

Conclusion

What has Anchises to do with Augustus? A lot, apparently, for Vergil has woven into his rich tapestry of ideas and imagery a depiction of Anchises that functions as a pattern of, and extended allusion to, Augustus’ important censorial work, his *regimen morum*, and his promotion of *exempla maiorum*, along with other, more familiar themes that speak of military triumphs, aristocratic funeral processions, and more. All of these interwoven themes share a common thread of promoting *uirtus*, the pursuit of manly excellence, through emulating *bona exempla*; and, in Vergil’s world of premortal Romans, as in the living Rome of Augustus, these activities and commemorations all coexist comfortably in the same physical spaces. Nevertheless, it seems clear that *the* overarching theme or motif for this passage is censorial, as Anchises’ entire role in Book 6 (679–898) is bracketed by the verb *lustrare* used in a sacral-censorial context (681, 887); moreover, the last act Vergil attributes to Anchises—dismissing Aeneas at the gate after the *lustrum* (898)—is the act of a censor.

Of course, this interpretation of Anchises’ role has a few faults, as would any attempt to elucidate one theme out of many in a polythematic poem—especially a poem in which one scene dissolves into another and contexts constantly change. For example, there are no “public horses” in this Underworld *trauectio*; Anchises often speaks too colloquially for a censor, whose very title implies that he should make solemn declarations;⁸⁰ and elements of the *lustratio*, such as the *suouetaurilia*, are missing. Yet other “faults” serve to forge additional

78. Q. Fabius Q. f. Q. n. Maximus Verrucosus Cunctator (*RE* 116); *MRR* 1.227.

79. M. Claudius M. f. M. n. Marcellus (*RE* 222), was censor in 189: Cic. *Sen.* 42; Liv. 37.57.9–58.2, 41.9.9, 41.13.4; Plut. *Flam.* 18.1; see *MRR* 1.360–61.

80. On *cens* as the root word for “solemn declaration,” see Lintott (1999) 115 and n103; on the colloquial nature of Anchises’ speech, Habinek (1989) 238–36; cf. Highet (1972).

explicit links between Anchises and Augustus. Anchises is not an actual censor, nor does he have a partner (unless Aeneas somehow counts); likewise, Augustus never held the office of censor, but conducted censuses by virtue of his consular *imperium*. They are also linked by their paternal roles: *Pater* Anchises (6.679), proto-censor, doting grandfather of the Roman people, joins hands across time with Augustus, who, for the paternal care with which he managed the affairs of the greater Roman *familia* through his *regimen morum*, would receive in *his* dotage the title *Pater Patriae*.⁸¹

Finally, we might consider the similarity in purpose of historic emperor and epic hero: Augustus' *lectio senatus* in 29 and censorial work in 28 was clearly an important prerequisite for his "restoration" of the republic and renewal of the Roman people; Vergil mirrors this by making Anchises' censorial work—his initial "census" of his descendants, his "equestrian review" of Rome's future leaders, his final lustration of the pre-mortal throng, and especially his motivating admonitions to Aeneas—a necessary precondition for the "creation" of the Roman people and, in due course, the establishment of the republic. Thus, in broad outline and in many particulars, Anchises shines through as an exemplary (quasi-)censor, a pattern of Augustus' own censorial efforts retrojected into the heroic past. And that seems quite enough to be going on with.

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81. Even though Augustus officially accepted this title long after Vergil's death (2 B.C.E.: Aug. *Anc.* 35; Suet. *Aug.* 58), the acclamation of Cicero as *Pater Patriae* in 62 (App. *B. Ciu.* 2.7; Plut. *Cic.* 23.5–6; cf. *Cic. Pis.* 3, 6) and of Caesar as *Pater Patriae* in late 45 or early 44 (Suet. *Iul.* 76.1) may have led Augustus to aim for a similar acclamation at an early point in his career: in a *contio* held in early November 44, he "swore publicly that he would attain for himself the offices acquired by his (adoptive) father, and at the same time pointed with his right hand at a statue [of the deceased dictator]" (*Cic. Att.* 16.15.3). It is worth noting that *CIL* XII.136 = *ILS* 6755 includes the title *Pater Patriae* in Augustus' sixteenth year of *tribunicia potestas*, 8/7 B.C.E.; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 58 for the attempt by the plebs (led by their *tribuni plebis*) to proffer this title to Augustus before 3 B.C.E.

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