Urban Dreams and Realities in Antiquity

Remains and Representations of the Ancient City

Edited by

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Contents

Acknowledgements IX

List of Contributors X

Introduction 1

Adam M. Kemezis

PART 1

City as Space I: Remains on the Ground

1 In Defense of Arkadia: The City as a Fortress 15

Matthew Maher

2 The *Mundus* of Caere and Early Etruscan Urbanization 46

Fabio Colivicchi

3 “Fighting Over a Shadow?”: Hellenistic Greek Cities and
Greco-Roman Cities as Fora and Media for Multi-Level Social
Signaling 69

LuAnn Wandsnider

4 Constructing an Oscan Cityscape: Pompeii and the *Eítuns*
Inscriptions 99

Tanya K. Henderson

5 Unraveling the Reality of a ‘City’ on the Deccan Plateau 121

Aloka Parasher-Sen

6 Monumentalising the Ephemeral in Ancient Rome 144

Steven Hijmans

PART 2

City as Space II: Landscapes in Literature

- 7 **Future City in the Heroic Past: Rome, Romans and Roman Landscapes in *Aeneid* 6–8** 165
 Eric J. Kondratieff
- 8 **Reading the Civic Landscape of Augustan Rome: *Aeneid* 1.421–429 and the Building Program of Augustus** 229
 Darryl A. Phillips
- 9 **The Predatory Palace: Seneca's *Thyestes* and the Architecture of Tyranny** 246
 Daniel B. Unruh
- 10 **Imperial Roman Cities as Places of Memory in Augustine's *Confessions*** 273
 Owen M. Ewald

PART 3

City as Identity I: Cultures in Stone

- 11 **Sacred Exchange: The Religious Institutions of *Emporia* in the Mediterranean World of the Later Iron Age** 297
 Megan Daniels
- 12 **Greek *Poleis* in the Near East and Their Parthian Overlords** 328
 Josef Wiesehöfer
- 13 **Civic Identity in Roman Ostia: Some Evidence from Dedications (Inaugurations)** 347
 Christer Bruun
- 14 **Chariot Racing in Hispania Tarraconensis: Urban Romanization and Provincial Identity** 370
 Raymond L. Capra

PART 4

City as Identity II: Communities on Paper

- 15 **The Seat of Kingship: (Re)Constructing the City in Isaiah 24–27** 395
 Ian Douglas Wilson
- 16 **Remembering Pre-Israelite Jerusalem in Late Persian Yehud: Mnemonic Preferences, Memories and Social Imagination** 413
 Ehud Ben Zvi
- 17 **Memory and the Greek City in Strabo's *Geography*** 438
 Edward Dandrow
- 18 **The *Ekklēsia* of Early Christ-Followers in Asia Minor as the Eschatological New Jerusalem: Counter-Imperial Rhetoric?** 455
 Ralph J. Korner
- 19 **From Kinship to State: The Family and the Ancient City in Nineteenth-Century Ethnology** 500
 Emily Varto
- Index** 525

Future City in the Heroic Past: Rome, Romans, and Roman Landscapes in *Aeneid* 6–8

Eric J. Kondratieff

Arma virumque canō?

“Arms and the Man I sing ...”¹ So Vergil begins his epic tale of Aeneas, who overcomes tremendous obstacles to find and establish a new home for his wandering band of Trojan refugees. Were it metrically possible, Vergil *could* have begun with “Cities and the Man I sing,” for Aeneas’ quest for a new home involves encounters with cities of all types: ancient and new, great and small, real and unreal. These include Dido’s Carthaginian boomtown (1.419–494), Helenus’ humble neo-Troy (3.349–353) and Latinus’ lofty citadel (7.149–192).² Of course, central to his quest is the destiny of Rome, whose future greatness—empire without limit (1.277–278)—Jupiter prophesies to Venus as recompense for the destruction of her beloved Troy, but whose foundation ultimately depends on Aeneas’ success at establishing a foothold in Italy (1.257–296). Although Rome’s (notional/traditional) foundation will occur several centuries after Aeneas’ final victory, Vergil has his hero interact with the future city in several ways, including two well-known passages. In the first (8.95–369) he tours Evander’s Pallanteum, the physical site of future Rome, taking delight in his surroundings and learning local lore (8.310–312, 359), yet he fails to perceive that this

1 Verg. A. 1.1. For Vergil’s *Aeneid*, I have used Mynor’s 1969 *OCT*; all translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated. Portions of this essay have been presented as talks between April 2009 and February 2012 (Rutgers and Temple colloquia, 2009; *Urban Dreams and Realities*, University of Alberta 2011; CAAS 2011; APA 2011 and 2012; Loyola Marymount University 2012; and New England Historical Association 2012). Thanks to Adam Kemezis, his anonymous readers, and friends and colleagues who have provided comments and encouragement on earlier versions: Timothy O’Sullivan, Martha Davis, Lowell Edmunds, Sarah Morris, Robert Gurval, Laura Samponaro, Barbara Gold, Carole Newlands, and especially Joseph Farrell, a gifted scholar and generous mentor in all things Vergilian who set me on my journey through Vergil’s Elysium in his *Aeneid* VI seminar (Upenn, Spring 1998), and has kindly corrected my path here and there since then. Any faults that remain are my own.

2 Morwood 1991 212–216.

place will become *the* imperial metropolis. In the other (8.625–731) he examines a creation of Vulcan, a shield engraved with vignettes of Rome's future history from Romulus to Augustus triumphant, the action-packed imagery of which Aeneas also fails to comprehend (8.730).³ Of course, references to Rome (and its culture) are not restricted to Jupiter's prophecy and the iconic events in *Aeneid* 8: James Morwood cogently argues that, elsewhere in the *Aeneid*, Vergil's descriptions of, or allusions to, structures built or rebuilt by Augustus give Rome a strong presence *throughout* the poem.⁴ The present essay expands upon his concept in significant ways to argue that Augustan Rome—its history, its aristocratic culture, and the city itself—is *completely* present, albeit in palimpsestic form, in *Aeneid* 6–8.

The first section, "Rome in the Underworld," demonstrates that Vergil's description of Elysian topography, combined with Anchises' censorial activities in *Aeneid* 6, characterizes this section of the Underworld as a 'premortal' version of Rome's underlying landscape in which important religious and political activities take place simultaneously. The second section, "A Didactic City-Walk," examines the visual inspiration for the Parade of Heroes (also *Aeneid* 6), and how Vergil's descriptions and groupings of Rome's future leaders allow his audience to visualize Anchises leading Aeneas through key commemorative zones in Rome's (future) historic center, areas heavily populated by statues of great men in Vergil's day.⁵ This section concludes with an examination of the simultaneously chiastic and linear structure of themes, activities, people and topography through which Anchises, Aeneas and the Sibyl 'travel' on their journey of discovery. The last section, "Palimpsestic Rome," explores the features of Latinus' city (*Aeneid* 7), the terrain of Evander's Pallanteum (*Aeneid* 8), and the cityscapes engraved on Aeneas' shield (*Aeneid* 8) which, when (re-)integrated with the 'premortal' Rome of *Aeneid* 6, comprise a comprehensive vision of Augustan Rome, its aristocratic culture, and its future-perfect history.

3 For a close reading of the shield's scenes: McKay 1998. Additional bibliography on the shield: Vella 2004 6 n. 23.

4 Morwood 1991 218–222. He also notes that these passages celebrate the *Princeps* as builder. Among other prominent Augustan building projects in Rome, Morwood mentions Augustus' restoration of the Temple of Apollo at Cumae and his renewed sanctuary to Apollo at Actium to support his argument that "Augustus the builder is one of the great heroes of the *Aeneid*." For a more recent, and different, view of *Aeneid* 6, Apollo's temples, and Augustan building programs (among other things), see Pandey 2014; also, Bell 2008, who finds these and additional alignments between the activity of Augustus and Aeneas.

5 Austin 1977 232–233 and Leach 1999 126 (quoted in n. 109 below) also draw a brief and general comparison between the *Heldenschau* and a didactic walk among the various groups of statues in Rome.

Part I: Rome in the Underworld

Vergil's account of Aeneas' visit to Elysium (6.638–898)—particularly the *Heldenschau*, or Parade of (future) Roman Heroes (6.703–887)—is rich with overlapping imagery and interconnected concepts. It has stimulated much scholarly discussion about its meaning and sources of inspiration: philosophical, literary, cultural and visual.⁶ For instance, Norden saw the *Heldenschau* as an imitation of Homer's *teichoscopia* (*Il.* 3.121–244), the catalogue of Achaean heroes.⁷ In 1965, Skard argued that Vergil modeled the *Heldenschau* on aristocratic funeral processions (based on eschatological elements in *Aeneid* 6 and a reference to the funeral of Marcellus at 6.860–885).⁸ Some scholars have elaborated on Skard's thesis, arguing that the *Heldenschau* reflects the Roman practice of having actors represent noble ancestors at aristocratic funerals by wearing their *imagines* (ancestor masks) and magisterial robes;⁹ others have noted that Anchises' praise of certain heroes evokes eulogies extolling ancestral achievements delivered at Roman funeral assemblies.¹⁰ Meanwhile, visual and thematic elements that do *not* fit the funereal model are often passed over; reinterpreted as a clever inversion of the aristocratic funeral;¹¹ or used as evidence for otherwise unattested developments in aristocratic funerary practice in the later Republic.¹² Meanwhile, others have focused on the visual sources from which Vergil drew inspiration for his heroes' descriptions, such as works of art on public display and numismatic designs.¹³

6 On aspects of the *Heldenschau* see: Delaruelle 1913; Hurlbut 1920; Camps 1959; Williams 1964; Otis 1964 297–312; Skard 1965; Highet 1972, *passim*; Harrison 1978; Burke 1979; Austin 1986, esp. 202–278; Bacon 1986; Brenk 1986; Feeney 1986; Novara 1987; Grebe 1989; Habinek 1989; Hardie 1990; Bettini 1991; Goold 1992; Braund 1997; Flower 1997 109–114; Zetzel 1997; Bartsch 1998; Gleason 1998; Lefèvre 1998; Leach 1999 125–129; Ahl 2007 372–382; Geiger 2008, esp. 50–51; O'Sullivan 2011 74–76; Molyviati 2011; Kondratieff 2012; Johnston 2012 454–462; and Pandey 2014.

7 Norden 1957 312. In Homer's *teichoscopia*, or “viewing from the walls” (*Il.* 3.121–244), Priam calls Helen to his vantage point on the walls above the Skaian Gates to identify the Achaean heroes assembling in the Trojan plain.

8 Skard 1965 56 rejects Norden's *teichoscopia* theory in favor of his own *pompa funebris* theory (Skard 1965 53–65). On Roman aristocratic funerals in general: Flower 1997 91–127; Favro and Johanson 2010 recreate the topographic and sensorial context(s) of Roman aristocratic funeral processions.

9 Novara 1987; Flower 1996 109–110; cf. Habinek 1989 236; Bettini 1991 142–150; Molyviati 2011.

10 Flower 1996 110–114, cf. 128–158 on *laudationes*.

11 Burke 1979.

12 Flower 1996 122–125.

13 Delaruelle 1913; Leach 1999 126; Pandey 2014 focuses on post-Vergilian readings of Augustus' *Summi Viri* monument in the Forum Augustum.

The variety and vigor of modern approaches to Aeneas' *katabasis* is a testament to Vergil's skillful interweaving of multiple themes and ideas in this passage. Indeed, there is an excellent reason for which Vergil has Aeneas depart the Underworld through the Gate of Ivory, the Portal of False Dreams (6.893–898): what Aeneas has experienced cannot be easily categorized, much less replicated in the real world. For instance, he has seen Anchises, like a tone-on-tone tapestry, shift and shimmer through a number of different roles: expounder of eschatology, philosopher of metempsychosis, hellacious tour guide, persuasive *paterfamilias*, mourner for Marcellus and, as recently argued, 'proto-censor' of the *populus Romanus*, a role which helps define the topography of Elysium as a shadowy reflection of Rome's primordial, yet distinctive landscape.¹⁴ Other clues for this interpretation of Elysium's topography come from the heroes, who simultaneously reflect aspects of Roman religious ritual, political and military culture and—through Vergil's descriptions and arrangements of them—call to mind honorific statues and whole commemorative zones in the city.¹⁵ The following discussion will therefore focus on elements of activity, culture and topography in Vergil's Underworld that, collectively, indicate that Rome is 'spiritually present' there, waiting to be born (or reborn?) along with the 'buzzing swarm' of heroes who will take her from small beginnings to *imperium sine fine*, dominion without end.

*Roman Topography in Elysium*¹⁶

Aeneas' personal encounter with Rome begins well before he arrives at Evander's Pallanteum (8.98f.), whether in cityscapes and buildings that evoke Augustus' building program, or through allusions to Romans and their customs.¹⁷ Indeed, enough such references occur throughout the first half of the *Aeneid* that elements of Rome *and* Roman cultural practices are never far from view; even in the hellish environment of Tartarus, the Sibyl points out punishments

14 Kondratieff 2012; on Anchises' discussion of metempsychosis (transmigration of souls), see Harrison 1978.

15 Leach 1999 125–126, with conclusions that I had also come to before reading her work.

16 For the following discussion with different emphases and details: Kondratieff 2012 122 and 128–133.

17 Scholars differ on *where* Aeneas first encounters Rome, especially *Augustan* Rome. Morwood 1991 212–213 and 222 n. 5 argues that—for actual cityscapes—it begins at Dido's bustling Carthage, which appears Roman in layout and recalls Augustus' building program in Rome (for Zanker 1988 147–148, Dido's city evokes Julius Caesar's new colony founded on the ruins of Carthage in 46). Pandey 2014 argues that Aeneas' encounter with Augustan Rome begins at Apollo's Cumaean temple (A. 6.9–41). See also n. 18, below.

for distinctly Roman crimes (6.237–636).¹⁸ But the city itself, and its topography, swiftly comes into focus once Aeneas enters Elysium (at 6.638), and is in full view once Anchises begins to instruct Aeneas via the *exempla* of souls awaiting rebirth as Rome's future leaders (6.703–887, esp. 6.759).

Upon entering Elysium, Aeneas and the Sibyl encounter an assemblage of Trojan heroes who foreshadow the *Heldenschau*, including Troy's founding father, Dardanus, son of Jupiter (6.648–650).¹⁹ These souls have reached a stable, purified state and are therefore not awaiting rebirth.²⁰ Rather, they engage in activities enjoyed in life (6.640–647): exercising, competing in sport, or practicing musical skills, all in a beautiful field (*campus*: 6.640–641) with a grassy *palaestra* (*in gramineis ... palaestris*: 6.642), and an area of golden sand (*fulva harena*: 6.643) nearby.²¹ Aeneas observes in the distance grounded arms, empty chariots, and untethered horses grazing peacefully (6.651–653).²² Surely these verbal-visual cues put Vergil's audience in mind of Rome's Campus Martius, its open areas used for military training and sporting events. These include the *lusus Troiae* (the Trojan Game), an equestrian spectacle frequently performed for Augustus by boys and young men; its performance for Anchises' funeral at 5.545–602, as Andrew Feldherr notes, explicitly connects the epic past to the Augustan present.²³ Thus, Trojans, horses and weapons at rest in Elysium not only represent post-*lusus* relaxation and a reminder of Anchises' recent funeral, but also symbolically link the “fields of gold” in the Underworld to the Field of Mars in Augustan Rome.

18 Berry 1992 notes that, in his visit to the Underworld, Aeneas moves “from Greece to [contemporary] Rome” when the Sibyl shows him denizens of Tartarus tormented for Roman-style crimes, whether generic, i.e., cheating a *cliens* (A. 6.609), or historically significant, i.e., L. Catilina and M. Antonius betraying their *patria* (A. 6.621–624). On Vergil's “inferno,” see Putnam 1988.

19 Verg. A. 6.648–653: *hic genus antiquum Teucri, pulcherrima proles, / magnanimi heroes nati melioribus annis, / Ilusque Assaracusque et Troiae Dardanus auctor*. Aeneas is descended from Jupiter as well, from Erechthonius to Capys to Anchises to Aeneas (Jupiter's great-great-grandson); cf. A. 6.123. Venus is presented as Jupiter's daughter in the *Iliad* and *Aeneid*; Aeneas thus boasts a double dose of Jovian blood, making him 9/16ths divine.

20 Leach 1999 124 and refs.

21 Verg. A. 6.640–644: *largior hic campos aether et lumine vestit / purpureo, solemque suum, sua sidera norunt. / pars in gramineis exercent membra palaestris, / contendunt ludo et fulva luctantur harena; / pars pedibus plaudunt choreas et carmina dicunt*.

22 Verg. A. 6.651–653: *arma procul currusque virum miratur inanis; / stant terra defixae hastae passimque soluti / per campum pascuntur equi*.

23 Feldherr 1995 263–264.

A more direct allusion to Rome's topography occurs when the Sibyl asks the poet Musaeus where Anchises 'lives' using an antiquated legal-sacral formula that evokes the Augustan *urbs* (6.670; Map 7.1): "Which neighborhood (*quae regio*) houses Anchises, and at what location (*quis locus*)?"²⁴ This image of Augustan Rome's cramped and crowded residential quarters rapidly fades, however, when Musaeus gives a reply that defines *his* landscape as lacking houses (6.673–675): "No one has a house (*domus*) you can point to; we inhabit darkling groves (*lucis ... opacis*), and dwell upon the cushions of riverbanks (*riparumque toros*) and meadows freshened by streams (*prata recentia rivis*)."²⁵ To some, Musaeus' response is a typical poetic description of Elysium; but it also redirects Vergil's audience to envision another area of Augustan Rome. The collocation of *luci*, *ripae* and *prata* strongly evokes the sacred landscape of the southern Campus Martius with its ancient groves (*luci*) bounded by the Tiber's curving banks (*ripae*) and the Flaminian meadows (*prata Flaminia*). The last item requires elaboration: although the *prata Flaminia* had been transformed, generations before Vergil's time, into the Circus Flaminius—a venue for plebeian games, general assemblies, and Roman triumphs, all bounded by numerous temples—the district just west of the Capitoline was still known by this ancient toponym.²⁶ Perhaps more significant is that a sacred grove (*lucus*) known as the Apollinar and dedicated to the cult of Apollo Medicus was situated *within* the *prata Flaminia* near the banks (*ripae*) of the Tiber.²⁷ In Vergil's day, the Apollinar was home to the newly rebuilt temple of Apollo Medicus (Sosianus). Although C. Sosius began the reconstruction in the late 30s to commemorate his Judean victories (34 BCE), the temple's interior frieze depicts

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- 24 Verg. A. 6.670: *quae regio Anchisen, quis habet locus?* Austin 1986 211 ad loc. with bibliography notes that this derives from an archaic sacral-legal formula, and points to similar phrasing at: Plaut. *Rud.* 227; Lucil. 189M; Lucr. 2.534 and 4.786; and Macrobian *Sat.* 3.9.10 (reporting a *devotio*). See also Ahl 2007 373 ad loc. NB: in Vergil's day, Rome was still divided into four regions; Augustus would divide it into fourteen in 7 BCE.
- 25 Verg. A. 6.673–675: *nulli certa domus; lucis habitamus opacis, / riparumque toros et prata recentia rivis / incolimus*. See also Johnston 2012 449 ad loc.
- 26 Livy 3.54.15, referring to the restoration of the tribunate of the plebs in 449 BCE, writes that *ea omnia in pratis Flaminii concilio plebis acta, quem nunc circum Flaminium appellant* ("all these things were done by the Council of the Plebs in the Flaminian Meadows, which now [the Romans] call the Circus Flaminius"); Platner Ashby 1929 432; *NTDAR* 83 s.v. "Circus Flaminius"; *MAR* 86–87 s.v. "Circus Flaminius," noting that the area was just west of the Capitoline Hill.
- 27 Liv. 3.63: *in prata Flaminia, ubi nunc aedes Apollinis est—iam tum Apollinare appellabant ...*

the triple triumph in 29 BCE of Augustus, who may have completed it.²⁸ Cheek by jowl with the temple was the Theater of Marcellus, begun in 44 by Caesar but completed by Augustus, who named it after his nephew and son-in-law, the final hero of the *Heldenschau* (6.872–885) who tragically died in 23 BCE.²⁹

Taking all of this into account, the verbal-visual cues of *campus*, *luci*, *ripae* and *prata* seem intended to draw one's inner eye to a location in Rome saturated with Augustan associations; moreover, this ancient Apolline *lucus* would be a perfectly suitable *locus* where Musaeus, a poet "worthy of Phoebus" (6.662), could "dwell." For Vergil's Roman audience these topographical features may also have conjured a vista of Rome's sacred, extra-mural topography in its primeval state, long before it was built up with temples, theaters, and porticoes (Maps 7.2 and 7.3). While these topographical clues—and interpretations—do not necessarily prove that Vergil intentionally describes Elysium as an underworld twin of Rome's underlying topography, it begins to seem much more likely, given Anchises' activity a few lines later (6.679–683).

Anchises Censorius

Shortly after their request for directions, Musaeus leads Aeneas and the Sibyl up a ridge (6.676: *iugum*) to the summit of a high eminence (6.678: *cacumina*), below which they see "blooming fields." From there they catch sight of the soul they seek:³⁰

At pater Anchises penitus convalle virenti
inclusas animas superumque ad lumen ituras 6.680
lustrabat studio recolens, omnemque suorum
forte recensebat numerum, carosque nepotes
fataque fortunasque virum moresque manusque.

28 Ascon. *Tog. cand.* 70 Stangl locates the temple of Apollo *extra portam Carmentalem inter forum holitorium et circum Flaminium*. For additional details, see MAR 45–46 s.v. "Apollo Medicus / Sosianus Aedes"; Claridge 2010 277–279 on the temple's history, including the late-fifth-c. BCE original, multiple restorations, and Greek statuary by, e.g., Scopas and Praxiteles, relating to Apollo's 'history' housed within the sanctuary.

29 MAR 252–254 s.v. "Theatrum Marcelli"; Claridge 2010 275–277. Caesar began it in 44; Augustus completed and dedicated it in Marcellus' name (*Anc.* 21: *Theatrum ad aedem Apollinis ... feci, quod sub nomine M. Marcell[i] generi mei esset*), either in 13 BCE (Cass. Dio 54.26.1) or 11 BCE (Pliny *HN* 8.65, cf. 7.121). Whether Augustus renamed the project for Marcellus upon his death in 23 BCE, or at least before Vergil's death in 19 BCE, is unknown. NB: Caesar removed a small temple of Pietas to make room for the theater: *NTDAR* 290, 382.

30 Verg. *A.* 6.677–678: [Musaeus] *dixit, et ante tulit gressum camposque nitentis / desuper ostentat; dehinc summa cacumina linquunt.*

Father Anchises, deep in a hollow green valley,
 Was assessing the souls in confinement, considering with care 6.680
 Those who would ascend to light and air. 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.

To describe Anchises' assessment of his descendants, Vergil uses the verbs *lustrare* (6.681) and *recensere* (6.682), technical terms typically associated with the work of censors, senior magistrates elected every five years to conduct a census and ritual renewal of the Roman people.³¹ This striking allusion not only helps define the landscape in which Aeneas finds Anchises, but also adds a thematic layer to the *Heldenschau* passage and forges a vital link between Anchises and Augustus, who conducted his first census—with important political ramifications—in 28. Having explored some of the following topics in depth elsewhere, I will discuss here only those elements necessary to firmly contextualize Anchises' activity as censorial, and the topography he works in as reminiscent of Rome's.³²

Censors conducted several types of census in two key areas of the city.³³ They held a general census at the Villa Publica on the eastern edge of the central Campus Martius (also the location for military levies).³⁴ Here they registered and rated free-born citizens of property according to birth/family, status, and wealth to determine their voting rights, tax liabilities, and military obligations.³⁵ They held a separate census for the *aerarii* ("head count" citizens, tax payers without the vote); and another for freed slaves in all wealth brackets.³⁶ The final census was the *recognitio equitum*, a review of the equestrian

31 Ogilvie 1961 discusses the use of *lustrare*, *lustrum*, *lustrum condere*, *lustratio*, etc., as referring to, or in metonymy for, the census; Austin 1986 213 notes that *lustrabat* evokes the work of censors, especially the quinquennial *lustrum*; Ahl 2007 383 relates Anchises' censorial work to Octavian's revision of the senate rolls in 28. None of these authors, however, takes Anchises' and Augustus' censorial connection beyond these few lines.

32 Kondratieff 2012.

33 For an extensive discussion of censors and their duties: Suolahti 1963 32–56. More conveniently, see Lintott 1999 115–120 or Kondratieff 2012 122–125.

34 Dion. Hal. 5.75.3, 4.15.6; Varro, *R.* 3.2.4–5 for the Villa Publica as an assembly place for the census and its location on the edge of the Campus Martius: *haec [villa] in campo Martio extremo* (*R.* 3.2.5); cf. Liv. 4.22.7 for its establishment in 435 BCE by the first censors; Ps. Ascon. 213.10–16 Stangl (70 BCE); Suolahti 1963 33–34, 37; Lintott 1999 117; *MAR* 273 s.v. "Villa Publica."

35 Suolahti 1963 38; Nicolet 1980 67–73.

36 Suolahti 1963 37: "First, the tribes were examined, one by one (Dion. Hal. 5.75.3, 4.15.6; Ps.

centuries that, in the Republic, included senators and magistrates. This census concluded with the public spectacle of the *travectio*, a military procession on horseback through the Forum Romanum. Here each man of equestrian or senatorial standing declared his campaigns and commanders; some also surrendered their *equus publicus* ('public horse' financed by the state) if being discharged.³⁷

Another duty of censors was to monitor and shape social and political life through the *regimen morum* (supervision of morals). The very public setting of the *travectio* yields some of the best evidence for this duty. Here they gave praise or reproof to high-status citizens to encourage them—and the general populace—to follow the *mores maiorum* (ancestral customs). Censors also used their coercive powers—applicable to anyone, regardless of rank—to uphold public morals. They could reduce a reprehensible man to *aerarius* status, effectively disenfranchising him;³⁸ compel a physically or morally unfit man to surrender his public horse *during* the *travectio*;³⁹ and, in the *lectio senatus* (revision of the senate roll), eject the unworthy or adversarial man from the senate.⁴⁰ Censors also had the privilege of filling senate vacancies with men of their own choosing. Thus, while 'good' censors might use the *regimen morum* to urge citizens to a higher standard of conduct, ambitious ones could use it to

Ascon. 213.10–16 Stangl (70 BC); *L. Iul. Munic.* 145 f.), then the *aerarii* (Liv. 38.27.4 (189 BC); 38.36.5 (188 BC); Mommsen, *St.-R.* 11³ 1.371 n. 3), the freedmen, and finally the equestrians (Liv. 43.16.1 (169 BC), cf. 43.14; Gell. 4.20.11; Mommsen, *St.-R.* 11³ 1.371 n. 4) in connection with the *recognitio equitum*. As they represented the highest property category until 123 BC they could not be called with their respective tribes, but their property had to be registered individually (Mommsen, *St.-R.* 11³ 1.371 f.)." See also Wiseman 1969 60 and n. 21. Private citizens acting as *curatores omnium tribuum* could appear on behalf of the *aerarii* and *capite censi* (Var. *L* 6.86).

- 37 Liv. 43.16.1, cf. 43.14 (169 BCE); Gell. 4.20.11; Mommsen *St.-R.* 11³ 371 n. 4 and 399 n. 6; Suolahti 1963 37 and 41; Nicolet 1980 83, cf. 69–73. The best known example of the *travectio*: Plut. *Pomp.* 22.4 (70 BCE) in which Pompey, then consul, declared all of the campaigns he had fought, always under his own command.
- 38 Ps.–Asc. 189 Stangl on *Cic. Div. in Caec.* 8; Astin 1988a 15, 1988b; and Liv. 44.16.8 and 45.15.8 on the reduction in 168 BCE of P. Rutilius Rufus, *tr. pl.* 169, to *aerarius*; cf. Val. Max. 6.5.3 ('Popillius' instead of 'Rutilius'); Gel. 4.20 on M. Cato reducing a man to *aerarius* in 184 BCE for making a scurrilous joke in his presence.
- 39 On *equites equo publico*: Suolahti 1963 42; Plut. *Pomp.* 22.4 (70 BCE); Zonar. 10.2 (70 BCE); Cass. Dio 55.31 (7 CE); Liv. 39.44.1 on L. Scipio Asiagenes, *cos.* 190, relieved of his *equus publicus* by censor M. Cato during the *recognitio equitum* of 184 BCE.
- 40 M. Cato, *cens.* 184, removed L. Quinctius Flaminius, *cos.* 192, from the senate roll (Liv. 39.42.5 ff.).

influence politics and policy-making by neutralizing their enemies and changing the composition of the senate.

Censors were also charged with religious duties thought to contribute directly to the wellbeing and prosperity of the Roman people. At the conclusion of their eighteen-month term, they appointed a day for the *inlicium*, or “call to arms”: heralds, sent round the city before dawn, summoned all citizen soldiers to assemble under arms in the Campus Martius.⁴¹ One censor, chosen by lot, would then perform the *lustratio*, the ritual of purification and renewal.⁴² This included an apotropaic procession *around* the assembled citizen-army and a sacrifice at the ancient altar of Mars, followed by an inspection of the victims’ entrails for favorable omens.⁴³ The chosen censor concluded with a formulaic prayer for the Roman people’s increase and vows for the next five-year *lustrum*, after which he took up a *vexillum*, or military flag, and led the citizen army in procession back to the city gates, where he dismissed them.⁴⁴

*The Censorial Work of Augustus and ... Anchises*⁴⁵

The power censors could wield in shaping Roman society and politics led Augustus to undertake censorial duties—not by holding the office of censor, but by virtue of his consular *imperium*⁴⁶—in 29 and 28 to consolidate his new

41 Var. *L* 6.86: *omnes Quirites pedites armatos, privatosque, curatores omnium tribuum ...*; cf. Var. *L* 6.93–94 on the *inlicium*; Ogilvie 1961; Suolahti 1963 45 and nn. 7–8. Suolahti 1963 41: “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 [this was abandoned by the late Republic]. Only the equestrian census (*equitum census*) continued to retain the character of a survey of arms”; Mommsen *St.-R.* 11³ 1.396–400. On the decline of militaristic aspects in the census: Wiseman 1969 *passim*.

42 Var. *L* 6.87, 93; Cic. *Leg.* 3.7, *de Or.* 2.268; Mommsen *St.-R.* 11³ 412–413; Suolahti 1963 45 and nn. 7–6, 46 and n. 1; Lintott 1999 115, 118.

43 Var. *L* 6.87; Liv. 1.44.2; Dion. Hal. 4.22.1–2 with references to the *suovetaurilia*; Suet. *Aug.* 97.1; Cic. *de Or.* 2.268; Mommsen *St.-R.* 11³ 352–353.

44 Var. *L* 6.9.93. On prayers for the Roman people’s increase: 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 appear on the Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus which, Ogilvie 1961 37 notes, was created for the Aedes Nympharum where censors kept their census records (Cic. *Mil.* 73).

45 For a more detailed discussion of Augustus’ censorial work: Kondratieff 2012 126–128, 134–135 and notes.

46 Some sources report that consuls conducted the census in the early Republic: Liv. 1.42.5; Dion. Hal. 4.16.1–22.2, esp. 4.21.1. For the creation of the censorship in 443 or 435 BCE to

position as sole ruler. He began by revising the senate rolls to shore up the senate's reputation and viability as his (notional) partner in power. He induced or compelled nearly two hundred men to 'voluntarily' renounce their senatorial status, inducted a few 'worthy' supporters, and increased the number of patricians.⁴⁷ He also revived the *travectio*, the equestrian procession, in all its militaristic glory, to enhance the prestige and cohesion of the Equestrian Order.⁴⁸ In 28 he and Agrippa—as co-consuls, not censors—completed the *census* and *lustrum*, the first in over four decades.⁴⁹ The results—a four-fold increase in Rome's citizen count (thanks to new census-taking methods)⁵⁰—were spectacularly auspicious, heralding a new age of peace and prosperity.⁵¹ Naturally, the all-important *lustratio*, the concluding rite of renewal, fell by sortition to Augustus. This allowed him not only to ritually 'purify' the *populus Romanus*, but also to symbolically and religiously bind Rome's wellbeing to the continued success of his régime.⁵² As Wiseman has noted, Augustus' censorial work was "a necessary precondition of the 'restoration' of the Republic in January 27."⁵³ In other words, it laid essential groundwork for the reformulation of his power through the creation of the Principate.

Given the above, it should not be surprising that Vergil, who frequently makes Aeneas a pattern of Augustus and his public activities,⁵⁴ would also

relieve consuls of this burdensome work: Liv. 4.8.2–7; Dion. Hal. 11.63.1–3; *Dig.* 1.2.2.17; Zonar. 7.19. For the debate on the year of the censorship's creation: Mommsen *St.-R.* 11³ 332–335 doubts it was in 443 BCE; Cram 1940 73 rejects 443 BCE in favor of 435 BCE; Broughton *MRR* 1.53–54 and n. 1, Suolahti 1963 676–677, Austin 1982 174 n. 1, and Brennan 2000 55 and 268–269 n. 160 support, in varying degrees, 443 BCE as the year of the censorship's creation.

47 Cass. Dio 53.42.1–5; Hardy 1919; Kondratieff 2012 126–127.

48 Suet. *Aug.* 38–39.

49 Cass. Dio 53.1.3. For the census of 70 BCE and subsequent failed censuses: Cram 1940; *MRR* 2 *sub annis*. For the possibility that Augustus and Agrippa received a grant of *censoria potestas*: Kondratieff 2012 126 n. 33.

50 Aug. *Anc.* 8; Crawford 1996 377 ll. 142–146 *Tabula Heracleensis*; DeLigt 2012 81–82 and n. 10; Kondratieff 2012 127. Instead of going to Rome, a citizen could declare himself to his local magistrate who would then send his town's compiled census returns to Rome.

51 Wiseman 1969 67–75; Nicolet 1980 65–67; Kondratieff 2012 128.

52 Kondratieff 2012 127–128. See also Aug. *Anc.* 8; Cass. Dio 53.1.3; cf. Suet. *Aug.* 27.10.

53 Wiseman 1969 71.

54 Griffin 1984 214 "Aeneas ... 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 ...".

incorporate a thematic element reflecting Augustus' censorial work. That he did so is indicated by Anchises' activity in *Aeneid* 6. When he is conducting a census of his descendants (6.680–682), assessing their deeds and assigning praise or blame in a 'public setting' (6.683, 760–848, 855–883), or attempting (in vain) to modulate their (future) behavior with hortatory injunctions (6.826–835), Anchises both evokes the activities of a Roman censor *and* provides an extended allusion to Augustus' censorial activities. Seeing him in this role—which accurately reflects the challenging *regimen morum* of censors—also goes a long way toward explaining the presence of 'problematic' or negative *exempla* in this passage that so often bedevil scholars.⁵⁵ As with any Roman censor, Anchises cannot choose who will come before him, but must assess men of mixed, sometimes disappointing, 'achievements' that will constitute an ineradicable part of Rome's future-perfect history. This element of Anchises' work, therefore, subtly alludes to the uneven quality of those with, or against, whom Augustus would work to create his vision of Rome.

This powerful linkage between Anchises and Augustus is further strengthened by their shared roles, notional or real, as father and father-figure to the Roman people, a role they also shared with censors. One aspect of this paternalistic role exemplified by Anchises is that censors had access to information about the current generation of citizen males *and* their family lines in both directions.⁵⁶ Another aspect is the moral authority censors had over the Roman people, which is most evident in their use of *exempla*, proclamations, and edicts to "exhort the people to follow the customs of their ancestors," the *mores maiorum*.⁵⁷ Augustus did the same, giving numerous speeches urging the upper orders to follow the *mores maiorum*; he also provided them with a permanent museum of *exempla*, the *Summi Viri* monument in the Forum Augustum (dedicated in 2 BCE). This consisted of two porticoes lined with dozens of statues representing Rome's greatest leaders in triumphal dress. In the southern exedra stood a statue of Romulus; in the northern exedra, a statue group of Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius/Iulus accompanied by the Alban kings and more recent Julians (and Claudians); in the central forecourt stood a colossal statue of Augustus in a *quadriga*, with a *titulus* designating him "*Pater Patriae*" (Father

55 See, e.g., Feeney 1986; Zetzel 1989; Reed 2001; and Pandey 2014 (§ "Author, Audiences and Augustus").

56 Kondratieff 2012 137–138. For an incident showing the deep knowledge censors had of elite family genealogies: Val. Max. 9.7.2; cf. App. *B Civ* 1.28; Cic. *Sest.* 101; Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 73; *Elogium* in *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.16, 21f.

57 Gell. 4.20.10: *ad maiorum mores populum hortaretur* (142 BCE, cens. P. Scipio Africanus Aemilianus).

of the Fatherland).⁵⁸ To make explicit the moral and motivational purpose of this display, he issued a proclamation declaring that it “had been created so that both he, while he yet lived, and the rulers of subsequent generations might be required by the citizens to live up to the *exempla* set by the men of old.”⁵⁹ Vergil highlights this Augustan theme, but inverts it when he has Anchises use the *exempla* of his future descendants to inspire Aeneas to emulate the *mores iuniorum* (6.781–807, esp. 806–807; 6.885–889).⁶⁰

Censorial and Vergilian Topography, or Why This Matters

The clues that evoke the primordial Campus Martius, Vergil's use of *recensere* and *lustrare*, and Anchises' activity allow us to envision him conducting a census of descendants in a shadowy precursor to Rome's civic landscape. But which part? As noted above, Aeneas and the Sibyl climbed a ridge (*iugum*: 6.676) to a high summit (*summa cacumina*: 6.678), from which they observed Anchises in a deep green valley (*convalle virenti*: 6.679). As they descend to greet him, Aeneas notices in an adjacent valley (*in valle reducta*: 6.704) a secluded, sacred grove (*seclusum nemus*: 6.705) and the River Lethe (*Laethaeumque ... amnem*: 6.706).⁶¹ Here congregate the descendants Anchises will present to Aeneas, in connected valleys separated by a summit from the wider plain they had just left, which recalls the separation of the Campus Martius from the Velabrum and Forum Romanum by the Capitoline Hill (Maps 7.1 and 7.2).

58 For the latest comprehensive reassessment of the *Summi Viri* monument: Geiger 2008; see also Pandey 2014 on readership and reception of the monument. On the statues of Romulus and Aeneas: Ov. *Fast.* 5.563–566 and below.

59 Suet. *Aug.* 31.5: *Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent. Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit professus et edicto commentum id se, ut ad illorum vitam velut ad exemplar et ipse dum viveret, et insequentium aetatum principes exigerentur a civibus* (“Second only to the immortal gods, [Augustus] honored the memory of leaders who had brought the empire of the Roman people from very small beginnings to the greatest power of all. He therefore restored the works of each man, with its remaining inscriptions, and dedicated statues of them all in triumphal dress in both porticoes of his forum, then declared by edict that [the display] had been created so that he, while he yet lived, and the leaders of subsequent generations might be required by the citizens to attain the standard of those great men of old”).

60 See Pandey 2014 on reading Augustus' assemblage of Roman leaders in conjunction with the *Heldenschau*. On chronological inversion in the *Heldenschau*: Bettini 1991 142–150, 167–183; O'Sullivan 2011 74–75.

61 On this greeting and its relation to funerary iconography: Molyviati 2011.

An additional topographical clue follows their joyous reunion and brief discussion of death, renewal, and the fate of the soul (6.719–751).⁶² Anchises, eager to show Aeneas their future progeny, “finished speaking and drew his son and the Sibyl toward the noisy throng in the midst of the assembly, and took a position on a *tumulus* whence he might read and clearly discern the faces of all those coming toward him in a long line” (6.752–755, esp. 6.754).⁶³ This *tumulus*, situated within what seems to be a ghostly version of the Forum, could correspond to the Rostra, or speaker’s platform, upon which Roman censors placed their tribunals to view the oncoming knights in a *travectio*.⁶⁴ In Vergil’s day the Rostra stood dead center in the Forum’s west end, facing out over the *septem iugera forensia*, the main plaza where, from the perspective of those standing on it, it would be completely surrounded by the noisy crowds that frequented the Forum; indeed, Vergil’s language describing the crowd of souls bears striking similarity to Cicero’s description of noisy mobs that would surround the Rostra to hear or heckle orators in the last years of the Republic.⁶⁵ Another important point for consideration is Vergil’s use of the verb *legere*, conventionally translated “to read.” This verb is also etymologically related to such words as *lectio*, used in phrases such as *lectio senatus* to signify the reading of the senate roll, or choosing men to be inscribed on the list of senators. Once again we may point to this as an indicator of Anchises’ censorial work, for he shall choose which of the souls will be worthy of inclusion in his ‘roll-call of heroes.’

The sense that all of this is taking place, at least initially, within a ghostly version of the Forum Romanum is confirmed once Anchises’ census of his descendants begins at 6.760, for these are the future kings of Lavinium, Alba Longa and Rome (with the obvious omission of slave-born Servius Tullius), followed

62 Leach 1999 124–125 and notes.

63 Verg. A. 6.752–755: *Dixerat Anchises natumque unaque Sibyllam / conventus trahit in medios turbamque sonantem, / et tumulum capit unde omnis longo ordine posset / adversos legere et venientum discere vultus.*

64 On tribunals: Kondratieff 2010 91–92; Bablitz 2007 29–31. For tribunals in the *recognitio equitum*: Plut. *Pomp.* 22.5. The Rostra acquired its name in 338 BCE, when the *suggestum* (speaker’s platform) was decorated with bronze rams (*rostra*, *rostrum* s.) taken from ships of the Latin League captured at Antium. Habinek 1989 236 and n. 26 likens this scene to a young orator mounting the Rostra to give a funeral eulogy; cf. Flower 1997 109–110.

65 Cass. Dio 43.49.1–2. M. Antonius moved the Rostra from the edge of the Comitium to the center of the Forum’s western end in 45 BCE; this was in the midst of Caesar’s reconfiguration of the Forum Romanum, a project completed by Augustus. Augustus himself rebuilt the Rostra ca. 13 BCE, literally inhuming the Antonian version. For a detailed study of the Rostra, tribunals, and noisy crowds in the Forum Romanum: Kondratieff 2009 *passim*, but esp. 349f. On the *septem iugera forensia*: Var. *R.* 1.2.9.

by Roman imperators and triumphators of consular, even censorial, rank.⁶⁶ The Roman reader would immediately understand that such men would only be assessed, for good or ill, in a *recognitio equitum* rather than a general census. As the scene unfolds, Vergil's descriptions of heroes and his themes of martial *virtus* and *gloria* continue to align quite well with the military character of the *travectio*, the equestrian procession through the Forum.⁶⁷

Collectively, the evidence allows us to (retrospectively) identify Anchises' hollow valley and adjacent vale as unbuilt, but just as crowded, phantom versions of the Forum Romanum and Velabrum, the latter's ancient stream not yet enclosed by the Cloaca Maxima.⁶⁸ This combined space could be accessed from the Prata Flaminia in several ways. Barring floods, one could approach it by going around the southern slope of the Capitoline Hill. Two other routes include the necessary element of Vergil's *iugum*, or ridge (6.676): around the north side of the Arx, with an easy climb over the low saddle linking it to the Quirinal; or, over a high "eminence" reached by a more arduous climb over the saddle between Capitol and Arx (as suggested on Map 7.3).⁶⁹

Part II: A Didactic "City Walk"

The *Heldenschau's* overarching theme, clearly, is the foreordained greatness of Rome brought about by her future leaders and culminating in the promised golden age of Augustus. As noted above, some liken Anchises' presentation to a father teaching his son Roman history using as *exempla* the masked actors in an aristocratic *pompa funebris*. It can also be viewed as representing the

66 And, possibly, officers of the plebs: see LeFèvre 1998 on the Gracchi and Drusi. On the high percentage of heroes of censorial rank or censorial family in the *Heldenschau*: Kondratieff 2012 135–137; also, 131–132 on the absence of King Servius Tullius, whose freedman status would prohibit him—according to Roman law—from participating in the *travectio* despite his later kingship. See *OCD*³ 1558 s.v. "Tullius RE 18 Servius"; Nicolet 1984 96–97 and 99 on *ingenuitas* (free birth) as a requirement for the *ordines senatorius et equester* and on Augustus' strict observance of such status distinctions (hence Vergil's otherwise curious omission of the great reformer).

67 Suolahti 1963 41 on the *travectio* as the last vestige of the old-style "review under arms" that survived into the principate (see n. 41 above). Mommsen *St.-R.* 11³ 1.396–400; Wiseman 1969 *passim*.

68 Perhaps also the Lucus Capitolinus, Romulus' grove of asylum between the Capitoline's twin summits.

69 The censors' offices were in the *Atrium Libertatis* on the saddle between the Arx and Quirinal: Liv. 43.16.13; Oros. 5.17; *MAR* 59–60 s.v. "Atrium Libertatis."

culminating phase of a Roman census, an underworld *recognitio equitum* or *travectio* in a shadowy landscape described in a way to reflect Rome's underlying topography. Yet Vergil interweaves multiple themes so skillfully that the *Heldenschau* can be both simultaneously, and more besides. A third dimension in keeping with the theme of topographies and cityscapes may now be added: the visual inspiration from which Vergil drew his descriptions of heroes, and the ways in which the *Heldenschau* resembles a didactic walk through Rome's historic center populated by statues of great men.⁷⁰ The following discussion will touch upon physical descriptions, allusions to place and location, the didactic and motivational value of statues, and the bookending of funeral processions and census at the end of the *Heldenschau*.

Vergil and Roman Art

It is not my intention to deconstruct theories that associate the *Heldenschau* with Roman aristocratic funeral processions, as there are obvious, broad similarities in this passage, along with its well-known eschatological and funerary elements. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that the comparisons can often be overworked, especially with regard to visual elements in this passage. For instance, the *Heldenschau* lacks most features typical of a stately *pompa funebris*: female relatives in mourning, musicians, professional keeners, pall bearers, and markers of high status, such as lictors dressed in black bearing reversed *fascēs*; and those to whom Anchises calls attention seem *not* to be wearing magisterial robes that represent their highest *civil* rank (actors representing ancestors at funerals wore such clothing).⁷¹ Rather, Vergil has Anchises refer to idiosyncratic features that evoke portrayals from a permanent pool of visual references—statues, reliefs, paintings, even coins bearing images of statue groups and the like⁷²—that would have been familiar to his Roman audience, and which tend to be military in character.

70 Leach 1999 126 briefly sketches out a similar idea in relation to a statue gallery; see n. 109 below. O'Sullivan 2011 75 envisions a Roman boy asking his father about aristocratic "bigwigs" processing through the Forum.

71 E.g., consul or censor: Polyb. 6.53.7; on the procession, see Flower 1997 91–107 and Favro and Johanson 2010.

72 Festus 228 L notes paintings of the triumphs of M. Fulvius Flaccus and T. (? L. Sp. f.? or L. Sp. n.) Papirius Cursor (one of five triumphs for two Papirii between 324 and 272). Livy 41.28.10 writes that Ti. Gracchus, *cos.* 177, in the temple of Mater Matuta in the Forum Boarium, put up a tablet with an inscription and painting depicting his exploits in Sardinia. Pliny *HN* 35: 22–25 notes paintings of military victories set up by: M. Valerius Maximus on the Curia (264 BCE), L. Scipio Asiagenus on the Capitol (ca. 190 BCE), and L. Hostilius Mancinus

For instance, the first hero, youthful Silvius leaning on a *hasta pura*, or unblooded spear (6.760–766), recalls a popular type of statue found throughout Rome. “In the old days,” Pliny writes, “it used to please [the Romans] to set up nude figures [statues] holding a spear based on examples of *ephebes* from [Greek] *gymnasia* ... which they call ‘Achilles.’”⁷³ These statues may have resembled Polykleitos’ Doryphoros, although the bronze statue known simply as the “Hellenistic Ruler” (third-second century BCE) in the Palazzo Massimo—and a Claudian-era statue of Augustus as Jupiter from Herculaneum—may better reflect the pose Vergil had in mind for Silvius (Figs. 7.2, 7.3). Romulus—represented by *many* statues in Rome, including some from the sixth and fifth centuries⁷⁴—is described as wearing a twin-crested helmet (6.779) and, one must assume, whole panoply of armor. Delaruelle noted long ago that the helmet description conforms to early Italic helmets as seen in a fourth-century BCE painting of Samnite warriors from Nola (Fig. 7.4). Interestingly, this archaic helmet type remained part of the visual vernacular in Vergil’s day, as confirmed by coins of the late Republic and early Principate: one, issued in 113 BCE, depicts Roma wearing an archaic twin-crested helmet (Fig. 7.5); another, issued for the *Ludi Saeculares* in 17 BCE, depicts a herald in archaizing costume and twin-crested helmet (Fig. 7.6).⁷⁵ Of course, Vergil may have envisioned a more contemporary helmet with a double-crest of horsehair, as seen on gold coins of the Second Punic War depicting Mars, and on later statues of Mars Ultor (Fig. 7.7). Numa, meanwhile, is distinguished by hoary locks, untrimmed beard, olive wreath, and sacred implements (6.808–809), a combination that matches the image on a denarius of 97 BCE depicting a now-lost statue group, relief, or painting of Numa conducting a sacrifice (Fig. 7.8a).⁷⁶

in the Forum (139 BCE, referring to exploits at Carthage in 146 to support his electioneering efforts).

- 73 Pliny *HN* 34.18: *placuerit et nudae tenentes hastam ab epheborum e gymnasiis exemplaribus; quas Achilleas vocant.*
- 74 Delaruelle 1913 159–161, fig. 3; Dion. Hal. 2.54.2; Pliny *HN* 33.9, 34.22; Plut. *Rom.* 16; Pliny *HN* 34.22–23 notes that the *oldest* statues of Romulus and his Sabine co-king, Titus Tatius, were *sine tunica*, wearing only a toga, a feature that corresponds to other archaic statues of the sixth–fifth centuries BCE. Cf. DeLaruelle 1913 159–161, fig. 3.
- 75 Delaruelle 1913 159–161, fig. 3. *RIC I² Augustus* 138, 340. Clearly the Augustan coins appeared after Vergil’s death; nevertheless, Salian priests, among others, likely used such helmets regularly, thus within Vergil’s lifetime.
- 76 Denarius of L. Pomponius Molo depicting Numa holding a lituus and sacrificing before a lighted altar, to the right of which an attendant leads a goat to the altar (*RRC* 334/1, ca. 97 BCE); denarius of Cn. Piso: head of Numa with long hair, beard, and tiania inscribed NVMA (*RRC* 446/1, 49/8 BCE).

Another denarius, issued ca. 50 BCE (Fig. 7.9), portrays the *Heldenschau's* penultimate hero, the elder Marcellus, in two ways (6.885–890). On the obverse is Marcellus' bold, veristic portrait; on the reverse he is shown togate and *capite velato*, striding forward with the *spolia opima* captured from a Gallic king that he will dedicate in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.⁷⁷ Vergil's description of Marcellus evokes key visual elements from the coin's reverse:

Look, how Marcellus, distinguished by the “best spoils,”
Strides forth and, as conqueror, towers over all men.
He shall stabilize a Roman state disordered by a great crisis;
This *eques* (knight) shall scatter Punic foes, kill the rebel Gaul in a duel,
And dedicate a third set of captured arms to father Quirinus.⁷⁸

There is no extant literary testimony for a non-numismatic representation of this scene; only the denarius indicates that one *may* have existed.⁷⁹ If, however, the coin design was an original creation of a die-engraver, one might allow that Vergil derived *some* imagery from contemporary coinage. The idea is not far-fetched: Suetonius' commentary on a copper *as* depicting Nero as Apollo *Citharoedus* (Fig. 7.10) indicates that Roman authors noticed and thoughtfully considered coin imagery (and the original artwork it may have represented).⁸⁰

Of course, Vergil's rapid pacing does not allow for detailed descriptions of each hero; but, he clearly expects his audience to visualize a well-known image, statue, or portrait of each hero ‘springing to life’ as Anchises pronounces his

77 RRC 439/1, issued in Rome in 50 BCE by P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus.

78 Verg. A. 6.885–890: *Aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis / ingreditur, victorque viros supereminet omnes! / Hic rem Romanam, magno turbante tumultu, / sistet, eques sternet Poenos Gallumque rebellem, / tertiaque arma patri suspendet capta Quirino.* “Quirino” refers to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius built on the Capitoline, by Romulus, who became Quirinus.

79 Whether a statue resembling the coin image would be installed in front of this small temple—which was in such a state of disrepair that Augustus had to rebuild it less than a generation after the coin was issued—is unclear (Aug. *Anc.* 4.19–20). On Marcellus' portrait in the Temple of Honos et Virtus ad Portam Capenam: Ascon. *Pis.* 11C; Toynbee 1978 17; MAR s.v. “Honos et Virtus Aedes (ad Portam Capenam).” On the shrine: Welch 2005 135–144.

80 Suet. *Nero*, 25.2–3: *... in cubiculis circum lectos posuit ... statuas suas citharoedico habitu, qua nota etiam nummum percussit.* For the coins, medium sized copper and orichalcum asses, see RIC 1² *Nero* 75, 79, 211, 381, etc. Epictetus 4.5.17 discusses the moral “goodness” of Trajan's coins as opposed to “bad” Neronian money.

name. If Vergil's audience were not yet inclined to think in terms of portrait statues, it would be once Anchises, in the midst of his discourse on future Romans, declares that first among non-Roman arts will be the creation of lifelike statues: "Others will hammer out, with greater delicacy and precision, bronzes that seem to breathe, and draw out from marble truer expressions of life" (6.847–848).⁸¹ Given the dynamic poses of many ancient statues—and the colors artisans applied to enhance their realism—one can see how Vergil might expect his audience to envision already familiar statues as living, breathing souls. Ovid provides a relevant example of this concept when he describes Mars Ultor "reading" the statues of Aeneas and Romulus on display in the formalized *Heldenschau* of the Forum Augustum:

The Avenger himself descends from heaven, his honors
And temple to behold in the august forum
Here he sees Aeneas laden with burden dear,
And many ancestors of the noble Julian line,
There, Romulus bearing off on his shoulders the conquered leader's
arms,
And beneath a procession of great men, their famous feats inscribed.⁸²

Ovid's description of the statues of Aeneas and Romulus is so lively that one may easily visualize them 'in motion.' Indeed, fresco images from a Pompeian shop depicting the statues of Aeneas and Romulus in active poses and vibrant colors—and wearing armor—make it quite clear that in their original state they indeed conveyed a lifelike quality (Figs. 7.11–7.12).⁸³ Moreover, these Pompeian frescoes, unaccompanied by *tituli*, suggest that such images became so iconic, so deeply embedded in the visual vernacular of Roman society, that they could be duplicated and displayed without overt identification in the expectation that viewers would easily recognize *and* identify them on their

81 Verg. A. 6.847–848: *excudent alii spirantia mollius aera / credo equidem, vivos ducent de marmore vultus*.

82 Ov. *Fasti* 5.551–552, 563–566: *Ultor ad ipse suos caelo descendit honores / templaque in Augusto conspicienda foro hinc videt Aenean oneratum pondere caro / et tot Iuleae nobilitatis avos; / hinc videt Iliaden umeris ducis arma ferentem, / claraque dispositis acta subesse viris*. On Ovid's vision of the Forum Augustum: Barchiesi 2002.

83 Della Corte 1913 144–145, figs. 1 and 2, from the House of M. Fabius Ululitremulus on the Via dell' Abondanza (Pompeii IX.13.5). The images were produced by an anonymous fresco painter of the first century BCE or CE. For Romulus' *elogium* from the Forum Augustum: *Inscr. It.* 13.3.86; cf. Zanker 1988 202–203; in general, Frisch 1980.

own.⁸⁴ This was certainly the case in the 140s when Antoninus Pius had anepigraphic representations of the very same statues distributed via gold, silver, and bronze coinage throughout Italy and the empire to celebrate Rome's 900th anniversary (Figs. 7.13–7.14).⁸⁵ We may reasonably assume that Vergil expected *his* audience—literate, knowledgeable residents of, or visitors to, Rome⁸⁶—to call to mind iconic images of his heroes from the wide array of easily accessible, familiar representations in the city's commemorative zones.

What might the rest of those images look like? With few exceptions—e.g., Numa in priestly regalia (6.808–809) or Serranus (M. Atilius Regulus) “sowing the furrows” (6.844)—heroes described explicitly or via allusive language seem to be attired in military kit or triumphal dress. Some are marked out by a particular ornament related to exploits in battle, such as “the *signa* earned by Torquatus and Camillus.”⁸⁷ As Eleanor Leach rightly observes, “If there is a certain consistency about the details to which Anchises calls attention, it is their significance as tokens of honor.”⁸⁸ Together with the olive branches and *sacra* carried by Numa the Lawmaker (6.808–812), and the kingly *fascēs* taken by Brutus (6.818), these tokens of military honor underscore the theme of Rome's expansion through conquest and her own special “arts”: “to impose the habit of peace, to spare the conquered and make war on the proud” (6.852–853).⁸⁹

84 *Vadimonia* (court summonses) found in Pompeii indicate that Pompeians (and others) would set appointments to meet by such-and-such a statue in the Forum Augustum (where the praetor's tribunal was set up), thus indicating deep familiarity with its layout and figural art. For example: *TPSulp.* 19: ... *in foro Augusto ante statuam Gracci ad columnam quartam proxime gradus* ... See also Camodeca 1999 72; Neudecker 2010 provides an excellent discussion of this practice; see also Carnabucci 1996. On the praetor's tribunal(s) in Rome, see also Kondratieff 2009 and 2010. For a contrary view of the ease (or not) of identifying unlabeled statues: Welch 2005 239.

85 *Aurei* of Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE) issued as part of a larger series in gold, silver, and bronze celebrating Rome's foundation legends in anticipation of Rome's ninth centenary include one with a reverse depicting the Aeneas, Anchises, and Iulus-Ascanius group from the *Summi Viri* monument in the Forum Augustum (*RIC III A.* Pius 91; cf. Hill 1989 162, sesterius of 141–143 CE); another depicts Romulus striding along with the *spolia opima*, from the same monument (*RIC III A.* Pius 90; *BMCRE A.* Pius 238).

86 Cicero provides several examples of literacy (or lack thereof) in relation to statues of great men, e.g., *Att.* 16.1.7; for his own “roll-call of heroes,” see, e.g., *Nat. Deor.* 2.166; *Off.* 1.61 (n. 90, below); *Cael.* 17.39.

87 Leach 1999 126; on Serranus, see conveniently Ahl 2007 379 n. to 6.844.

88 Leach 1999 126.

89 Verg. *A.* 6.852–853: *hae tibi erunt artes: pacisque imponere morem, / parcere subiectis, debellare superbos.*

This leads to the conclusion that heroes whose military achievements Anchises describes (e.g., Tullus Hostilius: 6.812–814)—even those he only names in rapid succession, men famous for distinction in battle—must, by implication, be imagined as attired in military kit or triumphal dress. Of course, one might picture “great Cato” (6.841) in a censor’s purple robe, or the Scipiad as (*Scipiones*: 6.843) in their preferred Greek clothing (see below). Nevertheless, Anchises’ propensity to describe or discuss his Roman progeny mostly in terms of their military achievements reflects an important cultural phenomenon in Roman commemorative art. As Cicero points out, the Roman people’s “passion for military glory ... is shown by the fact that we see statues [of their great men] usually in soldier’s attire.”⁹⁰

Also of importance is Vergil’s *arrangement* of heroes, which strongly evokes the physical context and buildings before, or in which, their statues were placed. His collocation of Rome’s kings (6.677–780, 808–817) calls to mind the well-attested group of regal statues that stood in the *Area Capitolina* before the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.⁹¹ Nearby, as occurs in the *Heldenschau*, stood a statue of L. Junius Brutus with sword drawn (6.818–823).⁹² Although the Decii, Drusi, Torquatus and Camillus follow Brutus in Anchises’ discourse (6.824–825), only two lines of poetry actually separate Brutus from Julius Caesar, “ablaze in armor” (6.826), which reminds us that Caesar’s statue also stood “among those of the kings” and near that of Brutus.⁹³ Other representations of *Heldenschau* heroes on the Capitol include a statue of P. Scipio Africanus,

90 Cic. *Off.* 1.61: *Contraque in laudibus, quae magno animo et fortiter excellenterque gesta sunt, ea nescio quomodo quasi pleniore ore laudamus. Hinc rhetorum campus de ... hinc noster Cocles, hinc Decii, hinc Cn. et P. Scipiones, hinc M. Marcellus, innumerabiles alii, maximeque ipse populus Romanus animi magnitudine excellit. Declaratur autem studium bellicae gloriae, quod statuas quoque videmus ornatu fere militari* (“When ... we wish to pay a compliment, we somehow or other praise in more eloquent strain the brave and noble work of some great soul. Hence there is an open field for orators on the subjects of ... our own Cocles, the Decii, Gnaeus and Publius Scipio, Marcus [Claudius] Marcellus, and countless others, and, above all, the Roman people as a nation are celebrated for greatness of spirit. Their passion for military glory, moreover, is shown in the fact that we see their [great men’s] statues usually in military attire”). Cf. Pliny *HN* 34.18 on Roman partiality for cuirassed statues.

91 App. *B Civ* 1.16; Pliny *HN* 33.9–10. These included Romulus, Numa, Servius Tullius, and the two Tarquins.

92 Pliny *HN* 33.9–10. Cassius Dio 43.45.3–4 reports that the placement of Caesar’s statue next to L. Junius Brutus Liberator and the seven Kings of Rome provoked M. Junius Brutus to assassinate Caesar. See also Lefèvre 1998.

93 Suet. *Iul.* 76.

whose *imago* (ancestor mask) was also kept in Jupiter's temple;⁹⁴ a statue of L. Scipio Asiagenus depicted in chlamys and sandals, recalling the Scipionic habit of adopting Greek dress (hence Vergil's use of the Hellenizing epithet *Scipiadas* at 6.843);⁹⁵ and an equestrian statue of Q. Fabius Maximus *Cunctator*.⁹⁶ Vergil's reference to L. Mummius Achaicus driving his triumphal chariot up to the Capitol (6.836–837) may allude to one of several gilt bronze *quadriga* groups dedicated in the Area Capitolina.⁹⁷ Clearly, this zone of commemoration—due to its association with Rome's chief god and triumphal processions honoring him—was a highly prized location for self-promotion via portrait statues. In fact, by the late first-century BCE, it had become so crowded with official and unofficial statues of great men that Augustus had to transfer a swarm of *simulacra*, a *Heldenschau* in its own right, to the Campus Martius.⁹⁸

Other historic locations in Rome surely flashed into view as Vergil's Roman audience recalled statues of Cato in the Curia;⁹⁹ Fabricius in the Forum;¹⁰⁰ Camillus on the Rostra;¹⁰¹ or, Marcellus marching—perhaps in a painting—in the Temple of Honos et Virtus *ad Portam Capenam*.¹⁰² While there is evidence that *many* locations in Rome were devoted to the commemoration of great men (Appendix B), Vergil has selected heroes whose names would have evoked public portraits that in turn brought to mind two locales literally saturated with

94 Val. Max. 8.15.1.

95 Cic. *Rab.* 27 on Scipio's chlamys and sandals; Val. Max. 3.6.2. For the elder Africanus' hellenizing tendencies, see, e.g., Liv. 29.19 (Greek clothing and shoes, frequenting gymnasia); Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 3.7; Cass. Dio fr. 17.62.

96 Plut. *Fab.* 22.

97 Verg. A. 6.836–837: *Ille triumphata Capitolia ad alta Corintho / victor aget currum, caesis insignis Achivis*. On votive quadriga groups: Pliny *HN* 34.19.

98 Suet. *Gai.* 34.1: *Statuas virorum inlustrium ab Augusto ex Capitolina area propter angustias in campum Martium conlatas ita subvertit atque disiecit ut restitui salvis titulis non potuerint* (“[Caligula] so completely overthrew and smashed the statues of illustrious men—which had been transferred by Augustus out of the Area Capitolina, on account of the lack of space, to the Campus Martius—that they were not able to be restored with their complete inscriptions”); Cicero *Att.* 6.1.17 notes a “crowd of gilded knights” (Metelli) set up on the Capitol in the 50s.

99 Val. Max. 8.15.2. Plutarch *Cat. Mai.* 19 mentions a statue of Cato in the Temple of Salus, set up by a plebs grateful for his salutary censorship in 184.

100 Pliny *HN* 34.32.

101 Pliny *HN* 34.22–23.

102 On M. Claudius Marcellus' portrait in the Temple of Honos et Virtus *ad Portam Capenam*, see n. 79, above.

civic, sacred and triumphal symbolism: the Forum and Capitoline Hill. In the case of the latter, it seems that he wished his audience to envision not just the statues of heroes, but the entire commemorative landscape they stood in, dominated by the ultimate backdrop, the massive Temple of Jupiter.

The Motivational and Didactic Value of Statues (and Other Art)

Another important consideration is the motivational and didactic value of statues and other portrayals of Rome's great men. Augustus, though not the first, was certainly the greatest proponent of this principle when he created his *Summi Viri* monument, then proclaimed that its main purpose was to inspire and require future leaders to live up to the *exempla* set by worthies of old.¹⁰³ Evidence that observers could gain knowledge and motivation from portrait busts and statues of exemplary men can be found in the correspondence of Pliny the Younger. In a letter to his friend, Macrinus, Pliny discusses the honors voted by the Senate to Cottius, an admirable youth who had died while his father, Vestricius Spurinna, was abroad subduing Bructeri rebels.¹⁰⁴ When the Senate voted to Spurinna a triumphal statue—of bronze, to be placed in the Forum Augustum—it also voted a statue of Cottius, both to honor the son and console his father (*Ep.* 2.7.1). Of the latter statue, Pliny writes:

... it will be a great satisfaction to me to look at [Cottius'] likeness from time to time, to contemplate it, to pause beneath it, to pass before it on my daily rounds. For if *imagines* of the departed set up at home lighten our sorrow, how much more comforting are such likenesses to mourners when, erected in a notable place, not only their form and face are immortalized, but also their honor and glory?¹⁰⁵

Of course, the Senate meant for Cottius' statue to be more than a source of comfort, its location more than a *lieu de mémoire* to contemplate happier times. Pliny remarks that this permanent tribute would not only extend Cottius' exemplary life with a "kind of immortality" (*Ep.* 2.7.4), but also serve an explicitly didactic *and* motivational purpose:

103 Suet. *Aug.* 31.5, quoted in n. 59, above; see also nn. 86 and 90, above, on Cicero's interest in statues.

104 On this letter see, recently, Whitton 2014 128–137.

105 Plin. *Ep.* 2.7.6–7: *Erit ergo pergratum mihi hanc effigiem eius subinde intueri subinde respicere, sub hac consistere praeter hanc commeare. Etenim si defunctorum imagines domi positae dolorem nostrum levant, quanto magis eae quibus in celeberrimo loco non modo species et vultus illorum, sed honor etiam et gloria refertur?*

By this honor provision has been made [by the Senate], as I see it, not only for the memory of the deceased and the grief of his father, but also for an instructive example. Such high rewards having been established for youths—should they prove worthy of them—will incite our young men to noble behavior.¹⁰⁶

This additional purpose for the statue suggests that permanent illustrations of *virtus* (excellence) were understood to be part of a perpetual feedback loop: triumphal statues would inspire young men to earn military glory and public honors through a display of *virtus* in battle; their success in battle would result in the hoped-for decorations, promotions and, eventually, triumphs and commemorative statues on public display; these new statues would then inspire the *next* generation of young men to strive for their share of glory, and so on. This further implies that statues of great men accompanied by *elogia* (laudatory inscriptions) could be as effective at motivating “ambitious and high minded young [men]”¹⁰⁷ to imitate ancestral deeds of valor as were funeral eulogies.¹⁰⁸ Regarding state funerals, it is worth noting that illustrious men of only one or two *gentes* might be represented, whereas the commemorative areas of Rome—with statues representing a great variety of *gentes*—offered a vast array of *exempla* far more extensive than portrayed at any one funeral, and constituted a permanent, conveniently accessible resource for instructive purposes (hence, the efforts Augustus took with his comprehensive, albeit redacted, *Summi Viri* monument). Why not, therefore, imagine that Vergil conceptualized the *Heldenschau*—in part—as a Roman father instructing his son about *bona et mala exempla* while navigating through a crowd of *simulacra* in Rome’s historic center?¹⁰⁹ This view of the passage—a tour through groups of statues

106 Plin. *Ep.* 2.7.5: *Quo quidem honore, quantum ego interpretor, non modo defuncti memoriae, dolori patris, verum etiam exemplo prospectum est. Acuent ad bonas artes iuventutem adulescentibus quoque, digni sint modo, tanta praemia constituta...*

107 Polyb. 6.53.9.

108 See Polyb. 6.54.3–5 extolling the motivational value of Roman aristocratic funerals. See also n. 109 below.

109 Austin 1977 232–233; Leach 1999 126: “... public portraits also carried words to commend their subjects to the viewer: words that, while not always explicit, would fit the subject into place. In this context we might imagine the scene between Anchises and Aeneas as one reenacted many times when noble fathers explained to their sons the deeds behind the faces of marble and bronze.” For the other school of thought, that the *Heldenschau* represents a funeral parade, see, e.g., Flower 1996 110: “... many fathers would surely have been prompted by a funeral procession to explain Roman customs and history to their sons.” See also Flower 1996 111–112, n. 97.

located here and there on the Capitol or in the Forum—would also explain the frustrating disjuncture between the (supposedly) haphazard sequence of heroes in the *Heldenschau* and the well-known chronological organization of funeral processions and, of course, Augustus' *Summi Viri* monument.¹¹⁰

(Inter-)Weaving It All Together

That Anchises' census/*travectio* has elided into something of a didactic "city-walk" becomes clear when references to motion and the Tiber and Mausoleum of Augustus (6.874) indicate that Anchises, Aeneas and the Sibyl have long since left the *tumulus*/Rostra from which they began their census (6.751–755), arriving somewhere in the central Campus Martius. But *when* did they leave it? Several possible points of departure come to mind. Peter Wiseman notes that, in Anchises' excursus on Augustus, the sequence of references—to Romulus, the massive walls of Rome (i.e., Roma Quadrata, on the Palatine), Cybele triumphant (Roma's stand-in), and Augustus himself—is "in correct topographical order," and irresistibly sweeps Vergil's audience "from the Lupercal, up past the Magna Mater temple, to the vestibulum of Augustus' house" (6.777–792).¹¹¹ From there, the reader is whisked off to the farthest reaches of the Roman empire (6.792–805), then suddenly drawn back to the present scene and Numa, now strangely *procul*, far off (6.808), even though his statue stood beside that of Romulus on the Capitol and his spirit *should* be next in line.¹¹² Or, perhaps it was when Anchises exclaimed: "Fabii, where are you taking this tired old man?" (6.845).¹¹³ His sudden declaration—"You're Fabius!" (6.845–846)—indicates that Anchises has been hustled off to stand before the Great Delayer. The little group has certainly wandered far afield by the time Anchises mentions the Campus Martius (*Mavortis ad urbem / campus*: 6.872–873), addresses the Tiber (*Tiberine*: 6.873), and refers to the newly built Mausoleum of Augustus (*tumulum ... recentem*: 6.874), where young Marcellus would be buried. But

110 The lack of correlation between the *Heldenschau*'s seemingly disordered sequence and the strict chronology of the *Summi Viri* monument has been frequently discussed (most recently: Pandey 2014 with bibliography).

111 Wiseman 1987 402: "After the Alban kings (6.756–776) we see, in correct topographical order, Romulus the founder, the walls of his citadel, Magna Mater as a simile for Rome itself, and then the Julian line culminating in Augustus ... I think any reader in the twenties BCE would have felt himself unmistakably conducted from the Lupercal, up past the Magna Mater temple, to the vestibulum of Augustus' house."

112 Perhaps we should envision the Regia in the Forum, traditional house of Numa: Beard 1998 n. 12 and refs.

113 Verg. A. 6.845: *quo fessum rapitis, Fabii?*

only after their “hollow oblation” for Marcellus (6.885), which ends the eschatological portion of their tour, does Vergil confirm that they have been traveling *through* these scenes and *among* these souls for some time (6.886–890):

*sic tota passim regione vagantur
aëris in campis latis atque omnia lustrant.
quae postquam Anchises natum per singula duxit
incenditque animum famae venientis amore,
exim bella viro memorat quae deinde gerenda, 890*

Thus they wander through the whole region
In expansive misty plains and survey (or ritually purify) everything.
After Anchises has guided his son around, detail by detail (or scene by scene),
And fired his soul with a love of coming fame,
He then recalls for the hero the wars that must be fought ...

The combination of this last reference to the group's wandering “through the whole region,” the *Heldenschau's* visual elements, and a general sense of movement throughout the passage, strongly suggests a *tour* through a landscape populated by spirits whose characteristics, attitudes and arrangement evoke the statues and monuments honoring their future-perfect deeds in Rome's future commemorative landscape. We might thus imagine that, in visual terms, Vergil has extracted a single ‘layer’ of Augustan Rome—the one occupied by statues—and transposed it on to a simulacrum of Rome's natural topography to be explored by Anchises, Aeneas, and the Sibyl.

But the return at this juncture of the verb *lustrāre* (*lustrant*: 6.887) complicates matters, as it encompasses several concepts simultaneously. On the one hand, a *lustratio* was undertaken to purify those who had engaged in funerary rites, which occurred—in *Aeneid* time—only the day before following the funeral of Misenus, when Corynaeus circled his men thrice and purified them (*lustravit*: 6.231) with water sprinkled from a sacred olive branch (6.229–231).¹¹⁴ Thus, *lustrant* at 6.887 could indicate that Aeneas and Anchises are purifying everything after the notional funeral of Marcellus, an action that nicely bookends the passage with Anchises' discourse on death and renewal (6.722–751). It

114 Verg. A. 6.229–231: *idem ter socios pura circumtulit unda | spargens rore levi et ramo felicis olivae, | lustravitque viros dixitque novissima verba* (“Thrice [Corynaeus] circled his comrades with pure water, sprinkling them with a gentle dew from the branch of a fruiting olive, purifying the men, then pronounced the final prayer”).

also signals the conclusion of Aeneas' roundabout tour of premortal Rome that began in the Prata Flaminia with Musaeus and now ends at roughly the same location, a place analogous to the space in Augustan Rome where stood the Theater of Marcellus (6.666–676), whence one might catch sight of the Mausoleum Augusti in which the theater's eponymous dedicatee would be buried. *Lustrāre* also implies *inspection* or assessment, is frequently used to connote an official census, and thus nicely bookends Anchises' notional census that started at 6.679–683; it also recalls the *lustratio*, the ritual procession of a censor around the people assembled under arms in the central Campus Martius, near the Villa Publica. Has our little group not toured its shadowy doppelganger, its spirits (for the most part) wearing military kit to match their future work? Knowing that Anchises will next lead his son to the Twin Gates of Sleep and there 'dismiss' him, we might imagine that he, in his 'censorial' capacity, had issued an *inlicium*, an official "call to arms," requiring these souls to come forth and assemble for review so he could display them (*ostendere*: 6.716) to his son.¹¹⁵ Then, having duly assessed, praised, encouraged or exhorted them, he and Aeneas—now officially Roman from the moment Anchises addressed him as *Romane* (6.851)¹¹⁶—together perform an apotropaic *lustratio* to ratify their census and invoke divine protection over this spectral 'army' of future Romans.

Mapping Vergil's Elysian Chiasmus (Fig. 7.1, below)

Mapping out Aeneas' exploration of Elysium from entry to exit (6.639–898) in light of the current discussion reveals interesting structural elements. While Vergil's arrangement of themes is mainly chiastic—repeating Aeneas' chiastic encounters with souls of his acquaintance in the Underworld¹¹⁷—his exploration of each *theme* exhibits a linear progression, whether spatial, temporal, conceptual, processual, or some combination. The censorial theme begins with Anchises conducting a general census (6.680), moves to a *recognitio equitum / travectio*, and properly ends with a *lustratio* (6.887–888). It also brackets the funerary theme, which begins with theory (death and renewal: 6.713ff.) and ends with praxis (obsequies for Marcellus: 6.883–885). The funerary theme in turn brackets the explicit portion of the didactic *travectio* / city walk, with its (apparently) roundabout journey through a simulacrum of Rome (6.752–883

¹¹⁵ Verg. A. 6.893–899 on the Twin Gates of Sleep.

¹¹⁶ Boyle 1999 148–149 describes this as the beginning of Aeneas' "Romanization," which is completed when his mother, Venus, embraces him at A. 8.615–616.

¹¹⁷ He encounters Palinurus, Dido, and Deiphobus in reverse order of their deaths: McDonald 1987 31–32.

and below) which itself encompasses two digressions: one on pre-Roman settlements that will have failed by the Augustan future (6.773–776), the other on Roman arts by which Rome will succeed spectacularly into the unknown future (6.846–853). In the center of it all are the three “founders” of Rome: Romulus, the Martial Founder (6.777–780) and Numa, the Legal-Religious Founder (6.808–812), who together bracket Magna Mater, Roma personified, and the *telos*, Augustus Caesar: Third Founder of Rome, *Pius Ultor*, *Princeps of Imperium Sine Fine*, Restorer of Roman Laws and Saturn’s Golden Age (6.781–807).¹¹⁸ Turn the diagram 90° clockwise, and one may see in it a rough schematic—inspiration?—of the *Summi Viri* Monument, with Augustus in the center. The secondary level of chiastic structure (in Italics) lists features of Rome’s topography present or alluded to (see also Map 7.3 and Map 7.4). One can see that, in fairly logical sequence, Aeneas and the Sibyl view, visit or learn of features or areas that correspond to Rome’s most historic locales: Campus Martius; Campus Flaminius / Prata Flaminia (including the Apollinar, Temple of Apollo Medicus-Sosianus, Theater of Marcellus, and Porta Carmentalis); Capitol and Arx; Forum Romanum; Palatine (Lupercal, Archaic wall, Temple of Cybele, Domus Augusti); and back to Area Capitolina; Campus Martius; Tiber and Mausoleum. Then, after surveying everything in the wide airy campus, on to the Gates *out* of Elysium. Here one might envision either a city gate, or a *bi-fons* (twin-gated) arch on a bridge over the Tiber, e.g., the Pons Mulvius, recently decorated with a statue of Augustus in a quadriga.

The diagram also demonstrates how Vergil weaves into his rich tapestry of ideas and imagery interlocking and overlapping themes relating to Roman aristocratic life—the *travectio*, public honors and statues, the *pompa funebris*, and more—that either created or maintained aristocratic status, again with Augustus, who claimed to have set Roman society back on its proper footing, at the center of it all. Of course, the overlapping themes and activities share the common goal of promoting the pursuit of *virtus*, manly excellence, through emulation of *bona exempla*; and, in the world of the dead, as in the world of the living, these activities—and commemorative works of art—all occurred in, or occupied, the same physical space (albeit not all at once as they do here). Encompassing all is Vergil’s presentation of Anchises as Censor, whose activity

118 Augustus explicitly proclaimed that “he restored the laws and rights of the Roman people” on an *aureus* issued in 28 BCE, on the reverse of which he is depicted as consul seated on a curule chair holding a scroll (of law) with a *capys* (scroll box) nearby, and the inscription LEGES ET IVRA P. R. RESTITVIT. For details: Rich and Williams 1999. On Numa as religious founder, Liv. 1.19.6–20.7; Plut. *Num.* 10; Macrob. *Sat.* 16.2–6; Beard 1998 4–6.

- **ENTERING ELYSIUM:** Entrance through gates, Trojan Founders and Heroes; Musaeus
Campus Martius, Prata Flaminia, Lucus/Apollinar, Theatrum Marcelli, Capitol & Arx
 - **CENSUS:** Anchises counting and assessing his descendants
Forum
 - **FUNERARY:** Anchises' discourse on Death & Renewal
Forum
 - **CENSUS / TOUR** of pre-Roman heroes/statues
Rostra in Forum
 - Digression 1:** future cities / ghost towns, Corona Civica
 - **ROMULUS** (Founder of Martial Rome) & **CYBELE** (Rome Personified)
Lupercal, Roma Quadrata Walls, Temple of Cybele, House of Augustus
 - ◆ **AUGUSTUS** (3rd Founder of Rome, Restorer of Saturn's Golden Age)
Palatine to the ends of empire, then return to...
 - **NUMA** (Founder of Legal & Religious Rome)
Capitoline / Area Capitolina
 - **CENSUS / TOUR** of Republican heroes/statues
Capitoline / Area Capitolina
 - Digression 2:** Greek arts & science vs. Roman art & science of rulership
 - **FUNERARY:** Eulogy and oblations for Marcellus the Younger
Campus Martius: direct references to Campus Martius, Tiber, Mausoleum Augusti
 - **CENSUS:** Assessment/*lustratio* of everyone in wide, airy *campus*, dismissal at the Gates...
Campus Martius; Porta Carmentalis or Triumphalis (see next)
- **EXITING ELYSIUM:** Dismissal / send-off through the Gate of Ivory (False Dreams)
City Gates: Porta Carmentalis or Triumphalis adjacent to the Theatrum Marcelli & Apollinar

FIGURE 7.1 *Chiastic structure of concepts, topography, and people discussed in Aeneid 6.637–898.*

helps define the character of the landscape within which he works and makes of him a clear pattern of Augustus' own censorial work, his *cura morum*, and his paternal care of the Roman people.

Part III: Palimpsestic Rome

Having explored how the Roman section of Elysium constitutes a “pre-mortal” version of Rome awaiting rebirth along with the Romans who will create her, we must turn to other spaces and landscapes. This section will explore relevant features of Latinus' city in Book 7, the raw topography of Evander's Pallanteum and scenes of Roman history prefigured on the Shield of Aeneas in Book 8 which, when layered together with “pre-mortal” Rome, create a complete literary and visual palimpsest of *Augustan* Rome spanning the three central books of the *Aeneid*.

Latinus' City: Regal Rome Personified (Map 7.5)

If readers experience a sense of déjà vu when Aeneas' men first arrive at Latinus' city, it is because they have already encountered this scene in *Aeneid* 6. The athletic, militaristic, and charioteering activities of the Trojan heroes in an Elysian *campus* near a river (6.641–642, 6.651–655) strongly foreshadow the scene Aeneas and his men encounter as they approach Latinus' city on the Tiber, before which “boys and youth in first flower” (7.162: *ante urbem pueri et primaevae flore iuventus* ...) are assembled in a broad space near the river, where they undertake military training in horsemanship, charioteering, archery, javelin throwing, boxing, and racing (7.162–165). The activities of these young men, described in “markedly Augustan language,”¹¹⁹ evoke Augustan Rome—and the *lusus Troiae*—in no uncertain terms. But Latinus' city itself is also described as a pattern of Rome: a broad, open *campus* stretching out before the city's massive fortifications, turrets, and high citadel (7.160–161) strongly suggest Rome's Campus Martius, Servian Walls, and well-fortified Capitol as seen from North and West.¹²⁰

Identifying a Roman cognate for Latinus' enormous ancient palace is more problematic. On the one hand, his hundred-columned temple-*domus* (7.170)¹²¹—overflowing with statues of founders, kings, and great warriors, *spolia* hanging from its columns and rafters (7.177–186)—powerfully evokes the Capitolium with its ancient agglomeration of statues and trophies.¹²² On the other hand, when Vergil first introduces Latinus (7.45–63) he states that a laurel tree sacred to Phoebus—a divine omen of Aeneas' coming—stood in the midst of his palace (for which reason he called his people Laurentines: 7.59–63). This is an obvious reference to the Palatine *domus* of Augustus, with laurel trees planted before its doors by senatorial decree in 27—signifying, in a way, that Rome's first hero had arrived.¹²³ Vergil also explicitly describes the “enormous house on the city's acropolis” as “august” (*tectum augustum ingens ... urbe fuit summa*: 7.170–171).¹²⁴ Adding to the list of Augustan associations, it is worth

119 Horsfall 2000 141–142.

120 Although the *campus* is not actually mentioned, the type of activities, especially charioteering, implies a broad, open space stretched out before the city's walls.

121 Horsfall 2000 147 ad loc. notes that one hundred is a conventional number indicating enormity in a building.

122 Camps 1959 254 argues that Latinus' building resembles the Capitoline temple of Jupiter in its relative location, size and decoration.

123 Aug. *Anc.* 34; see Zanker 1988 92–93 for additional discussion on the ideology of laurels.

124 Horsfall 2000 147 on 171 *summa ... urbe* as signifying “In the acropolis” or “in the highest part of the city.”

noting that Vergil describes foreign gifts (“trophies” of nations submitting to Roman hegemony) affixed to the portals of the Temple of Apollo Palatinus in the Shield of Aeneas passage (8.720–723); thus one may imagine Latinus’ residence to represent an admixture of elements from Apollo’s Temple and the Capitolium.

Other factors, however, more strongly evoke the Capitolium, such as the ritual uses of Latinus’ temple-*domus*: here kings received their scepters and took up their *fascēs* (7.173–174) and the *patres* (elders ≈ senators) met in its *curia* to share in *epulae*, sacred feasts (7.174–176).¹²⁵ Likewise, at Rome’s Capitolium newly inaugurated consuls took up the *fascēs*; senators convened for the *epulum Iovis*, an annual feast in honor of Jupiter; and Augustus himself held annual family dinners there on the anniversary of his victory over Sextus Pompey at Naulochus.¹²⁶ The décor, noted above, mostly recalls descriptions of statue groups in the Area Capitolina. Particularly striking are the honorific cedar statues representing ancestors, kings, and warriors wounded for their *patria*, arranged all in a line (7.177–182, esp. 177–178: ... *veterum effigies ex ordine avorum / antiqua ex cedro*). Not only do these bear a strong similarity to the ancient *xoana* (wooden effigies) and grouped statues on the Capitol, they recall the procession of future kings, magistrates, and heroes Aeneas had seen only hours before in the Underworld—who, in *their* groupings, powerfully evoked the collections of statuary on the Capitol (see App. B).¹²⁷ The inclusion of Saturn and Janus (7.180), rather than being problem-

125 Verg. A. 7.173–176. New consuls “received the fasces,” i.e., their first formal appearance with lictors when taking up office at the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus: Scullard 1981 52–54. Ovid *Fast.* 1.79–82, *Kal. Ian.* writes: *vestibus intactis Tarpeias itur in arces, / et populus festo concolor ipse suo est, / iamque novi praeceunt fasces, nova purpura fulget, / et nova conspicuum pondera sentit ebur*. (“In spotless vestments goes the procession to the Tarpeian citadels the people wear the festal colors, and now new fasces go before, new purple gleams, and the conspicuous curule chair feels a new burden.”).

126 Verg. A. 7.174–176. For senate meetings and communal feasts at the Capitoline temple, *epulum Iovis* (Jupiter, Juno and Minerva) with the senate on the Ides of September and November each year: Val. Max. 2.1.1; Gell. 12.8.1–2; Scullard 1981 186–187, 197. Cassius Dio 49.15.1 transl. Cary notes that “The people of the capital unanimously bestowed upon [Octavian] votes of praise, statues, the right ... of holding a banquet with his wife and children in the temple of Capitoline Jupiter on the anniversary of the day on which he had won his victory, which was to be a perpetual day of thanksgiving.” Fordyce 2001 96 ad loc. accepts its identification with the Capitolium as articulated by Camp 1959 54.

127 See Dion. Hal. 4.40.7 on Servius’ gilt *xoanon* in the Temple of Fortuna *Primigenia* on the Capitol. Horsfall 2000 151–152 and refs. on Verg. A. 7.177 *effigies* and 7.178 *antiqua e cedro*; Flower 1996 55 n. 118.

atic, need merely be viewed as a harbinger of Aeneas' tour of Evander's Pallanteum, where he will see the ancient settlements of Saturnia on the Capitol and Janiculum across the river.¹²⁸ Finally, despite the "august" epithet tying Latinus' home to Augustus', the Palatine home of the *princeps* was comparatively modest with notably short (*breve*) colonnades (albeit he *was* well known as a collector of items of great rarity or antiquity, including historical relics, e.g., "weapons of heroes"); meanwhile, Augustus himself demonstrated ample devotion to Jupiter Capitolinus by repairing his temple and dedicating spoils there.¹²⁹

Capitoline or Palatine? Horsfall cuts this interpretive Gordian knot by identifying Latinus' home as both, declaring that the Capitoline and Palatine can be represented simultaneously; thus, the "reader is free to think either of Jupiter Capitolinus or of Apollo Palatinus, without benefit of ground plans and numismatic representations."¹³⁰ That Latinus' palace is a conflation of both cannot be denied. Nevertheless, the characteristics of the Capitoline emerge more strongly from the description, perhaps because Vergil's frequent references to archaic art forms, customs, and clothing consciously create a sense that, both in appearance and activity, Latinus' city constitutes a physical, though *unlocatable*, stand-in for the main elements of regal-period Rome, whose chief glory was the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, built by Rome's last kings.¹³¹

Evander's Pallanteum: Pastoral, Sacred, and Pre-Romulan Rome
(Map 7.6)

Aeneas and his men encounter additional elements of early Rome in *Aeneid* 8. Their discovery begins as they row further up the Tiber—its shady, overarching trees and groves sliding by—and come upon Evander's Pallanteum, its fortifications and citadel (*muros arcemque*: 8.98) and a few buildings occupying the Palatine on the right bank, an impoverished site where golden Apollo and the

128 Pace, Horsfall 2000 154 ad loc., who does not understand Janus' inclusion; but Evander mentions him as a king at 8.357, prior to his godhood, which he earned by merit (as would be the case with Augustus).

129 Aug. *Anc.* 20.1, 21.1. On Augustus' modest home with short colonnades and simple furnishings: Suet. *Aug.* 72–73 *passim*. On his collecting ancient or rare objects, including *arma heroum*: Suet. *Aug.* 72.3; and old coins of kings and foreign countries: Suet. *Aug.* 75. For his youthful habit of collecting Corinthian bronzes and costly furniture: Suet. *Aug.* 70.1.

130 Horsfall 2000 147 at Verg. *A.* 7.170.

131 Foundations by Tarquinius Priscus: Dion. Hal. 3.69; majority of work completed by Tarquinius Superbus: Dion. Hal. 4.61. Liv. 1.55.1–56.1 includes omens of Rome's immovability and future leadership of a great empire.

princeps will one day inhabit lofty palatial homes (8.94–100).¹³² They arrive just as Evander's people complete solemnities for Hercules in a sacred grove before the city (*ante urbem in luco*), where later stood the Ara Maxima at the southern edge of the Forum Boarium (8.100–104, cf. 186).¹³³

Having welcomed the new arrivals, Evander explains the celebration's aetiology, how Hercules fought and killed dreadful Cacus, Vulcan's fire-vomiting son, a terrifying bandit who dwelt in a cave under the Aventine (8.184–279). He only vaguely describes the Aventine—and the enormous rock Hercules tears off it to toss in the Tiber (8.240: *Insula Tiberina?*)—except for the shocking moment when Hercules demolishes Cacus' cave:

Down went the roof over Cacus's grotto, disclosing his monstrous
Palace. Its ghost-ridden cavern's abysses of darkness lay open,
Just as if some great force had made earth's depths yawn in a chasm,
Breaking the lock upon hell, unbarring the kingdoms of pallor
Loathed by the eyes of the gods, as if one could see down into death's
dark
Pit, while the shades shuddered, scared by intrusive brightness and
vision.¹³⁴

While this scene evokes Tartarus rather than the joyous Elysian landscape explored by Aeneas a short while before, the figurative interpenetration of mortal world and post-/pre-mortal underworld is, nevertheless, a sharp reminder—

132 Verg. A. 8.98–100 ... *muros arcemque procul ac rara domorum / tecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo / aequavit, tum res inopes Evandrus habebat*. ("... in the distance they see walls and a fort and a few scattered rooftops, a place which *now* Roman power has raised up to the heavens but, in those days, Evander ruled as an impoverished polity."). For an in depth look at the two Romes in *Aeneid* 8, steeped in Augustan ideology, see Boyle 1999; also, McKay 1998 on Rome and Roman history in the Shield of Aeneas.

133 Coarelli 1988 61–77; Coarelli *LTUR* III: 15–17, s.v. "Hercules Invictus, Ara Maxima"; *MAR* s.v. "Hercules: Ara Maxima"; Serv. *ad. Aen.* 8.271: the Ara Maxima was "behind the gates of the Circus Maximus" *post ianuas circi Maximi*. Servius notes that the epithet Maxima was applied due to "the magnitude of the structure" at *ad Aen.* 8.179: *ara ... quam maximam dicit ex magnitudine fabricae*. There were later archaic temples there to Hercules and Minerva (= Pallas Athena). NB Aeneas and co. are greeted by Pallas, son of Evander, in Pallas' district (in the region of St. Omobono). Fordyce 2001 223–227.

134 Verg. A. 8.241–246: *at specus et Caci detecta apparuit ingens / regia, et umbrosae penitus patuere cavernae, / non secus ac si qua penitus vi terra dehiscens / infernas reseret sedes et regna recludat / pallida, dis invisae, superque immane barathrum / cernatur, trepidant immisso lumine Manes*. Transl. F. Ahl 2007 192; cf. Hom. *Il.* 20.59; Fordyce 2001 232.

in the very heart of Rome-To-Be—of that long line of future heroes who will eventually found the city and bring it to greatness (cf. 8.99).

Aeneas later tours the site with Evander, whom Vergil calls *Romanae conditor arcis*, “founder of the Roman citadel” (8.313), thus alluding to Romulus and Augustus, and again calling to mind Rome of the future;¹³⁵ but, Aeneas sees mostly raw terrain or rustic huts where Vergil’s audience could envision fully monumentalized spaces. Nevertheless, notable places visited or seen recall important sites alluded to in Aeneas’ underworld journey through Elysium. On their way into Rome from the Forum Boarium, they pass by the Ara Carmentalis through the Porta Carmentalis, a gate where the Vicus Iugarius debouched from the Servian Walls (to the north, the Prata Flaminia; to the south, the Forum Boarium).¹³⁶ Passing along the Vicus Iugarius, Evander points out the huge “Asylum (of Romulus) between the two groves” in the saddle between the Capitol and the Arx.¹³⁷ From that vantage point, he redirects Aeneas’ gaze (*hinc ... monstrat*: 8.342–343) to the Lupercal at the sw base of the Palatine (8.343–344). “Over yonder” he points out another sacred grove, the *nemus Argileti*, a place rich in *future* symbolism thanks to the Curia Julia, Forum Iulium, and (planned) Forum Augustum (8.345–346).¹³⁸ From here, Evander and Aeneas mount the saddle between the Arx and Quirinal—apparently reversing Aeneas’s earlier trajectory with Musaeus and the Sibyl (6.676–678)—and climb up to the Arx to gaze upon other locales (8.346–347).¹³⁹ These include the Capitol (8.346–354), former site of ancient Saturnia but now a thickly wooded haunt of Jupiter sightings, and Janus’ ruined city on the Jan-

135 Verg. A. 8.313: *Romanae conditor arcis*, clearly referring to the arx/citadel of the Palatine where Evander lived (8.362–367, cf. 8.98); cf. Liv. 1.5. Boyle 1999 152 notes that Evander is the only person in the *Aeneid* described as *conditor* (founder): this “marks Evander as a clear precursor to Aeneas, Romulus, and Augustus himself ...”

136 Verg. A. 8.337–341. Ara (*aut sepulta*: Serv. *Ad Aen.* 8.337) Carmentis et Porta Carmentalis: MAR 193 s.v. “Porta Carmentalis”; also, Liv. 27.37.11–14, 35.21.6; Serv. *Ad Aen.* 8.337.

137 Verg. A. 8.342–343: *hinc lucum ingentem, quem Romulum acer asylum / rettulit ... = Lucus Asyli Romuli inter duos lucos* on the Capitoline–Arx saddle: Fordyce 2001 242 ad loc.; Livy 1.8.5; Plut. *Rom.* 9; MAR 58–59 s.v. “Asylum (inter duos lucos)” noting in particular the tradition that the twin peaks of the Capitoline Hill were once wooded, hence the “Grove of asylum between the two groves.”

138 Verg. A. 8.345–346 *nemus Argileti* ... This was a grove or wooded area of the Argiletum, i.e., not a street, but a region, as noted by E. Tortorici in *LTUR* 1 125–126 s.v. “Argiletum,” where the imperial fora would be built. See Fordyce 2001 243 ad loc. on the Argiletum in the low area south of the Quirinal; see Var *L* 5.157 on “Argiletum.”

139 Verg. A. 8.346–347 ... *hinc ad Tarpeium sedem et Capitolia ducit* ... Fordyce 2001 243 ad loc. notes that *Capitolia* is a ‘plural of convenience’ for reasons of meter/scansion.

iculum across the Tiber (8.356–358).¹⁴⁰ Descending from their vantage point, they pass through the manure-strewn future Forum Romanum (8.360–361) and look over at the “spotless Carinae” (8.361) for no apparent reason—but the cognoscenti surely knew that on the Carinae of their day, not far from the Temple of Tellus, stood the childhood home of Augustus himself.¹⁴¹ This contrasts with Evander’s cramped home, his “far-from-august house” (*angusti tecti*: 8.367) on the Palatine, which they enter in the very next line (8.362).¹⁴²

Vergil’s readers will have noted, as does A.J. Boyle, that “the poet’s and Evander’s description of the site juxtapose anachronistic place-names ... with pastoral and religious description to present an image of future Rome as the fusion of urban monuments, pastoral values, and antique religiosity,” or a Rome of “Augustan ideology.”¹⁴³ One could make a similar statement about the Rome that emerges from an examination of the *Heldenschau*: it also represents, in many ways, Augustus’ efforts, like censors of earlier times, to turn back the clock on Roman society by re-imposing ancient *mores*, and to reinvigorate the aristocratic class—on whose consensus his regime depended—through a renewal of rituals (e.g., the *travectio* in 28 BCE) that distinguished elite Romans from everyone else. As noted above, not only do the ideological messages of both passages overlap, but the sites highlighted in this pastoral, pre-Romulan landscape largely overlap with locations represented, or alluded to, in the pre-mortal Rome of the *Heldenschau*.

The Shield of Aeneas: Regal, Republican and Augustan Rome
(Map 7.7)

When Aeneas is with Evander, he clearly has no idea that he is standing within the physical landscape of the city that will be his progeny’s glorious destiny, or sleeping on the site where his remote descendant, Augustus, will live while ruling an “empire without end.” Nor does he understand the historical narrative

140 Verg. A. 8.355–359. On the ancient towns of Janiculum and Saturnia (the Capitol), Ahl 2007 403 notes that some believe both towns were on the Capitol; Fordyce 2001 245 convincingly argues against it, using Var. *ad August.* CD 7.4 and Ov. *Fast.* 1.241f. to prove otherwise. He notes that *huic* and *illi* in 357 are awkward; but these may be read as “over *here*, to the left, and over *there*, to the right,” from the vantage point of the Arx looking West.

141 Serv. *ad Aen.* 8.361 on the Carinae as the site of Augustus’ childhood home. The Carinae district was on the western end of the Esquiline hill’s southern promontory. See also Liv. 26.10; Varro *L* 5.47; Hor. *Ep.* 1.7.48; Dion. Hal. 1.68.1, 3.22.8; Flor. 2.18.4: *celeberrima pars urbis*.

142 For Evander’s house on the Palatine: Liv. 1.5. On the wordplay turning *angusti ... tecti* (cramped house) into “far from august house,” see F. Ahl 2007 196 ad loc.

143 Boyle 1999 152.

on the shield created for him by Vulcan, imagery that constitutes his last encounter with Rome—as in the *Heldenschau*, a Rome of the future—in the central tetrad of the *Aeneid*. Since this wonderful ecphrasis has been well and thoroughly explained by others, only a brief overview of scenes relating to Rome and its topography is necessary.¹⁴⁴

The Shield of Aeneas contains many scenes with direct references to, or historical allusions that evoke Rome's topography. Notably, Vergil starts his description of the shield by stating that Vulcan had depicted "Ascanius' future line of descendants, and battles they fought, set in order," thus evoking—and conflating—the *Heldenschau* and the line of commemorative statues in Latinus' temple-domus.¹⁴⁵ But here he bypasses the Lavinian and Alban generations, focusing on strictly Roman history by starting with Romulus and Remus in the Lupercal (8.630–634), followed by key crises of Rome's Regal and Republican periods. The next few scenes depict Romulus and his Romans dragging Sabine girls from the Circus Maximus (8.635–636), followed by battle between Romans and Sabines in the Forum, between the Arx and Palatine, and concluded by Romulus and Titus Tatius vowing peace at the altar of Jupiter Stator, near the NE limits of the Palatine (8.637–641).¹⁴⁶ Then comes the first great crisis of the new Republic, with Lars Porsenna attacking the walls of Rome (8.646–649), Horatius Cocles destroying the Sublician Bridge to save Rome (8.650), and Cloelia swimming the Tiber to save Roman virtue (8.650–651). The next scene depicts the aftermath of Rome's traumatic defeat by Gallic invaders, symbolized by the lone figure of Manlius, having been alerted by the sacred geese, standing before the Temple of Juno *Moneta* ("The Warner") repelling Gauls from the Arx (8.652–662). In the midst of this passage, Vergil mentions a thatched "palace" (*regia*) at 8.654. Since its location is clearly on the Arx, this building must be identified as the Auguraculum, a primitive hut which, like the Casa Romuli on the Palatine, was carefully preserved down to the Imperial period.¹⁴⁷ A generic scene of Salian priests celebrating and matrons mov-

144 McKay 1998; Boyle 1999 152–161.

145 Verg. A. 8.628–629: *illic genus omne futurae / stirpis ab Ascanio pugnataque in ordine bella*.

146 For the battle's location: Liv 1.12. On the Temple of Jupiter Stator: Claridge 2010 156–157 and Fig. 36 no. 46. A modern point of reference for its location is just off the SE corner of the Arch of Titus.

147 Fordyce 2001 274 ad loc. believes this is a replica of the Casa Romuli; it was more probably the Auguraculum. Platner Ashby 1929 61 s.v. "Auguraculum": "the open space templum on the Arx, where the public auspices were taken In the centre of this open space was the thatched hut of the observer, which was preserved in its primitive form at least as late as the time of Augustus (Vitr. 2.1.5; Varro, *LL* 7.8; Cic. *Off.* 3.66; Fest. 18; cf. Plin *HN* 22.5; Liv.

ing through the city follows (8.663–666). Vergil then skips three centuries of conquest, defeat, and recovery, including the Hannibalic War. Instead, he has Aeneas view figures symbolic of a dying Republic: Catilina tormented in Tartarus and Cato the Younger stoically judging recently arrived souls. The two represent the extremes of aristocratic competition in the late Republic, competition that brought the Republic to its culminating crisis and Augustus' victory over Antony and Cleopatra, depicted in a central scene, the Battle of Actium (8.675–713). The final tableau is of Augustus' triple triumph, a grand procession with reference to "300 large-scale shrines to be built throughout the city," joyous celebrations in the streets, temples filled with singing matrons, altars strewn with slaughtered bullocks and, at the end of it all, Augustus himself, *ipse*, seated before the dazzling white temple of Phoebus Apollo receiving envoys from the far reaches of his *imperium sine fine* (8.714–728).¹⁴⁸ As with his tour of Evander's Pallanteum, Aeneas admires but fails to comprehend the scenes on the shield. Nevertheless, he symbolically, and happily, takes on the burden of Rome's future success when he slings the shield over his shoulder and marches forth into the culminating tetrad of the *Aeneid*, the Books of War (8.729–731).

Vergil's Palimpsest of 'Augustan' Rome

When Aeneas first entered Elysium, he began an encounter with Rome proper that would be protracted over time and space (and three books of the *Aeneid*). He started with a shadowy likeness of its underlying topography and its future heroes, represented by a single "layer" of Rome's topography that Vergil has neatly extracted from her commemorative landscape: the crowds of statues honoring great men that occupied the Forum and Area Capitolina. Not only has Vergil transferred this "commemorative layer" wholesale to the Underworld of the Heroic past, he has breathed life into it and created a *tableau vivant* in the land of the dead: in short, a version of Rome stripped of everything but her men, the heart and soul of the city, who would create the *res publica* and enlarge its *imperium*. Through the activities of Anchises in his varied roles, Vergil has also

1.24; cf. Casa Romuli). The auguraculum was on the north-east corner of the Arx, above the Clivus Argentarius, probably near the apse of the present church of S. Maria in Aracoeli." Cf. *LTUR* I 142–143 s.v. "Auguraculum (Arx)" and *MAR* 61 s.v. "Auguraculum (Arx)" noting the visibility of this hut from the Comitium.

148 Morwood 1991 220–221 suggests that, in an innovation to typical triumphal tradition, Octavian may indeed have dedicated spoils to Jupiter, but then convened a formal reception in front of the Palatine temple of Apollo; Fordyce 2001 285 ad loc. 8.720–728, perhaps rightly, calls it a "fantasy."

infused this landscape with concepts and activities fundamental to the growth and encouragement of *virtus*, *pietas*, and *gloria*, all of which defined, enacted, or maintained elite status in Augustan Rome.

When this crowd of *simulacra* and its shadowy topographical setting is recombined with the pastoral landscape of Evander's Pallanteum, Latinus' monumental stand-in for regal-era Rome, and the history-saturated sites represented on Aeneas' shield, a palimpsestic image emerges consisting of different layers of pre-Augustan Rome. Add to that Augustus' triple triumph and its epilogue, and the palimpsest receives an upgrade to 'Rome 2.0: The Augustan Edition.' The city, its history, and its values have thus been revealed to Aeneas in stages, beginning with the founders of Troy and the Trojan race at the entrance of Elysium and concluding with the teleological post-triumph reception before the Temple of Apollo, with envoys from all nations submitting to Augustus, refounder (third founder) of Rome who will reestablish Roman society on a firm footing. Thus, while Augustan Rome cannot be present in Aeneas' time, all of its fundamental elements from different eras and dimensions—those that best exemplify ancient *mores*, earlier achievements, the new golden age, and Augustus himself—and the city itself are present and accounted for, awaiting birth, or rebirth. It may thus be said that Vergil has not given Augustan Rome a "strong presence";¹⁴⁹ rather, he has given it a pervasive, even dominant role in the poem's pivotal books, calling his audience's attention time and again to developments in Aeneas' (unknown) future that are *faits accomplis* in the development of Rome as it exists in their 'golden' present.

Indeed, a review of historical events Vergil chose to highlight or allude to in the four passages from *Aeneid* 6–8, reveals that he has left out very little of *major* significance in Roman history. For instance, although no scene from the Hannibalic War appears on the Shield of Aeneas, he alludes to it in the *Heldenschau* / *travectio* with the presence of Q. Fabius Maximus and M. Claudius Marcellus, the "Shield and Sword of Rome" (6.846, 6.854–859). On the other hand, Vergil has clearly left out large sections of the *city* of Rome. A comparison of Maps 7.4–7.7 with Map 7.1 (Augustan Rome) indicates that the areas he refers to largely correspond to the most celebrated locations and densely monumentalized areas of the city. These are areas in which Augustus focused his resources to construct or repair significant and/or sacred buildings while making Rome over in his own image, most of which was completed, in progress, or planned *before* Vergil's death. Given the *Aeneid's* many Augusto-centric themes, the poet's choice to emphasize these areas is logical. But his logic is also consistent

149 As argued by Morwood 1991 212–216.

with what was likely a popular view of Augustan Rome. For instance, Vergil's near contemporary, geographer Strabo of Amasia, also focused his admiring comments about the city on the same areas highlighted by Vergil: the Campus Martius, Capitoline, Palatine, Forum Romanum and Imperial Fora, areas he deemed Rome's most beautiful *and* historically significant. Surely Vergil's audience shared this view, and would not have faulted him for leaving out other parts of Rome.

Having begun with "Arms and the Man," I shall conclude with "Gods and the City." When comparing Maps 7.4–7.7, it becomes apparent that the most significant, powerful intersections between Vergil's varied versions of Rome occur in the three locales imbued with a special sense of sacredness. In ascending order, third is the Forum Romanum, the political and social center of the city, a key location for the *constant* articulation of Roman social and political hierarchy through, e.g., ritualized parades, political activities, and commemorative art. It also contained several of Rome's most important temples dating to the earliest days of the Republic. The second is the Palatine, home to Evander, Romulus, Cybele, and Apollo, Aeneas' divine protector at Troy and his guide, via the Sibyl, in Italy; this is the hill whose summit and tutelary deity Augustus would claim as his own. It is also a location which Vergil connects—through overlapping symbolism in Latinus' temple-domus, and interlocking scenes of Augustus' triumph on the Shield of Aeneas—to the area of prime importance, the one consistently dominant locale in *every* version of Rome:¹⁵⁰ the Capitol, ancient home of Jupiter, Father of the Gods, divine ancestor of Aeneas (and, therefore, of Augustus) who, in *Aeneid* 1, prophesied the rise and spectacular destiny, the empire without limit, of Rome.¹⁵¹

Select Bibliography

Journals cited below are abbreviated according to the conventions of *L'Année philologique: Bibliographie critique et analytique de l'antiquité Gréco-Latine*, Paris. Other abbreviations used in the bibliography are as follows:

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- 150 Only in Latinus' city does the Palatine Hill fail to appear clearly, albeit the Laurel tree, Laurentine name and possible association with the Domus Augusti strongly hint at an Apolline presence.
- 151 Jupiter's prophecy: Verg. A. 1.257–296; Jupiter as Aeneas' (and Augustus') ancestor: Verg. A. 6.123–124.

- LTUR* *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* I–VI. Ed. E.M. Steinby. Rome 1993–1999.
- MAR* *Mapping Augustan Rome. JRA Supplement* 50. Ed. L. Haselberger, D.G. Romano and E.A. Dumser. Portsmouth 2002.
- MRR* T. Robert S. Broughton. *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*. I–III. Atlanta 1951–1986.
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Appendix A. Heroes Mentioned Directly or Indirectly in the *Heldenschau* (A. 6.760–886)

- 760–766 SILVIUS (with *hasta pura*, last child of Aeneas and Lavinia; ancestor not of Augustus, but of Romulus)
- 767 PROCAS (*proximus ille* [sc. Silvius])
- 768 CAPYS
NUMITOR
- 769–770 SILVIUS AENEAS
- 771–776 Encomium on foregoing kings as conquerors, builders and wearers of Corona Civica: *qui iuvenes!*
- 777–787 ROMULUS (6.779: son of Mars and Ilia of Assaracus' line; 6.779–780: the sign of twin plumes; 6.781–787: Romulus' auspices, the city of Rome and her brood of men compared to Cybele and her cities/children)
- 788–789 "Look on your Roman People"
- 789–805 AUGUSTUS and his encomium (6.789: "Here is Caesar and all the Julii"; 6.791–792: "This man, here he is, the promised one ... Augustus Caesar, *genus* of a god" [not *filius*] ... "aurea condet saecula")
- 808–812 NUMA (establishes the infant city on law)
NB: Romulus founds Rome → Augustus refounds Rome, reestablishes laws ← Numa establishes laws
- 812–815 TULLUS HOSTILIUS
- 815–816 ANCUS MARCIUS
- 817 TARQUINS (Tarquinius Priscus and Tarquinius Superbus)
- 818–823 BRUTUS (Liberator; executioner of his own rebellious sons)
- 824 DECII
DRUSII
- 825 TORQUATUS
CAMILLUS (bringing back standards instead of Gallic gold = planned return of standards from Parthia; "second founder" of Rome)
- 826–835 CAESAR & POMPEY (*unnamed*; civil war allusions: family connections, topography; Anchises' admonition)
- 836–837 MUMMIUS (*unnamed* sacker of Corinth)
- 838–840 L. AEMILIUS PAULLUS (*unnamed* conqueror of Aeacides / Perseus)
- 841 CATO (not left silent)
AULUS CORNELIUS COSSUS (5th c. BCE winner of *spolia opima* with Romulus and Marcellus *Maior*)
- 842 GRACCHI (the consul/censor and his ancestors, although the tribunes come to mind as well)
- 842–843 SCIPIADAE (victors at Zama, 202 BCE, and Carthage, 146 BCE), banes of Libya

- 843–844 FABRICIUS (vs. Pyrrhus, 275 BCE)
 844 SERRANUS (M. Atilius Regulus, 257 BCE)
 845–846 FABII
 Q. FABIUS MAXIMUS CUNCTATOR, Shield of Rome, saved Rome by delaying
 847–853 Greeks to bring arts of representation, rhetoric, etc., to the world; Rome's art is to rule
 854–859 M. CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS (*Cos. v, Spolia Opima*, late 3rd c. BCE)
 860–886 MARCELLUS (*gener Augusti Caesaris*, lost potential, his funeral, etc.)

Appendix B. Ancient References to Statues of *Heldenschau* Heroes (and Others) and Their Locations (Bolded Names Are in *Heldenschau*)

Statues of Kings (on the Capitol)

- Kings (group)** App. *B Civ* 1.16: by the door of Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus / Capitolinus.
Kings, Caesar, Brutus Suet. *Iul.* 76; Cass. Dio 43.45.3–4; Brutus, Caesar and 7 Kings in Area Capitolina.
Romulus, Numa, Servius Tullius, 2 Tarquins, Brutus Pliny *HN* 33.9–10: Romulus, Numa, Servius Tullius, 2 Tarquins, Brutus Liberator together; also, statues of Numa & Servius Tullius on the Capitol were the only ones of kings distinguished by rings on left hands (*HN* 33.24).
Romulus *infans* with/wolf Cic. *Cat.* 3.19: lightning struck a statue of baby Romulus suckling Lupa (Capitol).
Romulus & Titus Tatius Pliny *HN* 34.22–23: Rome's *oldest* statues, *sine tunica*.
Servius Tullius Dion. Hal. 4.40.7: set up gilt *xoanon* of himself in T. Fortuna *Primigenia* (Capitol).

Statues of Kings (not on the Capitol?)

- Romulus *triumphator*** Dion. Hal. 2.54.2: bronze quadriga and statue of himself with inscription “in Greek letters” for his second triumph, dedicated to Vulcan (= Area Vulcanal in the NW Forum?)

Statues, Portraits, Altars & Shrines of Famous Men on the Capitol

L. Caecilius Metellus	Dion. Hal. 2.66.4: statue and inscription honoring him for rescuing sacred implements from the Temple of Vesta in conflagration of 241 BC (as <i>pontifex maximus</i>).
Sp. Carvilius	Pliny HN 34.43–44: bronze of self at foot of colossal Jupiter made from Samnite armor.
P. Scipio Africanus	Val. Max. 8.15.1: <i>imago</i> (wax ancestor max or bronze bust) in <i>cella</i> of I.O.M. temple.
L. Scipio (?)	Cic. <i>Rab.</i> 27: in chlamys & sandals; Val. Max. 3.6.2 (recalls Vergil's epithet, <i>Scipiadas</i>).
Q. Fabius Maximus	Plut. <i>Fab.</i> 22: Equestrian statue.
M. Aemilius Lepidus	Val. Max. 3.1.1: equestrian statue; Lepidus as youth w/bulla and <i>incincta</i> .
Metelli (large group)	Cic. <i>Att.</i> 6.1.17: "crowd of gilded knights" set up by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio.
Q. Marcius Rex	CIL 16.4.
T. Seius	Plin. HN 18.16.
Pinarius Natta	Cic. <i>Div.</i> 2.47.
C. Marius	Plut. <i>Caes.</i> 6.1: Caesar set up new images of Marius & trophy-bearing Victories in 62.
L. Sulla	Plut. <i>Sull.</i> 6: Bocchus sets up gilt statue of himself remanding Jugurtha to Sulla.
C. Iulius Caesar	Cass. Dio 43.45.3–4, cf. Suet. <i>Iul.</i> 76: Caesar between Brutus and 7 Kings.
<i>Ara Gens Iulia</i>	(Probably late or post-Augustan)
Various	Cic. <i>Cat.</i> 3.19: "... statues of men of earlier times" struck down by lightning. NB: Livy 40.51.3: M. Aemilius Lepidus, as <i>Censor</i> in 179 BCE removed statues, shields, standards obstructing or affixed to columns of the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus. Suet. <i>Gai.</i> 34.1: "[Caligula] destroyed the statues of famous men in the Campus Martius, which, for lack of room, Augustus had moved from the Area Capitolina ..."

Statues & Portraits of Famous Men in the Forum Romanum

Cato the Elder	Val. Max. 8.15.2: portrait statue in the Curia (senate house).
Camillus	Pliny HN 34.22–23: <i>in rostris sine tunica</i> (on Rostra w/o a tunic under toga = Archaic style).
Fabricius	Pliny HN 34.32: statue set up by people of Thurii for liberating them from siege.

Various Pliny *HN* 34.30–31: many unofficial statues cleared from Forum by censors of 158 BCE.

Statues & Portraits of Famous Men Elsewhere

Cato the Elder Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 19: Portrait in Temple of Salus set up by grateful plebs (Esquiline).
Marcellus the Elder Ascon. *Pis.* 11 C: in Temple of *Honos et Virtus ad Portam Capenam* (Via Appia).

Other Select Passages

Cic. *Off.* 1.61: Military statues are the most common mode for representing great men.
 Suet. *Aug.* 31: Augustus creates the *Summi Viri* monument as *exempla* for himself and subsequent rulers.
 Ov. *Fast.* 5.563–566: Mars “reads” the statue groups of Aeneas and Romulus in the Forum Augustum.

MAP 7.1 *Map of Augustan Rome, including elevations and modern Rome's streets. (Adapted, by permission, from an original created by David Romano et alii for Mapping Augustan Rome, JRA Suppl. 50, Portsmouth 2002). The structures in black are major buildings that existed before the reign of Augustus; the dark gray structures were built or rebuilt during his reign, either by Augustus, Agrippa, or other members of Augustus' family and his friends, often with funding coming from the princeps himself. Note the concentration of major projects in the Campus Martius, Circus Flaminius area, Capitoline (repairs plus Temple of Jupiter Tonans), Palatine, Forum and Imperial Fora. For additional details, see the publication noted above, which includes a comprehensive catalogue of buildings known through literary and/or archaeological sources to have been present in Rome between 44 BCE and 14 CE.*

MAP 7.2 *Chorographic Map of the Campus Martius and Rome's underlying topography, with an overlay of the journey of Aeneas and the Sibyl through Elysium to visit Anchises. (Map adapted, by permission, from the original created by David Romano and Andrew Gallia for Mapping Augustan Rome, JRA Suppl. 50, Portsmouth 2002).*

MAP 7-3 *The Prehistoric Campus Martius and 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) between. 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 and Palatine Hills, with the valley of the future Circus Maximus in between. (Original image [without labels] by D.M. & Ink Link Studio. Used with permission: from Manacorda (2001) 13, fig. 3). This map also appears in E. Kondratieff, "Anchises Censorius: Vergil, Augustus and the Census of 28 B.C.E.," Illinois Classical Studies 37 (2012) 130 (but without helpful labels).*

MAP 7.4

Elysian cognates: Areas of Rome indicated in Aeneid 6.639–898 through verbal and descriptive clues, allusion, or direct reference include all of the gray areas, with the medium gray designating areas of particular focus. The dark gray areas represent specific sites called to mind: 1) Prata Flaminia with Apollinar, where the Temple of Apollo Medicus (Sosianus) and Theater of Marcellus would be located; 2) Area Capitolina; 3) Lupercal, Walls of Romulus, Temple of Cybele/Magna Mater, and House of Augustus (next to the Temple of Apollo Palatinus); 4) Mausoleum of Augustus near the Tiber.

MAP 7.5

Latinus' City: Areas of 'regal' Rome alluded to in Aeneid 7 through descriptive clues. Vergil's description of the plain before Latinus' city, its walls and acropolis recalls features of the Campus Martius, Servian Walls and Capitoline Hill. His description of Latinus' temple-domus recalls simultaneously aspects of (1) the Area Capitolina with the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and (2) the Temple of Apollo Palatinus with honorific elements of the House of Augustus.

MAP 7.6

Evander's Pallanteum: Areas of Rome (Pallanteum) referred to in Aeneid 8, directly or by allusion. In addition to the main areas, Vergil includes the following: 1) Ara Maxima Herculis in the Forum Boarium near the spot where Hercules killed Cacus after chasing him three times round the Aventine Hill; 2) Porta Carmentalis; 3) Asylum of Romulus Between the two Groves (Asylum Romuli inter Duos Lucos); 4) Lupercal; 5) Argiletum (where the Forum of Augustus would be built); 6) Tarpeian Rock / Arx, also the location of the thatched hut in the Auguraculum; 7) Area Capitolina / Saturnia (where the temples of Jupiter Optimus Maximus Capitolinus and Jupiter Tonans, "The Thunderer", would be built); 8) Janiculum; 9) Forum romanum, inhabited by cows; 10) Carinae (the chic district where Augustus would grow up); 11) the hut of Evander on the Palatine in the future Area Apollinis (general location also of the Casa Romuli and of the Domus Liviae).

MAP 7.7 *Shield of Aeneas: Areas of early Republican (to ca. 390 BCE) and early Augustan Rome of great historical significance referred to in Aeneid 8, directly or by allusion: 1) Lupercal; 2) Circus Maximus; 3) Battle of Romulus against the Sabines, from the Arx, through the Forum, to 4) Altar (and later, temple) of Jupiter Stator; 5) Sublician Bridge defended by Horatius Cocles against Lars Porsenna (and site of Cloelia's big swim); 6) Arx/Citadel and Temple of Juno Moneta, "The Warner," defended by the sacred geese and Manlius Capitolinus against the Gauls; 7) Circus Flaminius and Area Capitolina (beginning and ending points for Augustus' triple triumph in 29); 8) Area Apollinis, where Augustus is supposed to have received envoys from the farthest reaches of Rome's imperium sine fine.*

FIGURE 7.2

*Hellenistic Ruler / Seleucid or
Pergamene Prince (?) 3rd–2nd c.
BCE, Palazzo Massimo alle terme,
Inv. 1049.*

FIGURE 7.3 *Bronze statue of Augustus as Jupiter, ca. 50 CE. Herculaneum. Museo archeologica nazionale di Napoli, Inv. 5595.*

FIGURE 7.4 Mid-4th c. BCE tomb painting of Samnite warriors, Nola, Italy. Now in the Museo archeologico nazionale di Napoli. Nota bene the twin-crested helmets of the vexilifer to the left, and the cavalryman to the right. Photo: adapted from an original image that is now in the public domain.

FIGURE 7.5

P. Licinius Nerva, AR denarius, Rome, 113 BCE, RRC 292/1. Obv. only: ROMA behind bust of Roma wearing twin-crested helmet, bearing shield and spear. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

FIGURE 7.6

M. Sanquinius, AR denarius, Rome, 17 BCE RIC I² Augustus 340; BMCRE Augustus 70. Obv. only: AVGVST · DI · VI · F · LVDOS · SAE, herald of Ludi Saeculares standing left in long robe, wearing helmet with two long feathers, holding winged caduceus in rt. hand and round shield ornamented with six-pointed star (Sidus Iulium) in left. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

FIGURE 7.7

Anonymous, AU 60 Asses. Rome, 211–208 BCE, RRC 44/2. Obv. only: Bearded head of Mars right, wearing double-crested Corinthian helmet. LX (mark of value) behind. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

FIGURE 7.8A

L. Pomponius Molo, AR denarius, Rome, 97 BCE, RRC 334/1. Rev.: Numa Pompilius standing right, holding lituus before lighted altar about to sacrifice a goat held by victimarius; NVMA·POMPIL (with ligatures) in exergue. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

FIGURE 7.8B

Cn. Calpurnius Piso, pro quaestor, AR denarius, 48 BCE, RRC 446/1. Obv.: Head of Numa Pompilius right, wearing diadem inscribed NVMA; CN·PISO·PRO·Q around left. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.

FIGURE 7.9 *P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, AR denarius, Rome, 50 BCE, RRC 439/1. Obv.: Head of the consul M. Claudius Marcellus right, MARCELLINVS before, triskeles behind. Rev.: Marcellus carrying trophy into tetrastyle temple of Jupiter Feretrius, MARCELLVS on right, COS · QVINQ on left. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group / Nomos.*

FIGURE 7.10 *Nero, Æ As, Lugdunum (Lyons), ca. 64 BCE, RIC 1² Nero 211. Obv.: NERO CLAVD CAESAR AVG GERMANI around Nero's laureate bust right, small globe at point of bust. Rev.: PONTIF MAX TR POT IMP P P; Nero as Apollo. Original photo courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group.*

FIGURE 7.11 Adaptations of an artist's rendering (in Museo della Civiltà Romana, Rome) of matching frescoes of Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius-Iulus fleeing Troy, and Romulus carrying the spolia opima, found in the late 19th c. in Pompeii (Pompeii IX.13.5). These images likely represent the statue groups created for the Summi Viri monument in the Forum Augustum, Aeneas standing at the head of the Julian line of ancestors, Romulus standing at the head of Rome's triumphators. These images are based on photos originally published in Della Corte (1913) 144–145, figs. 1 and 2, as found in the House of M. Fabius Ululitremulus on the Via dell' Abondanza.

FIGURE 7.12 *Shared with 7.11.*

FIGURE 7.13

The reverses of two aurei issued in the reign of Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE), in the early 140s CE as part of a larger series (in gold, silver and bronze) celebrating Rome's foundation legends in anticipation of Rome's ninth centenary. Above, the Aeneas, Anchises and Iulus-Ascanius group from the Summi Viri monument in the Forum Augusti (RIC III A. Pius 91; cf. Hill (1989) 162 [sestertius of 141–143 CE]); below, Romulus with the spolia opima, from the same monument (RIC III A. Pius 90; BMCRE A. Pius 238). Original photos courtesy of Classical Numismatic Group. NB: These statue groups were also reproduced as acroterial monuments for the eaves of the Temple of Divus Augustus, as seen on sestertii of Antoninus Pius celebrating his restoration of that temple (RIC III A. Pius 787, 1003).

FIGURE 7.14

Shared with 7.13.