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Two Sides of the Same Coin: Vergil and Ovid's Clashing Portrayals of Individual and Group Identity

Dante G. King
The College of Wooster, dking21@wooster.edu

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by
Dante King

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Professor Josephine Shaya
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Abstract

This independent study examines Vergil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses* with regard to Aeneas and Turnus as analogues for Roman citizens and Italic provincials respectively. As this project is primarily concerned with textual investigation, philological analysis of Vergil and Ovid's texts takes center stage and is supplemented by contemporary material evidence and secondary scholarship in foundation narratology, identity, and political theory. So, whereas Vergil characterizes Aeneas as a dominant hero destined to found a new home for his people, the proto-Roman Trojans, and Turnus as a rebellious but ultimately ineffectual Italic monarch, Ovid presents the former as a detestable warmonger and the latter as a pitiable victim. I argue that these characters and their peoples are emblematic of the Romans and Italics of the early imperial period, so these poems are inherently politically charged. Finally, I use the insights garnered from the ancient sources to draw conclusions about modern-day American political discourse, particularly concerning the recent debate over Confederate monuments—how anyone can effect positive change in the face of oppression.

Acknowledgments

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Aeneas, Turnus, and their supporting cast are worth studying for insights on identity because their story has remained relevant for the nearly two millennia following their flourishing in Augustan Rome. Later artistic adaptations of these characters and their associated themes and scenes can assist the modern scholar in understanding the ancient primary sources. From the fourth-century *Vatican Vergil* miniature (Fig. 1.1) to the seventeenth-century marble sculpture by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (Fig. 1.2) and painting by Luca Giordano (Fig. 1.3), the Augustan accounts of the mythical founder's journey have captivated the imaginations of artists like no other.

The miniature featured in the *Vatican Vergil*, an illuminated manuscript from Late Antiquity, depicts Aeneas and Achates observing the construction of Carthage. It is reminiscent of ancient Roman mosaic and its organization of space and figural positionality is very much in the ancient Roman, as opposed to early Byzantine, style; Aeneas stands in a natural, contrapposto stance while below him two triumphal arches, one the manmade entrance to a basilican edifice and another the natural opening to a cave, hint at the coming glory of Rome.

Fig. 1.1. *Aeneas and Achates Discover Carthage*, c. 425 – 450 CE, Vatican Vergil, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica, Cod. Vat. Lat. 3225, Folio 13, recto (credit: Wikimedia Commons)

On the other hand, Bernini adopted a classicizing style for his sculpture, though produced 1,600 years after Vergil wrote his epic poem; the sculpture is made of marble and the figures are positioned as they are described in the *Aeneid*: Aeneas bears Anchises on his shoulders, Anchises carries their *penates*, and an infant, Eros-like Ascanius peeks from behind his father while they flee burning Troy. Moreover, such positionality is attested to in antiquity.

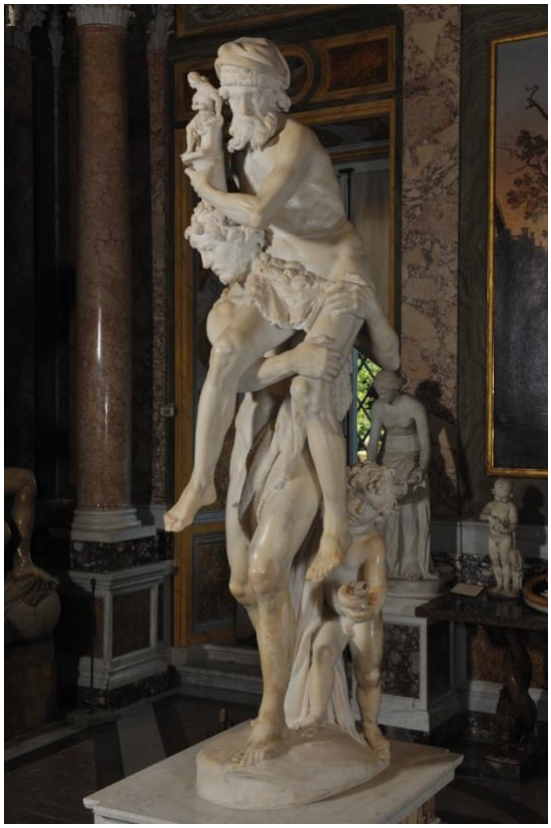

Fig. 1.2. Bernini's *Aeneas, Anchises and Ascanius*, Galleria Borghese, CLXXXII (c. 1618 – 19, credit: Galleria Borghese, Rome)

Finally, Giordano's painting is perhaps the most telling for this study. He depicts Aeneas, sword in hand, standing over a defeated Turnus. The Trojan is ready to deal the finishing blow, but the Italic king begs for his life—to no avail. Giordano's use of light and dark and organization of space is spectacular. Venus with head held high reclines, enthroned, on a cloud to Aeneas' right, a Cupid on her leg and other divinities to her left in the background of her space. She basks in the light of heaven as her son confirms victory over his foe and, in turn, Rome's future success. Venus' blue drapery is similar to the blue sash Aeneas wears around his waist. To Aeneas' right and above Turnus, however, Juturna takes flight in terror and darkness, her face hidden and long black hair streaming. Her obscurity mirrors the utter subjugation of her brother Turnus and his armies who are shown in

confusion among their earthly architecture—a stark contrast to the celestial light of Aeneas' divine supporters.

Fig. 1.3. Giordano's *Aeneas Defeats Turnus*, 17th cen., Gallerie Nazionali Barberini Corsini (credit: Wikimedia Commons)

These works of art are worth considering in light of this study because the scenes depicted speak to what their artists thought was most important about these characters and their narrative. Aeneas is shown to be the stalwart and mighty visionary, whereas Turnus is portrayed as his less capable counterpart, fated for defeat. This stark, retrospective distinction between the two characters says something about the potency of Vergil's characterizations with respect to not only individual, but also group identity. Similarly, classical scholars have written study after study on the *Aeneid*.[1] Ovid, I argue, does not characterize Aeneas and

[1] For recent *Aeneid* scholarship, see, for instance, *Walking through Elysium: Vergil's Underworld and the Poetics of Tradition*, ed. Bill Gladhill and Micah Young Myers, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020); Kirsten Day, "'All That Glitters…': Problematizing Golden-Age Narratives in Vergil's *Aeneid* and the Western Film Genre," in *Screening the Golden Ages of the Classical Tradition*, ed. Meredith E. Safran, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 157–174; Bill Beck, "*Causas Memora*: Epic Etiology and Vergil's *Aeneid*," in *Vergilius* Vol. 62, (Vergilian Society, 2016), 57–78; and Sheldon Brammall, *The English* Aeneid*: Translations of Virgil, 1555-1646*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

Turnus as Vergil did before him, eschewing the martial mastery of Aeneas for the brutality of a Trojan warmonger. Indeed, whereas the Vergilian Aeneas is the Tolstoyan man on a journey, the Ovidian one is an unwanted stranger coming to town. Turnus and his people likewise enjoy a shift in narrative resonance in the *Metamorphoses*; the Italic peoples are deserving of sympathy in Ovid, as they are directly contrasted by the violent Trojans.

Much of the Augustan iconographic program has its origins in that of Julius Caesar. The *dictator in perpetuo* identified a suitable ancestor in the Trojan warrior turned refugee Aeneas. A silver *denarius*, minted in 47 or 46 BCE in Roman North Africa and on display in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, exemplifies this familial connection (Fig. 1.4). The coin's obverse shows Venus' head in profile while on the reverse, Aeneas bears his father Anchises on his shoulders, supporting him with his left hand and carrying various Trojan relics—his *penates*, armor, and weaponry—in his right. The name "CAESAR" runs parallel to the fleeing Trojan. The authors of *Roman Art: A Resource for Educators*, a Met publication, parse the coin in this way:

> Caesar's family, the *gens Iuliae*, claimed descent from the goddess Venus and her son Aeneas. By representing Venus and Aeneas on his coinage, Caesar reminded the Roman public of his divine ancestry and his association with the foundation legends of Rome. This helped to legitimate his power at Rome.[2]

Not only was the son of Aeneas known to tradition as Iulus-Ascanius, the founder of Alba Longa and progenitor of the Julian line, but Venus was purportedly Aeneas' mother. Caesar wanted the Romans to see Aeneas as a stand-in for himself; like Aeneas saving his father and prized possessions from burning Troy, Caesar saved Rome from the clutches of Pompey and

[2] Nancy Lorraine Thompson et al., "Roman Myth, Religion, and the Afterlife," *Roman Art: A Resource for Educators*, (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007), 82, https://books.google.com/books?id=vmQNF0K2xigC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q=aeneas&f=false.

the conservative senatorial party. All in all, this Caesarean coin is a prototype for Augustus' propaganda, as well as Vergil's poetic themes.

Fig. 1.4. Silver *denarius* featuring Venus on the obverse (left) and Aeneas carrying Anchises and treasured belongings from Troy on the reverse (right), 47 – 46 BCE, 08.170.80 (credit: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City)

The coin also raises questions: Why would Caesar and, later, Augustus favor this foundation myth over others? What does mythical Troy have in common with the Rome that Caesar and Augustus wanted to realize? Why would a triumphant Roman want to associate himself so closely with a defeated refugee? What constitutes a hero in late republican and early imperial Rome? Perhaps most important of all, how do different portrayals of Aeneas' story relate to each other and to the sociopolitical climate in Rome?

This study addresses these questions by examining the figures of Aeneas and Turnus as they appear in the poetry of Vergil and Ovid. It explores the duality of Aeneas and Turnus as representatives for the proto-Roman Trojans and native Italic peoples respectively, using Vergil and Ovid's works as my primary sources. Just as the two sides of the *denarius* represent two aspects of Caesar's propaganda program, these two poets represent two differing philosophies on Roman identity. This exploration will yield conclusions about the

role of literature in Augustan Rome and how portrayals of group identity shaped the sociopolitical climate in the early Roman Empire. I argue that Vergil writes a jingoistic Aeneas who believes he should either assimilate or destroy Italic opposition. Vergil's Turnus, then, is both an enemy to Aeneas in their earthly war and a tool of the divine Juno in her continuing war against a defiant Troy. Vergil is thus all in on Augustus' imperialist program. Ovid's Aeneas, as featured in the *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides*, is dutiful and worthy of godhood upon his death but lacks the character and likeability of Ovid's other main characters. He is not shown often, moreover, and when he does appear his most defining trait is his penchant for the destruction of innocents at the behest of an all-consuming desire for power. Ovid gives Turnus very little definition, using him as a simple plot device in the *Metamorphoses* without any personal attributes. He comes across as a pitiable victim who would be rightly lauded for standing up to the Trojans but could not get the job done. Ovid's Dido, from her letter to Aeneas in the *Heroides*, is arguably his most developed post-Troy character. Emotion flows from the Carthaginian queen as she laments her fate and curses her former lover. The fact that Ovid praises himself at the end of the *Metamorphoses*, giving short shrift to even Caesar and Augustus compared to his previous stories, implies that he was not invested in the propagandist facet expected of his work.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Before diving into my examination of Aeneas and Turnus, I would like to review the literature that makes up the background of this study. This review is split into two sections, namely one on foundation narratives and identity and another on literature and politics.

Foundation Narratives and Identity

Many scholars have studied the complicated nature of ancient identities and the role of myths in their construction. Erich S. Gruen, for instance, posits that identity was never monolithic to ancient peoples. In his *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, Gruen says,

> Group identities in antiquity did not possess a pure and unadulterated character. Nor were they meant to do so. Communities and peoples, rather than considering themselves as hermetically sealed entities, regularly proclaimed ties to other societies, even inserting themselves into their history and traditions. By setting their patriarchs and legendary heroes into the folklore of other folks, they could attach themselves to the other peoples' experience and take credit for their qualities and achievements—a form of "identity theft."[1]

This source is useful in analyzing Vergil and Ovid's versions of Aeneas and Turnus. How much did these poets borrow from prior traditions and how much did they invent for their stories? What, and how, did they modify to fit their own agendas?

Naoíse Mac Sweeney recognizes that a culture's foundation myths, such as the manifold tradition surrounding Aeneas, are always in discussion with others. She dubs this cultural exchange "foundation discourse." Mac Sweeney says,

> Foundation discourses include all the foundation myths relating to a particular city, state, or group of people in circulation at a given time. However, a foundation discourse consists not only of the full range of different stories and

[1] Erich S. Gruen, "Foundation Legends," *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 223.

> versions of stories, but also of the various ways in which they were told and the diverse social contexts of their telling. Crucial to this is the interaction between different foundation myths […] This interaction or dialogue between individual myths means that any given foundation discourse is more than simply the sum of its individual mythic parts. Rather, it is a discourse in the fullest sense, comprising not only a range of mythic components but also the dialogue, interactions, and relationships between them.[2]

Mac Sweeney's argument helps me parse Vergil and Ovid's "Roman" myths in relation to each other's telling. She argues for the purposeful syncretism of ancient culture, with a focus on foundation discourse. The epic poetry of these two early imperial poets did not exist in a vacuum, but rather was inexorably in dialogue with the foundation stories that came before. Because Ovid wrote after Vergil, his version must be viewed as a further adaptation—just as Vergil's *Aeneid* is an adaptation of previous stories. Quite relevant to this study is the argument that Aeneas is not Roman per se, but his legend's malleability lent itself to reinterpretation as one of the Rome's founders.

Parshia Lee-Stecum builds on Gruen and Mac Sweeney's ideas in his "Roman refugium: refugee narratives in Augustan versions of Roman prehistory," pointing out the abundance of foreign founders in ancient origin stories: "The migrant founder is a common enough figure in the mythologies of the ancient Mediterranean. In fact, it is the most common way by far of explaining a community's origin."[3] He defines Aeneas' founding role specifically, too, saying, "Aeneas, as well as bequeathing a ruling house, is portrayed in Augustan texts as the initiator of a tradition of arms and war which eventually becomes

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[2] Naoíse Mac Sweeney, "Introduction," *Foundation Myths in Ancient Societies: Dialogues and Discourses*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 3, https://books.google.com/books?id=XNCJBAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false.

[3] Parshia Lee-Stecum, "Roman refugium: refugee narratives in Augustan versions of Roman prehistory," in *Hermathena* 184, (Dublin: Trinity College, 2008), 69.

central to Roman self-identity and imperialist success."[4] Finally, Lee-Stecum argues that Rome doubled as refuge and all-consuming hegemon.

> More than simply giving a sacred and inviolate aura to the land of Rome, refuge can provide a tangible link to the land as strong as, and sometimes qualitatively much richer than, autochthony […] In the context of first century representation, the model which mythic refugee narratives provide has clear ideological resonance. The absorption of the strength of others, and the representation of this as being of benefit to those so absorbed, is a myth which can serve an imperialist ideology very well.[5]

In the context of Rome's founding, the Trojans' adoption of land promised them by divine sanction hallows it. Such a special connection to Italian soil gives the Trojans' Roman descendants free rein over surrounding peoples. What does this mean for the character of Aeneas and his rivalry with Turnus? What does embracing such an ideology say about Augustus' views on his nearby Italic subjects?

K. F. B. Fletcher takes this idea and expands it to include the multiple peoples who would go on to inhabit the Roman city-state post-Aeneas. Fletcher explains,

> The Trojans are only the last to arrive and are like the missing puzzle piece; they complete the mix of peoples that will create the Roman race, which is the true subject of the poem: *tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem* ("of such great difficulty was it to found the Roman race," 1.33). In the *Aeneid*, Italy as a whole is a land of exiles, foreshadowing the way in which Rome itself will be at its origin a place of asylum under Romulus and then ultimately the center of a Mediterranean empire, open to all.[6]

Rome, and Italy for that matter, was never the domain of just one indigenous tribe, but was rather a melting pot—or perhaps a mosaic. Despite this, early first-century denizens of the city of Rome consider themselves to be special; provincials are Romans in that they live under Roman sovereignty and enjoy Roman citizenship, but they do not enjoy the privilege

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[4] Lee-Stecum, 75.
[5] Lee-Stecum, 75–77.
[6] K. F. B. Fletcher, "Introduction: Why Directions Matter," *Finding Italy: Travel, Nation, and Colonization in Vergil's* Aeneid, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014), 8.

of being citizens born and bred in the city of Rome itself. Moreover, just as Augustus promotes Roman exceptionalism among a variety of Italic peoples, he also shapes a narrative of intrinsic superiority for himself.

J.D. Reed adopts a character-driven approach to identity in his narratological wellspring *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the* Aeneid. He concludes that Vergil's Aeneas is not wholly Trojan, Roman, Italic, or any other ethnicity, but is rather a refugee from all these peoples, seeking an identity he can call his own. Reed says, "Lacking a final nationality, he [Aeneas] most plainly embodies the desirer of the national identity that the poem aims at."[7] Reed specifies the more general arguments made by Lee-Stecum and Fletcher, acknowledging that Aeneas is himself a refugee seeking in Latium a replacement for the home and identity that he lost. Reed's use of the terms "nationality" and "national" is a slippery slope, however. Are the city-states and tribal confederacies of the pre-Rome ancient Mediterranean nations? This study eschews further use of "national" terminology when referring to ancient polities on the grounds that it is an anachronism—perhaps a useful one, but one, nevertheless. About Turnus, Reed says that he has passivity "in common with that exemplary future would-be Roman, the doomed Marcellus, whose sad 'eyes in his downcast face' (6.862 *deiecto lumina vultu*) prefigure Turnus' 'downcast eyes' (12.220 *demisso lumine*)."[8] To Reed, Vergil's Turnus partly represents the promising young man cut down before he could achieve greatness. He continues,

> The death of Turnus, because he loses the chance to found a nation with Lavinia, more significantly than any of the others' deaths symbolizes the eradication of the familial stock. Lineage, inheritance, is of course the very dynamics of Aeneas' mission, the conduit of the heritage of Troy through Aeneas down to Augustan Rome; and the whole war between the Rutulians

[7] J.D. Reed, "Chapter Seven: Aeneas," *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the* Aeneid, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 173, doi:10.2307/j.ctt7t8b7.
[8] Reed, 53–54.

> and the Trojans—the second half of the poem—is basically over reproductive rights, the privilege (in hindsight) of engendering a nation.[9]

Turnus personifies all the peoples of Italy, defiant but helpless before the Trojan juggernaut.

I continue having drawn these insights from the research cited: 1) the foundation narratives of any one culture are never monolithic but rather always interact with those of others across space and time—individual parts of aggregate foundation discourses; 2) Vergil's portrayal of Aeneas has endured more than any other; 3) Vergil writes the Trojans as the rightful heirs of Italy, even though it is inherently a land of diverse peoples; 4) Vergil's Aeneas can no longer belong to just one people, so he must forge a new people to accommodate the Trojans' refugee status and, ultimately, replace it with ethnic dominance; and 5) Vergil's Turnus is a personification of all the Italic peoples. Insights 4) and 5) lead me to believe that Vergil contrasts Aeneas and Turnus so thoroughly so as to establish the perfect rivalry between them. The two men so alike—passionate, physically capable, and completely trusted with their people's fate—and yet so different that they inevitably come to blows. The Vergilian Aeneas and Turnus thus represent incompatible group identities that cannot peacefully coexist without severe compromises by either side. Ovid's take on Aeneas, Turnus, and identity is all but absent from prior scholarship which speaks to the comprehensive influence of Vergil's epic poem.

Literature and Politics

Literature and politics profoundly influenced each other in Augustan Rome. Thomas N. Habinek states that his goal in writing *The Politics of Latin Literature: Writing, Identity, and Empire in Ancient Rome* is to regard "literature as a medium through which competing

[9] Reed, 55.

sectors of Roman society sought to advance their interests over and against other sources of social and political authority."[10] Habinek posits that the Roman citizen, in particular the author-poet, was thoroughly aware of his place in the sociopolitics of the state; whatever he wrote was bound to be scrutinized by his readers, but there was also the possibility that his work could influence his fellow citizens and even higher-ups.

Barbara Cassin addresses the *pietas* of Vergil's Aeneas in *Nostalgia: When Are We Ever at Home?*, saying,

> We see here a new type of paganism: piety. Odysseus is *dios Odusseus*, "the divine Odysseus," in the adventurous permeability of the beauty of the world. Aeneas is *pius Aeneas*, "the pious Aeneas," bound to the homeland through the bonds of piety and religion. *Pietas* is the Roman virtue par excellence […] Aeneas is indeed an observer of bonds, bound every which way, and only this piety enables him to bind [*relier*] Troy to Rome and to reread [*relire*] Troy so as to found Rome.[11]

Considered in a vacuum, Cassin's insight concerning Aeneas' *pietas* does not say much about literature's role in Roman politics, but the written word was not an isolated medium to the Roman people. Rather, they, with their preconceived value system, would have come into contact with Vergil's character and been forced to reevaluate their behavior: Am I as *pius* as Aeneas, and what does *pietas* look like in our society?

In *A Companion to Ovid*, Peter E. Knox argues, "Ovid, so far as we can tell, was touched by none of this [political strife of the late republic]. His career belongs entirely to the early Empire, a time of peace at least on the domestic front, and the great matters treated in his works are affairs of the heart and of character, rather than of state."[12] Are these lighter

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[10] Thomas N. Habinek, "Introduction," *The Politics of Latin Literature: Writing, Identity, and Empire in Ancient Rome*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998), 3, doi:10.2307/j.ctt7sp3p.4.
[11] Barbara Cassin and Pascale-Anne Brault, "Aeneas: From Nostalgia to Exile," *Nostalgia: When Are We Ever at Home?*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), 31, doi:10.2307/j.ctt19rm9jg.7.
[12] Peter E. Knox, "Chapter 1: A Poet's Life," *A Companion to Ovid*, ed. Peter E. Knox, (John Wiley & Sons, 2009), 5, https://books.google.com/books?id=zMMeWI2xbPkC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false.

subjects more involved with politics than Knox believes, or are they indeed escapism untouched by political intrigue?

This study contributes to the conversation on Roman identity through a thematic comparison of Vergil and Ovid's works, an analysis of each poem's form and use of the Latin language, and a study of the characters of Aeneas and Turnus. The relationship between Aeneas and Turnus and collective identity is my chief concern, but the roles of imperial government, individual poet, and broad citizenry in relation to literary representation of Rome's founding will be integral support for my thesis. Aeneas and Turnus are not merely characters in fictional texts, but rather personifications of ideas and policies which would have resonated with the Romans. I plan to use the insights I gain from studying these ancient representations of founding heroes to make conclusions about debate in the current American political climate, namely controversy over politically charged Confederate monuments.

Philological analysis will be central to my project. I will present relevant passages from Vergil and Ovid—first the original Latin text and then my own English translations—and parse them for meaning. Metric rhythm, word choice, and general characterization will all come into play and, when taken together, propose my interpretation of each poet's version of Aeneas, Turnus, and their respective peoples. Other primary and secondary sources will supplement my philological analysis of the poetry to create a well-rounded and in-depth examination of the figures. Primary sources other than Vergil and Ovid will each be likewise presented, first in its original language and then in my English translation.

The main body of my thesis will be split into three parts; I will first consider Vergil's Aeneas and Turnus, then do the same for Ovid's, and finally connect ancient Roman poetry

to modern American statuary. This structure should reflect my “two sides of the same coin” argument; Ovid and Vergil wrote at around the same time but developed different political views, and Aeneas and Turnus fight for their respective visions of Italy. My final chapter is the synthesis of my work where I will elaborate on the significance of the research presented beforehand with regard to social issues Americans in particular and, indeed, people in general face today.

Chapter 3: Vergil's Pro-Augustan Program

I will differentiate my analysis of the *Aeneid* through my focus on the rivalry of Aeneas and Turnus, a rivalry that will serve to highlight the opposing ideologies and identities of the two characters and their peoples and, in turn, yield insight into Vergil's ideas about Roman and Italic identities. I will argue that Vergil's characterizations of Aeneas and Turnus further Augustus' hegemonic objectives by portraying the former as an Augustan imperialist and the latter as a defiant, but ultimately, ineffectual subject of imperial sovereignty.

Vergil's Aeneas: The Predestined Imperialist

I argue that in Vergil's *Aeneid*, composed 29 – 19 BCE, Vergil seeks to valorize Augustus' achievements through the character of Aeneas. Aeneas is the ideal Augustan hero. He progresses considerably throughout the poem, beginning as a refugee repelled from Troy and ending as a dominant warrior in Italy. Vergil reinforces Aeneas' identity as a prefiguration of Augustus through direct parallels with recent Roman history, affirmation of Rome's future prosperity, and divine confirmation. The character's final state epitomizes the imperialism of the Augustan principate.

Vergil uses the perils faced by Aeneas and his fellow Trojan survivors as a surrogate for the civil wars of the late Roman Republic. Several years after Troy's destruction, the Trojans are without a home and disheartened after their crushing defeat at the hands of the Greeks. The first time Aeneas speaks in the poem, though, he encourages his men to hold fast to hope in anticipation of future greatness. Aeneas says,

"O socii—neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum—

> O passi graviora, dabit deus his quoque finem.
> […]
> Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum
> tendimus in Latium; sedes ubi fata quietas
> ostendunt; illic fas regna resurgere Troiae.
> Durate, et vosmet rebus servate secundis."[1]
>
> "O allies—indeed, we have not been ignorant to evils before—
> O having suffered more grievous things, the god [Jupiter/Jove] will gift us an end to these also.
> […]
> Through various chances, through so many crises of affairs
> We press on to Latium; the tranquil settlements which the Fates
> Revealed; there, by divine sanction, the kingdoms of Troy will rise again.
> Endure and, you all, preserve yourselves with the promise of things to come."

Vergil introduces Aeneas as a charismatic leader. The first words out of his mouth, *O socii*, are telling, both showing that Aeneas cares about his comrades more than anything in this moment and rhetorically addressing the readers of the poem; Vergil uses the vocative to name his audience as his allies and, in doing so, welcomes them into his uniquely pro-Roman epic. Moreover, if we are to read Aeneas as parallel to Augustus, then this speech mirrors the chaos of the late Republic. The *graviora* are the civil wars that plagued the Republic in its final days, and the fall of Troy is the assassination of Caesar, a larger-than-life leader whose preeminence afforded him synonymity with the city itself. Worship of Caesar as an extraordinary exemplar of Roman identity became even more pronounced during Augustus' reign, of course. Latium with its new *regna Troiae* is the Roman Empire with government renewed by another Caesar. Aeneas assuring his men of their bright future, then, is Octavian shepherding the broken Republic into a new age of Empire. In terms of Vergil's narration of events, it does not take long for Aeneas and his men to come face to face with a veritable North African Rome in the making.

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[1] Vergil, *Aeneid*, ed. J. B. Greenough, (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1900), 1.198–207, http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0690.phi003.perseus-lat1:1.198-1.207.

Vergil identifies Didonian Carthage as a prototype for Augustan Rome by recounting Aeneas' awe-inspiring introduction to the city. Upon arriving in Carthage, Aeneas is struck by the fledgling city's magnificence. First, the Trojans try to make a home in Thrace and then Crete, but neither works out for them. Years have passed since the fall of Troy and they long for the safety of impregnable walls. The Trojans land on yet another coast, which turns out to be North Africa, and while out hunting with his companion, Achates, Aeneas beholds a new settlement. Vergil here clearly relates the temptation of Dido's city for Aeneas. The text reads,

> Miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam,
> miratur portas strepitumque et strata viarum.
> Instant ardentes Tyrii pars ducere muros,
> molirique arcem et manibus subvolvere saxa,
> pars optare locum tecto et concludere sulco.
> Iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum;
> hic portus alii effodiunt; hic alta theatris
> fundamenta locant alii, immanisque columnas
> rupibus excidunt, scaenis decora alta futuris.
> […]
> "O fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt!"
> Aeneas ait, et fastigia suspicit urbis.[2]

> Aeneas marvels at the jetty, huts formerly,
> Marvels at the gates and the noise and the pavements of roads.
> While one part of the Tyrians, hot with passion, sets up walls—
> Striving, indeed, for a citadel, even rolling rocks with their very hands—
> Another part chooses a place for a roof and encloses it with a furrow.
> Judges and magistrates lay down the law alongside a sacred senate;
> Here, some dig up a harbor; there, others lay the deep
> Foundations for a theater, and drop columns
> Made from immense rocks: sky-high splendor for the stage to-be.
> […]
> "O fortunate ones, whose walls already rise!",
> Aeneas says, and observes the pediments of the city.

[2] Verg. *Aen.* 1.421–29.

Aeneas cannot help but transfer Carthage's grandeur to his people's city-to-be. Vergil uses the deponent verb *miratur* to begin the first two lines of the scene, emphasizing the awesome achievement that is the mythical, Didonian Tyre. Just like in his introductory speech, Aeneas rhetorically addresses the Tyrians, who cannot hear him, in the vocative (*O fortunati*). Vergil's use of *iam* stresses the progress of the Tyrians and the fact that Rome's walls will not rise any time soon. Because Carthage is the closest thing to Rome for Aeneas and for Vergil an allusion to Rome, we must similarly understand *O fortunati* to refer to Vergil's readers, contemporary Romans, as addressees. Vergil paints Rome as the ideal city in this passage. He spares no expense in praising the architectural beauty and strength of Rome (*portas…concludere sulco*). He also hints at the republican government (*Iura magistratusque legunt sanctumque senatum*), extensive trade routes (*hic portus alii effodiunt*), and entertainment (*hic alta theatris…decora alta futuris*) that Rome would enjoy. This description brings to mind Augustus' extensive building program, which boasted the Theatre of Marcellus, Mausoleum of Augustus, and Forum of Augustus, with its Temple of Mars Ultor (Fig. 3.1), with which the emperor sought to glorify himself, the *gens Iulia*, and the traditional founding fathers of Rome. Statues of significant individuals—one of whom was Aeneas—both lined the forum and stood imposingly in its apsidal niches, surrounding the central temple to the Avenger, an Augustan patron deity of retribution. I will return to this figure when discussing the Trojans' war with Turnus' Italic confederacy.

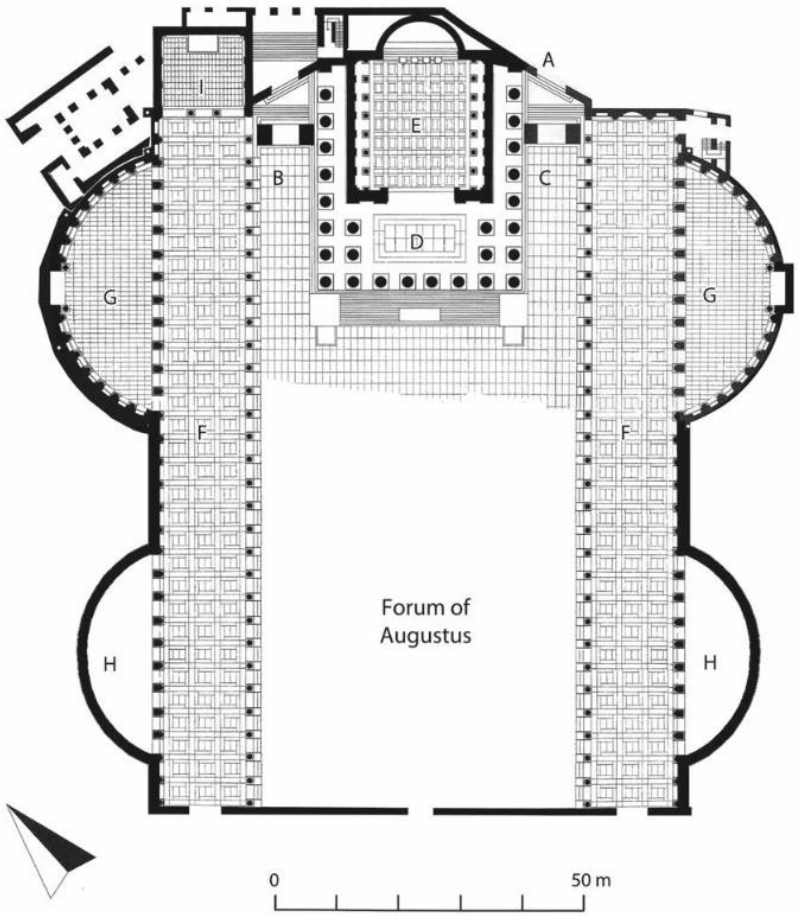

Fig. 3.1. Forum of Augustus Plan, late 1st century BCE: "*A*, 'Arco dei Pantani'; *B*, Arch of Drusus; *C*, Arch of Germanicus; *D*, pronaos of the Temple of Mars Ultor; *E*, cella of the Temple of Mars Ultor; *F*, porticoes; *G*, large hemicycles, seat of the tribunal; *H*, small hemicycles; *I*, Hall of the Colossus" (credit: Josephine Shaya, "The Public Life of Monuments: The *Summi Viri* of the Forum of Augustus," *American Journal of Archaeology* 117.1 (2013): 86.)

Ultimately, Vergil includes this illustration of Carthage to pay homage to Rome's republican past and imperial present. He praises the tradition inherited by Augustus and, in doing so, suggests that the emperor will resume as an absolute, but republican, ruler. Despite the temptation to stay in Dido's flourishing city, Aeneas must not delay if he wants to reach his true home, that is, the true Rome, in Latium. Indeed, Vergil emphasizes the unique "Trojanness" of Aeneas and the other survivors.

Aeneas and the other Trojans must proudly own their popular identity if they are to found a prosperous new city-state. Aeneas tells Dido his group's whole story, starting with the final battles of the Trojan War that, though they fought hard, the Trojans could not win. One episode stands out in terms of collective identity. Coroebus, one of the Trojan fighters, suggests a very un-Trojan plan of attack. Vergil writes,

> "Atque hic successu exsultans animisque Coroebus,
> 'O socii, qua prima' inquit 'fortuna salutis
> monstrat iter, quoque ostendit se dextra, sequamur
> mutemus clipeos, Danaumque insignia nobis
> aptemus: dolus an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?
> Arma dabunt ipsi.' Sic fatus, deinde comantem
> Androgei galeam clipeique insigne decorum
> induitur, laterique Argivum accommodat ensem.
> Hoc Rhipeus, hoc ipse Dymas omnisque iuventus
> laeta facit; spoliis se quisque recentibus armat.
> Vadimus immixti Danais haud numine nostro,
> multaque per caecam congressi proelia noctem
> conserimus, multos Danaum demittimus Orco."[3]

> "And this Coroebus, reveling in their success and high spirits,
> Said, 'O allies, this first stroke of luck shows us the
> Path towards deliverance, and furthermore as the right side exposes itself,
> Let us follow and exchange shields, even now let us appropriate the ensigns of
> The Danaans for ourselves: a trick or manly courage—which suits the enemy?
> They themselves will give us weapons.' After he thus spoke, the plumed
> Helmet of Androgeus, even with the mark of a shield of distinctions,
> Is then donned by him, and moreover he adapts to an Argive sword.
> Here Rhipeus, there Dymas himself and every young man
> Happily does the same; each one arms himself with fresh spoils.
> We rush, mixed in with the Danaans, hardly by our own divine sanction,
> And, having engaged them, we join many battles through the blind
> Night; we send many Danaans down to Orcus."

The Trojans' disguise works well for them initially, but their success does not last long. Vergil presents *dolus* and *virtus* as polar opposites in this passage. Coroebus believes that the

[3] Verg. *Aen.* 2.384–98.

ends justify the means, that *dolus, a là* Greek Trojan Horse, can secure victory. *Virtus*, however, is much more befitting of a Trojan, and so a Roman. Vergil continues,

> "Illi etiam, si quos obscura nocte per umbram
> fudimus insidiis totaque agitavimus urbe,
> apparent; primi clipeos mentitaque tela
> adgnoscunt, atque ora sono discordia signant."[4]
>
> "Even if we routed anyone by means of ambush in dark night
> Through shadow and disturbed the whole city,
> They, nevertheless, appeared; at once they recognized the shields and
> Feigned spears, and moreover, our mouths marked discordant speech."

By donning Greek arms, the Trojans forsake their collective identity. They ostensibly become victorious Greeks but cannot maintain that fiction. The appearance of victory is not enough for a Trojan (or Roman); a warrior must actually win by his own merit and proudly show off his true self to be worth his salt as a fighter. This episode also reveals the types of things that defined a person and, surely, a people in the ancient world. The language and accent in which one spoke (*ora sono discordia signant*) and gear which they bore into battle (*primi clipeos mentitaque tela adgnoscunt*) were characteristic of each people. Should a Roman try to be something he is not or otherwise act in an un-Roman manner, consequences would find him.

Vergil enlightens his readers on the types of punishments failure to adhere to Roman values would earn them in *Aeneid* 6. Throughout the first half of his epic, Vergil defines the ideal Roman in Aeneas and his men and touches on the repercussions for un-Roman behavior. He doubles down on these repercussions in Book 6, Aeneas' visit to the underworld, exaggerating them into retributive infernal scourges. The Cumaean Sibyl leads

[4] Verg. *Aen.* 2.420–23.

Aeneas through the regions of the underworld, explaining each locale as they go. Once they reach Tartarus, the realm of dead sinners, the Sibyl says,

> "…Phlegyasque miserrimus omnis
> admonet, et magna testatur voce per umbras:
> 'Discite iustitiam moniti, et non temnere divos.'
> Vendidit hic auro patriam, dominumque potentem
> imposuit; fixit leges pretio atque refixit;
> hic thalamum invasit natae vetitosque hymenaeos;
> ausi omnes immane nefas, ausoque potiti."[5]

> "…And Phlegyas, the most miserable of all,
> Cautions, and with a great voice testifies through the shadows:
> 'Learn justice through persuasion, and learn to not despise the divine.'
> This man sold his fatherland for gold, and imposed a powerful
> Lord; he established laws for reward and even re-established them;
> This man entered into the marriage-bed of his daughter and into forbidden nuptials;
> He hazarded all forms of monstrous wickedness, and obtained even that with daring."

This passage serves an apotropaic purpose. Should the Romans under Augustus not embrace his values, they would be subject to both earthly punishments and torments in the afterlife. Roman identity was not merely a cultural consideration, but a cosmic one. The reaffirmation of the Augustan vision of Roman identity follows the parade of sinners.

Vergil speaks through the shade of Anchises, prophesying the magnificence of Augustus, finally cementing his imperialist stance. Aeneas and the Sibyl arrive at Anchises after their trek through the underworld. They have encountered many fallen heroes (and villains) along the way, including revered Trojan ancestors, Minos the kingly judge, Palinurus the helmsman, and an indignant Dido, but Anchises is the end of Aeneas' chthonic detour and the reason he descended in the first place. The hero's father is overjoyed to see him and divulges a great deal of information concerning the future of the Trojans—Vergil's

[5] Verg. *Aen.* 6.618–24.

opportunity to prove that he is not just a poet but an historian—not least the state's rule by Caesar and Augustus. Anchises foretells,

> "Huc geminas nunc flecte acies, hanc aspice gentem
> Romanosque tuos. Hic Caesar et omnis Iuli
> progenies magnum caeli ventura sub axem.
> Hic vir, hic est, tibi quem promitti saepius audis,
> Augustus Caesar, Divi genus, aurea condet
> saecula qui rursus Latio regnata per arva
> Saturno quondam, super et Garamantas et Indos
> proferet imperium: iacet extra sidera tellus,
> extra anni solisque vias, ubi caelifer Atlas
> axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum.
> Huius in adventum iam nunc et Caspia regna
> responsis horrent divom et Maeotia tellus,
> et septemgemini turbant trepida ostia Nili."[6]

> "Here now turn your double gaze, see this race,
> Indeed, your Romans. Here Caesar and all of Iulus'
> Progeny approach, under the great vault of heaven.
> Here the man—here he is, he who was promised you, he who you often hear talk of,
> Augustus Caesar, a god's offspring—will fashion golden
> Ages which again having reigned over Latium, a land
> Formerly reigned over by Saturn, through
> Lifetimes, and above the Garamantes and Indians
> He offers empire: the earth lies beyond the stars,
> Beyond the years and courses of the sun, where the sky-bearer Atlas
> Twists heaven, tied to burning stars, with his shoulder.
> Already, now nigh his arrival, both the Caspian kingdoms
> And Maeotian land tremble at the answer of the gods,
> And disturb the agitated sevenfold estuaries of the Nile."

Vergil leaves all traces of subtlety behind when he calls Aeneas' descendants *Romanosque tuos*. This pronouncement transitions directly into Caesar, Augustus, and the latter's domination of the known world; Vergil does not bewail *Saturno quondam* but hails the human Augustus' *aurea saecula* and the peoples that will inevitably face subjugation—*Garamantas et Indos, Caspia regna*, *Maeotia tellus*, and *septemgemini trepida ostia Nili*.

[6] Verg. *Aen.* 6.788–800.

Aeneas sails onward to Italy with knowledge of his people's distant future and never-ending prosperity, a paragon of inescapable and ever-pursuant Trojan majesty and its inevitable executor. When Aeneas ascends from the depths of the underworld, his Campbellian hero's journey is nearly at its end. He endures his own Jonahic descent and returns to the world of the living with new knowledge and renewed purpose: a perfected version of himself ready to bestow boons in the form of Trojan dominance on his fellow man. Because Aeneas' personal character development is, for all intents and purposes, completed, Vergil shifts his attention to another character, this one the antithesis to all things Trojan.

Vergil's Turnus: The Italic Insurgent

I argue that whereas Vergil's Trojans are the predestined precursors to the ideal Augustan Roman, his Italic peoples represent all those whom Augustus' imperialist advances overtook. Vergil's Turnus is a rebellious Italic hero and leader of the Rutuli people destined to be militarily conquered by his Trojan counterpart. Turnus does not, however, resort to war against the Trojans until he is visited at night by the Fury Alecto (from the Greek ἀ-, "un-" + λήγω, "I cease," so Alecto, "The Unceasing One"); a vengeful Juno sends Alecto, disguised as an elderly prophetess, to inspire hostility in Turnus, who only yields once he sees the Fury's true, terrible form. He is simultaneously an unwitting pawn of Juno and a fitting enemy in his own right as he fights for his would-be bride and homeland. Turnus and the Italics are the perfect nemeses and final test for Aeneas and the Trojans because of their thematic resemblance to the Greeks that set the Trojans' voyage into motion in the first place. The Italics are substitutes for the Greeks; if the new and improved, postbellum Trojans can conquer the Italics who are just as revered as the Greeks were, they might reclaim their status

as the dominant Mediterranean power. Aeneas and his men cannot exact vengeance on those that took everything from them, but victory over the peoples who inhabit their promised land is the next best thing, and, if the prophecy of Anchises' shade is to be believed, even better in the long run. All told, the war between the Trojans, Rutuli, and their allies is a callback to the Trojan War and all part of the fate ordained for Rome.

Vergil introduces Turnus as a harrowing new enemy, though reminiscent of the bane of Hector—Achilles. Vergil first mentions Turnus, albeit not by name, in *Aeneid* 6. Aeneas and his comrades approach the Cumaean Sibyl who prophesies one last hurdle before they might found a new, Latin Troy; the Trojans must fight another war, this time against an Italic confederacy. The Sibyl proclaims,

> "O tandem magnis pelagi defuncte periclis!
> Sed terrae graviora manent. In regna Lavini
> Dardanidae venient; mitte hanc de pectore curam;
> sed non et venisse volent. Bella, horrida bella,
> et Thybrim multo spumantem sanguine cerno.
> Non Simois tibi, nec Xanthus, nec Dorica castra
> defuerint; alius Latio iam partus Achilles,
> natus et ipse dea; nec Teucris addita Iuno
> usquam aberit; cum tu supplex in rebus egenis
> quas gentes Italum aut quas non oraveris urbes!"[7]

> "O finally be done with your great trials on the sea!
> But more severe challenges remain for land. Into Lavinian kingdoms
> The children of Dardanus will come; loose this care from your breast;
> But even they will not want you to come. Wars, wars rough in their course,
> And the Tiber foaming with abundant blood, I see.
> Not Simois, and not Xanthus, and not the Doric camp
> Will have failed you; in Latium, already, another Achilles has been delivered,
> Himself, also, born from a goddess; and Juno, veritable baggage, will not ever
> Be absent from the line of Teucer; while you, beseeching them in a needy state,
> Will entreat these peoples and cities of Italy!"

[7] Verg. *Aen.* 6.83–92.

The connotations of Vergil's first identification of Turnus as *alius Achilles* cannot be overlooked. In the context of the narrative, such an epithet signals danger to the Trojans; Achilles was the Greeks' greatest, nigh invincible fighter during the war, and he proved his savagery during the final confrontation with Hector. Homer describes Achilles thus in *Iliad* 22:

> …ὃ δέ οἱ σχεδὸν ἦλθεν Ἀχιλλεὺς
> ἶσος Ἐνυαλίῳ κορυθάϊκι πτολεμιστῇ
> σείων Πηλιάδα μελίην κατὰ δεξιὸν ὦμον
> δεινήν: ἀμφὶ δὲ χαλκὸς ἐλάμπετο εἴκελος αὐγῇ
> ἢ πυρὸς αἰθομένου ἢ ἠελίου ἀνιόντος.
> Ἕκτορα δ᾽, ὡς ἐνόησεν, ἕλε τρόμος: οὐδ᾽ ἄρ᾽ ἔτ᾽ ἔτλη
> αὖθι μένειν, ὀπίσω δὲ πύλας λίπε, βῆ δὲ φοβηθείς:
> Πηλεΐδης δ᾽ ἐπόρουσε ποσὶ κραιπνοῖσι πεποιθώς.[8]
>
> …and Achilles—equal to helmet-shaking Enyalius [Ares],
> The warrior—came near him,
> Shaking the terrible Pelian ash beneath his right shoulder:
> And on both sides the brass shone like the light
> Of a fire blazing or the rising sun.
> And fear seized Hector as he saw this: then he did not endure to
> Still stand his ground there, but fled behind the gates, and went, frightened:
> And the son of Peleus rushed on, trusting in his swift feet.

Vergil is looking back to Homer when he calls Turnus *alius Achilles*. Aeneas, himself a veteran of the Trojan War, must imagine fury such as this when he first learns of the Italic chieftain, both recalling the crushing defeat of Hector and envisioning the might that he must soon overcome. If Turnus is *alius Achilles*, is he also ἶσος Ἐνυαλίῳ κορυθάϊκι πτολεμιστῇ? This purposeful reference to the Homeric Achilles says something about Vergil's propagandistic goals, as well. The Roman people were, of course, collectively familiar with the Homeric account of the Trojan War and would have understood Vergil's allusions. Vergil clearly wants to establish himself in the epic tradition that began with Homer, telling the

[8] Homer, *Iliad*, in *Homeri Opera in five volumes*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1920), 22.131–38, http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:greekLit:tlg0012.tlg001.perseus-grc1:22.131-22.176.

other side of the Trojan War story and its aftermath. He frames his epic in a way that guarantees a positive reception from the Roman people, however; Vergil recontextualizes the Greeks' wartime victory as the first step to the Trojans' fulfillment of their destiny. Rome's founding and eventual rise to power could not have happened without an initial Trojan loss.

Immediately after he introduces Turnus, Vergil indirectly presents the woman who will be, in part, the catalyst of the war—a new Helen. The Sibyl continues:

> "Causa mali tanti coniunx iterum hospita Teucris
> externique iterum thalami."[9]
>
> "The cause of such great evil is, again, a wife, friendly to Teucer's line,
> Again, a foreign marriage-bed."

Vergil does not name her here, but Lavinia, just like Helen of Troy, will be both *coniunx hospita Teucris* and *causa mali tanti* in Italy; her father will choose Aeneas over Turnus, thus instigating a bitter rivalry between the two men. Homer, through the character of Hera, speaks of Helen's involvement in this way:

> ἔνθά κεν Ἀργείοισιν ὑπέρμορα νόστος ἐτύχθη
> εἰ μὴ Ἀθηναίην Ἥρη πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν:
> 'ὢ πόποι αἰγιόχοιο Διὸς τέκος Ἀτρυτώνη,
> οὕτω δὴ οἶκον δὲ φίλην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν
> Ἀργεῖοι φεύξονται ἐπ᾽ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης,
> κἀδ δέ κεν εὐχωλὴν Πριάμῳ καὶ Τρωσὶ λίποιεν
> Ἀργείην Ἑλένην, ἧς εἵνεκα πολλοὶ Ἀχαιῶν
> ἐν Τροίῃ ἀπόλοντο φίλης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης…[10]
>
> Then it would have happened that the Argives would have prepared beyond
> If Hera had not told a tale to Athena:
> "Oh my, aegis-bearing Zeus-child, the Indefatigable,
> Thus, indeed the Argives would escape to home and
> Beloved fatherland upon the wide surface of the sea,
> And for Priam and the Trojans they would leave their vow,
> Argive Helen, for whose sake many Achaeans
> Have died in Troy, far from their beloved fatherland…"

[9] Verg. *Aen.* 6.93–94.
[10] Hom., *Il.* 2.150–62.

Hera names Helen as the primary cause (εὐχωλὴν) for the loss of Greek lives during the Trojan War.

The complaints of Vergil's Juno, the equivalent of Homer's Hera, Aeneas' stalwart enemy, and divine benefactress of Turnus and the Italic confederacy, concerning Lavinia further strengthen the narrative link between the Trojan War and the present conflict. Juno says,

> "Hac gener atque socer coeant mercede suorum:
> sanguine Troiano et Rutulo dotabere, virgo,
> et Bellona manet te pronuba. Nec face tantum
> Cisseis praegnans ignis enixa iugalis
> quin idem Veneri partus suus et Paris alter
> funestaeque iterum recidiva in Pergama taedae."[11]

> "Thus may the son-in-law and father-in-law unite with their reward:
> You will be endowed with Trojan and Rutulian blood, maiden,
> And Bellona keeps you as a maid of honor. And not only
> Pregnant with Cisseus, having borne marriage-fire,
> Why not the same one himself born to Venus, even another Paris,
> And deadly nuptial pitch-pines again in restored Pergama."

Juno dubs Aeneas *Paris alter*, such an identification further solidifying the parallels between the present war in Italy and the Trojan War. The identification with Paris in particular characterizes Aeneas as a coward and thief who plundered a woman and seeks to take Italy from Turnus and the native tribes. Perhaps to the Italics Aeneas is only victorious because gods guide him, like Homer's Apollo-possessed Paris. Vergil does not dilute his pro-Augustan stance, though, because Juno is his mouthpiece; the queen of the gods is the overarching antagonist of the poem, using mortals (e.g., Dido and Turnus) to exact her revenge against Aeneas and the Trojans.

[11] Verg. *Aen.* 7.317–22.

Unique to Vergil's poem is the fact that Juno and, by extension, Turnus futilely try to foil the Trojans' plans for settlement in Italy, but only serve to exhibit the proto-Romans' power. The Judgment of Paris is the ostensible cause of Helen's abduction and, in turn, the Trojan War. Paris is entangled in a dispute between three goddesses, Aphrodite, Athena, and Hera, who then command him to name the most beautiful. Though all three goddesses extend boons associated with one of their aspects, Paris chooses Aphrodite. Her offer? Nothing less than the hand of the most beautiful mortal woman: Helen. This ancient tale colored both the Homeric and Vergilian poems, serving as the mythic germ for the Trojan War. Homer, a Greek poet, recalled Greek wartime victory and Odysseus' retribution on Penelope's suitors in his works. He thus justified Hera and Athena's ire over Paris' choice. Vergil instead stresses the horror of Troy's destruction and the perseverance of Aeneas and his fellow refugees, not denying the Judgment of Paris and its consequences, but affirming that the Trojans (and Romans) come out on top despite such a folly, no matter the circumstances. Vergil's Juno even acknowledges the unavoidable fruitlessness of her war in Italy but, nevertheless, wants to hamper the Trojans' promised preeminence.[12] Such an idea conjures to mind Octavian's victory over Cleopatra and Mark Antony at Actium. Vergil and Augustus used this battle as an example of Roman superiority; the defeat of Cleopatra, an Egyptian queen who seduced both Caesar and Antony and had an ancient and militarily formidable people behind her, was a considerable watershed for the future Roman emperor and the Roman state. Cleopatran Egypt was a great power but could not withstand Octavian's Rome.

[12] "Non dabitur regnis, esto, prohibere Latinis, / atque immota manet fatis Lavinia coniunx: / at trahere atque moras tantis licet addere rebus, / at licet amborum populos exscindere regum." (Verg. *Aen.* 7.313–316: "It will not be afforded, and so shall it be, to prevent him [Aeneas] from [establishing] Latin kingdoms, and also Lavinia, immovable, remains his wife by the fates: but it is permitted to drag and add delays by such great matters, indeed it is permitted to annihilate the people of both kingdoms." Instigating a war is worth it for Juno as long as she can cause some misery for the Trojans and Latins.)

Despite the narrative parallels Vergil draws between the victorious Trojan War-era Greeks and the Italic peoples resisting Trojan settlement, his Turnus makes a point to distinguish the Italic tribes with respect to their battle strategy. Turnus asserts,

> "Non armis mihi Volcani, non mille carinis
> est opus in Teucros; addant se protinus omnes
> Etrusci socios, tenebras et inertia furta
> Palladii caesis summae custodibus arcis
> ne timeant, nec equi caeca condemur in alvo:
> luce palam certum est igni circumdare muros.
> Haud sibi cum Danais rem faxo et pube Pelasga
> esse ferant, decumum quos distulit Hector in annum."[13]

> "Not in the weapons of Vulcan, not in a thousand ships
> Is there to me work against the Teucrians; all Etruscans add
> Themselves to my confederacy, and neither may, under cover of darkness,
> incompetent robberies of
> The Palladian citadel, hewn at the top, by the guardians
> Frighten us, nor do we hide in the blind belly of a horse:
> It is certain that before the light of fire the walls surround us.
> By no means will I have done that thing which they bore
> With the Danaans themselves and ripe Pelasgia, whom Hector dispersed in the
> tenth year."

Turnus characterizes the Greeks as wily, reliant on deception rather than physical strength to achieve their aims. He disregards the superhuman might of the Iliadic Achilles, focusing instead on the subterfuge of Odysseus and Epeius, the Trojan Horse's architect. He refuses to repeat the Greeks' shameful acts in his fight against the Trojans and by disregarding his enemies' military strength, as well (*Non armis mihi Volcani, non mille carinis*), he displays complete confidence in Italic capability. Interestingly, he does not limit his conviction to his Rutuli, but to all the Italic peoples on his side (*addant se protinus omnes / Etrusci socios*), implying a degree of solidarity between the seemingly distinct tribes who join him at a moment's notice. Vergil affords Turnus a nugget of culture, a linguistic tie to the ancients,

[13] Verg. *Aen.* 9.148–55.

through his use of the verb form *faxo*, a peculiarly archaic form of the classical *fecero*. What does Vergil wish to achieve with such a conspicuous archaism? I argue that this is a nod to the antiquity of the Italic peoples, that although their land is not truly theirs but the long-awaited Trojans', they nevertheless have deep ancestral ties that bind them to it and each other. Finally, Turnus describes Hector as victor over the Greeks. This is an acknowledgment of Trojan fierceness on the part of their Rutulian enemy. Turnus is an individual who respects the ability of his foes even if he resents their cause.

A brutal war rages in Latium and in *Aeneid* 12, its denouement, Vergil shows Turnus as a pathetic murderer before the emotionally complex, but ultimately righteously angry, Aeneas. Aeneas exacts his revenge on Turnus after the latter betrays the faith of the former, having agreed to a duel between the two men and then failing to make good on his promise. The two meet one last, fatal time as Vergil writes,

> Per medium stridens transit femur. Incidit ictus
> ingens ad terram duplicato poplite Turnus.
> Consurgunt gemitu Rutuli, totusque remugit
> mons circum, et vocem late nemora alta remittent.[14]
>
> Through the middle of his thigh the shrieking thing went. Smitten, the massive
> Turnus falls to the ground on doubled knee.
> The Rutuli, altogether, rise up with a groan, and the entire mountain
> Around them bellows in reply, and the tall wood sends its voice abroad in
> return.

Vergil, here more than ever, establishes Turnus as representative of the entire Italic confederacy, or at least the Rutuli and the natural world they inhabit. The unison lament of the Rutuli at Turnus' wound (*Consurgunt gemitu Rutuli*) signals the loss of both the confidence that fuels them early on in the war and their most valuable asset; Turnus' bodily injury is also a fatal blow to the soul of the Rutuli. The earth itself mourns the squandering of

[14] Verg. *Aen.* 12.926–29.

this life, just moments ago filled with strength. Turnus begs for his life, acknowledging Aeneas' victory and pleading with the Trojan warrior to spare him for the sake of his father, Daunus. Aeneas in reply:

> …Stetit acer in armis
> Aeneas, volvens oculos, dextramque repressit;
> et iam iamque magis cunctantem flectere sermo
> coeperat, infelix umero cum apparuit alto
> balteus et notis fulserunt cingula bullis
> Pallantis pueri, victum quem volnere Turnus
> straverat atque umeris inimicum insigne gerebat.
> Ille, oculis postquam saevi monimenta doloris
> exuviasque hausit, furiis accensus et ira
> terribilis, "Tune hinc spoliis indute meorum
> eripiare mihi? Pallas te hoc volnere, Pallas
> immolat et poenam scelerato ex sanguine sumit,"
> hoc dicens ferrum adverso sub pectore condit
> fervidus. Ast illi solvuntur frigore membra
> vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras.[15]

> …Bitter, Aeneas stood in his
> Armor, turning his gaze this way and that, but holding back his right hand;
> And now, even now as he delayed, the speech had begun to influence him
> More, when an unfortunate girdle on a tall shoulder came into
> His sight and the sword-belts—with their tokens and bosses—of the boy
> Pallas flashed; Turnus had scattered the conquered one whom
> He wounded and was wearing the enemy ensign on his shoulders.
> That man, after he drew his eyes to the memorial of cruel sadness
> And the spoils, incensed with fury and terrible
> Anger: "Do you not here don the spoils of my comrade, whom
> You ripped away from me? Pallas was wounded by you here, Pallas
> Burned and took on the punishment of your crime with his blood,"
> Saying this, fervent, he buried his sword deep in the chest in front of
> Him. But the limbs of that man went slack with cold
> And his life fled with an indignant groan to the shades below.

Through Aeneas' recognition of Pallas' armor and consequent vanquishing of Turnus, Vergil insinuates that to Aeneas circumstances necessitate a merciless show of force. The murder of Pallas is more than the loss of an ally to Aeneas. In Book 8, Evander, a Latin king and Pallas'

[15] Verg. *Aen.* 12.938–52.

father, whom Aeneas approaches for military aid, both recognizes Aeneas as rightful ruler of the entire Italian peninsula and sends his son to fight with the Trojan-led faction against Turnus.[16] Thus, Pallas represents the alliance between Evander's Italics and Aeneas' Trojans. Now, in this moment, Aeneas is simultaneously struck once more by the horror of a young life cut short—perpetrated by Turnus and witnessed by Aeneas in Book 10—and the implications of the slaying with regard to the new political partnership he only recently forged with Evander. Might must make right to Vergil's Aeneas. Obliterating his enemies is the only surefire way to protect his people and maintain his allies. Turnus' pleading has but a momentary effect on Aeneas (*flectere sermo / coeperat*), whereas the visual stimulus of Pallas' armor makes a more lasting impression. In his final moments, Turnus is pathetic. Gone are the once feared strength and authority of the man sponsored by Juno and capable of confidently declaring a war against storied Trojan émigrés. Vergil shows that for all Turnus' Achillean power, he is no match for a Trojan hero destined to expand his people's influence and plant the seeds, as it were, for the eternal Roman hegemon.

With this final action, Vergil cements Aeneas as the precursor to Augustus in his capacity as imperialist absolute ruler. Aeneas fulfills the prerogative of the Augustan Mars Ultor, avenging his people their loss in the Trojan War and reclaiming their lost homeland. This accomplishment at once echoes and foreshadows the real-life exploits of Augustus: the loss of his adoptive father Caesar and the Republic and subsequent slaughter of Caesar's assassins. Vergil's Turnus, on the other hand, is an amalgamation of Rome's enemies, mythological, historical, and recent. Missing from the *Aeneid*, however, is an epilogue of

[16] Evander to Aeneas, "'…Tu, cuius et annis / et generi fatum indulgent, quem numina poscunt, / ingredere, o Teucrum atque Italum fortissimo ductor.'" (Verg. *Aen.* 8.511–13: "'…You, to whose years / And races they grant a word, which the divinities demand, / Advance, O most powerful leader of Teucer and Italy.'")

sorts, chronicling the definitive end of the war in Italy and the consolidation of Trojan power in the region. What does this say about Vergil's propaganda? It is impossible to know for sure because the epic may, indeed, be incomplete, but assuming that this is the true ending, I argue that Vergil's imperialist outlook dubs all enemies dissidents and all dissidents future subjects of empire; Aeneas' ultimate, fateful act confirms Roman dominance over the entire *orbis terrarum* and, thus, forecasts the doom of all potential rebels.

Chapter 4: Ovid's Lukewarm Loyalty

Ovid's characters deserve just as much attention as Vergil's because of the rich, consistent, and syncretic world they inhabit. Vergil, of course, neither invented the story of Aeneas nor the character of Turnus, but rather adapted them, fleshed them out. Because Ovid wrote after Vergil, his account of Aeneas' journey must be viewed as a further adaptation, divergent in scope and attitude towards the two characters in question. Indeed, Ovid's *Metamorphoses* especially is always in conversation with Vergil's poem, being very much so the epic successor to the accepted and venerated *Aeneid*.

Ovid's Aeneas: The Undesirable Expansionist

I argue that Ovid's *Heroides* (or *Epistulae Heroidum*), composed late first century BCE, and *Metamorphoses*, Books 13 and 14, composed 8 CE, treat Aeneas as more of a storytelling device than an actual character. In *Heroides* I, Penelope writes a letter to Ulysses, a letter which will most likely never reach him until his return to Ithaca, in which she laments the Trojan War and her husband's absence. Moreover, in *Heroides* VII, Dido blames Aeneas for her plight in a series of scathing poetic lines. Because Ovid writes from Penelope and Dido's points of view, he comes across as sympathizing with foreigners, indeed enemies of the Trojans, and vaguely anti-Roman. This outlook is reinforced by Aeneas' portrayal in the *Metamorphoses*. Aeneas is the focus of several sections within these books but only has a handful of lines. Ovid tends to use Aeneas as a narrative device to introduce characters with whom he interacts, and then proceeds to flesh out this supporting cast. Ovid is not directly supportive of either the Augustan government or Rome itself; he puts Rome on the backburner to talk about others.

Ovid characterizes Dido as a tragic heroine deserving of sympathy in *Heroides* VII. The *Heroides* act as the elegiac letters of various mythological heroines, addressed to their male love interests. "*Penelope Ulixi*" (*Heroides* I), "*Briseis Achilli*" (III), and "*Deianira Herculi*" (IX) are but three of the fifteen total poems. *Heroides* I and VII ("*Dido Aeneae*") are most relevant to this study, in which I will discuss the latter first. *Heroides* VII comprises the melancholic complaints of the Carthaginian queen to her former Trojan lover, taking place after Aeneas and his men leave the North African city-state in search of their promised land. Conspicuous is the absence of any identification or expressed support of Aeneas' abandoning Dido, especially when compared to the *Aeneid*'s pro-Augustan version of the same events. Ovid's Dido laments,

> Nec nova Carthago, nec te crescentia tangunt
> Moenia nec sceptro tradita summa tuo?
> Facta fugis, facienda petis; quaerenda per orbem
> Altera, quaesita est altera terra tibi.
> Ut terram invenias, quis eam tibi tradet habendam?
> Quis sua non notis arva tenenda dabit?
> Scilicet alter amor tibi restat et altera Dido;
> Quamque iterum fallas altera danda fides.
> Quando erit, ut condas instar Carthaginis urbem
> Et videas populos altus ab arce tuos?[1]

> Neither the new Carthage, nor its rising walls touch
> You, not even the greatest powers handed to you via your royal scepter?
> You flee things done, you seek things that must be done; still seeking another
> Land across the globe, your other land has already been discovered.
> When you find your land, who would give it into your keeping?
> Who will give his fields-in-hand to a stranger?
> It is certain that another love awaits you, and another Dido;
> Whatever other promise you will make, you will dupe again.
> When will it be, that you might found a city in the likeness of Carthage
> And you see your nourished peoples from a citadel?

[1] Ovid, "Dido Aeneae," in *Epistulae*, ed. R. Ehwald, (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1907), 11–20, http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0959.phi002.perseus-lat1:7.

Ovid sympathizes with Dido who unswervingly lambasts Aeneas for deserting her. Aeneas comes across as ungrateful for failing to appreciate Dido's *nova Carthago* and its *crescientia moenia*. He must forcefully steal someone else's homeland, not caring in the slightest that he is displacing indigenous peoples and is never content with civic progress or the love given him but must always seek to occupy more land and win the heart of a (perhaps more prestigious) woman. Dido also claims that Aeneas is untrustworthy (*quamque iterum fallas altera danda fides*) and sarcastically derides Aeneas' goal of founding a new city, saying that it will only be a clone of her Carthage (*Quando erit, ut condas instar Carthaginis urbem / Et videas populos altus ab arce tuos?*). This is a stark contrast to Vergil's characterization of Dido.

Vergil dooms Dido's infatuation with Aeneas from the start. Juno unsuccessfully engineers the downfall of Aeneas by encouraging marriage between him and Dido, sending her minion Aurora to stir up a storm while they are out hunting with a party. The narrator calls Juno's scheme *dolis* ("tricks" or "deception")[2] and later says of the "marriage" itself,

> Ille dies primus leti primusque malorum
> Causa fuit; neque enim specie famave movetur,
> Nec iam furtivum Dido meditatur amorem:
> Coniugium vocat; hoc praetexit nomine culpam. [3]
>
> That was at once a day of death and a fount of
> Evils; for neither is Dido moved by either appearance or rumor,
> Nor does she now reflect on her clandestine love:
> She calls it marriage; with that name she adorns this crime.

Here Vergil characterizes Dido as carelessly unflinching in her apparently ruinous desire for Aeneas. In failing to consider the consequences of this fling, the queen likewise fails to uphold the majesty of her reign and becomes instead a lovestruck, emotionally compromised

[2] Verg. *Aen*. 4.128.
[3] Verg. *Aen*. 4.169–72.

shell of her former self wholly devoted to her would-be lover. Dido's lamentation and suicide at the end of Book 4 are forecasted here, over 400 hundred lines earlier. Concerning the reason why Dido ultimately bites the dust, the text says,

> Nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
> Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore…[4]
>
> For not because of fate, nor because of a deserved death did she perish,
> But because of misfortune before that day, and suddenly, enkindled by madness…

The narrator claims that Dido is not destined or deserving of her untimely death—citing a neutral cause, sudden *furor*, instead—but narratologically speaking, Vergil foreshadows her demise early in Book 4 to plant the seed of dread in readers' minds. Moreover, Aeneas never regrets his decision to leave Dido and Carthage. Vergil writes Aeneas as ever dutiful and superior to the yearning Tyrian queen, his goal of founding a new Troy more important than her love for him and so, his people as ineluctably more virtuous than the inhabitants of Carthage.

Whereas Vergil applauds Aeneas' drive, Ovid finds fault in it. Because the Aeneas of early imperial literature is, I argue, the representation of Augustan expansionist policy, *Heroides* VII is a rebuke of the all-consuming imperialism that characterized Rome at the time. Ovid's Dido, like her Vergilian counterpart, is both the progenitor of Barcid Carthage––a power that would plague the late Roman Republic—and the personification of proconsular Africa, a Roman province which included the city of Carthage. By belaboring the tragedy of Dido and framing what was Aeneas' sense of duty in Vergil as an insatiable hunger for land and power, Ovid rails against Augustus' expansionist priorities and sides with his provincial subjects.

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[4] Verg. *Aen*. 4.696–97.

Ovid's *Heroides* I, his letter from Penelope to Ulysses supports this argument. *Heroides* I is a blatant reproof of the legendary Trojan cause and, in turn, Augustan imperialism. This poem takes place after the Trojan War but before the *Telemachy*, as Penelope writes to her war-weary husband Ulysses from their home in Ithaca and their son Telemachus is still a youth, not yet the man from Homer's epic poem. At the beginning of the letter, Penelope remarks that the war has ended and wishes that it had never occurred in the first place, singling out one Trojan in particular. Ovid's Penelope complains,

> Troia iacet certe, Danais invisa puellis;
> Vix Priamus tanti totaque Troia fuit.
> utinam tum, cum Lacedaemona classe petebat,
> Obrutus insanis esset adulter aquis![5]
>
> Troy lies wasted, certainly, hated by Danaan maidens;
> Priam and all Troy were barely so great.
> If only the unclean adulterer, when he was seeking
> Lacedaemon with his fleet, had been drowned by the waters!

Penelope questions the much-lauded majesty of Troy (*vix Priamus tanti totaque Troia fuit*) and condemns Paris (*insanis adulter*) for shortsightedly inciting such a devastating conflict. She, like Vergil's characters, views Paris' abduction of Helen as the direct and primary cause of the Trojan War. This is significant because it places blame for countless deaths on the lust of a Trojan prince. If Ovid's Trojans are analogues for early imperial Romans, Paris and his folly are indicative of Augustus and his unquenchable thirst for conquest. However, Penelope's conviction that the Trojan War is over (*Troia iacet certe*) is a stark contrast to the Vergilian Aeneas' ongoing battle, the narrative parallels which Vergil establishes between the Trojan War and the war between the Trojans and Italic peoples. Despite the physical war

[5] Ovid, "Penelope Ulixi," in *Epistulae*, ed. R. Ehwald, (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner, 1907), 3–6, http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0959.phi002.perseus-lat1:1.

having ended, however, Penelope still wages an emotional war against loneliness and despair, a consequence of her husband's absence. She continues,

> Sed mihi quid prodest vestris disiecta lacertis
> Ilios et, murus quod fuit, esse solum,
> Si maneo, qualis Troia durante manebam,
> Virque mihi dempto fine carendus abest?
> Diruta sunt aliis, uni mihi Pergama restant,
> Incola captivo quae bove victor arat.[6]

> But what benefit does Ilium, torn asunder by your muscular upper arms, bring to
> Me and, where there was a wall, that there is but earth,
> If I abide in the same condition I was abiding as Troy endured,
> And my missing husband is away with no end in sight for his absence?
> The Pergaman walls are destroyed for others; only to me do they still stand—
> The triumphant inhabitant tills the land with a captive ox.

Whereas for Vergil's Aeneas the Trojan War rages on in Italy years after its conclusion in Troy, it continues to take a psychological toll on Ovid's Penelope as she waits for Ulysses to return home. Ovid contrasts Penelope's strong will with the physical resilience of Troy through the use of the verbs *maneo* and *duro*, respectively; *maneo* and *manebam* surround *durante* in line 49, both eliciting effective poetic repetition and suggesting that Penelope will overcome the war's hold on her. Nevertheless, Penelope's disconsolate insistence that Troy still thrives to her (*Diruta sunt aliis, uni mihi Pergama restant*) once again signals her continual suffering at the hands of the Trojans and, thus, Ovid's disapproval of Augustus' imperialist advances. Penelope continues to suffer because warfare instigated by the Trojans has lasting consequences on her innocent family. To Ovid's Carthaginian Dido, Aeneas represents a rapacious and insatiable militarist state that stops at nothing in order to achieve its oppressive expansionist goals and to his Greek Penelope, he is complicit in a more personal matter: the absence of her husband. Both women describe the wounds—whether

[6] Ov. "Penelope," *Her*. 47–52.

physical or psychological, direct or indirect—inflicted on them by the Trojans and reject the Trojan cause as damaging to other peoples. This outright reproach of Aeneas and his people flies in the face of Augustus and Vergil's identification of the Roman people with the Trojans and, in turn, Augustan expansionism.

If Ovid disapproves of Aeneas in the *Heroides*, he fails to make him a prominent actor in the *Metamorphoses*. Ovid extensively chronicles Greek endeavors starting in *Metamorphoses* Book 12 but does not even mention Aeneas by name until halfway through Book 13. Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is an epic poem, continuing the tradition begun by Homer and most recently innovated by Vergil, but it differs from its precursors in that it does not have one protagonist or storyline that progresses throughout the course of the poem. Rather, Ovid composes a series of interlocking vignettes, beginning with the creation of the universe and ending with the deification of Caesar and Augustus, that tell the millennia-long history of the world, Greece, and Rome. The world as understood by the early imperial Romans is the foremost protagonist of Ovid's epic poem. He first relates the primordial cosmology of his world and then homes in on the escapades of particular individuals. All the stories lead to Rome's dominance over the known world in the end, yet the Greeks are the second focal point of the *Metamorphoses*, a fact made clear throughout the epic poem.

Ovid gives Ajax and, even more pronouncedly, Ulysses lengthy speeches in *Metamorphoses* 13. Indeed, Book 13 begins with Ajax' justification for why he should inherit the arms of Achilles, that semidivine paragon of Greek martial excellence, instead of his rival Ulysses. Ajax argues,

> Atque ego, si virtus in me dubitabilis esset,
> nobilitate potens essem, Telamone creatus,
> moenia qui forti Troiana sub Hercule cepit
> litoraque intravit Pagasaea Colcha carina.

> Aeacus huic pater est, qui iura silentibus illic
> reddit, ubi Aeoliden saxum grave Sisyphon urget.
> Aeacon agnoscit summus prolemque fatetur
> Iuppiter esse suam: sic a Iove tertius Aiax.[7]
>
> And I, if the manliness in me is dubious,
> Let me be potent with respect to my nobility, begotten from Telamon,
> Who, serving under the stout Hercules, took the walls of Troy
> And invaded the Colchian coasts on the Pagasaean vessel—indeed, the Argo herself.
> Aeacus is his father, he who restores lawfulness to the silent ones
> There, where he drives Sisyphus, son of Aeolus, to his troublesome stone.
> Highest Jupiter recognizes and admits that Aeacus
> Is his child: thus Ajax is third from Jove.

Ovid uses Ajax to praise the Greek heroes of legend: their military accomplishments and descent from divinity. What makes this portion of the speech particularly provocative is Ovid's insistence that Greeks are peculiarly worthy of a god's esteem; the proto-Roman Trojans are not special in this regard as in Vergil, and when Ulysses follows Ajax' speech with his own, even longer one, he likewise begins by recounting his Jovian lineage. Moreover, Ovid's Aeneas does no such thing.

While Aeneas' naval globetrotting is central to the events of *Metamorphoses* Books 13 and 14, Aeneas himself is not. Ovid technically shifts from Greek protagonists to Trojan ones, but he does so with no fanfare and nowhere near as much interest. The Trojans' time in Carthage is almost non-existent in the *Metamorphoses* and these are the only lines Ovid permits the relationship of Aeneas and Dido:

> Excipit Aenean illic animoque domoque
> non bene discidium Phrygii latura mariti
> Sidonis; inque pyra sacri sub imagine facta
> incubuit ferro deceptaque decipit omnes.[8]
>
> She [Dido] received Aeneas there [in Libya] in both her heart and her home,

[7] Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, ed. Hugo Magnus, (Gotha: Fridr. Andr. Perthes, 1892), 13.21–28, http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi0959.phi006.perseus-lat1:13.1-13.97.
[8] Ov. *Met.* 14.78–81.

> She, a Sidonian woman, who would not bear well separation from her
> Phrygian
> Husband; and she lay on a sword, after constructing a pyre beneath
> A sacred image and having been deceived, she deceived all.

Whereas Vergil emphasizes the necessity of Aeneas' desertion of Dido for Latium, Ovid stresses the immorality of the desertion itself. Aeneas may be laudable for his perseverance and power, but Ovid criticizes him for lying to and leaving a woman who loved him and would have gladly helped him make a home in Carthage. The euphonious assonance of *animoque domoque* contrasts the harsh consonance of *deceptaque decipit*, adding more fuel to Dido's fire—figuratively and quite literally! Concerning the dearth of content here, Ovid as a connoisseur of poetry—of course, being a poet himself—could not have given Aeneas such short shrift coincidentally. He purposefully works towards ignoring Aeneas as much as possible to argue for his insignificance and lack of admirable qualities.

Ovid's poem differs even more in that he sees Aeneas deified as Indiges after presumably many years have passed since the war in Italy. The Ovidian Aeneas, in spite of his detractors, founds a prosperous Latin state following the defeat of the Turnan confederacy. As is to be expected from what came before, Aeneas neither speaks nor has any more adventures worth recalling but is instead deified without much fuss. The text reads,

> Iamque deos omnes ipsamque Aeneia virtus
> Iunonem veteres finire coegerat iras,
> cum, bene fundatis opibus crescentis Iuli,
> tempestivus erat caelo Cythereius heros…[9]

> And now Aeneas' gallantry had compelled all the gods,
> And even Juno herself, to put an end to their anger,
> And since Iulus grew well with his works firmly founded,
> The Cytherian hero was appropriate for heaven…

Aeneas' usefulness has run its course, so Iulus can take the reins now. Ovid continues,

[9] Ov. *Met.* 14.581–84.

> Hunc iubet Aeneae, quaecumque obnoxia morti,
> abluere et tacito deferre sub aequora cursu;
> corniger exsequitur Veneris mandata suisque,
> quidquid in Aenea fuerat mortale, repurgat
> et respergit aquis: pars optima restitit illi.
> Lustratum genetrix divino corpus odore
> unxit et ambrosia cum dulci nectare mixta
> contigit os fecitque deum, quem turba Quirini
> nuncupat Indigetem temploque arisque recepit.[10]
>
> She [Venus] orders him [Numicius, a river deity] to cleanse Aeneas, whatever of him is liable to death,
> And draw him down beneath the quiet course of the waters;
> The horned one follows Venus' mandates—
> He purges whatever mortal exists in Aeneas,
> And sprinkles him with water: the best part remains to that man.
> His mother anointed his illuminated body with a holy
> Perfume and touched his mouth with ambrosia mixed with sweet
> Nectar and made a god, whom the Quirinal crowd [Romans]
> Call Indiges and recall to memory by means of a temple and altars.

I argue that whereas Vergil leaves Aeneas alive at the end of his poem in order to imply his continual rule and leave the end of his reign uncertain and far off, Ovid kills Aeneas off to definitively limit his power and longevity, and, so, acknowledge his mortality despite his heroic stature. When Numicius removes Aeneas' mortality (*quidquid in Aenea fuerat mortale, repurgat*), he denies Vergil's argument for Trojan exceptionalism; only Aeneas' godliness is important to Numicius and the other deities. This is especially important when the Greeks' eminence in the poem is taken into account. Since, I argue, Aeneas is a representative for Augustus and the Roman people, Ovid sets bounds on both Augustus' life and the Empire's reach, denying them the world domination they pursue through constant imperialism. Yes, Aeneas does become Indiges in the *Metamorphoses*, but he is still unceremoniously succeeded by his son and his descendants, the rulers of Alba Longa. Ovid deifies none of these leaders, leaving them to inhabit the earthly and chthonic spheres,

[10] Ov. *Met*. 14.596–608.

prestigious from political and social achievement but even more negligible than Aeneas in the grand scheme.

Ovid briefly speaks in favor of Augustus and his adoptive father near the end of Book 15, describing their glorious rule over the Earth and eventual apotheoses, but concludes his work by affirming that he too will live forever in divinity and fame. As the Caesarean *denarius* featuring Venus and Aeneas implies, Vergil, Ovid, and the Roman people collectively considered Caesar and Augustus to be directly descended from the mythological Aeneas and his divine mother, properly as the successors to Aeneas' son and first king of Alba Longa, Ascanius, otherwise known as Iulus, hence the *gens Iulia*. Caesar and Augustus were exceptionally venerated because of this familial link. To doubt Augustus' sacred entitlement to rule—indeed, his superiority to other men—was tantamount to blasphemy, despite the emperor's own proclamation that he was *primus inter pares*. The envoi to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, when considered with his earlier sidelining of Aeneas, is potentially adversary to the position advanced by the government. Ovid concludes,

> Iamque opus exegi, quod nec Iovis ira nec ignis
> nec poterit ferrum nec edax abolere vetustas.
> Cum volet, illa dies, quae nil nisi corporis huius
> ius habet, incerti spatium mihi finiat aevi:
> parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis
> astra ferar, nomenque erit indelebile nostrum
> quaque patet domitis Romana potentia terris,
> ore legar populi, perque omnia saecula fama,
> siquid habent veri vatum praesagia, vivam.[11]
>
> And now I have concluded my work, which neither the anger of Jove nor fire
> Nor sword nor voracious age will be able to destroy.
> When it wishes, that day, which has nothing except rule over
> This body, may limit the span of my unpredictable life:
> Nevertheless, I will be borne with the better part of me above high-up
> Stars, and my name will be imperishable, wherever
> Roman power extends in subjugated lands, I will be

[11] Ov. *Met*. 15.871–79.

> Spoken by the mouth of the people, and through all ages in fame,
> If anywhere the forebodings of priests hold true, I will live.

Ovid's self-adoration cannot be ignored as merely the pride of an accomplished poet. Not only does he deny the gods power over him and his poetry (*opus exegi, quod…Iovis ira…poterit… abolere*), but he also uses *nostrum*, the "royal 'we,'" instead of *meum* here, further announcing a more grandiose sense of self that rivals those of his imperial patrons. Such confidence in oneself was not advisable in a principate where the divinely ordained emperor was *primus inter pares*.

An observant reader will notice a parallel structure at the end of Tacitus' *Agricola*, in which the historian proclaims the eternal fame of the eponymous C. Julius Agricola. The *Agricola* postdates the *Metamorphoses* by ninety years and is a prose biography rather than an epic poem, but conclusions can nevertheless be drawn from the formal and thematic similarities of the two works. Tacitus narrates the exploits of Agricola—his father-in-law and prestigious Roman general under the emperor Domitian—emphasizing his resilience and righteousness in the face of adversity at home and abroad. J. B. Rives identifies "the relationship between the Roman empire and the peoples of northern Europe, in the regions that the Romans called Britannia and Germania" as a key theme of both the *Agricola* and *Germania*, an ethnographic survey by Tacitus.[12] Rives continues, "Less obvious, but equally important, is the role that the conquest of these regions played in promoting, justifying and lending prestige to the system of one-man rule in Rome that historians describe as the principate or, less precisely, the empire."[13] Most relevant to this study is Tacitus' closing message. Tacitus says,

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[12] J. B. Rives, "Introduction," in Tacitus, *Agricola and Germania*, ed. Harold Mattingly, (New York: Penguin Group, 2009), xiv.
[13] Rives, xiv.

> quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum; nam multos veterum velut inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit: Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.[14]
>
> Whatever from Agricola we loved, whatever we marveled at, remains and will remain in the hearts of men in the endlessness of time, in fame of matters; for oblivion buried many of the ancients, just as it did the inglorious and obscure: Agricola, chronicled and handed down, will be a survivor in the future.

This final passage is Tacitus' repudiation of Roman imperial exceptionalism, initiated by the mythologizing of Caesar's death, Augustus' use of the title *divi filius* ("son of a god"), and the work of propagandists like Vergil. Tacitus discredits the deceased Domitian throughout his work in an attempt to set the record straight; to Tacitus, Romans should aspire to be like the caring and dutiful Agricola, not the narcissistic and power-hungry Domitian. I argue that Ovid likewise criticizes Augustus for his imperialist aims and purported divine license to rule. By insisting on his own everlasting fame and eventual apotheosis, Ovid suggests that Augustus and his family are not special, that anyone can rise above their mortal limitations with enough accomplishment and popular recognition. He implies that everyone, perhaps especially those who are poetically inclined, has the potential for apotheosis and the power to deify belongs not to an individual or family but to the body politic; if a person achieves a position of eminence and that accomplishment is acknowledged by others, he or she will inevitably be revered as a god. By this logic, Ovid's Aeneas is at most just as worthy of assumed divinity as the poet himself. Most of Aeneas' descendants, however, do not deserve that distinction. This includes, of course, the Romans, past and present, whom the populace reveres as exceptional and is encouraged to do so by the state, a temporal institution.

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[14] Tacitus, *Agricola*, ed. Henry Furneaux, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900), 46.4, http://data.perseus.org/citations/urn:cts:latinLit:phi1351.phi001.perseus-lat1:46.4.

Ovid's Turnus: The Sympathetic Victim

Turnus remarkably has no lines whatsoever in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. Whereas Vergil devotes half of his poem to the war in Italy and affords Turnus a secondary protagonist role, Ovid treats the war only in passing, spending about as much time on Diomedes' excuse for why he cannot aid Turnus as the war itself. The poet declares Trojan victory in the war but only briefly affirms Turnus' death, not specifying the nature of his defeat. Vergil and Ovid align in defining Turnus' Rutuli as native Italics among a confederacy of many Italic tribes who fight in the war but diverge in their characterization of the man himself. Ovid's Turnus is less a character and more a symbol, a luminary who represents all those whom the Trojans (and, so, Romans) oppress.

Ovid introduces Turnus and the Rutuli as yet another tenacious and mighty adversary for Aeneas and the Trojans. Because the Greeks and tangentially related characters are prioritized during and after the Trojan War respectively, nothing motivates the reader to root for the Trojans, outside of perhaps their underdog status. The introduction to the Latian land and Rutulian people, moreover, leaves much to be desired on the Trojan side. The text reads,

> Solvitur herboso religatus ab aggere funis,
> et procul insidias infamataeque relinquunt
> tecta deae lucosque petunt, ubi nubilus umbra
> in mare cum flava prorumpit Thybris harena;
> Faunigenaeque domo potitur nataque Latini,
> non sine Marte tamen: bellum cum gente feroci
> suscipitur, pactaque furit pro coniuge Turnus.
> Concurrit Latio Tyrrhenia tota, diuque
> ardua sollicitis victoria quaeritur armis.[15]

> The rope bound fast was untied from the grassy causeway,
> And they leave far behind the creeping house of the
> Dishonorable goddess and seek locales where the cloudy shadow
> Thrust forth into the sea with the golden-yellow sand of the Tiber;

[15] Ov. *Met*. 14.445–53.

> And he obtains the daughter and house of Latinus, son of Faunus,
> Though not without War—Mars himself: the war is undertaken with a high-spirited
> People, and Turnus rages for his agreed-upon bride.
> All Tyrrhenia engages Latium in battle, and for a long time
> A nigh unattainable victory is sought by means of restless arms.

Ovid echoes the sentiment he introduced with Dido, that Aeneas relies on falsehoods and actively works to break once strong bonds. The poet gives all agency to Aeneas in acquiring Lavinia as his bride and the Latin kingdom as his dominion (*Faunigenaeque domo potitur nataque Latini*), stripping all faculty from Latinus himself. He hammers his point home by abruptly switching to Turnus' point of view, sympathizing with his fury over a promise broken (*pactaque furit pro coniuge Turnus*) and, thus, implicitly and ever so subtly championing the Rutulian cause.

Ovid reverses the traditional roles of Aeneas and Turnus, corroborated in Vergil, at the end of his brief war narrative. The war in the *Aeneid* lasts for six books, half the epic, but in the *Metamorphoses*, a text chock-full of well-known myths with an Ovidian twist, it lasts for a momentary 148 lines. As abridged as the war is here, Ovid does not spend time on scenes famous from Vergil—Turnus' visitation by Alecto, Arruns' vanquishing of Camilla, and Aeneas' final, fatal blow to Turnus come to mind—but sacrifices them all for a pitiful incident seemingly of his own concoction. Ovid as narrator says,

> …nec iam dotalia regna
> nec sceptrum soceri, nec te, Lavinia virgo,
> sed vicisse petunt deponendique pudore
> bella gerunt, tandemque Venus victricia nati
> arma videt, Turnusque cadit, cadit Ardea, Turno
> sospite dicta potens. Quem postquam barbarus ensis
> abstulit et tepida latuerunt tecta favilla…[16]

> …And not now for a kingdom as a dowry,
> Nor for a father-in-law's scepter, nor for you, maiden Lavinia,

[16] Ov. *Met*. 14.569–75.

> But they seek to conquer and wage their wars for the purpose of
> Setting disgrace aside, and finally Venus sees triumphant
> Her son's arms, and Turnus falls, Ardea, said to be powerful
> With Turnus as its deliverer, falls. After the foreign sword destroyed
> That place and warm ash concealed its roofs…

Ovid frames Turnus as a valiant but ineffectual hero and Aeneas as a foreign warmonger in this scene. Turnus is described as a deliverer (*sospite*), and the Trojans, perhaps Aeneas himself, harkening to the end of the *Aeneid*, as wielding a foreign sword (*barbarus ensis*) to quell the Italic uprising.

Ovid's use of the adjective *barbarus* to describe a Roman analogue is conspicuous for its usual connotations, its association with peoples foreign to Romans; the Romans generally used *barbarus*, derived from the onomatopoeic Greek adjective βάρβαρος, to describe any people they deemed uncivilized, i.e., those who could not speak Latin, the *lingua franca* of the Republic and Empire. Ovid uses a form of *barbarus* six other times in the *Metamorphoses* and this instance in Book 14 is the final one. He first uses the term in Book 5 to describe Lyncus, king of Scythia and malicious antagonist to the Athenian Triptolemus.[17] The second instance is in Book 6, again serving the distinction between Athenian and foreign enemy.[18] Later in the same book, Tereus, a Thracian who had come to Athens' aid against the attacking foreigners, is himself referred to as *barbarus* after kidnapping his sister-in-law Philomela.[19] Medea calls her homeland of Colchis *mea barbara tellus* in Book 7, acknowledging her undesirable foreignness but asserting that by leaving with the Iolcan

[17] "'Barbarus invidit; tantique ut muneris auctor / ipse sit, hospitio recipit somnoque gravatum / adgreditur ferro. Conantem figere pectus / lynca Ceres fecit rursusque per aera iussit / Mopsopium iuvenem sacros agitare iugales.'" Ov. *Met.* 5.557–61.
[18] "Credere quis posset? solae cessastis Athenae. / Obstitit officio bellum, subvectaque ponto / Barbara Mopsopios terrebant agmina muros." Ov. *Met.* 6.421–23.
[19] "…exsultaque et vix animo sua gaudia differ / barbarus et nusquam lumen detorquet ab illa, / non aliter, quam cum pedibus praedator obuncis / deposuit nido leporem Iovis ales in alto: / nulla fuga est capto, spectat sua praemia raptor." Ov. *Met.* 6.514–18.

Jason she can shake off the yoke of barbarity.[20] The sorceress' barbarous, non-Greek nature is later confirmed by the *Metamorphoses*' narrator.[21] Finally, in Book 14, Macareus, a brother-in-arms of Ulysses, calls Aeneas' vessel a *barbara prora* upon reuniting with Achaemenides, a fellow Greek rescued by the Trojans.[22] Every use of *barbarus* before Macareus' is explicitly negative, acknowledging a malevolence or, at least, undesirability of the person, place, or object in question. By calling the Trojans *barbarus*, the poet indicates to his Roman reader that he does not approve of their violent methods and perhaps their expansionist prerogative. This adjective paired with the martial noun *ensis* and the fate of Rutulian Ardea implies Ovid's distaste for Roman military conquest and subsequent imposed dominion over previously independent provincial territories.

Unsurprisingly, Vergil only uses *barbarus* twice in the *Aeneid*: first, near the end of Book 1 and second, near the end of Book 11. The Trojan Ilioneus calls Dido's Libya *barbara morem*[23] when first coming before her in Book 1 and in Book 11, the greaves of the Phrygian warrior-priest Chloreus are *Barbara tegmina crurum*.[24] Thus, the use of *barbarus* in Vergil and Ovid is night and day. Ovid calls anyone, -place, or -thing that is inherently non-Greek *barbarus* while Vergil applies the term minimally and both times to non-Trojan direct objects—things at the Trojans' disposal without agency of their own. Both poets agree on the word's negative connotation.

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[20] "'Nempe pater saevus, nempe est mea barbara tellus, / frater adhuc infans: stant mecum vota sororis, / maximus intra me deus est. Non magna relinquam, / magna sequar…'" Ov. *Met.* 7.53–56.
[21] "His et mille aliis postquam sine nominee rebus / propositum instruxit mortali barbara maius / arenti ramo iampridem mitis olivae / omnia confudit summisque inmiscuit ima." Ov. *Met.* 7.275–78.
[22] "…'qui de casusve deusve / servat, Achaemenide? cur' inquit 'barbara Graium / prora vehit?'" Ov. *Met.* 14.162–64.
[23] Verg. *Aen.* 1.539.
[24] Verg. *Aen.* 11.777.

Ovid also insinuates that both the Trojans and Rutuli are disgraced—for what reason he does not tell us—and only by militarily besting the other side will one of the peoples regain its lost honor (*sed vicisse petunt deponendique pudore / bella gerunt*). This martial nostrum is a classic example of how history is often written by the victors, in this case literally by Ovid and his purportedly Trojan-descended patrons. While Ovid's Trojans are the undeniable winners of this contest of strength, the Rutulian stronghold nevertheless undergoes a sea change that calls into question the apparent eternity of Trojan dominance.

The miraculous reanimation of the ravaged Rutulian city of Ardea in Ovid's epic poem evinces a sympathy for the Roman Empire's conquered territories and a disappointment in the Empire for its increasingly militaristic methods. Following the utter obliteration of Ardea at the hands of Aeneas and the Trojans, the soul of the city rises from the rubble, a veritable phoenix from its ashes. The text continues,

> congerie e media tum primum cognita praepes
> subvolat et cineres plausis everberat alis.
> Et sonus et macies et pallor et omnia, captam
> quae deceant urbem, nomen quoque mansit in illa
> urbis; et ipsa suis deplangitur Ardea pennis.[25]
>
> Then from underneath the middle of the heap, a swift bird, then known for the first time,
> Took flight and beat violently the cold ashes with its flapping wings.
> And the sound and leanness and paleness and all the things which
> Were suitable for the captured city, even the city's name, abided in that
> Bird; and Ardea itself is lamented on its feathers.

Ovid sympathizes with the fallen Ardea and its inhabitants, a location and people inimical to the Trojan cause, but only incited to war after the Trojans encroach on their land. Ovid employs no elision whatsoever, emphasizing the harshness and finality of the destruction inflicted. His application of polysyndeton when listing the attributes of the city-turned-bird

[25] Ov. *Met*. 14.576–80.

(*Et sonus et macies et pallor et omnia*) —a catalog of misfortunes that he terminates with *omnia* because listing the many others would be futile—further insinuates his intense displeasure with its fate. The flight of Ardea is representative of fleeing refugees—its *sonus* the lamentation of those who have lost their home, its *macies* their emaciated bodies, its *pallor* further indicative of their sorry state—and is one of the last, tragic metamorphoses in the poem. In this final sendoff to Turnus, his countrymen, and an Italy free of Trojan influence, Ovid solidifies his anti-imperialist stance, distancing himself from the propagandist *Aeneid* and Augustan ambition of conquest.

Chapter 5: A Monumental Debate

Thus far, I have philologically analyzed Vergil's *Aeneid* and Ovid's *Heroides* and *Metamorphoses* and drawn conclusions about popular identity and politics from their characterizations of Aeneas, Turnus, and their respective peoples. Whereas Vergil acts as a partisan mouthpiece for Augustus' imperialist, Roman exceptionalist regime and typifies the actively suppressive voice in sociopolitics, Ovid offers a solution to such silencing in his indirect criticism of the principate. Vergil and Ovid are two sides of the same coin in that they create in the same medium, live in the same polity, and tackle the same issue, but they propose divergent verdicts. Difference in political opinion is of course something that modern-day Americans wrestle with as well. In this final chapter, I will address the recent debate over national hero monuments in the United States, an issue that is divisive primarily for its racial undertones, arguing that although Augustus suppressed all voices that did not wholeheartedly support his imperialism, we cannot let history repeat itself concerning the issue of American racism. Before speaking about the people Americans have chosen to venerate monumentally throughout history, it is necessary to briefly chronicle their precursors.

The Roman imperial government commissioned marble statues to honor the emperor and his family, past and present. Verity Platt defines statues as "ideological powerhouses: physical objects that compress whole systems of authority into bodies of bronze or marble. Elevated on bases and columns, accompanied by inscriptions and framed by grand, civic architecture, they enshrine the deeds of the men (and it is usually men) that they represent."[1]

[1] Verity Platt, "Why People Are Toppling Monuments to Racism," *Scientific American*, 2020, https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/why-people-are-toppling-monuments-to-racism/. See also: Bruno Latour, "What is Iconoclash? or Is there a world beyond the image wars?", in *Iconoclash, Beyond the Image-*

Indeed, Augustus understood the potency of both word and image and put them to good propagandist use during his reign, on the one hand authoring the autobiographical *Res Gestae* and commissioning literary works like the *Aeneid* and on the other hand authorizing figural and architectural representations of his beneficence, such as the Ara Pacis and aforementioned Forum of Augustus. The "Augustus from Prima Porta," a marble statue depicting the emperor as divinely sanctioned ruler and battlefield genius, is another such work (Fig. 5.1). Now housed at the Vatican, this statue stands in a confident contrapposto stance, left arm slightly bent while holding up the emperor's *paludamentum* and right outstretched in an *adlocutio* pose. Augustus is here cuirassed, as well; the statue's cuirass and *paludamentum* define him as a leader capable in war and his *adlocutio* signals mastery of oratory. The various figures sculpted on the cuirass and the dolphin-riding Cupid herald the emperor's divine rule and legendary lineage respectively. Moreover, his serene and clean shaven—indeed ideal—visage tells viewers that he is made for leadership of a civilized people, their *primus inter pares* against the *barbari* whom he will subjugate. Through the iconographically powerful Prima Porta, Augustus sought to instill his imperialist ideology in all Romans and, thus, perpetuate his vision of a uniquely Roman popular identity.

Wars in Science, Religion and Art, ed. Peter Weibel and Bruno Latour, 14–37, (ZKM and MIT Press, 2002); Margaret Talbot, "The Myth of Whiteness in Classical Sculpture," *The New Yorker*, 2018, https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/10/29/the-myth-of-whiteness-in-classical-sculpture; and "After an Egyptologist Tweeted Instructions on How to Knock Down an Obelisk, Protesters Tried It Out on a Confederate Monument. It Worked," *Artnet News*, 2020, https://news.artnet.com/art-world/egyptologist-obelisk-instructions-1877613.

Fig. 5.1. Augustus from Prima Porta, early 1st century CE, Musei Vaticani, Braccio Nuovo, MV.2290.0.0 (credit: Musei Vaticani, Vatican City)

Later emperors continued the tradition of associating statuary iconographic splendor with their reigns. The equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius (Fig. 5.2) exudes expansionist dominance as the emperor, exaggeratedly massive, sits upon a horse with outstretched right arm. Like the Prima Porta, he beckons in a gesture of *adlocutio*, this time to a provincial subject who cowers beneath the horse's hoof (but, alas, the provincial no longer survives as part of the composition). Aurelius is not clean shaven like Augustus, but his beard and stoic expression distinguish him as both a philosopher and heir of Antoninus Pius, his adoptive

father and the previous emperor. Dynasties such as this Antonine one thus embraced representational similarity in order to affirm legitimacy and consolidate power.

Fig. 5.2. *Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius*, c. 176 CE, Musei Capitolini, Palazzo dei Conservatori Museum, Marcus Aurelius Exedra, inv. MC3247, (credit: Musei Capitolini, Rome)

The antiquity and majesty associated with Roman imperial statues and their Greek forerunners have occasioned emulation ever since and while the despotic context has thankfully not persisted for the most part, the sense of larger-than-life power has. Over the past two centuries, American statuary portrayals of national heroes have served a similar purpose to their Roman antecedents: honor the individual depicted and valorize their deeds, which were done on behalf of their country. Horatio Greenough's *George Washington* (Fig. 5.3) and Daniel Chester French's *Abraham Lincoln* (Fig. 5.4) exemplify their American sculptors' indebtedness to the classical world. Both works echo the imposing and seemingly all-powerful presence of Pheidias' *Olympian Zeus* and the later Roman *Colossus of Constantine*, itself inspired by the chryselephantine *Zeus*, but also hint at American virtues quite different from those of the ancients. The *Washington* may be idealized in a manner not

unlike the Prima Porta Augustus, but he extends his left hand, grasping a sword, to the viewer, as if to waive his role as commander-in-chief of the armed forces; he cedes his great power to the American people, trusting them to take responsibility.

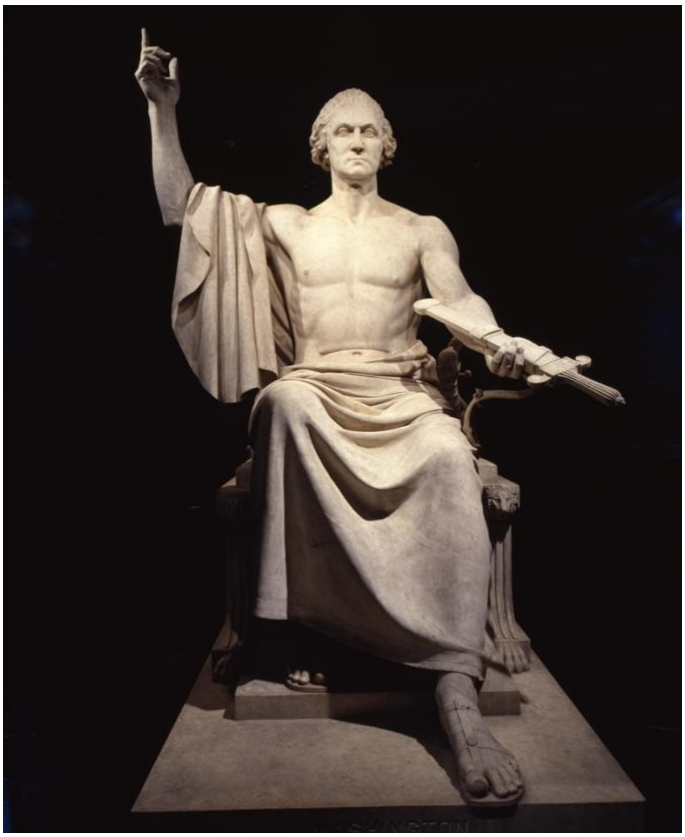

Fig. 5.3. Greenough's *George Washington*, 1841, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History, 1910.10.3 (credit: The Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.)

Similarly, the statue at the heart of the Lincoln Memorial and its surrounding architecture even more explicitly bring to mind the cult statues and temples, respectively, of ancient Greek and Roman religious practice, with an American twist. Lincoln sits on a throne of sorts, each hand resting on fasces, that symbol of Roman republicanism, within a Doric temple structure. His stoic expression, frontal alignment, and hand and leg position—right hand open, left closed into a fist; right leg relaxed in front of the more rigid left—reflect both adamant physical strength and resolute warmth and humanity. Monuments like the

Washington and *Lincoln*, though they were sculpted in the name of liberty, would probably not be greenlit nowadays due to well-founded concerns about individual power and the establishment of cults of personality—indeed, a problem inaugurated by Augustus through his imperial cult and adopted by the likes of Joseph Stalin, Mao Zedong, and perhaps Donald Trump.

Fig. 5.4. French's *Abraham Lincoln* (1920, credit: National Park Service)

Most relevant to this study, however, are much more controversial monuments: statues honoring higher-ups of the Confederacy. Statuary of well-known Confederate generals was erected decades after the conclusion of the Civil War in an attempt to glorify the lost Confederate cause. In his book *Civil War Monuments and the Militarization of America*, Thomas J. Brown affirms antebellum homage to classical statuary, noting, "monuments to military and civilian leaders extended a long artistic tradition. Equestrian statuary was the clearest example, dating back to sculptural precedents in ancient Rome and

philosophical underpinnings introduced by Plato."[2] The bronze equestrian statues of Confederate Generals P. G. T. Beauregard (Fig. 5.5) and Robert E. Lee (Fig. 5.7) will serve as my case studies.

A century after its placement, the Beauregard monument was removed from its usual intersection in May 2017 amid local public and administrative clamor (Fig. 5.6). Beauregard was a staunch Confederate who instigated the use of the battle flag design that is now synonymous with the Confederacy and white supremacist sentiments. Though later in life he campaigned for Black civil rights, including suffrage, he seems to have been chiefly motivated by the political advantage his southern Democrats could gain should they convert southern Blacks to their cause.[3] Erected by Alexander Doyle in New Orleans, Louisiana in 1915, fifty years after Lee's surrender at Appomattox, the Beauregard monument follows the equestrian tradition. He sits on his horse, clothed in the attire associated with his profession and gripping the reins.

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[2] Thomas J. Brown, "Models of Leadership," in *Civil War Monuments and the Militarization of America*, 130, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019), doi: 10.5149/9781469653761_brown.6.
[3] Michael E. Ruane, "Gen. P.G.T. Beauregard was a rebel hero. Now his statue in New Orleans is gone," *The Washington Post*, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/05/17/gen-p-g-t-beauregard-was-a-rebel-hero-now-his-statue-in-new-orleans-is-gone/.

Fig. 5.5. Doyle's General Beauregard Equestrian Statue (1915, credit: Nola.com)

Before the monument's removal, however, Black Lives Matter protestors scrawled their slogan on its pedestal. Such vandalization is symptomatic of the gaping fissures that currently separate some Americans from others. Many Americans ardently support Confederate monuments and the ideologies that they spawned while many others would have them torn down in the service of a more unified future. If the removal of the Beauregard equestrian statue is any indication, it appears that a similar fate will befall the Lee monument in Richmond, Virginia.

Fig. 5.6. Doyle's General Beauregard Equestrian Statue (left) and General Robert E. Lee Statue (right) in Homeland Security Storage in Lê's *Silent General* (2017, credit: AnMyLe.com)

Richmond still displays Antonin Mercié's Lee monument, even after considerable public backlash in the past several years. News media first started following the discontent concerning the Lee equestrian statue in 2017, but tempers reached a fever pitch in the summer of 2020 after the murder of George Floyd by police officer Derek Chauvin. The monument now stands vandalized, defaced by graffiti all over, a testament to the controversy it poses in present-day America and the divisive political climate in which Americans have been steeped. Vehement disagreement on the monument is not a new phenomenon, though;

Brown relates the difference in opinion that accompanied the statue's initial erection in 1890, saying,

> Many northern newspapers continued to condemn him [Lee] as "the natural demigod of the slave-holding oligarchy that sought to destroy the Union" while some white southerners maintained that "no other people in the world, and certainly not the people with whom we so recently contended in war," could fully appreciate the Confederate general.[4]

These sentiments have taken new form in twenty-first-century American discourse. The successors to those who supported Lee's secessionist, racist ideology—even twenty-five years after the war's end—are more often than not white supremacists and Neo-Nazis, indeed, the same people who attempted insurrection at the Capitol in January 2021. Those who deemed Lee unworthy of statuary recognition also have kindred spirits: all those who call for the removal of Confederate monuments across the United States.

Fig. 5.7. Mercié's Robert E. Lee Monument (1890, credit: *Richmond Times-Dispatch*)

[4] Brown, 157.

The United States of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a nation that permitted the erection of monuments that directly referenced and glorified the darkest, most divisive time in American history to that point. Recent criticism of Confederate monuments has ignited a debate over what it means to be an American and how Americans are to resolve the issues of their collective past. On the one hand, monuments like Doyle's Beauregard and Merciés' Lee represent a watershed moment in American history and the history of race relations in the United States, the Civil War, but on the other, they affirm the influence of a dangerous ideology that still runs rampant in the United States and the world at large. How are we to resolve this quandary? This debate over American monuments has split the populace into two broad coalitions, reminiscent of the Vergilian and Ovidian perspectives on Augustan imperialism: those who support the public display of Confederate monuments and those who would remove them, both groups fervently believing in their cause; two sides of a coin, once again.

Vergil and Ovid's differing views on imperialism and Americans' diverse opinions on who should be venerated and how are indicative of the broader issue of identity. The two Roman poets voiced their beliefs through epic, one promoting Roman exceptionalism and the other sympathizing with Greeks and Italics. Vergil's Trojans and their Roman heirs apparent deserved unmitigated world domination, but to Ovid a poet could be an emperor's equal and an Italic provincial a Roman citizen's. I argue that in the face of artistic, honorific media that fails to condemn ideologies that we as a nation deem oppressive, people should learn from Ovid's example and take it upon themselves to diplomatically address such problems. Just as Ovid wrote poetry, concerned citizens are already taking advantage of their talents to make

positive change. Brown recounts one artist's response to the Beauregard monument (Fig. 5.8), recalling,

> An-My Lê's photography exhibition *The Silent General* (2017) highlighted a picture of the condemned P.G.T. Beauregard statue in New Orleans as seen through a scrim. The shadowed figure dramatized civic rejection of the former hero. Placement of the image in a set of Louisiana landscapes of violence continued the Vietnam War refugee's studies of militarized environments.[5]

Lê did not have to resort to insults or violence to raise awareness about a pressing issue. Rather, she used her medium of choice to draw parallels between vitriolic white supremacy in the United States and horrific wartime Vietnam.

Fig. 5.8. Doyle's General Beauregard Equestrian Statue in Lê's *Silent General* (2017, credit: AnMyLe.com)

Another modern example of someone using art to peacefully protest inequality and oppression is Kehinde Wiley's *Rumors of War* (Fig. 5.9). *Rumors of War* is another bronze equestrian statue, but the rider himself is conspicuous. He is a young African American who

[5] Brown, 295.

does not look forward intently as his sculptural predecessors but twists his torso right and back. The figure grips the reins with his left hand and holds onto the saddle with his right. Furthermore, he has dreadlocks and wears what appear to be a long-sleeve shirt, blue jeans, and Nike sneakers. The man's facial expression looks defiant—proud and perhaps mocking––but not malicious; he seems to gaze back at someone or something. About his work, Wiley says, "In these toxic times art can help us transform and give us a sense of purpose. This story begins with my seeing the Confederate monuments. What does it feel like if you are black [*sic*] and walking beneath this? We have come from a beautiful, fractured situation. Let's take these fractured pieces and put them back together."[6] Indeed, Wiley's monument non-violently combats white supremacist ideology much like Lê's photography, but whereas the latter only repudiates harmful ideas, the former taps into a creative spirit to offer an alternative outlook. This is not a solution to the problem, of course, but it encourages thoughtful dialogue about American identity and the stories Americans should look to for guidance in anticipation of an increasingly diverse future.

[6] Kehinde Wiley, in "Sculpture Created by Kehinde Wiley for VMFA," Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 2019, https://www.vmfa.museum/about/rumors-of-war/.

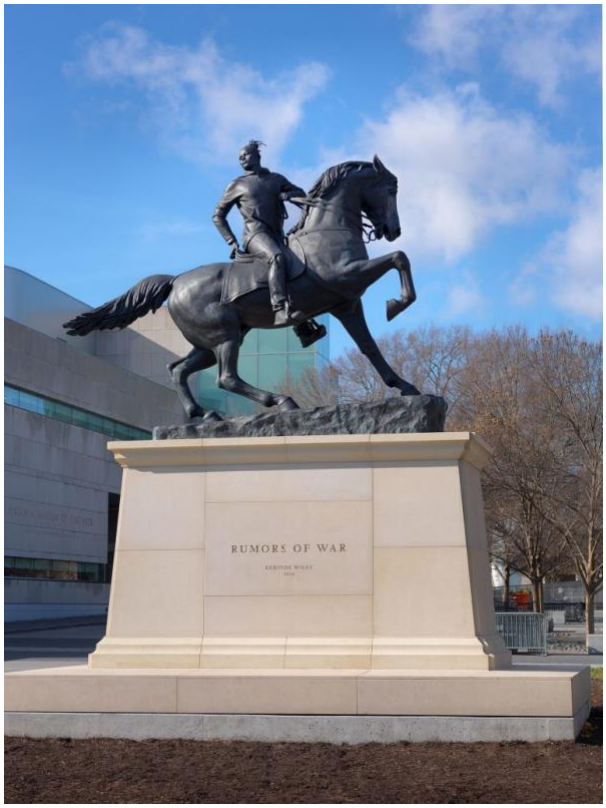

Fig. 5.9. Wiley's *Rumors of War*, 2019, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 2019.39 (credit: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond)

A downloadable handout from the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, where Wiley's sculpture is on display, specifies further that *Rumors of War* "takes its inspiration from the statue of Confederate Army General James Ewell Brown 'J.E.B.' Stuart created by Frederick Moynihan in 1907."[7] The Stuart monument in Richmond (Fig. 5.10) was graffitied and eventually removed in July 2020, amid protests over the murders of George Floyd and other Black individuals.

[7] Virginia Museum of Fine Arts staff, "Downloadable handout," Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 2019, https://www.vmfa.museum/about/wp-content/uploads/sites/13/2019/12/Rumors_of_War_.pdf.

Fig. 5.10. Moynihan's *J. E. B. Stuart Monument*, 1907 (credit: *Richmond Times-Dispatch*)

Identity is never static: it is ever-changing, evolving with newly acquired knowledge and more enlightened perspectives. Vergil sought to preserve the Roman people's established Augustan identity. Ovid was dissatisfied with that ideology and defied it with his poetry. Nearly two millennia later, the United States appealed to the classical tradition in its efforts to redefine itself. Now, modern-day Americans are faced with a dilemma: how do we define ourselves, as individuals, cities, states, and a nation, at home and abroad? Activists like Lê and Wiley have begun to answer these questions for themselves and in doing so urge their fellow Americans to reflect on their values and visions for the country. The answers to these questions are different for every person, but a common decency should nevertheless unite us all. Any behaviors, ideologies, or expressions thereof, individualized though they might be, should not impede our capacity for considerate and respectful dialogue with one another. Those that do so must be at all costs either modified or avoided wholesale.

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Tacitus. *Agricola*. Edited by Henry Furneaux. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1900.

Vergil. *Aeneid*. Edited by J. B. Greenough. Boston: Ginn & Co., 1900.

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Artnet News staff. "After an Egyptologist Tweeted Instructions on How to Knock Down an Obelisk, Protesters Tried It Out on a Confederate Monument. It Worked," *Artnet News*, 2020, https://news.artnet.com/art-world/egyptologist-obelisk-instructions-1877613.

The title of this article says it all; Professor Sarah Parcak, who teaches Egyptology at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, tweeted a stick-figure sketch showing people tearing down an obelisk. Parcak tweeted another message in the thread, saying, "OK because this is twitter I need to clarify: PLEASE DO NOT PULL DOWN ACTUAL ANCIENT EGYPTIAN OBELISKS that was not the point of this thread," but it was too little, too late. Black Lives Matter protestors proceeded to try and topple a Confederate obelisk in Birmingham, the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument, and the next day, the mayor of Birmingham took it upon himself to order the removal of the monument. This article is a useful, albeit brief, supplement to my discussion of "hero" monuments and their contribution to national/group identity.

Beck, Bill. "*Causas Memora*: Epic Etiology and Vergil's *Aeneid*." In *Vergilius* Vol. 62. Vergilian Society, 2016, 57–78.

In this article, Bill Beck investigates the causes for character motivation and plot progression in the *Aeneid*. He compares Vergil's text to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer, arguing that the Roman epic poet sought to outdo his Greek predecessor. I chiefly provide this source as an example of recent *Aeneid* scholarship in the Introduction, but readers can also consult it for further insights on Vergil's Homeric inspiration and the fruits it bore.

Brammall, Sheldon. *The English* Aeneid*: Translations of Virgil, 1555-1646*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015.

This book by Sheldon Brammall is not particularly relevant to my study, but I cite it as an example of recent Vergil scholarship. Brammall discusses the impact of the various early modern English translations of the *Aeneid*. He is primarily focused on literary reception, how each new translation reflected or informed ever-changing views on classical Rome. These views, in turn, speak to the values of the cultures that produced them.

Brown, Thomas J. *Civil War Monuments and the Militarization of America*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2019.

Thomas J. Brown parses meaning of and public sentiment towards various types of Civil War monuments in this book. He examines monuments as performative and indicative of ideology, sometimes to the detriment of opposing beliefs. Most relevant to my study is Brown's recognition of the classical tradition's influence on American statuary and his discussion of the controversy following the installation of Mercié's Lee monument.

Cassin, Barbara, and Pascale-Anne Brault. *Nostalgia: When Are We Ever at Home?* New York: Fordham University Press, 2016. doi:10.2307/j.ctt19rm9jg.7.

In the chapter, "Aeneas: From Nostalgia to Exile" from *Nostalgia: When Are We Ever at Home*, Barbara Cassin identifies *pietas* as the Vergilian Aeneas' defining quality. The particularly Aenean sense of duty to the gods and Trojan refugees was a trait unique to Vergil's rendition of the character at the time and goes beyond the narrative to the real world. Cassin describes Aeneas as nostalgic for the future Augustan Rome and dedicated to its realization, and his story as written in the "future anterior" —inherently anticipatory. His characteristic *pietas* is most important because without his founding of Lavinium, Rome cannot flourish. Cassin's insights are most relevant to my study because they argue that Vergil's epic poem is partisan in favor of Augustus.

Day, Kirsten. "'All That Glitters…': Problematizing Golden-Age Narratives in Vergil's *Aeneid* and the Western Film Genre." In *Screening the Golden Ages of the Classical Tradition*. Edited by Meredith E. Safran. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019, 154–174.

Kirsten Day's article is not relevant to my study but is an excellent example of recent *Aeneid* scholarship in its exploration of the influence an ancient foundation story can have on a modern art form, namely film.

Fletcher, K. F. B. *Finding Italy: Travel, Nation, and Colonization in Vergil's* Aeneid. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2014.

In *Finding Italy: Travel, Nation, and Colonization in Vergil's* Aeneid, K. F. B. Fletcher argues that Italy was always a melting pot of different peoples and, for Vergil, is a stand-in for the city of Rome. This is significant to my research because it supports both Vergil's depiction of Italy as a land of many peoples,

many of which are autochthonous, and my argument that the Augustan government encouraged the belief that one people (in the case of Italy) or person (in the case of Rome) should rightly stand above the rest and lead them towards righteousness. Aeneas' domination of Turnus and the Italic peoples cements the Trojans (and Romans) as the bona fide rulers of the Italian peninsula, and beyond.

Walking through Elysium: Vergil's Underworld and the Poetics of Tradition. Edited by Bill Gladhill and Micah Young Myers. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2020.

This collection of sources on Book 6 of the *Aeneid* and its reception by later scholars and storytellers is not especially relevant to my study but is another example of recent Vergil scholarship. The scholarship included ranges from narratology to theology to drama, showing just how influential Vergil's *magnum opus* has been since its composition two thousand years ago.

Gruen, Erich S. *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011. https://books.google.com/books?id=3gGPgMYv7FsC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Erich S. Gruen argues for the interconnectedness of ancient peoples in this book. He dismisses a monolithic understanding of cultures in favor of one that admits discourse, borrowing, and similarities between them. Such syncretism is most apparent, Gruen argues, in the stories of the ancients—their myths, passed down through oral tradition and adapted in the written word. This source is relevant to my study in its capacity as a general backdrop to the Aeneas narrative. Gruen's work will help me parse Vergil and Ovid's characters and situations with regard to the ancient Romans' views on culture. Did they think of themselves as unique or did they freely acknowledge historical conversation with other peoples?

Habinek, Thomas N. *The Politics of Latin Literature: Writing, Identity, and Empire in Ancient Rome*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1998. doi:10.2307/j.ctt7sp3p.4.

Thomas N. Habinek evaluates the significance of literature in Rome in *The Politics of Latin Literature*, arguing for its primary function as a sociopolitical asset to the author or poet. He posits that literature was especially influential to aristocrats and was integral to the establishment of an "imagined community" that adhered to elite interests. Habinek's work is vital to my argument for Vergil's Augustan partisanship and why Ovid's rejection of propaganda was extraordinary.

A Companion to Ovid. Edited by Peter E. Knox. John Wiley & Sons, 2009. https://books.google.com/books?id=zMMeWI2xbPkC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false.

This expansive tome comprises a plethora of essays on Ovid—his milieu, works, and reception. I disagree with Peter E. Knox' introductory suggestion that Ovid's writing was "untouched" by politics, that Ovid wrote only to improve himself as a poet and enjoy the activity. Rather, I have included Knox' book here because I believe that Ovid was very much in tune with Roman politics and sought to stem the tide of Augustan hegemony. This attitude would make Ovid an anti-Vergil in a sense, in that the latter was a vehement advocate and propagandist of Augustus' imperialist policy.

Latour, Bruno. "What is Iconoclash? or Is there a world beyond the image wars?" In *Iconoclash, Beyond the Image-Wars in Science, Religion and Art*. Edited by Peter Weibel and Bruno Latour, 14–37. ZKM and MIT Press, 2002.

Bruno Latour outlines his (and others') *Iconoclash* exhibition in this paper, going in-depth concerning the purpose of the project. There is much to unpack, but the essence of Latour's argument is the distinction between iconoclasm and what he dubs "iconoclash." Whereas iconoclasm is the purposeful breaking of objects for an ideological reason, iconoclash is the controversy that accompanies the destruction. Latour and his colleagues wish to explore the ideological facet of iconoclasm and why image-breaking is paradoxically so frequently an act of creation rather than annihilation. This paper is relevant to my study because it provides an excellent framework in which to discuss the recent felling of Confederate monuments.

Lee-Stecum, Parshia. "Roman refugium: refugee narratives in Augustan versions of Roman prehistory." In *Hermathena* 184. Dublin: Trinity College, 2008. 69–91. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23041581.

In this essay, Parshia Lee-Stecum addresses the common occurrence of the migrant founder in Augustan literature, namely Vergil's *Aeneid*, Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, and Ovid's *Fasti*. He argues that these works are a reflection of Roman imperialism; the Roman people are better than their neighbors, partly because of their existence as Romans, but also partly because of the land which they call home. Most relevant to my paper is Lee-Stecum's interpretation of the Vergilian Aeneas. Aeneas, himself a refugee, becomes an imperialist upon his arrival in Latium and foreshadows the dominion of Augustus and his successors over Italy. Lee-Stecum further argues that the Romans viewed the assimilation of other peoples and their lands as inherently beneficial to all parties.

Mac Sweeney, Naoíse. *Foundation Myths in Ancient Societies: Dialogues and Discourses*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

https://books.google.com/books?id=XNCJBAAAQBAJ&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false.

Similar to Gruen, Naoíse Mac Sweeney argues for the purposeful syncretism of ancient culture, but with a focus on what she calls "foundation discourse." Mac Sweeney notes that foundation discourse is made up "not only of the full range of different stories and versions of stories, but also of the various ways in which they were told and the diverse social contexts of their telling" (3). Based on this description, Vergil and Ovid's respective treatments of the Aeneas tale did not exist in a vacuum, but rather were inevitably in dialogue with the foundation stories that preceded them. Because Ovid wrote after Vergil, his version must be viewed as a further adaptation. Aeneas is not Roman per se, but his legend's malleability lent itself to reinterpretation as one of the Rome's founders.

Platt, Verity. "Why People Are Toppling Monuments to Racism." *Scientific American*. 2020. https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/why-people-are-toppling-monuments-to-racism/.

In this article, Verity Platt explains the social and political potency of statuary monuments, to wit the Confederate monuments that have recently incited outrage due to the racist ideology behind their glorification. As a classical scholar, Platt acknowledges the Greco-Roman roots of such statuary as well as the iconoclastic *damnatio memoriae* that was the precursor to modern-day value-centric felling. This source is particularly useful to my study because it contextualizes the toppling of Confederate monuments and defines statues as "ideological powerhouses."

Reed, J.D. *Virgil's Gaze: Nation and Poetry in the* Aeneid. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007. doi:10.2307/j.ctt7t8b7.

J.D. Reed homes in on the characters of Vergil's *Aeneid* in this book. Each chapter save one is named after a prominent figure in the epic poem: "Chapter One: Euryalus," "Chapter Two: Turnus," "Chapter Three: Dido," "Chapter Four: Andromache," "Chapter Six: Marcellus," and "Chapter Seven: Aeneas." Chapter Five is entitled "Ancient Cities" and engages with the idea of civic age and importance (e.g., Carthage as a "new" city). Reed's work is most relevant in its capacity as a narratological framework for understanding the Vergilian Aeneas and Turnus as characters in a work of literature. Aeneas is a mighty refugee seeking asylum (and conquest) while Turnus is an unfortunate victim to Aeneas, despite his armed defiance.

Rives, J. B. "Introduction." In Tacitus, *Agricola and Germania*. Edited by Harold Mattingly. New York: Penguin Group, 2009.

J. B. Rives addresses not only Tacitus' *Agricola* and *Germania* in this introduction to Harold Mattingly's translation, but also provides societal and

biographical context for their composition. His introduction is split into four sections: “A. Rome, the Emperor and the Peoples of Northern Europe,” “B. Tacitus’ Life and Works,” “C. *Agricola*,” and “D. *Germania*.” Most relevant to my study is Rives’ argument that these two works by Tacitus are informed by Rome’s relationship with Britannia and Germania and the bolstering of principatial government following provincialization of these areas.

Ruane, Michael E. “Gen. P.G.T. Beauregard was a rebel hero. Now his statue in New Orleans is gone.” *The Washington Post*, 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/retropolis/wp/2017/05/17/gen-p-g-t-beauregard-was-a-rebel-hero-now-his-statue-in-new-orleans-is-gone/.

This article by Michael E. Ruane describes the significance of the Beauregard monument in the context of its then recent removal. It is relevant in that it provides basic facts about the statue’s removal and the life of the Confederate general it depicts.

Shaya, Josephine. “The Public Life of Monuments: The *Summi Viri* of the Forum of Augustus,” *American Journal of Archaeology* 117, no. 1, 2013. doi:10.3764/aja.117.1.0083.

Josephine Shaya investigates the statuary of the Augustan Forum in this article. She focuses on the *summi viri*, ancestors of Augustus whose placement in the Forum underscore the emperor’s proud lineage—his exceptional being and leadership. I acquired my diagram of the Forum of Augustus from this article, along with the accompanying legend. Shaya’s work here is relevant to my study through its focus on Augustus’ extensive building program and appeal to divine lineage in order to cement his reign. Vergil took this concept and ran with it in the *Aeneid*!

Talbot, Margaret. “The Myth of Whiteness in Classical Sculpture.” *The New Yorker*, 2018. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/10/29/the-myth-of-whiteness-in-classical-sculpture.

This article by Margaret Talbot is a useful supplement to my discussion of “hero” monuments and their contribution to national/group identity. In particular, this source is useful in its acknowledgment and subsequent debunking of the titular “Myth of Whiteness.” This myth, nevertheless, continues to perpetuate white supremacist ideology and fuel animosity at home and abroad. Talbot’s article is relevant to my study in that it partly explains the prestige the modern American collective consciousness has afforded to classical Greco-Roman culture and problematizes that valorization.

Thompson, Nancy Lorraine et al. *Roman Art: A Resource for Educators*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2007.

https://books.google.com/books?id=vmQNF0K2xigC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q=aeneas&f=false.

Roman Art is a companion to the Metropolitan Museum of Art's ancient Roman collection. The book describes individual pieces from the Met's collection in detail, physically, historically, and thematically. This book is particularly relevant to my study because it reports on a Caesarian *denarius* depicting the head of Venus in profile on its obverse and Aeneas fleeing Troy with his father Anchises on the reverse. Caesar's iconographic program was the precursor to that of Augustus and so can offer insight to the earliest imperial propaganda, visual or otherwise. The coin also hints at the relationship between Aeneas and Romans' identification with him as the founder of their nation. The late republic saw the beginnings of a soon-to-be inextricable link between the Trojan refugee and Roman national identity with respect to Italian outsiders and the foreign Other.

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts staff. "Downloadable handout." Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 2019. https://www.vmfa.museum/about/wp-content/uploads/sites/13/2019/12/Rumors_of_War_.pdf.

This supplemental handout to Kehinde Wiley's *Rumors of War* explains the artist's inspiration: the equestrian statue of Confederate General J. E. B. Stuart.

Wiley, Kehinde in "Sculpture Created by Kehinde Wiley for VMFA." Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 2019. https://www.vmfa.museum/about/rumors-of-war/.

Kehinde Wiley's quotation from this VMFA webpage is an invaluable elaboration on the creative impulse behind *Rumors of War*. The rest of the page is an announcement of the exhibition.